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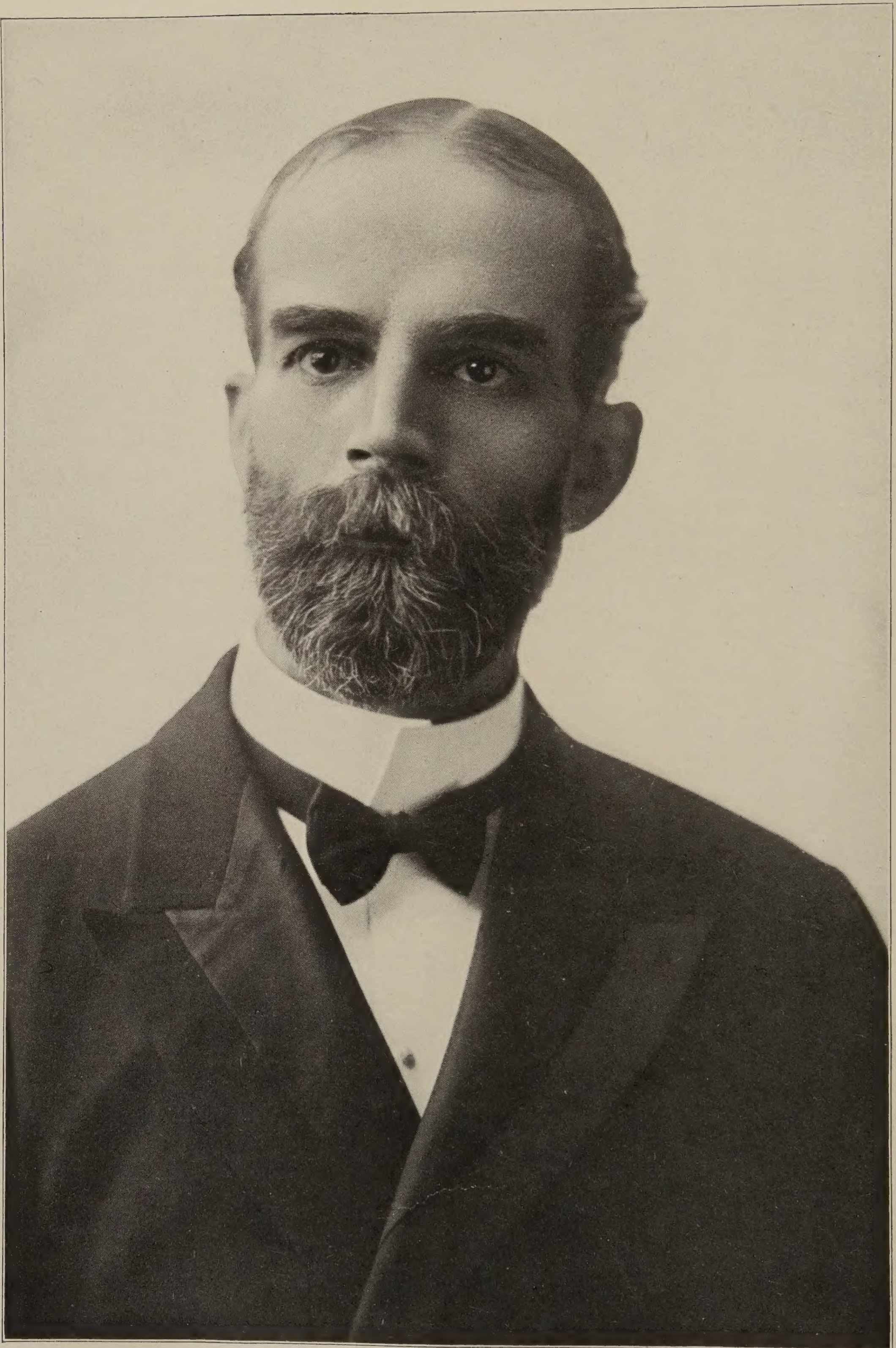

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THE
INTERNATIONAL STANDARD
BIBLE ENCYCLOPAEDIA

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VOLUME III
HERESY—NAARAH

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HERESY, her′e-si, her′ē-si (**αἵρεσις,** *haíresis,* from vb. **αἱρέω,** *hairéō,* "to choose"): The word has acquired an ecclesiastical meaning that has passed into common usage, containing elements not found in the term in the NT, except as implied in one passage. In classical Gr, it may be used either in a good or a bad sense, first, simply for "choice," then, "a chosen course of procedure," and afterward of various schools and tendencies. Polybius refers to those devoting themselves to the study of Gr literature as given to the *Hellenikḗ haíresis.* It was used not simply for a teaching or a course followed, but also for those devoting themselves to such pursuit, viz. a sect, or assembly of those advocating a particular doctrine or mode of life. Thus in Acts, the word is used in the Gr, where AV and RV have "sect," "s. of Sadducees" (**5** 17), "s. of Nazarenes" (**24** 5). In Acts **26** 5 the Pharisees are called "the straitest *hairesis* [sect]." The name was applied contemptuously to Christianity (Acts **24** 14; **28** 22). Its application, with censure, is found in 1 Cor **11** 19m; Gal **5** 20m, where it is shown to interfere with that unity of faith and community of interests that belong to Christians. There being but one standard of truth, and one goal for all Christian life, any arbitrary choice varying from what was common to all believers, becomes an inconsistency and a sin to be warned against. Ellicott, on Gal **5** 20, correctly defines "heresies" (AV, ERV) as "a more aggravated form of *dichostasía*" (ARV "parties") "when the divisions have developed into distinct and organized parties"; so also 1 Cor **11** 19, tr^{d} by RV "factions." In 2 Pet **2** 1, the transition toward the subsequent ecclesiastical sense can be traced. The "destructive heresies" (RVm, ERVm "sects of perdition") are those guilty of errors both of doctrine and of life very fully described throughout the entire chapter, and who, in such course, separated themselves from the fellowship of the church.

In the fixed ecclesiastical sense that it ultimately attained, it indicated not merely any doctrinal error, but "the open espousal of fundamental error" (Ellicott on Tit **3** 10), or, more fully, the persistent, obstinate maintenance of an error with respect to the central doctrines of Christianity in the face of all better instruction, combined with aggressive attack upon the common faith of the church, and its defenders. Roman Catholics, regarding all professed Christians who are not in their communion as heretics, modify their doctrine on this point by distinguishing between Formal and Material Heresy, the former being unconscious and unintentional, and between different degrees of each of these classes (*Cath. Enc,* VII, 256 ff). For the development of the ecclesiastical meaning, see Suicer's *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus,* I, 119–23.

H. E. Jacobs

HERETH, hē′reth, **THE FOREST OF** (יַעַר חֶרֶת, *ya'ar ḥāreth;* LXX **πόλις Σαρείκ,** *pólis Sareík;* AV **Hareth**): David (1 S **22** 5) was told by the prophet Gad to depart from Mizpah of Moab and go to the land of Judah, and he "came into the forest of Hereth." The LXX has "city" instead of forest; see also Jos, *Ant,* VI, xii, 4. The village *Kharās,* on an ancient high road, 3 miles S.E. of *Aid el mā,* probably David's stronghold Adullam (q.v.), may possibly answer to the place (*PEF,* III, 305, Sh XXI). "Horesh" has been suggested as an alternative reading.

E. W. G. Masterman

HERETIC, her′e-tik, her′ē-tik, **HERETICAL,** hē-ret′i-kal (**αἱρετικός,** *hairetikós*): Used in Tit **3** 10, must be interpreted according to the sense in which Paul employs the word "heresy" (1 Cor **11** 19; Gal **5** 20) for "parties" or "factions." According to this, the Scriptural meaning of the word is no more than "a factious man" (ARV), an agitator who creates divisions and makes parties. Weizsäcker translates it into German *ein Sektierer,* "a sectarist." The nature of the offence is described in other words in 2 Thess **2** 6.11.

HERITAGE, her′i-tāj (נַחֲלָה, *naḥălāh,* from *nāḥal,* "to give"; **κληρόω,** *klēróō*): That which is allotted, possession, property, portion, share, peculiar right, inheritance; applied to land transferred from the Canaanites to Israel (Ps **11** 6; **136** 22); to Israel, as the heritage of Jeh (Joel **3** 2, etc). In the NT (Eph **1** 11) applied to believers, the spiritual Israel, as God's peculiar possession (Ellicott, Eadie).

HERMAS, hûr′mas (**Ἑρμᾶς,** *Hermás*): An abbreviated form of several names, e.g. Hermagoras, Hermeros, Hermodorus, Hermogenes, etc; the name of a Rom Christian to whom Paul sent greetings (Rom **16** 14). Origen and some later writers have identified him with the author of The Pastor of Hermas, but without sufficient reason. According to the Canon of Muratori, the author of The Pastor wrote when his brother Pius was bishop of Rome (140–55 AD). He speaks of himself, however, as a contemporary of Clement of Rome (ch **4**) (c 100 AD). The name Hermas is very common, and Origen's identification is purely conjectural.

S. F. Hunter

HERMENEUTICS, hûr-mē-nū′tiks. See Interpretation.

HERMES, hûr′mēz (**Ἑρμῆς,** *Hermḗs*): In RVm of Acts **14** 12 for "Mercury" in text (AV "Mercurius").

HERMES (**Ἑρμῆς,** *Hermḗs*): The name of a Rom Christian, otherwise unknown, to whom Paul sent greetings (Rom **16** 14). "Hermes is among the commonest slave names. In the household alone probably not less than a score of persons might be counted up from the inscriptions, who bore this name at or about the time when St. Paul wrote" (Lightfoot, *Philippians,* 176).

HERMOGENES, hēr-moj′e-nēz (**Ἑρμογένης,** *Hermogénēs,* lit. "born of Hermes," a Gr deity, called by the Romans, "Mercury," 2 Tim **1** 15): Hermogenes was a Christian, mentioned by Paul as having, along with Phygellus and "all that are in Asia," turned away from him.

1. Where Did He "Turn Away"?

It is not clear when or where the defection of those Asiatic Christians from the apostle took place, whether it was at Rome at the time of Paul's second imprisonment there, and esp. on the occasion of his being brought before the emperor's supreme court, to be tried on a charge now involving the death penalty, or whether it was at some previous time in Ephesus.

2. Was It in Ephesus?

If it was the latter, then the meaning is that Paul wishes to inform Timothy, or perhaps only to remind him, how in Ephesus, where Timothy was the presiding minister of the church, these persons, Phygellus and Hermogenes with many more, had turned away from him, that is, had refused to submit to his authority, and had rejected the Christian doctrine which he taught. This latter meaning, referring the "turning away" to some previous occasion in Ephesus, is thought by some expositors to be the probable signification, owing to the fact that the vb. "they be turned away" is in the aorist tense, referring to a time long past when the apostle wrote.

3. Unlikelihood of It Being in Ephesus

On the other hand there is no evidence that there ever was a time when "all they which are in Asia" (AV) turned away from obedience to Paul. Whatever may have been the disloyalty and disobedience of individuals—and this certainly existed; see, e.g., Acts **20** 29 f—yet, certainly the NT does not show that all that were in Asia, the Christian community as a whole, in Ephesus and Miletus and Laodicea and Hierapolis and Colossae and other places, repudiated his apostolic authority.

4. Probability of It Being in Rome

If the words "all they which are in Asia" refer to all the Christians from the proconsular province of Asia, who happened to be in Rome at the time of Paul's second imprisonment there, it can easily be understood that they should turn away from him at that testing time. It is impossible to say exactly what form their desertion of the apostle assumed. Their turning away would likely be caused by fear, lest if it were known that they were friends of the prisoner in the Mamertine, they would be involved in the same imprisonment as had overtaken him, and probably also in the same death penalty.

It is altogether in favor of a reference to Rome, that what is said about Phygellus and Hermogenes and their turning away from Paul is immediately followed by a reference to Onesiphorus, and to the great kindness which he showed, when he sought the apostle out very diligently in Rome. On the whole, therefore, a reference to Rome and to the manner in which these persons, named and unnamed, from Asia, had deserted Paul, seems most probable. See PHYGELLUS. JOHN RUTHERFURD

HERMON, hûr′mon (חֶרְמוֹן, *ḥermōn;* B, **Ἀερμών**, *Haermôn*): The name of the majestic mountain in which the Anti-Lebanon range terminates to the S. (Dt **3** 8, etc).

1. Description

It reaches a height of 9,200 ft. above the sea, and extends some 16 to 20 miles from N. to S. It was called Sirion by the Sidonians (Dt **3** 9; cf Ps **29** 6), and Senir by the Amorites (Dt **3** 9). It is also identified with Sion (Dt **4** 48). See SIRION; SENIR; SION.

2. The Hermons

Sometimes it is called "Mt. Hermon" (Dt **3** 8; Josh **11** 17; 1 Ch **5** 23, etc); at other times simply "Hermon" (Josh **11** 3; Ps **89** 12, etc). Once it is called "Hermons" (חֶרְמוֹנִים, *ḥermōnīm*). AV mistakenly renders this "the Hermonites" (Ps **42** 6). It must be a reference to the triple summits of the mountain. There are three distinct heads, rising near the middle of the mass, the two higher being toward the E. The eastern declivities are steep and bare; the western slopes are more gradual; and while the upper reaches are barren, the lower are well wooded; and as one descends he passes through fruitful vineyards and orchards, finally entering the rich fields below, in *Wādy et-Teim*. The Aleppo pine, the oak, and the poplar are plentiful. The wolf and the leopard are still to be found on the mountain; and it is the last resort of the brown, or Syrian, bear. Snow lies long on the summits and shoulders of the mountain; and in some of the deeper hollows, esp. to the N., it may be seen through most of the year.

Mt. Hermon is the source of many blessings to the land over which it so proudly lifts its splendid form. Refreshing breezes blow from its cold heights. Its snows are carried to Damascus and to the towns on the seaboard, where, mingled with the *sharāb*, "drink," they mitigate the heat of the Syrian summer. Great reservoirs in the depths of the mountain, fed by the melting snows, find outlet in the magnificent springs at *Ḥasbeiyeh, Tell el-Kāḍy*, and *Bāniās*, while the dew-clouds of Hermon bring a benediction wherever they are carried (Ps **133** 3).

3. Sanctuaries

Hermon marked the northern limit of Joshua's victorious campaigns (Josh **12** 1, etc). It was part of the dominion of Og (ver 5), and with the fall of that monarch, it would naturally come under Israelitish influence. Its remote and solitary heights must have attracted worshippers from the earliest times; and we cannot doubt that it was a famous sanctuary in far antiquity. Under the highest peak are the ruins of *Ḳaṣr ʿAnṭar*, which may have been an ancient sanctuary of Baal. *Onom* speaks of a temple on the summit much frequented by the surrounding peoples; and the remains of many temples of the Rom period have been found on the sides and at the base of the mountain. The sacredness of Hermon may be inferred from the allusion in Ps **89** 12 (cf En **6** 6; and see also BAAL HERMON).

Some have thought that the scene of the Transfiguration should be sought here; see, however, TRANSFIGURATION, MOUNT OF.

The modern name of Hermon is *Jebel eth-Thilj*, "mount of snow," or *Jebel esh-sheikh*, "mount of the elder," or "of the chief."

Little Hermon, the name now often applied to the hill between Tabor and Gilboa, possibly the Hill of Moreh, on which is the sanctuary of *Neby Daḥy*, has no Bib. authority, and dates only from the Middle Ages. W. EWING

HERMONITES, hûr′mon-īts: In Ps **42** 6 AV, where RV reads "Hermons." See HERMON.

HEROD, her′ud:

The name Herod (Ἡρώδης, *Hērôdēs*) is a familiar one in the history of the Jews and of the early Christian church. The name itself signifies "heroic," a name not wholly applicable to the family, which was characterized by craft and knavery rather than by heroism. The fortunes of the Herodian family are inseparably connected with the last flickerings of the flame of Judaism, as a national power, before it was forever extinguished in the great Jewish war of rebellion, 70 AD. The history of the Herodian family is not lacking in elements of greatness, but whatever these elements were and in whomsoever found, they were in every case dimmed by the insufferable egotism which disfigured the family, root and branch. Some of the Herodian princes were undeniably talented; but these talents, wrongly used, left no marks for the good of the people of Israel. Of nearly all the kings of the house of Herod it may truly be said that at their death "they went without being desired," unmissed, unmourned. The entire family history is one of incessant brawls, suspicion, intrigue and shocking immorality. In the baleful and waning light of the rule of the Herodians, Christ lived and died, and under it the foundations of the Christian church were laid.

1. The Family Descent

The Herodians were not of Jewish stock. Herod the Great encouraged the circulation of the legend of the family descent from an illustrious Bab Jew (*Ant*, XIV, i, 3), but it has no historic basis. It is true the Idumaeans were at that time nominal Jews, since they were subdued by John Hyrcanus in 125 BC, and embodied in the Asmonean kingdom through an enforced circumcision, but the old national antagonism remained (Gen **27** 41). The Herodian family sprang from Antipas (d. 78 BC), who was appointed governor of Idumaea by Alexander Jannaeus. His son Antipater, who succeeded him, possessed all the cunning, resourcefulness and unbridled ambition of his son Herod the Great. He had an open eye for two things—the unconquerable strength of the Rom power and the pitiable weakness of the decadent Asmonean house, and on these two factors he built the house of his hopes. He craftily chose the side of Hyrcanus II in his internecine war with Aristobulus his brother (69 BC), and induced him to seek the aid of the Romans. Together they supported the claims of Pompey and, after the latter's defeat, they availed themselves of the magnanimity of Caesar to submit to him, after the crushing defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus (48 BC). As a reward, Antipater received the procuratorship of Judaea (47 BC), while his innocent dupe Hyrcanus had to satisfy himself with the high-priesthood. Antipater died by the hand of an assassin (43 BC) and left four sons, Phasael, Herod the Great, Joseph, Pheroras, and a daughter Salome. The second of these sons raised the family to its highest pinnacle of power and glory. Pheroras was nominally his co-regent and, possessed of his father's cunning, maintained himself to the end, surviving his cruel brother, but he cuts a small figure in the family history. He, as well as his sister Salome, proved an endless source of trouble to Herod by the endless family brawls which they occasioned.

THE HERODIAN FAMILY TREE

- Antipas d. 78 BC
- Antipater (Proc. Judaea 47–43 BC)
  - Phasael
  - Herod the Great (king of Judaea 37 BC–4 AD)
    - *By Doris*
      - Antipater (exec. 4 BC)
    - *By Mariamne*
      - Aristobulus (murdered 7 BC)
        - Herod (king of Calchis) d. 48 AD
        - Herod Agrippa (king of Judaea) d. 44 AD
          - Herod Agrippa (king of Calchis) d. 100 AD
          - Bernice (Acts **25** 23)
          - Drusilla (Acts **24** 24)
        - Herodias (Mk **6**)
      - Alexander (murdered 7 BC)
    - *By Mariamne* daughter of Simon
      - Herod Philip (Mk **6** 17)
    - *By Malthace*
      - Antipas, d. 39 AD (tetr. of Gal.)
      - Archelaus (ethn. of Judaea 4 BC–6 AD)
    - *By Cleopatra*
      - Herod Philip (tetr. of E. Jord. territory 4 BC–34 AD)
  - Joseph
  - Pheroras
  - Salome

Herod had, besides, five other wives (*Ant*, XVII, i, 3; *BJ*, I, xviii, 4) and seven other children, who died early, or at least do not figure in history.

2. Herod the Great

With a different environment and with a different character, Herod the Great might have been worthy of the surname which he now bears only as a tribute of inane flattery. What we know of him, we owe, in the main, to the exhaustive treatment of the subject by Jos in his *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*, and from Strabo and Dio Cassius among the classics. We may subsume our little sketch of Herod's life under the heads of (1) political activity, (2) evidences of talent, and (3) character and domestic life.

(1) *Political activity*.—Antipater had great ambitions for his son. Herod was only a young man when he began his career as governor of Galilee. Jos' statement, however, that he was only "fifteen years old" (*Ant*, XIV, ix, 2) is evidently the mistake of some transcriber, because we are told (XVII, viii, 1) that "he continued his life till a very old age." That was 42 years later, so that Herod at this time must have been at least 25 years old. His activity and success in ridding his dominion of dangerous bands of freebooters, and his still greater success in raising the always welcome tribute-money for the Rom government, gained for him additional power at court. His advance became rapid. Antony appointed him "tetrarch" of Judaea in 41 BC, and although he was forced by circumstances temporarily to leave his domain in the hands of the Parthians and of Antigonus, this, in the end, proved a blessing in disguise. In this final spasm of the dying Asmonean house, Antigonus took Jerus by storm, and Phasael, Herod's oldest brother, fell into his hands. The latter was governor of the city, and foreseeing his fate, he committed suicide by dashing out his brains against the walls of his prison. Antigonus incapacitated his brother Hyrcanus, who was captured at the same time, from ever holding the holy office again by cropping off his ears (*Ant*, XIV, xiii, 10). Meanwhile, Herod was at Rome, and through the favor of Antony and Augustus he obtained the crown of Judaea in 37 BC. The fond ambition of his heart was now attained, although he had literally to carve out his own empire with the sword. He made quick work of the task, cut his way back into Judaea and took Jerus by storm in 37 BC.

The first act of his reign was the extermination of the Asmonean house, to which Herod himself was related through his marriage with Mariamne, the grandchild of Hyrcanus. Antigonus was slain and with him 45 of his chief adherents. Hyrcanus was recalled from Babylon, to which he had been banished by Antigonus, but the high-priesthood was bestowed on Aristobulus, Herod's brother-in-law, who, however, soon fell a victim to the suspicion and fear of the king (*Ant*, XV, iii, 3). These outrages against the purest blood in Judaea turned the love of Mariamne, once cherished for Herod, into a bitter hatred. The Jews, loyal to the dynasty of the Maccabees, accused Herod before the Rom court, but he was summarily acquitted by Antony. Hyrcanus, mutilated and helpless as he was, soon followed Aristobulus in the way of death, 31 BC (*Ant*, XV, vi, 1). When Antony, who had ever befriended Herod, was conquered by Augustus at Actium (31 BC), Herod quickly turned to the powers that were, and, by subtle flattery and timely support, won the imperial favor. The boundaries of his kingdom were now extended by Rome. And Herod proved equal to the greater task. By a decisive victory over the Arabians, he showed, as he had done in his earlier Galilean government, what manner of man he was, when aroused to action.

The Arabians were wholly crushed, and submitted themselves unconditionally under the power of Herod (*Ant*, XV, v, 5). Afraid to leave a remnant of the Asmonean power alive, he sacrificed Mariamne his wife, the only human being he ever seems to have loved (28 BC), his mother-in-law Alexandra (*Ant*, XV, vii, 8), and ultimately, shortly before his death, even his own sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus 7 BC (*Ant*, XVI, xi, 7). In his emulation of the habits and views of life of the Romans, he continually offended and defied his Jewish subjects, by the introduction of Rom sports and heathen temples in his dominion. His influence on the younger Jews in this regard was baneful, and slowly a distinct party arose, partly political, partly religious, which called itself the **Herodian party,** Jews in outward religious forms but Gentiles in their dress and in their whole view of life. They were a bitter offence to the rest of the nation, but were associated with the Pharisees and Sadducees in their opposition to Christ (Mt **22** 16; Mk **3** 6; **12** 13). In vain Herod tried to win over the Jews, by royal charity in time of famine, and by yielding, wherever possible, to their bitter prejudices. They saw in him only a usurper of the throne of David, maintained by the strong arm of the hated Rom oppressor. Innumerable plots were made against his life, but, with almost superhuman cunning, Herod defeated them all (*Ant*, XV, viii). He robbed his own people that he might give munificent gifts to the Romans; he did not even spare the grave of King David, which was held in almost idolatrous reverence by the people, but robbed it of its treasures (*Ant*, XVI, vii, 1). The last days of Herod were embittered by endless court intrigues and conspiracies, by an almost insane suspicion on the part of the aged king, and by increasing indications of the restlessness of the nation. Like Augustus himself, Herod was the victim of an incurable and loathsome disease. His temper became more irritable, as the malady made progress, and he made both himself and his court unutterably miserable. The picture drawn by Jos (*Ant*, XVII) is lifelike and tragic in its vividness. In his last will and testament, he remained true to his life-long fawning upon the Rom power (*Ant*, XVII, vi, 1). So great became his suffering toward the last that he made a fruitless attempt at suicide. But, true to his character, one of the last acts of his life was an order to execute his son Antipater, who had instigated the murder of his half-brothers, Alexander and Aristobulus, and another order to slay, after his death, a number of nobles, who were guilty of a small outbreak at Jerus and who were confined in the hippodrome (*Ant*, XVI, vi, 5). He died in the 37th year of his reign, 34 years after he had captured Jerus and slain Antigonus. Jos writes this epitaph: "A man he was of great barbarity toward all men equally, and a slave to his passions, but above the consideration of what was right. Yet was he favored by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king, and though he were encompassed by ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all and continued his life to a very old age" (*Ant*, XVII, viii, 1).

(2) *Evidences of talent.*—The life of Herod the Great was not a fortuitous chain of favorable accidents. He was unquestionably a man of talent. In a family like that of Antipas and Antipater, talent must necessarily be hereditary, and Herod inherited it more largely than any of his brothers. His whole life exhibits in no small degree statecraft, power of organization, shrewdness. He knew men and he knew how to use them. He won the warmest friendship of Rom emperors, and had a faculty of convincing the Romans of the righteousness of his cause, in every contingency. In his own dominions he was like Ishmael, his hand against all, and the hands of all against him, and yet he maintained himself in the government for a whole generation. His Galilean governorship showed what manner of man he was, a man with iron determination and great generalship. His Judaean conquest proved the same thing, as did his Arabian war. Herod was a born leader of men. Under a different environment he might have developed into a truly great man, and had his character been coördinate with his gifts, he might have done great things for the Jewish people. But by far the greatest talent of Herod was his singular architectural taste and ability. Here he reminds one of the old Egyp Pharaohs. Against the laws of Judaism, which he pretended to obey, he built at Jerus a magnificent theater and an amphitheater, of which the ruins remain. The one was within the city, the other outside the walls. Thus he introduced into the ascetic sphere of the Jewish life the frivolous spirit of the Greeks and the Romans. To offset this cruel infraction of all the maxims of orthodox Judaism, he tried to placate the nation by rebuilding the temple of Zerubbabel and making it more magnificent than even Solomon's temple had been. This work was accomplished somewhere between 19 BC and 11 or 9 BC, although the entire work was not finished till the procuratorship of Albinus, 62–64 AD (*Ant*, XV, xi, 5, 6; XX, ix, 7; Jn **2** 20). It was so transcendently beautiful that it ranked among the world's wonders, and Jos does not tire of describing its glories (*BJ*, V, v). Even Titus sought to spare the building in the final attack on the city (*BJ*, VI, iv, 3). Besides this, Herod rebuilt and beautified Strato's Tower, which he called after the emperor, *Caesarea.* He spent 12 years in this gigantic work, building a theater and amphitheater, and above all in achieving the apparently impossible by creating a harbor where there was none before. This was accomplished by constructing a gigantic mole far out into the sea, and so enduring was the work that the remains of it are seen today. The Romans were so appreciative of the work done by Herod that they made Caesarea the capital of the new régime, after the passing away of the Herodian power. Besides this, Herod rebuilt Samaria, to the utter disgust of the Jews, calling it Sebaste. In Jerus itself he built the three great towers, Antonia, Phasaelus and Mariamne, which survived even the catastrophe of the year 70 AD. All over Herod's dominion were found the evidences of this constructive passion. Antipatris was built by him, on the site of the ancient Kapharsaba, as well as the stronghold Phasaelus near Jericho, where he was destined to see so much suffering and ultimately to die. He even reached beyond his own domain to satisfy this building mania at Ascalon, Damascus, Tyre and Sidon, Tripoli, Ptolemais, nay even at Athens and Lacedaemon. But the universal character of these operations itself occasioned the bitter-

Ruins of One of Herod's Temples in Samaria.

est hatred against him on the part of the narrow-minded Jews.

(3) *Characteristics and domestic life.*—The personality of Herod was impressive, and he was possessed of great physical strength. His intellectual powers were far beyond the ordinary; his will was indomitable; he was possessed of great tact, when he saw fit to employ it; in the great crises of his life he was never at a loss what to do; and no one has ever accused Herod the Great of cowardice. There were in him two distinct individualities, as was the case with Nero. Two powers struggled in him for the mastery, and the lower one at last gained complete control. During the first part of his reign there were evidences of large-heartedness, of great possibilities in the man. But the bitter experiences of his life, the endless whisperings and warnings of his court, the irreconcilable spirit of the Jews, as well as the consciousness of his own wrongdoing, changed him into a Jewish Nero: a tyrant, who bathed his own house and his own people in blood. The demons of Herod's life were jealousy of power, and suspicion, its necessary companion.

He was the incarnation of brute lust, which in turn became the burden of the lives of his children. History tells of few more immoral families than the house of Herod, which by intermarriage of its members so entangled the genealogical tree as to make it a veritable puzzle. As these marriages were nearly all within the line of forbidden consanguinity, under the Jewish law, they still further embittered the people of Israel against the Herodian family. When Herod came to the throne of Judaea, Phasael was dead. Joseph his younger brother had fallen in battle (*Ant*, XIV, xv, 10), and only Pheroras and Salome survived. The first, as we have seen, nominally shared the government with Herod, but was of little consequence and only proved a thorn in the king's flesh by his endless interference and plotting. To him were allotted the revenues of the East Jordanic territory. Salome, his sister, was ever neck-deep in the intrigues of the Herodian family, but had the cunning of a fox and succeeded in making Herod believe in her unchangeable loyalty, although the king had killed her own son-in-law and her nephew, Aristobulus, his own son. The will of Herod, made shortly before his death, is a convincing proof of his regard for his sister (*Ant*, XVII, viii, 1).

His domestic relations were very unhappy. Of his marriage with Doris and of her son, Antipater, he reaped only misery, the son, as stated above, ultimately falling a victim to his father's wrath, when the crown, for which he plotted, was practically within his grasp. Herod appears to have been deeply in love with Mariamne, the grandchild of Hyrcanus, in so far as he was capable of such a feeling, but his attitude to the entire Asmonean family and his fixed determination to make an end of it changed whatever love Mariamne had for him into hatred. Ultimately she, as well as her two sons, fell victims to Herod's insane jealousy of power. Like Nero, however, in a similar situation, Herod felt the keenest remorse after her death. As his sons grew up, the family tragedy thickened, and the court of Herod became a veritable hotbed of mutual recriminations, intrigues and catastrophes. The trials and executions of his own conspiring sons were conducted with the acquiescence of the Rom power, for Herod was shrewd enough not to make a move without it. Yet so thoroughly was the condition of the Jewish court understood at Rome, that Augustus, after the death of Mariamne's sons (7 BC), is said to have exclaimed: "I would rather be Herod's hog than his son." At the time of his death, the remaining sons were these: Herod, son of Mariamne, Simon's daughter; Archelaus and Antipas, sons of Malthace, and Herod Philip, son of Cleopatra of Jerus. Alexander and Aristobulus were killed, through the persistent intrigues of Antipater, the oldest son and heir presumptive to the crown, and he himself fell into the grave he had dug for his brothers.

By the final testament of Herod, as ratified by Rome, the kingdom was divided as follows: Archelaus received one-half of the kingdom, with the title of king, really "ethnarch," governing Judaea, Samaria and Idumaea; Antipas was appointed "tetrarch" of Galilee and Peraea; Philip, "tetrarch" of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis and Paneas. To Salome, his intriguing sister, he bequeathed Jamnia, Ashdod and Phasaelus, together with 500,000 drachmas of coined silver. All his kindred were liberally provided for in his will, "so as to leave them all in a wealthy condition" (*Ant*, XVII, viii, 1). In his death he had been better to his family than in his life. He died unmourned and unbeloved by his own people, to pass into history as a name soiled by violence and blood. As the waters of Callirhoe were unable to cleanse his corrupting body, those of time were unable to wash away the stains of a tyrant's name. The only time he is mentioned in the NT is in Mt **2** and Lk **1**. In Mt he is associated with the wise men of the East, who came to investigate the birth of the "king of the Jews." Learning their secret, Herod found out from the "priests and scribes of the people" where the Christ was to be born and ordered the "massacre of the innocents," with which his name is perhaps more generally associated than with any other act of his life. As Herod died in 4 BC and some time elapsed between the massacre and his death (Mt **2** 19), we have here a clue to the approximate fixing of the true date of Christ's birth. Another, in this same connection, is an eclipse of the moon, the only one mentioned by Jos (*Ant*, XVII, vi, 4; text and note), which was seen shortly before Herod's death. This eclipse occurred on March 13, in the year of the Julian Period, 4710, therefore 4 BC.

3. Herod Antipas

Herod Antipas was the son of Herod the Great and Malthace, a Samaritan woman. Half Idumaean, half Samaritan, he had therefore not a drop of Jewish blood in his veins, and "Galilee of the Gentiles" seemed a fit dominion for such a prince. He ruled as "tetrarch" of Galilee and Peraea (Lk **3** 1) from 4 BC till 39 AD. The gospel picture we have of him is far from prepossessing. He is superstitious (Mt **14** 1 f), foxlike in his cunning (Lk **13** 31 f) and wholly immoral. John the Baptist was brought into his life through an open rebuke of his gross immorality and defiance of the laws of Moses (Lev **18** 16), and paid for his courage with his life (Mt **14** 10; *Ant*, XVIII, v, 2).

On the death of his father, although he was younger than his brother Archelaus (*Ant*, XVII, ix, 4 f; *BJ*, II, ii, 3), he contested the will of Herod, who had given to the other the major part of the dominion. Rome, however, sustained the will and assigned to him the "tetrarchy" of Galilee and Peraea, as it had been set apart for him by Herod (*Ant*, XVII, xi, 4). Educated at Rome with Archelaus and Philip, his half-brother, son of Mariamne, daughter of Simon, he imbibed many of the tastes and graces and far more of the vices of the Romans. His first wife was a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia. But he sent her back to her father at Petra, for the sake of Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip, whom he had met and seduced at Rome. Since the latter was the daughter of Aristobulus, his half-brother, and therefore his niece, and at the same time the wife of another half-brother, the union between her and Antipas was doubly sinful. Aretas repaid this insult to his daughter by a destructive war (*Ant*, XVIII, v, 1). Herodias had a baneful influence over him and wholly dominated his life (Mt **14** 3–10). He emulated the example of his father in a mania for erecting buildings and beautifying cities. Thus he built the wall of Sepphoris and made the place his capital. He elevated Bethsaida to the rank of a city and gave it the name "Julia," after the daughter of Tiberius. Another example of this inherited or cultivated building-mania was the work he did at Betharamphtha, which he called "Julias" (*Ant*, XVIII, ii, 1). His influence on his subjects was morally bad (Mk **8** 15). If his life was less marked by enormities than his father's, it was only so by reason of its inevitable restrictions. The last glimpse the Gospels afford of him shows him to us in the final tragedy of the life of Christ. He is then at Jerus. Pilate in his perplexity had sent the Saviour bound to Herod, and the utter inefficiency and flippancy of the man is revealed in the account the Gospels give us of the incident (Lk **23** 7–12; Acts **4** 27). It served, however, to bridge the chasm of the enmity between Herod and Pilate (Lk **23** 12), both of whom were to be stripped of their power and to die in shameful exile. When Caius Caligula had become emperor and when his scheming favorite Herod Agrippa I, the bitter enemy of Antipas, had been made king in 37 AD, Herodias prevailed on Herod Antipas to accompany her to Rome to demand a similar favor. The machinations of Agrippa and the accusation of high treason preferred against him, however, proved his undoing, and he was banished to Lyons in Gaul, where he died in great misery (*Ant*, XVIII, vii, 2; *BJ*, II, ix, 6).

4. Herod Philip

Herod Philip was the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra of Jerus. At the death of his father he inherited Gaulonitis, Trachonitis and Paneas (*Ant*, XVII, viii, 1). He was apparently utterly unlike the rest of the Herodian family, retiring, dignified, moderate and just. He was also wholly free from the intriguing spirit of his brothers, and it is but fair to suppose that he inherited this totally un-Herodian character and disposition from his mother. He died in the year 34 AD, and his territory was given three years later to Agrippa I, his nephew and the son of Aristobulus, together with the tetrarchy of Lysanias (*Ant*, XVIII, iv, 6; XIX, v, 1).

5. Herod Archelaus

Herod Archelaus was the oldest son of Herod the Great by Malthace, the Samaritan. He was a man of violent temper, reminding one a great deal of his father. Educated like all the Herodian princes at Rome, he was fully familiar with the life and arbitrariness of the Rom court. In the last days of his father's life, Antipater, who evidently aimed at the extermination of all the heirs to the throne, accused him and Philip, his half-brother, of treason. Both were acquitted (*Ant*, XVI, iv, 4; XVII, vii, 1). By the will of his father, the greater part of the Herodian kingdom fell to his share, with the title of "ethnarch." The will was contested by his brother Antipas before the Rom court. While the matter was in abeyance, Archelaus incurred the hatred of the Jews by the forcible repression of a rebellion, in which some 3,000 people were slain. They therefore opposed his claims at Rome, but Archelaus, in the face of all this opposition, received the Rom support (*Ant*, XVII, xi, 4). It is very ingeniously suggested that this episode may be the foundation of the parable of Christ, found in Lk **19** 12–27. Archelaus, once invested with the government of Judaea, ruled with a hard hand, so that Judaea and Samaria were both soon in a chronic state of unrest. The two nations, bitterly as they hated each other, became friends in this common crisis, and sent an embassy to Rome to complain of the conduct of Archelaus, and this time they were successful. Archelaus was warned by a dream of the coming disaster, whereupon he went at once to Rome to defend himself, but wholly in vain. His government was taken from him, his possessions were all confiscated by the Rom power and he himself was banished to Vienna in Gaul (*Ant*, XVII, xiii, 2, 3). He, too, displayed some of his father's taste for architecture, in the building of a royal palace at Jericho and of a village, named after himself, Archelais. He was married first to Mariamne, and after his divorce from her to Glaphyra, who had been the wife of his half-brother Alexander (*Ant*, XVII, xiii). The only mention made of him in the Gospels is found in Mt **2** 22.

Of Herod, son of Herod the Great and Mariamne, Simon's daughter, we know nothing except that he married Herodias, the daughter of his dead half-brother Aristobulus. He is called Philip in the NT (Mt **14** 3), and it was from him that Antipas lured Herodias away. His later history is wholly unknown, as well as that of Herod, the brother of Philip the tetrarch, and the oldest son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra of Jerus.

6. Herod Agrippa I

Two members of the Herodian family are named Agrippa. They are of the line of Aristobulus, who through Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus, carried down the line of the Asmonean blood. And it is worthy of note that in this line, nearly extinguished by Herod through his mad jealousy and fear of the Maccabean power, the kingdom of Herod came to its greatest glory again.

Herod Agrippa I, called Agrippa by Jos, was the son of Aristobulus and Bernice and the grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne. Educated at Rome with Claudius (*Ant*, XVIII, vi, 1, 4), he was possessed of great shrewdness and tact. Returning to Judaea for a little while, he came back to Rome in 37 AD. He hated his uncle Antipas and left no stone unturned to hurt his cause. His mind was far-seeing, and he cultivated, as his grandfather had done, every means that might lead to his own promotion. He, therefore, made fast friends with Caius Caligula, heir presumptive to the Rom throne, and his rather outspoken advocacy of the latter's claims led to his imprisonment by Tiberius. This proved the making of his fortune, for Caligula did not forget him, but immediately on his accession to the throne, liberated Agrippa and bestowed on him, who up to that time had been merely a private citizen, the "tetrarchies" of Philip, his uncle, and of Lysanias, with the title of king, although he did not come into the possession of the latter till two more years had gone by (*Ant*, XVIII, vi, 10). The foolish ambition of Herod Antipas led to his undoing, and the emperor, who had heeded the accusation of Agrippa against his uncle, bestowed on him the additional territory of Galilee and Peraea in 39 AD. Agrippa kept in close touch with the imperial government, and when, on the assassination of Caligula, the imperial crown was offered to the indifferent Claudius, it fell to the lot of Agrippa to lead the latter to accept the proffered honor. This led to further imperial favors and further extension of his territory, Judaea and Samaria being added to his domain, 40 AD. The fondest dreams of Agrippa had now been realized, his father's fate was avenged and the old Herodian power had been restored to its original extent. He ruled with great munificence and was very tactful in his contact with the Jews. With this end in view, several years before, he had moved Caligula to recall the command of erecting an imperial statue in the city of Jerus; and when he was forced to take sides in the struggle between Judaism and the nascent Christian sect, he did not hesitate a moment, but assumed the rôle of its bitter persecutor, slaying James the apostle with the sword and harrying the church whenever possible (Acts **12**). He died, in the full flush of his power, of a death, which, in its harrowing details reminds us of the fate of his grandfather (Acts **12** 20–23; *Ant*, XIX, viii, 2). Of the four children he left (*BJ*, II, xi, 6), three are known to history—Herod Agrippa II, king of Calchis, Bernice of immoral celebrity, who consorted with her own brother in defiance of human and Divine law, and became a byword even among the heathen (Juv. *Sat.* vi.156–60), and Drusilla, the wife of the Rom governor Felix (Acts **24** 24). According to tradition the latter perished in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD, together with her son Agrippa. With Herod Agrippa I, the Herodian power had virtually run its course.

7. Herod Agrippa II

Herod Agrippa II was the son of Herod Agrippa I and Cypros. When his father died in 44 AD he was a youth of only 17 years and considered too young to assume the government of Judaea. Claudius therefore placed the country under the care of a procurator. Agrippa had received a royal education in the palace of the emperor himself (*Ant*, XIX, ix, 2). But he had not wholly forgotten his people, as is proven by his intercession in behalf of the Jews, when they asked to be permitted to have the custody of the official high-priestly robes, till then in the hands of the Romans and to be used only on stated occasions (*Ant*, XX, i, 1). On the death of his uncle, Herod of Calchis, Claudius made Agrippa II "tetrarch" of the territory, 48 AD (*BJ*, II, xii, 1; XIV, iv; *Ant*, XX, v, 2). As Jos tells us, he espoused the cause of the Jews whenever he could (*Ant*, XX, vi, 3). Four years later (52 AD), Claudius extended the dominion of Agrippa by giving him the old "tetrarchies" of Philip and Lysanias. Even at Calchis they had called him king; now it became his official title (*Ant*, XX, vii, 1). Still later (55 AD), Nero added some Galilean and Peraean cities to his domain. His whole career indicates the predominating influence of the Asmonean blood, which had shown itself in his father's career also. If the Herodian taste for architecture reveals itself here and there (*Ant*, XX, viii, 11; IX, iv), there is a total absence of the cold disdain wherewith the Herods in general treated their subjects. The Agrippas are Jews.

Herod Agrippa II figures in the NT in Acts **25** 13; **26** 32. Paul there calls him "king" and appeals to him as to one knowing the Scriptures. As the brother-in-law of Felix he was a favored guest on this occasion. His relation to Bernice his sister was a scandal among Jews and Gentiles alike (*Ant*, XX, vii, 3). In the fall of the Jewish nation, Herod Agrippa's kingdom went down. Knowing the futility of resistance, Agrippa warned the Jews not to rebel against Rome, but in vain (*BJ*, II, xvi, 2–5; XVII, iv; XVIII, ix; XIX, iii). When the war began he boldly sided with Rome and fought under its banners, getting wounded by a sling-stone in the siege of Gamala (*BJ*, IV, i, 3). The oration by which he sought to persuade the Jews against the rebellion is a masterpiece of its kind and became historical (*BJ*, II, xvi). When the inevitable came and when with the Jewish nation also the kingdom of Herod Agrippa II had been destroyed, the Romans remembered his loyalty. With Bernice his sister he removed to Rome, where he became a *praetor* and died in the year 100 AD, at the age of 70 years, in the beginning of Trajan's reign.

LITERATURE.—Jos, *Ant* and *BJ*; Strabo; Dio Cassius. Among all modern works on the subject, Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (5 vols) is perhaps still the best.

HENRY E. DOSKER

HERODIANS, hē-rō′di-anz (Ἡρῳδιανοί, *Hērōdianoí*): A party twice mentioned in the Gospels (Mt **22** 16 ‖ Mk **12** 13; **3** 6) as acting with the Pharisees in opposition to Jesus. They were not a religious sect, but, as the name implies, a court or political party, supporters of the dynasty of Herod. Nothing is known of them beyond what the Gospels state. Whatever their political aims, they early perceived that Christ's pure and spiritual teaching on the kingdom of God was irreconcilable with these, and that Christ's influence with the people was antagonistic to their interests. Hence, in Galilee, on the occasion of the healing of the man with the withered hand, they readily joined with the more powerful party of the Pharisees in plots to crush Jesus (Mk **3** 6); and again, in Jerus, in the last week of Christ's life, they renewed this alliance in the attempt to entrap Jesus on the question of the tribute money (Mt **22** 16). The warning of Jesus to His disciples to "beware of the leaven of Herod" (Mk **8** 15) may have had reference to the insidious spirit of this party. JAMES ORR

HERODIAS, hē-rō′di-as (Ἡρωδιάς or Ἡρῳδιάς, *Hērōdiás*): The woman who compassed the death of John the Baptist at Machaerus (Mt **14** 1–12; Mk **6** 14–29; cf also Lk **3** 19.20; **9** 7–9). According to the Gospel records, Herodias had previously been married to Philip, but had deserted him for his brother Herod the tetrarch. For this Herod was reproved by John (cf Lev **18** 16; **20** 21), and Herod, therefore, to please Herodias, bound him and cast him into prison. According to Mt **14** 5 he would even then have put John to death, but "feared the multitude," which regarded John as a prophet. But Mk **6** 19 f relates it was Herodias who esp. desired the death of John, but that she was withstood by Herod whose conscience was not altogether dead. This latter explanation is more in harmony with the sequel. At Herod's birthday feast, Herodias induced her daughter Salome, whose dancing had so charmed the tetrarch, to ask as her reward the head of John the Baptist on a charger. This was given her and she then brought it to her mother.

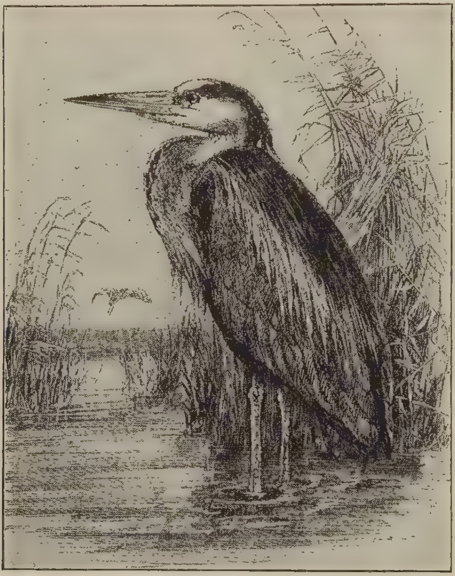
Herodias was daughter of Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great, by Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus. Her second husband (cf above) was Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea (c 4–39 AD), son of Herod the Great by Malthace. Herod Antipas was thus the step-brother of Aristobulus, father of Herodias. Regarding the first husband of Herodias, to whom she bore Salome, some hold that the Gospel accounts are at variance with that of Jos. In Mt **14** 3; Mk **6** 17; Lk **3** 19, he is called Philip the brother of Herod (Antipas). But in Mt **14** 3 and Lk **3** 19 the name Philip is omitted by certain important MSS. According to Jos, he was Herod, son of Herod the Great by Mariamne daughter of Simon the high priest, and was thus a step-brother of Herod Antipas (cf Jos, *Ant*, XVIII, v, 4). It is suggested in explanation of the discrepancy (1) that Herod, son of Mariamne, bore a second name Philip, or (2) that there is confusion in the Gospels with Herod-Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, who was the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra, and who was in reality the husband of Salome, daughter of Herodias (cf also A. B. Bruce, *Expos Gr Test.*, I, 381; A. C. Headlam, art. "Herod" in *HDB*, II, 359, 360). According to Jos (*Ant*, VIII, vii, 2; XVIII, vii, 1) the ambition of Herodias proved the ruin of Herod Antipas. Being jealous of the power of Agrippa her brother, she induced Herod to demand of Caligula the title of king. This was refused through the machinations of Agrippa, and Herod was banished. But the pride of Herodias kept her still faithful to her husband in his misfortune.

C. M. Kerr

HERODION, hḗ-rō′di-on (Ἡρωδίων, *Hērōdíōn;* WH Ἡρῳδίων): A Rom Christian to whom Paul sent greetings (Rom **16** 11). The name seems to imply that he was a freedman of the Herods, or a member of the household of Aristobulus, the grandson of Herod the Great (ver 10). Paul calls him "my kinsman," i.e. "a Jew" (see Junias, 1).

HERON, her′un (אֲנָפָה, *'ănāphāh;* χαραδριός, *charadriós;* Lat *Ardea cinerea*): Herons are mentioned only in the abomination lists of Lev **11** 19 (m "ibis") and Dt **14** 18. They are near relatives of crane, stork, ibis and bittern. These birds, blue, white or brown, swarmed in Europe and wintered around Merom, along the Jordan, at the headwaters of the Jabbok and along its marshy bed in the dry season. Herons of Southern Africa that summered in the Holy Land loved to nest on the banks of Merom, and raise their young among the bulrushes, papyrus, reeds and water grasses, although it is their usual habit to build in large trees. The white herons were small, the blue, larger, and the brown, close to the same size. The blue were 3½ ft. in length, and had a 5-ft. sweep. The beak, neck and legs constituted two-thirds of the length of the body, which is small, lean and bony, taking its appearance of size from its long loose feathers. Moses no doubt forbade these birds as an article of diet, because they ate fish and in older specimens would be tough, dark and evil smelling. The very poor of our western and southeastern coast states eat them.

Gene Stratton-Porter


Heron (*Ardea cinerea*).

HESED, hē′sed, **SON OF.** See Ben-hesed.

HESHBON, hesh′bon (חֶשְׁבּוֹן, *ḥeshbōn;* Ἑσεβών, *Hesebôn*): The royal city of Sihon king of the Amorites, taken and occupied by the Israelites under Moses (Nu **21** 25 f, etc). It lay on the southern border of Gad (Josh **13** 26), and was one of the cities fortified by Reuben (Nu **32** 37). It is reckoned among the cities of Gad given to the Merarite Levites (Josh **21** 39). In later lit. (Isa **15** 4; **16** 8 f; Jer **48** 2.34.45; **49** 3) it is referred to as a city of Moab. It passed again into Jewish hands, and is mentioned by Jos (*Ant,* XIII, xv, 4) as among their possessions in the country of Moab under Alexander Jannaeus. The city with its district called Hesebonitis, was also under the jurisdiction of Herod the Great (*Ant,* XV, vii, 5, where it is described as lying in the Peraea). *Onom* places it 20 Rom miles from the Jordan. It is represented by the modern *Ḥesbān,* a ruined site in the mountains over against Jericho, about 16 miles E. of the Jordan. It stands on the edge of *Wādy Ḥesbān* in a position of great strength, about 600 ft. above *'Ain Ḥesbān.* The ruins, dating mainly from Rom times, spread over two hills, respectively 2,930 ft. and 2,954 ft. in height. There are remains of a temple overlooked from the W. by those of a castle. There is also a large ruined reservoir; while the spring in the valley forms a succession of pools (Cant **7** 4). The city is approached from the valley by a steep path passing through a cutting in the rock, which may have been closed by a gate (Conder, *Heth and Moab,* 142). On a hill to the W., *el-Kurmīyeh,* is a collection of dolmens and stone circles (Musil, *Arabia Petraea,* I, 383 ff).

W. Ewing

HESHMON, hesh′mon (חֶשְׁמוֹן, *ḥeshmōn*): An unidentified place on the border of Judah toward Edom (Josh **15** 27). This may have been the original home of the Hasmoneans.

HETH, ḥāth (ח): The eighth letter of the Heb alphabet; transliterated in this Encyclopaedia as *ḥ* (guttural *h*). It came also to be used for the number 8. For name, etc, see Alphabet.

HETH, heth (חֵת, *ḥēth*): In Gen **23** 10 the ancestor of the Hittites. As the various peoples who occupied Canaan were thought to belong to one stock, Gen **10** 15 (1 Ch **1** 13) makes Heth the (2d) son of Canaan. In Gen **23** the "sons of Heth" occupy Hebron, but they were known to have come there from the north. A reference to this seems to be preserved in the order of the names in Gen **10** 15.16, where Heth is placed between Sidon and the Jebusites. See Hittites.

HETHLON, heth′lon (חֶתְלוֹן, *ḥethlōn;* Pesh *ḥethrōn*): Name of a place associated with Zedad on the ideal northern boundary of Israel, as given in Ezk **47** 15 and **48** 1, but not named in Nu **34** 8, while the LXX evidently tr^{d} the text it had. In accordance with the opinion they hold as to the boundary line of Northern Israel, van Kasteren and Buhl seek to identify Hethlon with *'Adlun* on the river *Qasmiyeh.* Much more in harmony with the line of the other border towns given is its identification with *Heitala* to the N.E. of Tripoli. The "way of Hethlon" would then coincide with the Eleutherus valley, between Homs and the Mediterranean, through which the railway now runs, and to this identification the LXX seems to give testimony, indicating some path of "descent" from the *Biqa'a.*

W. M. Christie

HEWER, hū′ẽr (חֹטֵב, *ḥōṭēbh*): Applies esp. to a wood-worker or wood-gatherer (cf Arab. *ḥaṭṭāb,* "a woodman") (Josh **9** 21.23.27; 2 Ch **2** 10; Jer **46** 22). Gathering wood, like drawing water, was a menial task. Special servants were assigned to the work (Dt **29** 11). Joshua set the Gibeonites to hewing wood and drawing water as a punishment for their trickery, whereas were it not for the oath which the Israelites had sworn, the Gibeonites would probably have been killed. See Drawer of Water.

חָצַב, *ḥāçabh*, from the root "to cut" or "to carve," applies to hewers of stone in 1 K **5** 15; 2 K **12** 12; 1 Ch **22** 15; 2 Ch **2** 18.

James A. Patch

HEXATEUCH, hek′sa-tūk:

1. Evidence for

This word, formed on the analogy of Pentateuch, Heptateuch, etc, is used by modern writers to denote the first six books of the Bible (i.e. the Law and Josh) collectively. Many critics hold that these six books were composed out of the sources JEP, etc (on which see Pentateuch), and only separated very much later into different works. The main grounds for this belief are: (1) the obvious fact that Josh provides the sequel to the Pent, narrating the conquest and settlement in Canaan to which the latter work looks forward, and (2) certain material and stylistic resemblances. The composition of the respective works is considered in the arts. Pentateuch and Joshua.

2. Evidence against

Here we must glance at the evidence against the theory of a Hexateuch. It is admitted that there is no trace of any such work as the Hexateuch anywhere in tradition. The Jewish Canon places the Pent in a separate category from Josh. The Samaritans went farther and adopted the Pent alone. The orthography of the two works differs in certain important particulars (see E. König, *Einleitung*, 151 f, 250). Hence a different literary history has to be postulated for the two works, even by those who adopt the theory of a Hexateuch. But that theory is open to objection on other grounds. There are grave differences of opinion among its supporters as to whether all the supposed Pentateuchal documents are present in Josh, and in any case it is held that they are quite differently worked up, the redactors having proceeded on one system in the Pent and on quite another in Josh. Arguments are given in the art. Pentateuch to show the presence of Mosaic and pre-Mosaic elements in the Pent and the unsoundness of the documentary theory in that work, and if these be correct the theory of a Hexateuch necessarily falls to the ground.

For Bibliography see Pentateuch; Joshua.

Harold M. Wiener

HEZEKI, hez′ē-kī (חִזְקִי, *ḥizḳī*). See Hizki.

HEZEKIAH, hez-ē-kī′a (חִזְקִיָּה, *ḥizḳīyāh*):

(1) King of Judah. See special art.

(2) A son of Neariah, of the royal family of Judah (1 Ch **3** 23, RV "Hizkiah").

(3) An ancestor of Zephaniah (Zeph **1** 1, AV "Hizkiah").

(4) One of the returned exiles from Babylon (Ezr **2** 16; Neh **7** 21).

HEZEKIAH (חִזְקִיָּה, *ḥizḳīyāh*, "Jeh has strengthened"; also written חִזְקִיָּהוּ, *ḥizḳīyāhū*, "Jeh has strengthened him"; **Ἐζεκίας,** *Hezekías*): One of the greatest of the kings of Judah; reigned (according to the most self-consistent chronology) from c 715 to c 690 BC.

OT Estimate

On the OT standard of loyalty to Jeh he is eulogized by Jesus Sirach as one of the three kings who alone did not "commit trespass" (Sir **49** 4), the other two being David and Josiah. The Chronicler represents him (2 Ch **32** 31) as lapsing from the wisdom of piety only by his vainglory in revealing the resources of his realm to the envoys of Merodach-baladan. In 2 K **18** 5, the earliest estimate, his special distinction, beyond all other Judaean kings, before or after, was that he "trusted in Jeh, the God of Israel." It is as the king who "clave to Jeh" (2 K **18** 6) that the Heb mind sums up his royal and personal character.

I. Sources for His Life and Times.—

1. Scripture Annals

The historical accounts in 2 K **18–20** and 2 Ch **29–32** are derived in the main from the same state annals, though the latter seems also to have had the Temple archives to draw upon. For "the rest of his acts," 2 K refers to a source then still in existence but now lost, "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah" (2 K **20** 20), and 2 Ch to "the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Ch **32** 32). In this last-named source (if this is the original of our Book of Isa), besides the warnings and directions called out by the course of the history, there is a narrative section (Isa **36–39**) recounting the Sennacherib crisis much as do the other histories, but incorporating also a passage of Isaianic prophecy (**37** 22–32) and a "writing of Hezekiah king of Judah" (**38** 10–20). Lastly, in Sir **48** 17–25, there is a summary of the good and wise deeds of Hezekiah, drawn from the accounts that we already have.

2. Viewpoint and Coloring

Of these sources the account in 2 K is most purely annalistic, originating at a time when religious and political values, in the Heb mind, were inseparable. In 2 Ch the religious coloring, esp. in its later developed ritual and legal aspects, has the decided predominance. Sirach, with the mind of a man of letters, is concerned mainly with eulogizing H. in his "praise of famous men" (cf Sir **44–50**), of course from the devout Heb point of view. In the vision of Isaiah (Isa **1–39**), we have the reflection of the moral and spiritual situation in Jerus, as realized in the fervid prophetic consciousness; and in the prophecy of his younger contemporary Micah, the state of things in the outlying country districts nearest the path of invasion, where both the iniquities of the ruling classes and the horrors of war were felt most keenly. Doubtless also many devotional echoes of these times of stress are deducible from the Pss, so far as we can fairly identify them.

3. Side-Lights

It is in Hezekiah's times esp. that the Assyr inscriptions become illuminating for the history of Israel; for one important thing they furnish certain fixed dates to which the chronology of the times can be adjusted. Of Sennacherib's campaign of 701, for instance, no fewer than six accounts are at present known (see G. A. Smith, *Jerus*, II, 154, n.), the most detailed being the "Taylor Cylinder," now in the British Museum, which in the main agrees, or at least is not inconsistent, with the Scripture history.

II. Events of His Reign.—

1. His Heritage

From his weak and unprincipled father Ahaz (cf 2 Ch **28** 16–25), Hezekiah inherited not only a disorganized realm but a grievous burden of Assyr dominance and tribute, and the constant peril and suspense of greater encroachments from that arrogant and arbitrary power: the state of things foretold in Isa **7** 20; **8** 7 f. The situation was aggravated by the fact that not only the nation's weakness but its spiritual propensities had incurred it: the dominant classes were aping the sentiments, fashions and cultus of the East (cf Isa **2** 6–8), while the neglected common people were exposed to the corruptions of the still surviving heathenism of the land. The realm, in short, was at the spiritual nadir-point from which prophets like Isaiah and Micah were laboring to bring about the birth of a true Heb conscience and faith. Their task was a hard one: with a nation smear-eyed, dull-eared, fat-hearted (Isa **6** 10), whose religion was a precept of men learned by rote (Isa **29** 13). Clearly, from this point of view, a most difficult career was before him.

2. Religious Reform

The sense of this unspiritual state of things furnishes the best keynote of Hezekiah's reforms in religion, which according to the Chronicler he set about as soon as he came to the throne (2 Ch **29** 3). It is the Chronicler who gives the fullest account of these reforms (2 Ch **29–31**); naturally, from his priestly point of view and access to ecclesiastical archives. Hezekiah began with the most pressing constructive need, the opening and cleansing of the Temple, which his father Ahaz had left closed and desecrated (2 Ch **28** 24), and went on to the reorganization of its liturgical and choral service. In connection with this work he appointed a Passover observance, which, on a scale and spirit unknown since Solomon (2 Ch **30** 26), he designed as a religious reunion of the devout-minded in all Israel, open not only to Jerus and Judah, but to all who would accept his invitation from Samaria, Galilee, and beyond the Jordan (2 Ch **30** 5–12.18). The immediate result of the enthusiasm engendered by this Old Home Week was a vigorous popular movement of iconoclasm against the idolatrous high places of the land. That this was no weak fanatical impulse to break something, but a touch of real spiritual quickening, seems evidenced by one incident of it: the breaking up of Moses' old brazen serpent and calling it what it had come to mean, *n^eḥushtān*, "a piece of brass" (2 K **18** 4); the movement seems in fact to have had in it the sense, however crude, that old religious forms had become hurtful and effete superstitions, hindering spirituality. Nor could the movement stop with the old fetich. With it went the demolition of the high places themselves and the breaking down of the pillars (*maççēbhōth*) and felling of the sacred groves (*'ăshērāh*), main symbols these of a debasing nature-cult. This reform, on account of later reactions (see under MANASSEH), has been deemed ineffective; rather, its effects were inward and germinal; nor were they less outwardly than could reasonably be expected, before its meanings were more deepened and centralized.

3. Internal Improvements

All this, on the king's part, was his response to the spiritual influence of Isaiah, with whose mind his own was sincerely at one. As a devout disciple in the school of prophetic ideas, he earnestly desired to maintain the prophet's insistent attitude of "quietness and confidence" (cf Isa **30** 15), that is, of stedfast trust in Jeh alone, and of abstinence from revolt and entangling alliances with foreign powers. This, however, in the stress and suspense of the times, did not preclude a quiet preparation for emergencies; and doubtless the early years of his reign were notable, not only for mild and just administration throughout his realm, but for measures looking to the fortifying and defence of the capital. His work of repairing and extending the walls and of strengthening the citadel (Millo), as mentioned in 2 Ch **32** 5, had probably been in progress long before the Assyr crisis was imminent. Nor was he backward in coming to an understanding with other nations, as to the outlook for revolt against Assyria. He could not learn his lesson of faith all at once, esp. with a factious court pulling the other way. He did not escape the suspicion of Sargon (d. 705), who for his Egyp leanings counted him among the "plotters of sedition" (cf *COT*, 100); while the increasing prosperity and strength of his realm marked him for a leading rôle in an eventual uprising. He weathered at least one chance of rebellion, however, in 711, probably through the strenuous exertions of Isaiah (see Isa **20** 1 ff).

4. The Assyrian Crisis

Hezekiah's opportunity to rise against Assyr domination seems to have been taken about 704. How so pious a king came to do it in spite of Isaiah's strenuous warnings, both against opposition to Assyria and alliance with other powers, is not very clear. The present writer ventures to suggest the view that the beginning was forced or perhaps sprung upon him by his princes and nobles. In the year before, Sargon, dying, had left his throne to Sennacherib, and, as at all ancient changes of sovereignty, this was the signal for a general effort for independence on the part of subject provinces. That was also the year of Hezekiah's deadly illness (2 K **20**; Isa **38**), when for a time we know not how long he would be incapacitated for active administration of affairs. Not unlikely on his recovery he found his realm committed beyond withdrawal to an alliance with Egypt and perhaps the leadership of a coalition with Philistia; in which case personally he could only make the best of the situation. There was nothing for it but to confirm this coalition by force, which he did in his Phili campaign mentioned in 2 K **18** 8. Meanwhile, in the same general uprising, the Chaldaean Merodach-baladan, who had already been expelled from Babylon after an 11-year reign (721–710), again seized that throne; and in due time envoys from him appeared in Jerus, ostensibly to congratulate the king on his recovery from his illness, but really to secure his aid and alliance against Assyria (2 K **20** 12–15; Isa **39** 1–4). Hezekiah, flattered by such distinguished attention from so distant and powerful a source, by revealing his resources committed what the Chronicler calls the one impious indiscretion of his life (2 Ch **32** 31), incurring also Isaiah's reproof and adverse prediction (2 K **20** 17 f; Isa **39** 6 f). The conflict with Sennacherib was now inevitable; and Hezekiah, by turning the water supply of Jerus from the Gihon spring to a pool within the walls and closing it from without, put the capital in readiness to stand a siege. The faith evoked by this wise work, confirmed by the subsequent deliverance, is reflected in Ps **46**. That this incurring of a hazardous war, however, with its turmoils and treacheries, and the presence of uncouth Arab mercenaries, was little to the king's desire or disposition, seems indicated in Ps **120**, which with the other Songs of Degrees (Pss **120–34**) may well reflect the religious faith of this period of Hezekiah's life.

Pool of Hezekiah.

5. Invasion and Deliverance

The critical moment came in 701, when Sennacherib, who the year before had reconquered Babylon and expelled Merodach-baladan (perhaps Isa **21** 1–9 refers to this), was free to invade his rebellious provinces in the W. It was a vigorous and sweeping campaign; in which, beginning with Sidon and advancing down through the coast lands, he speedily subdued the Phili cities, defeating them and their southern allies (whether these were from Egypt proper or from its extension across the Sinai peninsula and Northern Arabia, Muçri, is not quite clear) at Eltekeh; in which campaign, according to his inscription, he took 46 walled towns belonging to Judah with their spoil and deported over 200,000 of their inhabitants. This, which left Jerus a blockaded town (in fact he says of Hezekiah: "Himself I shut up like a bird in a cage in Jerus his royal city"), seems referred to in Isa **1** 7–9 and predicted in Isa **6** 11 f. Its immediate effect was to bring Hezekiah to terms and extort an enormous tribute (2 K **18** 14–16). When later, however, he was treacherous enough to disregard the compact thus implied (perhaps Isa ch **33** refers to this), and demanded the surrender of the city (2 K **18** 17—**19** 7; Isa **36** 2—**37** 7), Hezekiah besought the counsel of Isaiah, who bade him refuse the demand, and predicted that Sennacherib would "hear tidings" and return to his own land; which prediction actually came to pass, and suddenly Hezekiah found himself free. A deliverance so great, and so signally vindicating the forthputting of faith, could not but produce a momentous revulsion in the nation's mind, like a new spiritual birth in which the faith of the "remnant" became a vital power in Israel; its immediate effect seems portrayed in Ps **124** and perhaps Ps **126**, and its deep significance as the birth of a nation in a day seems summarized long afterward in Isa **66** 7–9; cf **37** 3; 2 K **19** 3.

6. The Second Summons

A second summons to surrender, sent from Libnah by letter (2 K **19** 1 ff; Isa **37** 8 ff), is treated by the Scripture historians as a later feature of the same campaign; but recent researches seem to make it possible, nay probable, that this belonged to another campaign of Sennacherib, when Taharka of Ethiopia (*Tirhākāh*, 2 K **19** 9; Isa **37** 9) came to power in Egypt, in 691. If this was so, there is room in Hezekiah's latter years for a decade of peace and prosperity (cf Ch **32** 22.23.27–30), and in Isaiah's old age for a collection and revision of his so wonderfully vindicated prophecies. The historians' evident union of two stories in one makes the new attitude with which this crisis was met, obscure; but the tone of confirmed confidence and courage seems decidedly higher. The discomfiture of Sennacherib in this case was brought about, not by a rumor of rebellions at home, but by an outbreak of plague (2 K **19** 35 f; Isa **37** 36 f), which event the Scripture writers interpreted as a miracle. The prophetic sign of deliverance (2 K **19** 29; Isa **37** 30) may be referred to the recovery of the devastated lands from the ravage inflicted by Sennacherib in his first campaign (cf also Ps **126** 5 f).

III. His Character.—Our estimate of Hezekiah's character is most consistently made by regarding him as a disciple of Isaiah, who was earnestly minded to carry out his prophetic ideas. As, however, these were to begin with only the initial ideas of a spiritual "remnant," the king's sympathies must needs be identified at heart, not with his imperious nobles and princes, but with a minority of the common people, whose religious faith did not become a recognizable influence in the state until after 701. In the meantime his zeal for purer worship and juster domestic administration, which made him virtually king of the remnant, made him a wise and sagacious prince over the whole realm. Isaiah's glowing prophecy (**32** 1–8) seems to be a Messianic projection of the saner and clearer-seeing era that his domestic policy adumbrated—a time when king and nobles rule in righteousness, when man can lean on man, when things good and evil are seen as they are and called by their right names. When it came to dealing with the foreign situation, however, esp. according to the Isaianic program, his task was exceedingly difficult, as it were a pioneer venture in faith. His effort to maintain an attitude of stedfast trust in Jeh, with the devout quietism which, though really its consistency and strength looked like a supine passivity, would lead his restlessly scheming nobles to regard him as a pious weakling; and not improbably they came to deem him almost a negligible quantity, and forced his hand into diplomacies and coalitions that were not to his mind. Some such insolent attitude of theirs seems to be portrayed in Isa **28** 14–22. This was rendered all the more feasible, perhaps, by the period of incapacitation that must have attended his illness, in the very midst of the nation's critical affairs. Isaiah's words (**33** 17 ff) may be an allusion at once to his essential kingliness, to the abeyance of its manifestation due to his disease, and to the constricted condition into which, meanwhile, the realm had fallen. This exceedingly critical episode of Hezekiah's career does not seem to have had its rights with students of the era. Considering the trials that his patient faith must have had, always at cross-purposes with his nobles (cf Ps **120** 6 f); that now by reason of his sickness they had the whip hand; that his disease cut him off not only from hope of life, but from association with men and access to the sanctuary (cf Isa **38** 10.11.12); that, as his son Manasseh was not born till three years within the fifteen now graciously added to his life (cf 2 K **21** 1), his illness seemed to endanger the very perpetuity of the Davidic dynasty, we have reason for regarding him as well-nigh a martyr to the new spiritual uprise of faith which Isaiah was laboring to bring about. In the Messianic ideal which, in Isaiah's sublime conception, was rising into personal form, it fell to his lot to adumbrate the first kingly stage, the stage of committal to Jeh's word and will and abiding the event. It was a cardinal element in that composite ideal which the Second Isaiah pushes to its ultimate in his portrayal of the servant of Jeh; another element, the element of sacrifice, has yet to be added. Meanwhile, as with the king so with his remnant-realm, the venture of faith is like a precipitation of spiritual vitality, or, as the prophet puts it, a new birth (cf Isa **26** 17 f; **37** 3; **66** 7 f, for the stages of it). The event of deliverance, not by men's policies but by Jeh's miraculous hand, was the speedy vindication of such trust; and the revulsion of the next decade witnessed a confirming and solidifying of spiritual integrity in the remnant which made it a factor to be reckoned with in the trying times that succeeded (see under MANASSEH). The date of Hezekiah's death (probably not long after 690) is not certainly known; nor of the death of his mentor Isaiah (tradition puts this by martyrdom under Manasseh); but if our view of his closing years is correct, the king's death crowned a consistent character of strength and spiritual stedfastness; while the unapproachable greatness of Isaiah speaks for itself.

IV. Reflection of His Age in Literature.—The sublime and mature utterances of Isaiah alone, falling in this time, are sufficient evidence that in Hezekiah's age, Israel reached its golden literary prime. Among the idealists and thinkers throughout the nation a new spiritual vigor and insight were awake. Of their fellowship was the king himself, who emulated the activity of his predecessor Solomon as patron of piety and letters. The compilation of the later Solomonic section of the Proverbs (Prov **25**–**29**), attributed to the "men of Hezekiah," indicates the value attached to the

1. Compilation and Revival

accumulations of the so-called Wisdom literature; and it is fair to assume that these men of Hezekiah did not stop with compiling, but stamped upon the body of Proverbs as a whole that sense of it as a philosophy of life which it henceforth bears, and perhaps added the introductory section, Prov **1–9**. Nor would a king so zealous for the organization and enrichment of the temple-worship (cf Isa **38** 20) be indifferent to its body of sacred song. It seems certain that his was, in all the nation's history, the greatest single agency in compiling and adapting the older Davidic Pss, and in the composition of new ones. Perhaps this union of collecting and creative work in psalmody is referred to in the mention of "the words of David, and of Asaph the seer" (2 Ch **29** 30). To Hezekiah himself is attributed one "writing" which is virtually a psalm, Isa **38** 20. The custom through all the history of hymnology (in our own day also) of adapting older compositions to new liturgical uses makes uncertain the identification of psalms belonging specifically to this period; still, many psalms of books ii and iii, and esp. those ascribed to Asaph and the sons of Korah, seem a close reflection of the spirit of the times. An interesting theory recently advanced (see Thirtle, *OT Problems*) that the fifteen Songs of the Steps ("Degrees" or "Ascents," Pss **120–34**) are a memorial of Hezekiah's fifteen added years, when as a sign the shadow went backward on the steps of Ahaz (2 K **20** 8–11), seems to reveal many remarkable echoes of that eventful time. Nor does it seem unlikely that with this first extensive collection of psalms the titles began to be added.

2. Of More Creative Strain

This literary activity of Hezekiah's time, though concerned largely with collecting and reviving the treasures of older literature, was pursued not in the cold scribal spirit, but in a fervid creative way. This may be realized in two of the psalms which the present writer ascribes to this period. Ps **49**, a psalm of the sons of Korah, is concerned to make an essential tenet of Wisdom viable in song (cf vs 3.4), as if one of the "men of Hezekiah" who is busy with the Solomonic counsels would popularize the spirit of his findings. Ps **78** in like manner, a Maschil of Asaph, is concerned to make the noble histories of old viable in song (ver 2), esp. the wilderness history when Israel received the law and beheld Jeh's wonders, and down to the time when Ephraim was rejected and Judah, in the person of David, was chosen to the leadership in Israel.

Such a didactic poem would not stand solitary in a period so instructed. As in Wisdom and psalmody, so in the domain of law and its attendant history, the literary activity was vigorous. This age of Hezekiah seems the likeliest time for putting into literary idiom that "book of the law" found later in the Temple (2 K **22**); which book Josiah's reforms, carried out according to its commands, prove to have been our Book of Dt. This is not the place to discuss the Deuteronomic problem (see under Josiah); it is fair to note here, however, that as compared with the austere statement of the Mosaic statutes elsewhere, this book has a literary art and coloring which seem to stamp its style as that of a later age than Moses', though its substance is Mosaic; and this age of Hezekiah seems the likeliest time to put its rewriting and adaptation. Nor did the new spirit of literary creation feed itself entirely on the past. The king's chastening experience of illness and trial, with the stedfast faith that upbore and survived it, must have been fruitful of new ideas, esp. of that tremendous conception, now just entering into thought, of the ministry of suffering. Time, of course, must be allowed for the ripening of an idea so full of involvement; and it is long before its sacrificial and atoning values come to light in such utterances as Isa **53**. But such psalms as **49** and **73**, not to mention Hezekiah's own psalm (Isa **38**), show that the problem was a living one; it was working, moreover, in connection with the growing Wisdom philosophy, toward the composition of the Book of Job, which in a masterly way both subjects the current Wisdom motives to a searching test and vindicates the intrinsic integrity of the patriarch in a discipline of extremest trial. The life of a king whose experience had some share in clarifying the ideas of such a book was not lived in vain.

John Franklin Genung

HEZEKIAH'S SICKNESS. See Dial of Ahaz.

HEZEKIAH, THE MEN OF: A body of men of letters to whom is ascribed the compilation of a supplementary collection of Solomonic proverbs (Prov **25** 1). See Proverbs, Book of, II, 5; Hezekiah, IV, 2.

HEZION, hē′zi-on (חֶזְיוֹן, *ḥezyōn;* LXX B, **Ἀζείν,** *Azeín,* A, **Ἀζαήλ,** *Azaḗl*): An ancestor of Ben-hadad, king of Syria (1 K **15** 18).

HEZIR, hē′zẽr:

(1) (חֵזִיר, *ḥēzīr;* LXX B, **Χηζείν,** *Chēzeín,* A, **Ἰεζείρ,** *Iezeír*): A Levite in the time of David (1 Ch **24** 15).

(2) (LXX **Ἡζείρ,** *Hēzeír*): A chief of the people in the time of Nehemiah (Neh **10** 20).

HEZRO, hez′rō, **HEZRAI,** hez′rā̇-ī, hez′rī (חֶזְרוֹ, *ḥezrō,* 2 S **23** 35; 1 Ch **11** 37, but the Ḳ^erē of 2 S **23** 35 is חֶזְרַי *ḥezray.* The ancient VSS almost unanimously support the form **Hezrai**): A Carmelite, i.e. an inhabitant of Carmel. See Carmelite. One of David's thirty "mighty men."

HEZRON, hez′ron (חֶצְרֹן, *ḥeçrōn,* and חֶצְרוֹן, *ḥeçrōn;* LXX **Ἀσρών,** *Asrōn*):

(1) A son of Reuben (Gen **46** 9; Ex **6** 14), and head of the family of the Hezronites (Nu **26** 6).

(2) A son of Perez, and grandson of Judah (Gen **46** 12; Nu **26** 21; 1 Ch **2** 5.9.18.21.24.25; **4** 1), a direct ancestor of David (Ruth **4** 18 f). He appears also in the genealogy of Our Lord (Ἑσρώμ, *Esrōm*) (Mt **1** 3; Lk **3** 33).

HEZRON (חֶצְרוֹן, *ḥeçrōn,* "inclosure"): On the S. boundary of Judah between "Kadesh-barnea" and "Addar" (Josh **15** 3); in the ‖ passage (Nu **34** 4) "Hazar-addar." The two places may have been near together. Conder suggests that the name survives in *Jebel Hadhîreh,* a mountain N.W. of Petra in the Tîh.

HEZRONITES, hez′ron-īts (הַחֶצְרוֹנִי and הַחֶצְרֹנִי, *ha-ḥeçrōnī;* LXX **ὁ Ἀσρωνεί,** *ho Asrōneí*): The name of the descendants of Hezron the son of Reuben (Nu **26** 6), and of the descendants of Hezron the son of Perez (**26** 21).

HIDDAI, hid′ā̇-i, hi-dā′ī (הִדַּי, *hidday;* Alex. **Ἁθθαί,** *Haththaí*): One of David's thirty "mighty men" (2 S **23** 30), described as "of the brooks of Gaash." In the ‖ list in 1 Ch **11** 32 the form of the name is "Hurai" (חוּרַי, *hūray*).

HIDDEKEL, hid′ĕ-kel (חִדֶּקֶל, *ḥiddeḳel*): One of the rivers of Eden (q.v.) (Gen **2** 14, RVm "that is, *Tigris*"; so LXX Τίγρις, *Tígris*), said to flow E. to Assyria, usually identified with the Tigris, which rises in Armenia near Lake Van and, after flowing S.E. through 8 degrees of latitude, joins the Euphrates in Babylonia to form the *Shatt el-'Arab,* which runs for 100 miles through a delta which has been formed since the time of Abraham, and now enters the Pers Gulf through 2 branches. About one-third of the distance below its source, and soon after it emerges from the mountains of Kurdistan, the Tigris passes by Mosul, the site of ancient Nineveh, and, lower down at Bagdad, approaches within a few miles of the Euphrates. Here and for many miles below, since the level is lower than that of the Euphrates, numerous canals are conducted to it, irrigating the most fertile portions of Babylonia. George Frederick Wright

HIDDEN, hid′′n: The tr of *ṭāman*, "to hide," "to bury" (Job **3** 16); of *çāphan* "to conceal," "store up" (**15** 20, "The number of years is hidden to the oppressor," RV "even the number of years that are laid up for the oppressor," m "and years that are numbered are laid up"; Job **24** 1, "Why, seeing times are not hidden from the Almighty," RV "Why are times not laid up by the Almighty?" m as AV with "Why is it?" prefixed; Ps **83** 3, "They consulted [RV "consult"] against thy hidden ones"); of *maçpūnīm* (from *çāphan*), "hidden things or places" (Ob ver 6, "How are his hidden things sought up!" RV "treasures," ARV "sought out"); of *pālā'*, "to be wonderful," "difficult" (Dt **30** 11, "This commandment . . . . is not hidden from thee," RV "too hard for thee," m "or wonderful"); of *ḥāphas*, Hithpael, "to hide one's self" (Prov **28** 12, RV "When the wicked rise, men hide themselves," m "Heb must be searched for"); of *kruptós*, "hidden," "secret" (1 Pet **3** 4, "the hidden man of the heart"; 1 Cor **4** 5, *krupton*, "the hidden things of darkness"; 2 Cor **4** 2, "the hidden things of dishonesty," RV "of shame"); of *apokrúptō*, "to hide away," trop., not to reveal or make known (1 Cor **2** 7, "But we speak God's wisdom in a mystery, even the wisdom that hath been hidden"; cf Eph **3** 9; Col **1** 26).

Among the occurrences of "hidden" in Apoc we have (2 Esd **16** 62), "The Spirit of Almighty God . . . . searcheth out all hidden things in the secrets of the earth," RV "He who made all things and searcheth out hidden things in hidden places"; Ecclus **42** 19, "revealing the steps [RV "traces"] of hidden things," *apókruphos;* ver 20, "Neither any word is hidden from him," RV "hid," *ekrúbē*).

W. L. Walker

HIEL, hī′el (חִיאֵל, *ḥī'ēl;* 'Αχιήλ, *Achiēl*): A Bethelite who according to 1 K **16** 34 rebuilt Jericho, and in fulfilment of a curse pronounced by Joshua (Josh **6** 26) sacrificed his two sons. This seems to have been a custom prevalent among primitive peoples, the purpose being to ward off ill luck from the inhabitants, esp. in a case where the destroyer had invoked a curse on him who presumed to rebuild. Numerous instances are brought to light in the excavations of Gezer (Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*, ch x). At first the very best was claimed as a gift to the deity, e.g. one's own sons; then some less valuable member of the community. When civilization prevented human sacrifice, animals were offered instead. The command to Abraham to present Isaac on the altar and the arresting of the sacrifice at one and the same time approved the dedication of the first born and condemned sacrifice as the method of the dedication. A similar instance is the offering of his eldest son by the king of Edom to appease the deity and win success in battle (2 K **3** 27; cf Mic **6** 7). Various conjectures have been made as to the identity of this king. Ewald regarded him as a man of wealth and enterprise (*unternehmender reicher Mann*); Cheyne following Niebuhr makes it Jehu in disguise, putting 1 K **16** 34 after 2 K **10** 33; Winckler explains as folklore. W. N. Stearns

HIERAPOLIS, hē-ēr-ap′ō-lis (Ἱεράπολις, *Hierápolis*, "sacred city"): As the name implies, Hierapolis was a holy city. It was situated 6 miles from Laodicea and twice that distance from Colossae, on the road from Sardis to Apamea. Though its history is not well known, it seems to have been of Lydian origin, and once bore the name of Kydrara. The Phrygian god Sabazios was worshipped there under the name Echidma, and represented by the symbol of the serpent. Other local deities were Leto and her son Lairbenos. Though called the holy city, Hierapolis was peculiarly regarded as the stronghold of Satan, for there was a Plutonium, or a hole reaching far down into the earth, from which there issued a vapor, even poisoning the birds flying above. It is supposed that upon a stool, deep in the Plutonium, a priest or priestess sat, and, when under the influence of the vapor, uttered prophecies valuable to those who sought them. Though a stronghold of Satan, Hierapolis early became a Christian city, for, according to Col **4** 13, the only place where it is mentioned in the NT, a church was founded there through the influence of Paul while he was at Ephesus. Tradition claims that Philip was the first evangelist to preach there, and it also claims that he and his two unmarried daughters were buried there; a third who was married, was buried at Ephesus. Several of the early Christians suffered martyrdom at Hierapolis, yet Christianity flourished, other churches were built, and during the 4th cent. the Christians filled the Plutonium with stones, thus giving evidence that the paganism had been entirely supplanted by the church. During the Rom period, Justinian made the city a metropolis, and it continued to exist into the Middle Ages. In the year 1190 Frederick Barbarossa fought with the Byzantines there.

The modern town is called *Pambuk Kalessi*, or cotton castle, not because cotton is raised in the vicinity, but because of the white deposit from the water of the calcareous springs. The springs were famous in ancient times because they were supposed to possess Divine powers. The water is tepid, impregnated with alum, but pleasant to the taste. It was used by the ancients for dyeing and medicinal purposes. The deposit of pure white brought up by the water from the springs has heaped itself over the surrounding buildings, nearly burying them, and stalactite formations, resembling icicles, hang from the ruins. The ruins, which are extensive, stand on a terrace, commanding an extensive view, and though they are partly covered by the deposit, one may still trace the city walls, the temple, several churches, the triumphal arch, the gymnasium and baths, and the most perfect theater in Asia Minor. Outside the walls are many tombs.

E. J. Banks

HIEREEL, hī-er′ē-el (Ἱερεήλ, *Hiereēl*): 1 Esd **9** 21. In Ezr **8** 9 the name is Jehiel.

HIERIELUS, hī-er-i-ē′lus ('Ιεζρίηλος, *Iezríēlos*). See Jezrielus.

HIEREMOTH, hī-er′ē-moth ('Ιερεμώθ, *Ieremôth*):

(1) 1 Esd **9** 27=Jeremoth (Ezr **10** 26).

(2) 1 Esd **9** 30=Jeremoth (Ezr **10** 29, m "and Ramoth").

HIERMAS, hī-ûr′mas (Ἱερμάς, *Hiermás*): 1 Esd **9** 26, corresponding to Ramiah in Ezr **10** 25.

HIGGAION, hi-gā′yon, hi-gī′on (הִגָּיוֹן, *higgāyōn*): The meaning of this word is uncertain. Two interpretations are possible; the one based on an allied Arab. root gives "a deep vibrating sound," the other derived from the Gr VSS of Ps **9** 16, where we read *higgāyōn Ṣelāh*, takes it to mean an instrumental interlude. See Psalms.

HIGH DAY: Is found in Gen **29** 7 as a rendering of the Heb יוֹם גָּדוֹל, *yōm gādhōl*, lit. "great day." The Heb means the day at its height, broad daylight, as contrasted with the time for getting the cattle to their sheds for the night (cf Fr. *grand jour*). In Jn **19** 31, "highday" renders *μεγάλη* ἡμέρα, *megálē hēméra*, lit. "great day," and refers to the Passover Sabbath—and therefore a Sabbath of special sanctity.

HIGHEST, hī'est (עֶלְיוֹן, *'elyōn;* **ὕψιστος,** *húpsistos*): The tr of *'elyōn,* used frequently of God and commonly tr^d "Most High" (Ps **18** 13, "The Highest gave his voice," RV "Most High"; **87** 5, "the highest himself," RV "Most High"; Ezk **41** 7, "the lowest [chamber] to the highest"); of *çammereth,* the foliage of a tree (as if the wool or hair of trees), "the highest branch" (Ezk **17** 3.22, RV "top," "lofty top"); of *rō'sh,* "head," "top" (Prov **8** 26, "the highest part of the dust of the world," AVm "the chief part," RV "the beginning of," m "sum"); *gappē mārōm,* "on the ridges of the heights" (Prov **9** 3, "the highest places of the city"); *ghābhō^{a}h mē'al gābhō^{a}h,* lit. "one high [powerful] who is above the high [oppressor]," is tr^d "he that is higher than the highest" (Eccl **5** 8), RV "one higher than the high [regardeth]." In the NT, *hupsistos* (like *'elyōn*) is used of God (Lk **1** 32, "the Son of the Highest," ver 35, "the power of the Highest," ver 76, "the prophet of the Highest"; **6** 35, "the children of the Highest," in these places RV has "Most High"); we have also "Hosanna in the highest" (Mt **21** 9; Mk **11** 10; see Hosanna), "Glory to God in the highest" (Lk **2** 14), "Glory in the highest" (Lk **19** 38); *prōtoklisía,* "the first reclining-place" (at table), the chief place at meals, the middle place in each couch of the *triclinium* (Robinson), is rendered (Lk **14** 8), "the highest room," RV "chief seat"; "room" was introduced by Tindale; Wiclif had "the first place"; *prōtokathedría* (*prôtos,* "first," *káthedra,* "seat"), "the first or chief seat," is rendered (Lk **20** 46) "the highest seats," RV "chief seats," Wiclif "the first chairs."

"The Highest" as a term for God appears (2 Esd **4** 11.34, RV "Most High"; Wisd **6** 3, *hupsistos;* Ecclus **28** 7, RV "Most High"). See also God, Names of.

W. L. Walker

HIGHMINDED, hī'mīnd-ed: In modern usage denotes elevation of mind in a good sense, but formerly it was used to denote upliftedness in a bad sense, pride, arrogance. It is the tr of *hupsēlophronéō,* "to be highminded," "proud," "haughty" (Rom **11** 20, "Be not highminded, but fear"; 1 Tim **6** 17, "Charge them that are rich . . . . that they be not highminded"); of *tuphóō* "to wrap in mist or smoke," trop., to wrap in conceit, to make proud, etc (2 Tim **3** 4, "Traitors, heady, highminded," RV "puffed up"; cf 1 Tim **3** 6; **6** 4). "No one can be *highminded* without thinking better of himself, and worse of others, than he ought to think" (Crabb, *English Synonymes*).

W. L. Walker

HIGH, MOST. See God, Names of.

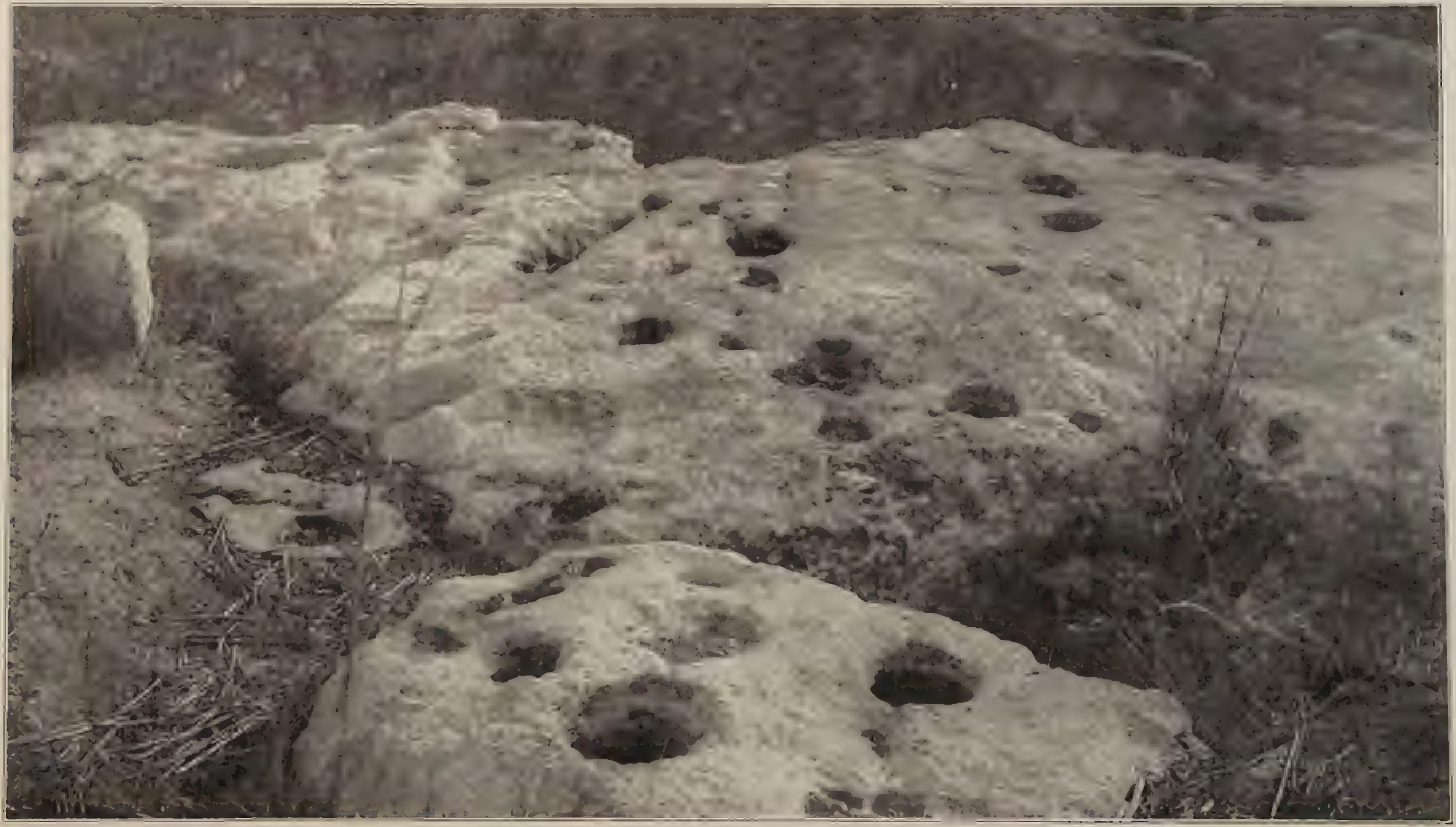
HIGH PLACE: (1) "High place" is the normal tr of בָּמָה, *bāmāh,* a word that means simply "elevation" (Jer **26** 18; Ezk **36** 2, etc; cf the use in Job **9** 8 of the waves of the sea. For the pl. as a proper noun see Bamoth). In AV of Ezk **16** 24.25.31.39, "high places" is the tr of רָמָה, *rāmāh* (RV "lofty places"), a common word (see Ramah) of exactly the same meaning, indistinguishable from *bāmāh* in ver 16. In three of these vs of Ezk (24.31.39) *rāmāh* is paralleled by גַּב, *gabh,* which again has precisely the same sense ("eminent place" in AV, ERV), and the "vaulted place" of ARV (ERVm) is in disregard of Heb parallelism. In particular, the high places are places of worship, specifically of *idolatrous* worship. So the title was transferred from the elevation to the sanctuary on the elevation (1 K **11** 7; **14** 23; cf the burning of the "high place" in 2 K **23** 15), and so came to be used of any idolatrous shrine, whether constructed on an elevation or not (note how in 2 K **16** 4; 2 Ch **28** 4 the "high places" are distinguished from the "hills"). So the "high places" in the cities (2 K **17** 9; 2 Ch **21** 11 [LXX]) could have stood anywhere, while in Ezk **16** 16 a portable structure seems to be in point. (2) The use of elevations for purposes of worship is so widespread as to be almost universal, and rests, probably, on motives so primitive as to evade formal analysis. If any reason is to be assigned, the best seems to be that to dwellers in hilly country the heaven appears to rest on the ridges and the sun to go forth from them—but such reasons are certainly insufficient to explain everything. Certain it is that Israel, no less than her neighbors, found special sanctity in the hills. Not only was Sinai the "Mount of God," but a long list can be drawn up of peaks that have a special relation to Jeh (see Mount, Mountain; and for the NT, cf Mk **9** 2; He **12** 18–24, etc). And the choice of a hilltop for the Temple was based on considerations other than convenience and visibility. (But *bāmāh* is not used of the Temple Mount.)

1. General

Tell Taanach (a Typical Canaanite High Place).

2. Description

Archaeological research, particularly at Petra and Gezer, aided by the OT notices, enables us to reconstruct these sanctuaries with tolerable fulness. The cult was not limited to the summit of the hill but took place also on the slopes, and the objects of the cult might be scattered over a considerable area. The most sacred objects were the upright stone pillars (*maççēbhāh*), which seem to have been indispensable. (Probably the simplest "high places" were only a single upright stone.) They were regarded as the habitation of the deity, but, none the less, were usually many in number (a fact that in no way need implicate a plurality of deities). At one time they were the only altars, and even at a later period, when the altar proper was used, libations were sometimes poured on the pillars directly. The altars were of various shapes, according to their purpose (incense, whole burnt offerings, etc), but were always accompanied by one or more pillars. Saucer-shaped depressions, into which sacrifices could be poured, are a remnant of very primitive rites (to this day in Samaria the paschal lamb is cooked in a pit). The trees of the high place, esp. the "terebinths" (oaks?), were sacred, and their number could be supplemented or their absence supplied by an artificial tree or pole (*'ăshērāh,* the "grove" of AV). (Of course the original meaning of the pillar and asherah was not always known to the worshipper.) An amusing feature of the discoveries is that these objects were often of minute size, so that the gods could be gratified at a minimum of expense to the worshipper. Images (ephods?; the *t^{e}rāphīm* were *household* objects, normally) are certain, but in Pal no remnants exist (the little Bes and Astarte figures were



ROCK ALTARS AT TELL EL-MUTASELLIM—MEGIDDO

not idols used in worship). Other necessary features of a high place of the larger size were ample provision of water for lustral purposes, kitchens where the sacrifices could be cooked (normally by boiling), and tables for the sacrificial feasts. Normally, also, the service went on in the open air, but slight shelters were provided frequently for some of the objects. If a regular priest was attached to the high place (not always the case), his dwelling must have been a feature, unless he lived in some nearby village. Huts for those practising incubation (sleeping in the sanctuary to obtain revelations through dreams) seem not to have been uncommon. But formal temples were very rare and "houses of the high places" in 1 K **12** 31; **13** 32; 2 K **17** 29.32; **23** 19 may refer only to the slighter structures just mentioned (see the comm.). In any case, however, the boundaries of the sanctuary were marked out, generally by a low stone wall, and ablutions and removal of the sandals were necessary before the worshipper could enter.

Pillars and Hollow Stone of the High Place at Gezer. [*Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer.*]

For the ritual, of course, there was no uniform rule. The gods of the different localities were different, and in Pal a more or less thorough rededication of the high places to Jeh had taken place. So the service might be anything from the orderly worship of Jeh under so thoroughly an accredited leader as Samuel (1 S **9** 11–24) to the wildest orgiastic rites. That the worship at many high places was intensely licentious is certain (but it must be emphasized against the statements of many writers that there is no evidence for a *specific* phallic cult, and that the explorations have revealed no unmistakable phallic emblems). The gruesome cemetery for newly born infants at Gezer is only one of the proofs of the prevalence of child-sacrifice, and the evidence for human sacrifice in other forms is unfortunately only too clear. See Gezer, and illustration on p. 1224.

3. History

(1) The opposition to the high places had many motives. When used for the worship of other gods their objectionable character is obvious, but even the worship of Jeh in the high places was intermixed with heathen practices (Hos **4** 14, etc). In Am **5** 21–24, etc, sacrifice in the high places is denounced because it is regarded as a substitute for righteousness in exactly the same way that sacrifice in the Temple is denounced in Jer **7** 21–24. Or, sacrifice in the high places may be denounced under the best of conditions, because in violation of the law of the one sanctuary (2 Ch **33** 17, etc).

(2) In 1 S, sacrifice outside of Jerus is treated as an entirely normal thing, and Samuel presides in one such case (1 S **9** 11–24). In 1 K the practice of using high places is treated as legitimate before the construction of the Temple (1 K **3** 2–4), but after that it is condemned unequivocally. The primal sin of Northern Israel was the establishment of high places (1 K **12** 31–33; **13** 2.33 f), and their continuance was a chief cause of the evils that came to pass (2 K **17** 10 f), while worship in them was a characteristic of the mongrel throng that repopulated Samaria (2 K **17** 32). So Judah sinned in building high places (1 K **14** 23), but the editor of K notes with obvious regret that even the pious kings (Asa, 1 K **15** 14; Jehoshaphat, **22** 43; Jehoash, 2 K **12** 3; Amaziah, **14** 4; Azariah, **15** 4; Jotham, **15** 35) did not put them away; i.e. the editor of K has about the point of view of Dt **12** 8–11, according to which sacrifice was not to be restricted to Jerus until the country should be at peace, but afterward the restriction should be absolute. The practice had been of such long standing that Hezekiah's destruction of the high places (2 K **18** 4) could be cited by Rabshakeh as an act of apostasy from Jeh (2 K **18** 22; 2 Ch **32** 12; Isa **36** 7). Under Manasseh they were rebuilt, in connection with other idolatrous practices (2 K **21** 3–9). This act determined the final punishment of the nation (vs 10–15), and the root-and-branch reformation of Josiah (ch **23**) came too late. The attitude of the editor of Ch is still more condemnatory. He explains the sacrifice at Gibeon as justified by the presence of the Tabernacle (1 Ch **16** 39; **21** 29; 2 Ch **1** 3.13), states that God-fearing northerners avoided the high places (2 Ch **11** 16; cf 1 K **19** 10.14), and (against K) credits Asa (2 Ch **14** 3.5) and Jehoshaphat (2 Ch **17** 6) with their removal. (This last notice is also in contradiction with 2 Ch **20** 33, but **16** 17*a* is probably meant to refer to the Northern Kingdom, despite 17*b*.) On the other hand, the construction of high places is added to the sins of Jehoram (2 Ch **21** 11) and of Ahaz (2 Ch **28** 4.5).

(3) Among the prophets, Elijah felt the destruction of the many altars of God as a terrible grief (1 K **19** 10.14). Amos and Hosea each mention the high places by name only once (Am **7** 9; Hos **10** 8), but both prophets have only denunciation for the sacrificial practices of the Northern Kingdom. That, however, these sacrifices were offered in the wrong *place* is not said. Isa has nothing to say about the high places, except in **36** 7, while Mic **1** 5 equates the sins of Jerus with those of the high places (if the text is right), but promises the exaltation of Jerus (**4** 1 f). In the references in Jer **7** 31; **19** 5; **32** 35; Ezk **6** 3.6; **16** 16; **20** 29; **43** 7, idolatry or abominable practices are in point (so probably in Jer **17** 3, while Jer **48** 35 and Isa **16** 12 refer to non-Israelites).

(4) The interpretation of the above data and their historical import depend on the critical position taken as to the general history of Israel's religion. See Religion of Israel; Criticism; Deuteronomy, etc.

Literature.—See, esp., Idolatry, and also Altars; Asherah, etc. For the archaeological lit., see Palestine.

Burton Scott Easton

HIGH PRIEST. See Priest, High.

HIGH THINGS: The tr of *hupsēlós*, "high," "lofty," "elevated" (Rom **12** 16, "Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate," AVm "be contented with mean things," RV "Set not your mind on high things, but condescend to [m "Gr be carried away with"] things [m "them"] that are lowly"); high things are *proud things*, things regarded by the world as high.

High thing is *húpsōma*, "a high place," "elevation," etc (2 Cor **10** 5, "casting down every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God," "like a lofty tower or fortress built up proudly by the enemy"). In Jth **10** 8; **13** 4, *hupsōma* is rendered "exaltation." W. L. Walker

HIGHWAY, hī′wā. See Road; Way.

HILEN, hī′len (הִילֵן, *ḥīlēn*): A city in the hill country of Judah, probably W. or S.W. of Hebron, assigned with its suburbs to the Levites (1 Ch **6** 58 [Heb 43]). The form of the name in Josh **15** 51; **21** 15 is Holon (q.v.).

HILKIAH, hil-kī′a (חִלְקִיָּה, *ḥilḳīyāh,* "Jeh is my portion" or "Jeh's portion"): The name of 8 individuals in the OT or 7, if the person mentioned in Neh **12** 7.21 was the same who stood with Ezra at the reading of the Law (Neh **8** 4). The latter appears as Ezecias (AV) in 1 Esd **9** 43. Five of this name are clearly associated with the priesthood, and the others are presumably so. The etymology suggests this. Either interpretation of the name expresses the person's claim on Jeh or the parents' recognition of Jeh's claim on him.

(1) The person mentioned above (Neh **8** 4, etc).

(2) A Levite of the sons of Merari (1 Ch **6** 45).

(3) Another Levite of Merari, son of Hosah (1 Ch **26** 11). Is he the "porter," i.e. "doorkeeper" of 1 Ch **16** 38?

(4) Father of the Gemariah whom Zedekiah of Judah sent to Nebuchadnezzar (Jer **29** 3).

(5) The man in 2 K **18** 18 ff who is evidently more famous as the father of Eliakim, the majordomo of Hezekiah's palace (Isa **22** 20 ff; **36** 3 ff). Probably the father's name is given in this and similar cases to distinguish between two persons of otherwise identical name.

(6) A priest of Anathoth, father of Jeremiah (Jer **1** 1).

(7) The son of Shallum, and the best known of the name (1 Ch **6** 13). He is great-grandfather of Ezra through his son Azariah (1 Esd **8** 1; cf 1 Ch **9** 11; Neh **11** 11). He discovered the lost Book of the Law during the repairing of the Temple (2 K **22** 4.8 ff); became chief leader in the ensuing reformation in 621 BC (2 K **23** 4; 2 Ch **34** 9 ff; **35** 8). He showed the recovered book to Shaphan the scribe, who, in turn, brought it to the notice of the king. At Josiah's request he led a deputation to Huldah the prophetess to "enquire of the Lord" concerning the new situation created by the discovery. The book discovered is usually identified with the Book of Dt. See Deuteronomy.

Henry Wallace

HILL, HILL COUNTRY, hil′ kun-tri: The common tr of three Heb words:

(1) גִּבְעָה, *gibh'āh,* from root meaning "to be curved," is almost always trd "hill"; it is a peculiarly appropriate designation for the very rounded hills of Pal; it is never used for a range of mountains. Several times it occurs as a place-name, "Gibeah of Judah" (Josh **15** 20.57); "Gibeah of Benjamin" or "Saul" (Jgs **19** 12-16, etc); "Gibeah of Phinehas" (Josh **24** 33 m), etc (see Gibeah). Many such hills were used for idolatrous rites (1 K **14** 23; 2 K **17** 10; Jer **2** 20, etc).

(2) הַר, *har,* frequently trd in AV "hill," is in RV usually trd "mountain" (cf Gen **7** 19; Josh **15** 9; **18** 15 f, and many other references), or "hill-country." Thus we have the "hill-country of the Amorites" (Dt **1** 7.19.20); the "hill-country of Gilead" (Dt **3** 12); the "hill-country of Ephraim" (Josh **17** 15.16.18; **19** 50; **20** 7, etc); the "hill-country of Judah" (Josh **11** 21; **20** 7; **21** 11; 2 Ch **27** 4, etc; and [ἡ ὀρεινή, *hē oreinḗ*] Lk **1** 39.65); the "hill-country of Naphtali" (Josh **20** 7). For geographical descriptions see Palestine; Country; Ephraim; Judah, etc.

(3) עֹפֶל, *'ōphel,* is trd by "hill" in 2 K **5** 24; Isa **32** 14; Mic **4** 8, but may possibly mean "tower" or "fort." In other passages the word occurs with the art. as a place-name. See Ophel.

E. W. G. Masterman

HILL, MOUNT, MOUNTAIN:

1. Names (1) The commonest word is הַר, *har* (also הָרָר, *hārār,* and הֶרֶר, *herer*), which is rendered "hill," "mount," or "mountain." It occurs several hundreds of times.

In a number of places RV changes "hill" to "mountain," e.g. Gen **7** 19, mountains covered by flood; Ex **24** 4, Horeb; Josh **18** 14, mountain before Beth-horon; Jgs **16** 3, mountain before Hebron; Ps **95** 4, "The heights of the mountains are his also"; **121** 1, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the mountains." "Hill" remains in Dt **11** 11, "land of hills and valleys"; 1 K **20** 23, "god of the hills"; Ps **2** 6, "my holy hill of Zion"; **98** 8, "hills sing for joy." "Mount" is changed to "hill-country" in Dt **1** 7, "hill-country of the Amorites"; Jgs **12** 15, "hill-country of the Amalekites"; Dt **3** 12, "hill-country of Gilead"; but Gen **31** 21, "mountain of Gilead"; and Jgs **7** 3, "Mount Gilead." "Hill" or "hills" is changed to "hill-country" in Dt **1** 7; Josh **9** 1; **10** 40; **11** 16; **17** 16; **21** 11. In Dt **1** 41.43, ARV changes "hill" to "hill-country," while ERV has "mountain." The reasons for these differences of treatment are not in all cases apparent.

(2) The Gr ὄρος, *óros,* is perhaps etymologically akin to הַר, *har.* It occurs often in the NT, and is usually trd "mount" or "mountain." In three places (Mt **5** 14; Lk **4** 29; **9** 37) AV has hill, which RV retains, except in Lk **9** 37, "when they were come down from the mountain" (of the transfiguration). The derivative ὀρεινός, *oreinós,* "hill country," occurs in Lk **1** 39.65.

(3) The common Heb word for "hill" is גִּבְעָה, *gibh'āh*=Gibeah (Jgs **19** 12); cf Geba, גֶּבַע, *gebha'* (1 S **13** 3); Gibeon, גִּבְעוֹן, *gib'ōn* (Josh **9** 3), from root גָּבַע, *gābha',* "to be high"; cf Arab. قُبَّة, *ḳubbeh,* "dome"; Lat *caput;* κεφαλή, *kephalḗ.*

(4) In 1 S **9** 11, AV has "hill" for מַעֲלֶה, *ma'ăleh,* root עָלָה, *'ālāh,* "to ascend"; cf Arab. عَلَا, *'ala',* "to be high," and عَلِي, *'ali,* "high." Here and elsewhere RV has "ascent."

(5) EV has "hill" in Isa **5** 1 for קֶרֶן, *ḳeren,* "horn"; cf Arab. قَرْن, *ḳarn,* "horn," which is also used for a mountain peak.

(6) טוּר, *ṭūr,* is trd "mountain" in Dnl **2** 35.45, but RVm "rock" in Dnl **2** 35. The Arab. طُور, *ṭûr,* "mountain," is esp. used with Sinai, جَبَل طُور سِيْنَاء, *jebel ṭûr sînâ'.*

(7) מֻצָּב, *muççābh* (Isa **29** 3), is trd in AV "mount," in ERV "fort," in ARV "posted troops"; cf מַצָּב, *maççābh,* "garrison" (1 S **14** 1, etc), from root נָצַב, *nāçabh,* "to set"; cf Arab. نَصَب, *naṣab,* "to set."

(8) סֹלְלָה, *ṣolelāh,* from סָלַל, *ṣālal,* "to raise," is in AV and ERV "mount," AVm "engine of shot," ARV "mound" (Jer **32** 24; **33** 4; Ezk **4** 2; **17** 17; **21** 22; **26** 8; Dnl **11** 15).

2. Figurative and Descriptive The mountains and hills of Pal are the features of the country, and were much in the thoughts of the Bib. writers. Their general aspect is that of vast expanses of rock. As compared with better-watered regions of the earth, the verdure is sparse and incidental. Snow remains throughout the year on Hermon and the two highest peaks of Lebanon, although in the summer it is in great isolated drifts which are not usually visible from below. In Pal proper, there are no snow mountains. Most of the valleys are dry wadies, and the roads often follow these wadies, which are to the traveler veritable ovens. It is when he reaches a commanding height and sees the peaks and ridges stretching away one after the other, with perhaps, through some opening to the W., a gleam of the sea like molten metal, that he thinks of the vastness and enduring strength of the mountains. At sunset the rosy lights are succeeded by the cool purple shadows that gradually fade into cold gray, and the traveler is glad of the shelter of his tent. The stars come out, and there is no sound outside the camp except perhaps the cries of jackals or the barking of some goat-herd's dog. These mountains are apt to repel the casual traveler by their bareness. They have no great forests on their slopes. Steep and rugged peaks like those of the Alps are entirely absent. There are no snow peaks or glaciers. There are, it is true, cliffs and crags, but the general outlines are not striking. Nevertheless, these mountains and hills have a great charm for those who have come to know them. To the Bib. writers they are symbols of eternity (Gen **49** 26; Dt **33** 15; Job **15** 7; Hab **3** 6). They are strong and stedfast, but they too are the creation of God, and they manifest His power (Ps **18** 7; **97** 5; Isa **40** 12; **41** 15; **54** 10; Jer **4** 24; Nah **1** 5; Hab **3** 6). The hills were places of heathen sacrifice (Dt **12** 2; 1 K **11** 7; 2 K **16** 4; **17** 10; Ezk **6** 13; Hos **4** 13), and also of sacrifice to Jeh (Gen **22** 2; **31** 54; Josh **8** 30). Zion is the hill of the Lord (Ps **2** 6; **135** 21; Isa **8** 18; Joel **3** 21; Mic **4** 2).

3. Particular Mountains

Many proper names are associated with the mountains and hills: as Abarim, Amalekites, Ammah, Amorites, Ararat, Baalah, Baal-hermon, Bashan, Beth-el, Bether, Carmel, Chesalon, Ebal, Ephraim, Ephron, Esau, Gaash, Gareb, Geba, Gerizim, Gibeah, Gibeon, Gilboa, Gilead, Hachilah, Halak, Hebron, Heres, Hermon, Hor, Horeb, Jearim, Judah, Lebanon, Mizar, Moreh, Moriah, Naphtali, Nebo, Olives, Olivet, Paran, Perazim, Pisgah, Samaria, Seir, Senir, Sephar, Shepher, Sinai, Sion, Sirion, Tabor, Zalmon, Zemaraim, Zion. See also "mountain of the east" (Gen **10** 30); "mountains of the leopards" (Cant **4** 8); "rocks of the wild goats" (1 S **24** 2); "hill of the foreskins" (Gibeah-haaraloth) (Josh **5** 3); "mountains of brass" (Zec **6** 1); "hill of God" (Gibeah of God) (1 S **10** 5); "hill of Jeh" (Ps **24** 3); "mount of congregation" (Isa **14** 13); see also Mt **4** 8; **5** 1; **14** 23; **15** 29; **17** 1; **28** 16; Lk **8** 32; Gal **4** 25.

ALFRED ELY DAY

HILLEL, hil'el (הִלֵּל, *hillēl*, "he greatly praised"; LXX Ἐλλήλ, *Ellēl*): An inhabitant of Pirathon in the hill country of Ephraim, and father of Abdon, one of the judges of Israel (Jgs **12** 13.15).

HIN, hin (הִין, *hīn*): A liquid measure containing 12 logs, equal to about 8 quarts. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

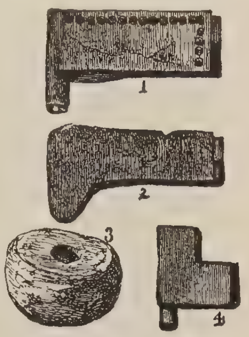
HIND, hīnd. See DEER.

HIND OF THE MORNING, THE: The tr of *Aijeleth hash-Shahar* (*'ayyeleth ha-shaḥar*) in the title of Ps **22**, probably the name of some well-known song to which the ps was intended to be sung, which possibly had reference to the early habits of the deer tribe in search of water and food, or to the flight of the hind from the hunters in early dawn; or "morning" may symbolize the deliverance from persecution and sorrow.

"The first rays of the morning sun, by which it announces its appearance before being itself visible, are compared to the fork-like antlers of a stag; and this appearance is called, Ps **22** title, 'The hind of the morning,' because those antler rays preceded the red of dawn, which again forms the transition to sunrise" (Delitzsch, *Iris*, 107).

According to Hengstenberg, the words indicate the subject-matter of the poem, the character, sufferings, and triumph of the person who is set before us. See PSALMS. For an interesting Messianic interpretation see Hood, *Christmas Evans, the Preacher of Wild Wales*, 92 ff. M. O. EVANS

HINGE, hinj (פֹּת, *pōth*): Hinges of Jewish sacred buildings in Scripture are mentioned only in connection with Solomon's temple. Here those for the doors, both of the oracle and of the outer temple, are said to have been of gold (1 K **7** 50). By this is probably to be understood that the pivots upon which the doors swung, and which turned in the sockets of the threshold and the lintel, were cased in gold. The proverb, "As the door turneth upon its hinges, so doth the sluggard upon his bed" (Prov **26** 14), describes the ancient mode of ingress and egress into important edifices. In the British Museum are many examples of stone sockets taken from Bab and Assyr palaces and temples, engraved with the name and titles of the royal builder; while in the Hauran doors of a single slab of stone with stone pivots are still found *in situ*. Hinges, as we understand the word, were unknown in the ancient world. See HOUSE II, 1.



Ancient Egyptian Hinges.
1, 2, 4. Bronze pivot hinges; 3. Basalt pivot for hinges.—Brit. Mus.

W. SHAW CALDECOTT

HINNOM, hin'om, **VALLEY OF** (גֵּי הִנֹּם, *gē hinnōm*, Josh **15** 8; **18** 16; "valley of the son of Hinnom" [גֵּי בֶן הִנֹּם, *gē bhen hinnōm*], Josh **15** 8; **18** 16; 2 Ch **28** 3; **33** 6; Jer **7** 31 f; **19** 2.6; **32** 35; "valley of the children [sons] of Hinnom" [גֵּי בְנֵי הִנֹּם, *gē bhᵉnē hinnōm*], 2 K **23** 10; or simply "the valley," lit. the "hollow" or "ravine" [הַגַּיְא, *ha-gay'*], 2 Ch **26** 9; Neh **2** 13.15; **3** 13; Jer **31** 40 and, perhaps also, Jer **2** 23 [the above references are in the Heb text; there are some variations in the LXX]): The meaning of "Hinnom" is unknown; the expressions *ben Hinnom* and *bᵉnē Hinnom* would suggest that it is a proper name; in Jer **7** 32; **19** 6 it is altered by the prophet to "valley of slaughter," and therefore some have thought the original name must have had a pleasing meaning.

1. Bible References and History

It was near the walls of Jerus, "by the entry of the gate Harsith" (Jer **19** 2); the Valley Gate opened into it (Neh **2** 13; **3** 13). The boundary between Judah and Benjamin ran along it (Josh **15** 8; **18** 16). It was the scene of idolatrous practices in the days of Ahaz (2 Ch **28** 3) and of Manasseh, who "made his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom" (2 Ch **33** 6), but Josiah in the course of his reforms "defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children [m "son"] of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech" (2 K **23** 10). It was on account of these evil practices that Jeremiah (**7** 32; **19** 6) announced the change of name. Into this valley dead bodies were probably cast to be consumed by the dogs, as is done in the *Wâdy er-Rabâbi* today, and fires were here kept burning to consume the rubbish of the city. Such associations led to the Ge-Hinnom (NT "Gehenna") becoming the "type of Hell" (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i, 405). See GEHENNA.

The Valley of Hinnom has been located by different writers in each of the three great valleys of Jerus. In favor of the eastern or Kidron valley

2. Situation

we have the facts that Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom*) place "Gehennom" under the eastern wall of Jerus and the Moslem geographical writers, Muḳaddasi and Nâsir-i-khusran, call the Kidron valley *Wâdy Jahamum*. The Jewish writer Kimchi also identifies the Valley of Jehoshaphat (i.e. the Kidron) with Hinnom. These ideas are probably due to the identification of the eastern valley, on account of its propinquity to the Temple, as the scene of the last judgment—the "Valley of Jehoshaphat" of Joel **3** 2—and the consequent transference there of the scene of the punishment of the wicked, Gehenna, after the ancient geographical position of the Valley of Hinnom, had long been lost. In selecting sacred sites, from the 4th Christian cent. onward, no critical topographical acumen has been displayed until quite modern times. There are three amply sufficient arguments against this view: (1) the Kidron valley is always called a *naḥal* and not a *gay'* (see Kidron); (2) the "Gate of the Gai" clearly did not lie to the E. of the city; (3) En-rogel, which lay at the beginning of the Valley of Hinnom and to its E. (Josh **15** 8; **18** 16) cannot be the "Virgin's fount," the ancient Gihon (2 S **17** 17). See Gihon.

Gehenna and Akeldama.

Several distinguished modern writers have sought to identify the Tyropœon Valley (*el Wād*) with Hinnom, but as the Tyropœon was incorporated within the city walls before the days of Manasseh (see Jerusalem), it is practically impossible that it could have been the scene of the sacrifice of children—a ritual which must have occurred beyond the city's limits (2 K **23** 10, etc).

3. Wâdy er-Rabâbi

The clearest geographical fact is found in Josh **15** 8; **18** 16, where we find that the boundary of Judah and Benjamin passed from En-rogel "by the valley of the son of Hinnom"; if the modern *Bîr Eyyûb* is En-rogel, as is certainly most probable, then the *Wâdy er-Rabâbi*, known traditionally as Hinnom, is correctly so called. It is possible that the name extended to the wide open land formed by the junction of the three valleys; indeed, some would place Tophet at this spot, but there is no need to extend the name beyond the actual gorge. The *Wâdy er-Rabâbi* commences in a shallow, open valley due W. of the Jaffa Gate, in the center of which lies the *Birket Mamilla;* near the Jaffa Gate it turns S. for about ⅓ of a mile, its course being dammed here to form a large pool, the *Birket es Sultân*. Below this it gradually curves to the E. and rapidly descends between sides of bare rocky scarps, much steeper in ancient times. A little before the valley joins the wide Kidron valley lies the traditional site of Akeldama (q.v.).

E. W. G. Masterman

HIP (שׁוֹק, *shōḳ*, "leg," "limb," "hip," "shoulder"): Samson smote the Philis "hip and thigh" (Heb "leg upon thigh"), which was indicative of "a great slaughter" (Jgs **15** 8), the bodies being hewed in pieces with such violence that they lay in bloody confusion, their limbs piled up on one another in great heaps. See also Sinew.

HIPPOPOTAMUS, hip-ō-pot′a-mus (Job **41** 1m). See Behemoth.

HIRAH, hī′ra (חִירָה, *ḥīrāh;* LXX **Εἰράς**, *Eirás*): A native of Adullam, and a "friend" of Judah (Gen **38** 1.12). The LXX and the Vulg both describe him as Judah's "shepherd."

HIRAM, hī′ram (חִירָם, *ḥīrām;* LXX **Χιράμ**, *Chirám*, but **Χειράμ**, *Cheirám*, in 2 S **5** 11; 1 Ch **14** 1): There is some confusion regarding the form of this name. In the books of S and K the prevailing form is "Hiram" (חִירָם, *ḥīrām*); but in 1 K **5** 10.18 m (Heb 24.32); **7** 40 m "Hirom" (חִירוֹם, *ḥīrōm*) is found. In Ch the form of the word is uniformly "Huram" (חוּרָם, *ḥūrām*).

(1) A king of Tyre who lived on most friendly terms with both David and Solomon. After David had taken the stronghold of Zion, Hiram sent messengers and workmen and materials to build a palace for him at Jerus (2 S **5** 11; 1 Ch **14** 1). Solomon, on his accession to the throne, made a league with Hiram, in consequence of which Hiram furnished the new king of Israel with skilled workmen and with cedar trees and fir trees and algum trees from Lebanon for the building of the Temple. In return Solomon gave annually to Hiram large quantities of wheat and oil (1 K **5** 1 [Heb 15] ff; 2 Ch **2** 3 [Heb 2] ff). "At the end of twenty years, wherein Solomon had built the two houses, the house of Jeh and the king's house," Solomon made a present to Hiram of twenty cities in the land of Galilee. Hiram was not at all pleased with these cities and contemptuously called them "Cabul." His displeasure, however, with this gift does not seem to have disturbed the amicable relations that had hitherto existed between the two kings, for subsequently Hiram sent to the king of Israel 120 talents of gold (1 K **9** 10–14). Hiram and Solomon maintained merchant vessels on the Mediterranean and shared mutually in a profitable trade with foreign ports (1 K **10** 22). Hiram's servants, "shipmen that had knowledge of the sea," taught the sailors of Solomon the route from Ezion-geber and Eloth to Ophir, whence large stores of gold were brought to King Solomon (1 K **9** 26; 2 Ch **8** 17 f).

Jos (*CAp*, I, 17, 18) informs us, on the authority of the historians Dius and Menander, that Hiram was the son of Abibal, that he had a prosperous reign of 34 years, and died at the age of 53. He tells us on the same authority that Hiram and Solomon sent problems to each other to solve; that Hiram could not solve those sent him by Solomon, whereupon he paid to Solomon a large sum of money, as had at first been agreed upon. Finally, Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and proposed others which Solomon was unable to explain; consequently Solomon was obliged to pay back to Hiram a vast sum of money. Jos further states (*Ant*, VIII, ii, 8) that the correspondence carried on between Solomon and Hiram in regard to the building of the Temple was preserved, not only in the records of the Jews, but also in the public records of Tyre. It is also related by Phoenician historians that Hiram gave his daughter to Solomon in marriage.

(2) The name of a skilful worker in brass and other substances, whom Solomon secured from

Hiram king of Tyre to do work on the Temple. His father was a brass-worker of Tyre, and his mother was a woman of the tribe of Naphtali (1 K **7** 14), "a woman of the daughters of Dan" (2 Ch **2** 14 [Heb 13]; 1 K **7** 13 ff; 2 Ch **2** 13 f [Heb 12.13]).

Jesse L. Cotton

HIRCANUS, hẽr-kā′nuz. See Hyrcanus.

HIRE, hīr: Two entirely different words are tr^{d} "hire" in the OT:

(1) The most frequent one is שָׂכָר, *sākhār*, vb. שָׂכַר, *sākhar*, and verbal adj. שָׂכִיר, *sākhīr*. (*a*) As a vb. it means "to hire" for a wage, either money or something else; in this sense it is used with regard to ordinary laborers (1 S **2** 5; 2 Ch **24** 12), or mercenary soldiers (2 S **10** 6; 2 K **7** 6; 1 Ch **19** 6; 2 Ch **25** 6), or a goldsmith (Isa **46** 6), or a band of loose followers (Jgs **9** 4), or a false priest (Jgs **18** 4), or Balaam (Dt **23** 4; Neh **13** 2), or hostile counsellors (Ezr **4** 5), or false prophets (Neh **6** 12 f). As a verbal adj. it refers to things (Ex **22** 15; Isa **7** 20) or men (Lev **19** 13; Jer **46** 21). (*b*) As a noun it denotes the wage in money, or something else, paid to workmen for their services (Gen **30** 32 f; **31** 8; Dt **24** 15; 1 K **5** 6; Zec **8** 10), or the rent or hire paid for a thing (Ex **22** 15), or a work-beast (Zec **8** 10). In Gen **30** 16 Leah *hires* from Rachel the privilege of having Jacob with her again, and her conception and the subsequent birth of a son, she calls her *hire* or wage from the Lord for the gift of her slave girl to Jacob as a concubine (Gen **30** 18).

(2) The other word tr^{d} hire is אֶתְנָן, *'ethnān*, once אֶתְנַן, *'ethnan*. It is rather a gift (from root נָתַן, *nāthan*, "to give") than a wage earned by labor, and is used uniformly in a bad sense. It is the gift made to a harlot (Dt **23** 18), or, reversing the usual custom, made by the harlot nation (Ezk **16** 31.41). It was also used metaphorically of the gifts made by Israelites to idols, since this was regarded as spiritual harlotry (Isa **23** 17 f; Mic **1** 7; cf also Hos **8** 9 f).

In the Eng. NT the word occurs once as a vb. and 3 t as a noun as the tr of μισθός, *misthós*, and its verbal form. In Mt **20** 1.8 and Jas **5** 4 it refers to the hiring of ordinary field laborers for a daily wage. In Lk **10** 7 it signifies the stipend which is due the laborer in the spiritual work of the kingdom of God. It is a wage, earned by toil, as that of other laborers. The word is very significant here and absolutely negatives the idea, all too prevalent, that money received by the spiritual toiler is a gift. It is rather a wage, the reward of real toil.

William Joseph McGlothlin

HIRELING, hīr′ling (שָׂכִיר, *sākhīr*): Occurs only 6 t in the OT, and uniformly means a laborer for a wage. In Job **7** 1 f there is reference to the hireling's anxiety for the close of the day. In Isa **16** 14 and **21** 16 the length of the years of a hireling is referred to, probably because of the accuracy with which they were determined by the employer and the employee. Malachi (**3** 5) speaks of the oppression of the hireling in his wages, probably by the smallness of the wage or by in some way defrauding him of part of it.

In the NT the word "hireling" (μισθωτός, *misthōtós*) occurs only in Jn **10** 12 f, where his neglect of the sheep is contrasted unfavorably with the care and courage of the shepherd who owns the sheep, who leads them to pasture and lays down his life for their protection from danger and death.

William Joseph McGlothlin

HIS, hiz: Used often in AV with reference to a neuter or inanimate thing, or to a lower animal (Gen **1** 11, "after *his* kind"; Lev **1** 16, "pluck away his crop"; Acts **12** 10, "of *his* own accord"; 1 Cor **15** 38, "*his* own body"), etc. RV substitutes "its."

HISS, his (שָׁרַק, *shāraḳ*): "To hiss" has two applications: (1) to call, (2) to express contempt or scorn.

(1) It is the tr of *shāraḳ*, a mimetic word meaning to hiss or whistle, to call (bees, etc), (*a*) Isa **5** 26, "I will hiss unto them from the ends of the earth," RV "hiss for them [m "him"] from the end of the earth"; **7** 18, "Jeh will hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria"; viz. Egyptians whose land was noted for *flies* (**18** 1) and Assyrians whose country was preëminently one of bees. Dangerous enemies are compared to bees in Dt **1** 44; Ps **118** 12 (Skinner's *Isaiah*): Zec **10** 8, "I will hiss for them, and gather them" (His own people, who will come at His call).

(2) More often, to hiss is to express contempt or derision (1 K **9** 8; Job **27** 23; Jer **19** 8, etc). In this sense we have also frequently **a hissing** (2 Ch **29** 8; Jer **19** 8; **25** 9.18; **29** 18; **51** 37; Mic **6** 16, *sh^{e}rēḳāh*); Jer **18** 16, *sh^{e}rīḳōth* or *sh^{e}rūḳōth;* Ecclus **22** 1, "Every one will hiss him [the slothful man] out in his disgrace" (*eksurissō*, "to hiss out"); Wisd **17** 9, "hissing of serpents" (*surigmós*).

W. L. Walker

HITHERTO, hith′ẽr-tōō (to this): Used of both place and time. It is the tr of various words and phrases:

(1) Of *place*, *'adh hălōm* (2 S **7** 18, "Thou hast brought me hitherto," RV "thus far"; 1 Ch **17** 16; perhaps 1 S **7** 12, *'adh hēnnāh*, "Hitherto hath Jeh helped us" [in connection with the setting up of the stone *Ebenezer*]) belongs to this head; *hēnnāh* is properly an adv. of place; it might always be rendered "thus far."

(2) Of *time*, *'adh kōh*, "unto this" (Ex **7** 16, "Hitherto thou hast not hearkened"; Josh **17** 14, "Hitherto Jeh hath blessed me"); *mē'āz*, "from then" (2 S **15** 34, RV "in time past"); *hāl^{e}'āh*, "beyond," etc (Isa **18** 7, "terrible from their beginning hitherto," RV "onward"); *'adh kāh*, Aram. (Dnl **7** 28, RV "here," m "hitherto"); *'adh hēnnāh*, "unto here" (Jgs **16** 13; 1 S **1** 16; Ps **71** 17, etc); *áchri toú deúro* (Rom **1** 13, "was let [RV "hindered"] hitherto"); *héōs árti*, "until now" (Jn **5** 17, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," RV "even until now," that is, "on the Sabbath as well as on other days, and I do as He does"; **16** 24, "Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive," that is "up till now"; "now ask in my name and ye shall receive"); *oúpō*, "not yet" (1 Cor **3** 2, "Hitherto ye were not able to bear it," RV "not yet").

W. L. Walker

HITTITES, hit′īts (בְּנֵי חֵת, חִתִּים, *b^{e}nē ḥēth*, *ḥittīm;* **Χετταῖοι**, *Chettaíoi*): One of the seven nations conquered by Israel in Pal.

I. Hittites and Egypt
  1. 15th Century BC
  2. 14th Century BC
  3. 13th Century BC
  4. 12th Century BC

II. Hittites of Asia Minor
  1. Geography
  2. Hittite Researches
  3. Historical Sketch
    (1) Fusion of Tribes
    (2) Ḥattic Empire in Syria
    (3) Fall of Ḥatti
  4. Political Organization
  5. Kingship and Society
  6. Race and Language
  7. Monuments
  8. Religion
  9. Architecture

III. Hittites in Syria
  1. Early Period
  2. Ḥattic Empire 1400–1250 BC
  3. Later Period
IV. Hittites in the OT
Literature

Abbreviations: BAR Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt;* GHE Garstang, *The Hittite Empire;* CAH *Cambridge Ancient History;* CIH, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hittitcarium;* KBO, *Keilschrift texte aus Boghats Köe.*

Biblically the Hittites were the descendants of Heth, and the word is a translation of the Hebrew. חִתִּי *Ḥitti.* Deferring consideration of the OT references till later in this article, we consider first our knowledge of the Hittites derived from external sources.

1. 15th Cent. BC

I. Hittites and Egypt.—Egyptian inscriptions tell also of "Hittites" of the land of Kheta (Ḥ-t-'), who during the 14th and 13th cents. BC contested the established suzerainty of the Pharaohs in Syria. The records suggest that the center of Hittite operations in Syria at that time was to be sought in the extreme north. The first contact occurred in the thirty-third year of the reign of Thothmes III, c 1469 BC. On this occasion the Pharaoh's troops were returning toward Egypt from the east side of the Euphrates through the land of Naharin, when met by envoys with tribute from Great Kheta (*BAR* II, 485). East of the Euphrates lay the land of Mitanni; while Naharin, the land of the two rivers, is to be recognized as the territory lying between the Orontes and the Euphrates, possibly including Aleppo as its central and most powerful city. Eight years later there is again mention of a chief of Kheta (*ibid*, 525); and in the tomb of a high Egyptian official of this period there appears a picture showing the chieftains of Keftiu, of Kheta, of Tunip, and of Kadesh, offering to the Pharaoh richly chased vessels of gold and silver (*ibid*, 773). This context is instructive. Historically it seems to relate to the same period as the first allusion, for there is a synchronous reference to the overthrow of the land of Mitanni. Geographically, Keftiu seems to be part or the whole of the Hittite state of Arzawa in southern Asia Minor. Tunip is to be identified probably with *Kalat-el-Husn* in the Lebanon, and Kadesh is known to be the great Amorite city on the sources of the Orontes River, to the S. of the Lake of Homs. Kheta then is associated with a Syrian group, and this text again also suggests a situation in the extreme N.W.

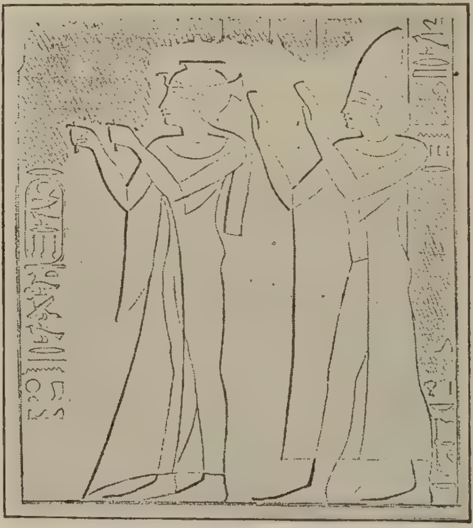
2. 14th Cent. BC

Thereafter for nearly 200 years there are no further monumental references to Kheta or Hittites, but the same land and people are clearly mentioned in the Tell el Amarna letters (c 1375 BC) by the name *Ḥatti.* Particularly instructive in this connection are the letters of warning written to the Pharaoh by his representatives from successive points of danger, e.g. Akizzi from Qatna and Namiuaza from places on the Phoenician coast, reporting the steady penetration of the Hittite armies and influence from north to south, and appealing for reinforcements to resist these inroads. While no documents, cuneiform or hieroglyphic, clearly mark the further approach of the Hittites into Palestine at this time, their presence that far south is to be suspected from a number of independent indications. Thus, Lapaya, chief of Shechem, is thought to have been the author of a document in Arzawan Hittite (*CAH* II, 312); while the name Sisera has a Hittite appearance. The organized movement of Ḥabiru, reported by various chieftains to the Pharaoh, suggests also Hittite associations. These indefinite indications are supported materially by results of recent excavations in Palestine, to which we allude below. During the 14th cent. BC it is known that Syria in general was lost to Egypt; and when the Pharaohs Seti I and Rameses II led out the Egyptian forces to reclaim their lost possessions and prestige, it was necessary to begin with the reconquest of northern Palestine. There occurs, indeed, one allusion to Kheta of somewhat doubtful value in the previous reign of Haremhab, who ruled from 1350 to 1315 BC; but the records of the reign of Seti I (1313 BC) make direct reference to his victories in the country of Kheta.

3. 13th Cent. BC

In a combined action with his son, Rameses II, the situation in northern Palestine was redressed, and monuments of these Pharaohs have been discovered at *Beisan*, confirming their reoccupation of that site, and describing the military measures taken for maintaining Egyptian authority in the neighborhing districts. Thereafter occur an increasing number of references, culminating with the description of a great battle fought at Kadesh upon the Orontes, about 1288 BC between the troops of Rameses II and the assembled Hittite allies. This battle, though indecisive, proved very costly to both sides; and organized warfare between the two powers ceased. It would seem, however, that Hittite bands or free-lances continued to push southward in the direction of Palestine, and this notwithstanding that Rameses concluded a Treaty of Peace with the King of Kheta about 1274 BC. Thus his successor Merenptah (1225–1215) celebrates his victories among the Tehenu by an inscription in which occurs the passage: "Wasted is Tehenu,—Kheta is pacified,—Plundered is Pekanan,—Carried off is Askalon,—

Lion-Gate at Boghats-Keui.


Hittite King in Egyptian Sculpture.

Seized upon is Gezer,—Yenoam is made as a thing not existing,—Irsael is desolated, his seed is not,—Palestine has become a widow for Egypt,—All lands are united, they are pacified" (*BAR* III, 617). This context is concerned chiefly, if not entirely, with Palestine; the geographical sequence gives further suggestion of the penetration and settlement of Hittites from Kheta in or immediately to the N. of Canaan.

4. 12th Cent. BC

Soon after 1200 BC in the reign of Rameses III (c 1191 BC), the scene changes, almost dramatically, with a great migration of northern peoples, which overran Asia Minor and northern Syria, and menaced the frontiers of Egypt. "The northerners in their isles were disturbed. . . . . Not one stood before their hands, from Kheta . . . . Kode . . . . and Carchemish. . . . . Wasted was their camp in Amor." In this context the Camp in Amor suggests the great defended inclosure at *Mishrefeh*, N.E. of Homs; Carchemish stood upon the Euphrates; and Kode, though not placed with certainty, lay in the N.W. of Syria. The geographical sequence in the list, corresponding to the progressive nature of this movement from north to south, leads one to look beyond the Taurus mountains for the land of Kheta and the center of Hittite organization.

The clue is not misleading. Modern research has located in eastern Asia Minor the veritable land of Ḥatti, the name of which is that used in the Amarna letters; while among the kings of Ḥatti, whose archives have now been found and read, appear those who descended from Taurua to challenge in Syria the might and empire of the Pharaohs.

II. Hittites of Asia Minor.—The identity of Kheta with Ḥatti of Asia Minor is established; and the further question of the relationship of these Hittites to the "Hethites" of the OT can only be answered by considering the history and organization of the Hittites and their empire.

1. Geography

Such a relationship was indeed long doubtful, and for reasons which will become apparent there is no suggestion in Biblical sources of an old center of Hittite power beyond the Taurus mountains, which formed at the same time the northern horizon to Egyptian adventures and aspirations in Syria. The high plateau beyond was all unknown; even the southern coastlands, though doubtless visited by trading vessels, were known to the Egyptians only as the land of "Keftiu," the Back of the Beyond. Asia Minor is none the less an attractive country; and being placed between S.E. Europe and Asia it was destined from the beginning to play a leading part in the history of the early peoples, particularly as the bond and barrier between the old-established monarchies of the Euphrates and the Nile, and the young societies of the Danube and the Balkans. Its physical peculiarities have, throughout time, dominated the course of events. Though a peninsula, with a coastline of 2,000 miles, washed by three different seas, its maritime relations do not visibly enter into Hittite history till near the end. The Hittites, or in this case speaking more strictly, the Ḥattians, were an inland people, and their home was in the high central plateau of the interior. This is an upland and partly highland area, entirely surrounded by ranges of mountains, of which those to the N. and S. fall on the outside steeply to the sea, while those of the W. descend more gradually, facilitating communication. To the E., the land side, the mountains merge with higher and bolder systems that bound the valleys of the upper Euphrates, by which channels, however, there is good communication with the Armenian highlands, and even further, beyond the watersheds of Ararat, with the Iranian plateau.

This tableland of Asia Minor is separated, as we have seen, from northern Syria and Mesopotamia by the high barrier of the Taurus mountains, through which there are a few passes. These necessarily assume great importance. The most direct route leads from the neighborhood of Caesarea through the Anti-Taurus and Taurus systems over four high passes, and descends finally upon Marash, the key to Syria. The other, a somewhat easier way, lay eastward, by the valley of the Tochma Su, a tributary of the Euphrates, to the fords of the latter near Malatia, and thence eastward into Armenia or southeastward by Diarbekr into Mesopotamia. Other passes, farther W., descend into Cilicia and the southeastern coastlands, but were seemingly not much utilized by the Ḥattic troops, except in local enterprise. Cilicia seems to have proved a doubtful ally; and the great range of Amanus to the E. formed a second barrier to any attempt to approach Syria from that side.

The rivers of Asia Minor were a further important factor in the settlement and organization of the Hittite tribes. The smaller rivers of the interior mostly fail to find an exit from this highland basin. This is particularly noticeable in the S. and S.W. where the mass of Taurus acts like a barrage, causing the rivers to stagnate or form marshy lakes. In the N. two of the great rivers that drain the plateau, the Halys and the Sangarius, break through the inclosing mountains, but their course lies mostly through deep ravines where no road can follow. On the W., however, where the fall, as we have noted, is more gentle, two rivers, the Hermus and the Maeander, after leaving the plateau descend through more open valleys, both of which have been followed by historic routes. The former, though the more difficult, was the first to be so utilized, doubtless because it led more directly to the center of Hittite organization. The two great Cilician rivers, also, rise far in the interior, in the broken highlands of the Anti-Taurus system, whence their course lies generally S.W., so crossing the lines of communication with Syria. These several river basins of the interior are found to foster a distinction between the Hittite monuments of their respective areas, suggesting that the water sheds formed original territorial divisions between the Hittite tribes; and it is noteworthy that both river and mountain were sacred to the Hittite peoples.

The Halys River, which has been mentioned, describes a great loop around the northeastern portion of the plateau; and within this rose the Hittite capital, upon a hilltop above the modern village of Boghaz-Keui. Though at first sight unsuitably placed for the administration of the country, this position will be found upon examination of the map to have occupied the strategic center of the road systems of this area, having regard to the fact that the greatest rival powers lay beyond Taurus to the S.E. From this point roads radiated in all directions to the N.E. by way of Amasia and the Iris Valley to the Pontic coast and Sinope; to the E. by way of Sivas and the upper Halys to Erzerum; to the S.E. by Caesarea to Malatia and Marash; to the S. by Tyana and the Cilician gates; and westward across the Halys by Phrygia and the Hermus Valley to Ephesus and the Aegean coast. On the N.W. the gorges of the Halys and the heights on either bank restricted communication.

Such in brief are the physical features of political value in the land, toward which, following one clue after another, inquirers of the last two generations have directed their researches, with an astounding sequel.

2. Hittite Researches

Following the recognition and rescue of certain hieroglyphic inscriptions from Hamath upon the Orontes in 1872 by Dr. Wright, the archaeological fragments of the forgotten Hittite empire were pieced together in 1894 by Prof. Sayce. Comparing the hieroglyphs of the Hamath inscriptions with those upon a monument in the pass of Kara-Bel in the far west, he found that they represented the same system of writing; and he recalled that here and there in the intervening territory of Asia Minor and northern Syria, particularly at Boghaz Keui, there had been observed a number of monuments distinguished from all others by this peculiar system of inscribing. He concluded that, in pre-Hellenic antiquity, the whole of Asia Minor had been dominated by a common political power and cultural influence, which he ascribed to the Hittites. Subsequent exploration brought to light further monuments and the traces of ancient cities, tending to corroborate this conclusion. Then in 1906 Dr. Winckler, excavating at Boghaz-Keui, recovered thousands of inscribed tablets of the 13th cent. BC from the ruined palaces of the kings of Ḥatti. These documents were written in the cuneiform script, but were largely unintelligible, owing to the fact that the language they expressed was unknown. A proportion, however, were written in Semitic and were recognized as state archives, some overlapping and parallel to the Amarna letters of Egypt, and even mentioning by name contemporary Pharaohs. Lastly, Prof. Hrozný, has shown that the locked secrets of the official Hittite language, which was that of about half the tablets, would yield to an Indo-European key. This clue became available about 1920, and since that date a number of European scholars have been editing and studying this vast material, so that at the present time hundreds of new documents are available for historical purposes.

3. Historical Sketch

These new materials already enable us to fill up in outline the gap between Babylon and Troy. The earliest records hark back indeed to the very beginnings of organized society in Asia Minor, and were probably coeval with the rise of the Bronze Age, before 2500 BC as testified by contemporary documents of Sargon and Naram-Sin of Akkad. Though few details relating to this distant epoch are yet available, it may be seen that Hittite tribes (more literally "the Ḥattians" or "people of Ḥatti") had already settled upon the plateau of Asia Minor and the highlands of the S.E. They had not, however, as yet, united under common rule; and there is indication 500 years later that there had ensued a long struggle for supremacy among the different tribal elements. The earliest center of power was Kussar, which is unplaced, but is possibly to be sought in the eastern Tauric area. Other early centers were Kursaura, probably at or near Akserai the site of the classical Carsaura; and the city of Ḥatti, destined later to dominate all others. Kanes, at Kara Eyuk, some 12 miles N.E. of Caesarea, prospered during this period as a commercial center with Semitic relations, and possibly enjoyed an independent status under Babylonian protection. Another early center was Zalpa, which is unplaced.

Each city was the head and center of its own lands and dependent villages. Details of the course of events by which the cities combined and the tribes were consolidated into a single kingdom are not yet visible in the texts. Kussar for some time clearly gained the upper hand, but it was "Ḥatti" which ultimately gave its name to the whole confederation, and is now translated "Hittite." The kings of Ḥatti are found established by 2100 BC at Boghaz Keui, where the new capital was called Ḥattusas. Ḥattusil, a favorite name of the Hittite kings, is a further derivative from the same ethnic root. The original importance and ascendancy of Kussar was reflected in the title of the early rulers who claimed the kingship both of Ḥatti and of Kussar.

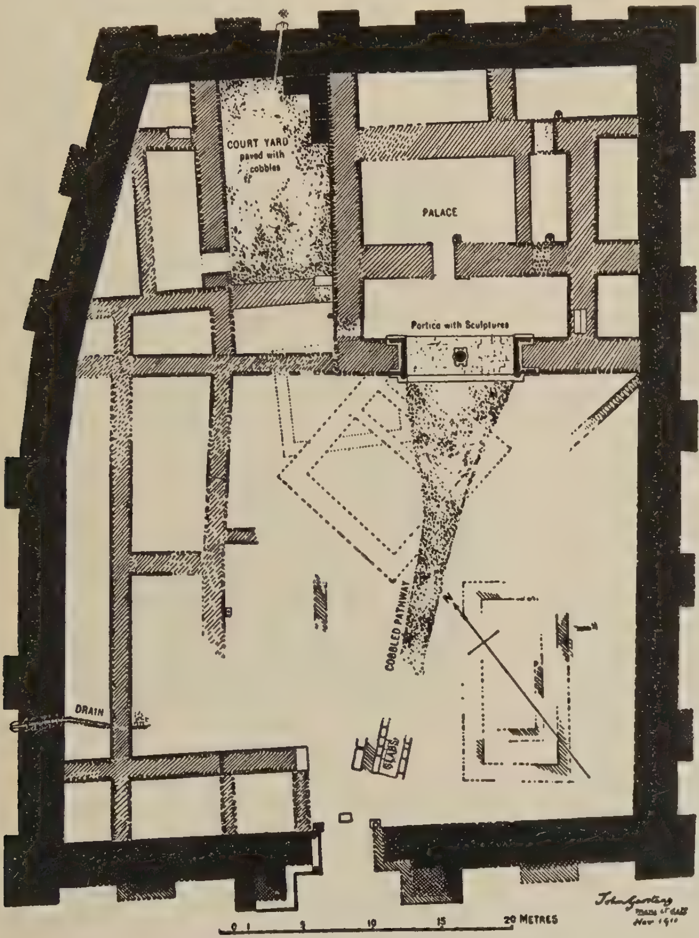
(1) *Fusion of tribes.*—From this time forward there was an evident development and expansion of the central authority, resulting (*a*) in the gradual absorption or confederation of the Hittite city-states of the plateau, (*b*) in the annexation of outlying territories. An epoch is marked in the early history of the Hittites (c 1925 BC) by their descent from their highland retreat into northern Syria, where they captured and destroyed Aleppo, at that time a great and powerful city, followed by a raid down the Euphrates as far as Babylon itself, which was captured. This episode, recorded in parallel passages in the records both of Babylon and of Ḥatti, is evidence of the consolidation and organization of the Hittite peoples, and a corresponding expansion of their political influence. The further development of events in Syria is not yet clear. Excavations at Qatna (*Mishrefeh*) disclose a strong Babylonian influence as early as the 3d Dynasty of Ur 2300 BC; and a later Egyptian influence is suggested by the discovery of two Egyptian sphinxes, one bearing the name of a daughter of Amenenhat II, the third monarch of the 12th Dynasty (1938–1904). The next indication from a Hittite source suggests that after this date (hence presumably during the "Hyksos" Period) a Hittite king (Telebinus) ruled as far as Damascus. Farther to the S. evidence of Babylonian cultural influence in the age of Thothmes III is found in the excavations at Bethshan (*Beisan*, in northern Palestine), and this notwithstanding the military activities of that Pharaoh already outlined.

The absence of distinctive Ḥattic remains throughout Syria, of periods earlier than the 15th cent., suggests that their influence was political rather than cultural; while, on the other hand, the discoveries mentioned indicate that the culture of the Aramaean and Amorite populations had much in common with that of the Babylonian and Mesopotamian areas.

(2) *Ḥattic empire in Syria.*—From the year 1400 BC, however, the history of Hittite relations in Syria, formerly so vague, becomes relatively clear. During the decline of political influence of Egypt in the country, the Hittite Subbiluliuma seized the opportunity to invade the former protected areas of northern Syria and of Mitanni. At the second attempt he was successful, not only in his actual campaigns, but in winning over, by his diplomacy, the allegiance of all the chief states of northern Syria, and the alliance of the Amorites in the center. Already, it would seem from the excavated remains at Sinjerli in northern Syria, that this place had been occupied and organized, and may have served as an advanced base for these Syrian operations. For this purpose it was well placed southward from Marash, in a strategic corridor which gives access to Aleppo and the S.

The course of events, already indicated by the Tell el-Amarna letters from Egypt, is now made fairly clear by comparison with the Hittite sources. The final blow was struck, however, by a flanking movement which descended upon Mitanni and Mesopotamia from the N.; after which, recrossing the Euphrates, Aleppo and other cities on the west side of the Euphrates, which had been wavering in their allegiance, now threw in their lot with the Hittite conqueror. Akizzi of Qatna (*Mishrefeh*), faithful vassal of the Pharaoh, warned his master of the impending catastrophe, but like others in vain. The Pharaoh was busy with religious reforms, and the immediate affairs of his country left him with no opportunity to resist the imminent disaster. Qatna fell, and soon the Amorite princes dwelling in the S. between Kadesh and Damascus, accepted the suzerainty of the Hittite king, their mutual relations being defined by treaty. Developments in Mitanni, also, enabled this Hittite king to establish there a prince who was loyal to his cause.

The exploits of Subbiluliuma himself came to an end, so far as the records go, before reaching Damascus. There seems little doubt, however, that the combined Hittite-Amorite alliance pushed farther S. and entered Palestine at this time. Objects belonging to the period found in excavations at Beth-shean attest the Hittite occupation of that site, itself the key to southern Palestine. A small bronze figure found at Megiddo resembles that of a Hittite warrior. Farther S. at Shechem the north gateway is found to have been rebuilt upon the Hittite plan, while at Jerusalem itself a fragment of potsherd found in the excavation of the city of Jebus on Mt. Ophel, is seen to be inscribed with three Hittite hieroglyphic signs stamped upon the handle. These observations are the first evidence that modern excavation has brought to light; doubtless others will follow. They agree with the literary testimony. The Tell el-Amarna letters indicate a general advance of the confederated Ḫabiru, and the latter are associated with the Hittites in some of their Syrian adventures. In any case, there is no doubt as to the general source of the danger that menaced, at this time, the Egyptian power.



Palace and Fortified Enclosure of Hittites.

The Hittite domination endured for some fifty years, or even longer. After their fashion this suzerainty probably expressed itself in treaties, under which the native princes retained their power, rather than by direct military or civil administration. Toward the end of the 14th cent., however, the Hittites were already busy on their eastern frontier with the rise of Assyria, and on the W. with Achaean inroads. The repossession of Palestine by Seti I and Rameses II remained unchallenged. Inscriptions set up at *Beisan* attest the reoccupation of that place, and describe the military measures taken to control the neighborhood. The troops employed included those which Rameses eventually led northward to attack the Hittites assembled at Kadesh. The result of this great conflict (1288 BC) left both parties crippled, less inclined to intervene in local affairs, but with mutual recognition of the zones S. and N. of Kadesh as within the respective spheres of Egypt and the Hittites. During the remainder of the 13th cent. BC the Hittite power in Asia Minor was threatened more and more on its eastern and western frontiers. The menace of Assyria under Shalmaneser seems indeed to have been checked at the Euphrates, but the pressure of the Achaeans and peoples from Europe, Phrygians, and others, increased, and was accentuated by a widespread famine extending over the plains of S. Russia and affecting the Balkan Peninsula.

(3) *Fall of Ḫatti.*—Finally, about 1200 BC Asia Minor was overrun. The Ḫattic capital which, with occasional breaks, had remained for a thousand years the chief center of political power in Asia Minor, now fell. The Archives cease at this time, and though the city revived two centuries later, it never regained its lost authority. A fragment of Hittite power remained in the S. of Asia Minor around Tyana; but there is no evidence that this city exercised a wide political influence as did the older capital. To judge from allusions in Homer and other indications, the Phrygians were already settling in their homes on the upper Sangarius, and gradually replaced the Ḫattians as the dominant people of the plateau. Lydia was breaking away as a separate kingdom, though maintaining its old Hittite organization and institutions, while Caria proved a chief center of independent Achaean activities. In the struggle which ensued the Phrygians pressed farther E., overrunning the Halys Basin and ultimately extending their power as far as Tyana itself; so that though there is no written evidence on the point, it seems unlikely that any general revival of Hittite authority upon the old lines was any longer possible.

On the other hand, the states of northern Syria, among which had been distributed the fragments of the old Hittite power, remained in a certain sense intact; and from time to time gave proof of development, even combining with one another as of old against common dangers.

Before dealing with the Hittites in Syria, we may usefully examine their social fabric in Asia Minor, which came to an end about 1200 BC. Internally the central Hittite area comprised a number of originally independent cities with their lands and dependent villages, which had gradually become welded together by common interest and

4. Political Organization

military adventure. Differences in the monuments of the several geographical areas reflect a period when these groups of cities formed, in effect, different states or "kingdoms," which were now bound to the center by ties of feudal service. Three of these central states are specially familiar in the records, but even these cannot be completely located on the map. Ḥatti itself occupied, generally speaking, the basin of the Halys River. Kizzuwadna, a contiguous district, the position of which is uncertain, was constituted out of former Hittite territory under special political circumstances during historic times. Arzawa included the districts of Tyana and Kaballa in the S.W. of the plateau, with extensions to the coasts of Pamphylia and Lycia, and may at times have included parts of Cilicia. The official language of these areas was that of Ḥatti. Gasga lay to the E. of Ḥatti in the highlands of lesser Armenia upon the west bank of the Euphrates, but its racial and political affinities were rather with the Ḥarrians of Armenia than with the Ḥattians of Asia Minor. Numerous other states are mentioned frequently as the scene of interesting military actions or political developments, but, unfortunately, their situations can only be conjectured owing to the unfamiliarity of the place-names. Externally, the coastal districts of Asia Minor, and the northern tracts of Syria, that were gradually enfolded within the Empire, comprised a number of states politically independent, and differing from each other also in racial stock. These also were bound to the central power by terms or vassalage which differed according to the circumstances of each case, but usually had a fedual basis. The coastlands washed by the Black Sea fell into two groups. Those parts of later Pontus which were physically in contact with Ḥatti cannot well have claimed an independent history; they provided in fact ready access for the Ḥattians to the northern coast, in particular to the port of Sinope. The whole region lying to the W. as far as the Bosphorus is a closed book; indeed it was possibly largely given over to primeval forest, and it was further cut off from direct communication with Ḥattusas by the lower course of the Halys and the high mountains through which this river flows. In the western coastlands of the peninsula, with which, as we have seen, access was relatively easy, three areas enter into the story of the 13th cent. BC. These are, firstly, in the N. the *Troad* which provided troops for the Hittite leader in the great contest with Egypt at Kadesh; secondly, the central tract of *Lydia* in which are found actual Hittite monuments in the Ḥattic style; and thirdly, *Caria*, in the southwest corner of the peninsula, which seems to have been the starting-point or base of Achaean invasions. On the southern coast the promontory of *Lycia*, as we have noted, was attached during the imperial period, at any rate, to Arzawa; though the disintegration of this kingdom, as a result of rebellion, led to the detachment of its several principalities, among which were Mira and Kuwalia, as well as Kaballa, which under Mursil (the successor of Subbiluliuma) were constituted direct fiefs of the central throne. The coastal area of *Cilicia*, the last of this series, provides a problem. Shut in, as it is, to the N. by the Taurus mountains, to the E. by the Amanus range, this fertile corner of the peninsula seems to have been destined to claim an independent history. But it seems at the same time incredible that a state bordering so nearly upon Ḥatti, and commanding the flank of the Hittite communications with Syria, could have remained so much outside the sphere of Hittite operations as to escape mention. Doubtless it entered freely into the political world of Ḥatti but whether it formed a portion of Arzawa, or was grouped with central Hittite states, or was linked with these by special treaty, is not apparent; indeed its very name remains, as yet, uncertain, notwithstanding controversy.

When we come to northern Syria the outline of the political organization becomes clearer, because in this area Semitic names were freely employed, and some of these survive or can be recognized from other contemporary sources. The Hittite names of the several cities lying in the strategic corridor which runs southward from Marash, are not known, but the district bore the name Ugarit, by which it is mentioned also in contemporary Egyptian archives. The most powerful independent city-states of northern Syria were Carchemish, upon the Euphrates, and Aleppo, which dominates the northern plains. Both names can claim a Hittite origin, the former appears as Karkamis, the latter as Ḥalah in the archives. Southward of Aleppo was the broad district of Nuḫasse, which may have comprised some of the cities established upon the middle Orontes, of which Nia and Zinzar are well known from Hittite and Egyptian sources, while the modern sites of Hamath and Restan bear trace of Hittite occupation. Westward, between the Orontes and the sea, the mountain region known in classical times by the name Bargylus was called Barga by the Hittites, and it was controlled from the island city of Arvad, a native name hardly disguised in the instructive Hittite form Yaruwaddas.

Hittite Warrior.

Other sites of the Phoenician coast seem to have remained outside the pale of direct Hittite rule though preyed upon by the Amorites, with the evident connivance of the Hittite leaders. These peoples whose realm lay immediately to the E., seem to have been largely nomadic, and it is difficult to fix their headquarters. They may be suspected, however, of having occupied as their central position the fastnesses of the Gebel Druze, which has remained throughout history a potent factor in local politics. But the greatest city within their control was Kadesh (the Egyptian *Kodshe* and Hittite *Kinza*). Its position is marked by the mound of *Tell Nebi Mindu*. Standing upon the Upper Orontes, at the south end of the small lake of Homs, this city occupied the most strategic situation in central Syria, commanding the approaches to the N., and dominating the broad opening by the Valley of the *Nahr el*

Kebir toward the coast. Homs itself (classical Emesa, possibly Abzu of the Hittite texts) is undoubtedly a site of great antiquity, but no Hittite remains have, as yet, been found within it. A dozen miles to the N.E. lay Qatna, a vast fortified inclosure, now known as *El Mishrefeh.* The great days of this place belonged to the Middle Bronze Age, 2000–1600 BC. Excavations show even earlier Babylonian relations, and also attest Egyptian contact in the 12th Dynasty. It was held for the Pharaoh by Akizzi during the Hittite advance of the 14th cent. BC during which it was captured and destroyed. From that date Kadesh seems to have been adopted by the Hittites as their advanced post.

These states of Carchemish, Aleppo, Nuḫasse, Barga, and Amurri were all bound to the Hittite throne by separate and special treaties, copies of which have been preserved and can be translated. Happily for us today, the Hittite instinct in political affairs looked to the past for guidance, so that nearly all treaties begin with historical preambles, setting forth, paragraph by paragraph, the history of past relations between the contracting parties. These records, compared and checked where possible from external contemporary sources, became evidently reliable historical materials.

Summing up the conclusions arrived at thus far, we find that from early in the Bronze Age all western Asia was peopled by kindred Hittite tribes, among which the larger geographical groups are found in Asia Minor (Ḫatti), Mesopotamia, (Mitanni), and Armenia (Ḫarri). Until 1200 BC the ruling power of the western Hittites was seated in the N.E. of Asia Minor. From that center the dominating Ḫatti and its kindred gradually conquered most of the coastlands of the peninsula. By 1400 BC they had established a base in northern Syria, and, profiting by a moment of Egyptian apathy, soon afterward they overran Mitanni and annexed the numerous petty states of northern, and central, Syria to their growing Empire. The whole agglomeration was held together as a confederacy by feudal bonds, strengthened by the hope of plunder in successful wars, and the fear of punishment in default. Of peculiar interest was the proved alliance between the Hittites and the Amorites, renewed in successive reigns of the 14th cent. BC by treaties, which reveal this combination as the dominating factor at that time in the politics and destinies of central Syria and of Palestine.

5. Kingship and Society

It is evident that the power of the kings was originally absolute; it was based on success in military leadership, and supported by a feudal system. The latter formed, indeed, the common bond throughout the Empire. A reminiscence of the original independence of the city-states is found here and there in certain constitutional tendencies. Each village had its local assembly, and each central city its assembly of elders, to aid the local chieftain in the administration of his town and district. As the natural outcome, a sort of national assembly seems to have come into being or possibly was always in existence, which advised the king on all important state affairs. It corresponded generally in function and status of its members to the Witanagemot of feudal England, with perhaps this difference, that it seems to have had no power in the election or dethronement of the sovereign whose position was hereditary.

The royal office was no sinecure. Not only was the king expected to lead his forces in person, and did so on all great enterprises, in accordance with time-honored practice, but he was at the same time chief priest of the nation's gods, with the obligation of taking the leading part in the more important ceremonies, in addition to his immediate function as head of the administration. The responsibilities of the kingship were appreciated, and we find princes of the royal blood being trained in their various duties as priest, administrator, and soldier, by being placed in various official positions successively increasing in importance, whereby experience might be gained. This practice was the outcome of the national development, and reflects the advance state of society as a whole. The king in person was revered almost as a supreme being, and was frequently styled the "Sun." All offices of state were held directly from him, and all officials, from the Grand Vizier to the royal shoemaker, took an oath of personal loyalty and devotion. In this connection the government was highly organized with clear bureaucratic tendencies. The law was codified and administered by special magistrates and judges, who naturally played a leading part in the civil life of the community. Civil affairs were conducted, it would seem, separately from those falling within the strict prerogative of the throne, which demanded in their turn a special staff of functionaries and retainers. In the precincts of the palace would be found also the princes and chieftains of the numerous confederated states and cities, who it would seem by birthright held office also at the court, even though only of an honorific character. The system was effective. Not only did the kings prove themselves wise and efficient, as might be anticipated from their serious devotion to the duties of their office, but they were surrounded more and more, with the development of the Empire, by those whose interests lay in upholding the integrity and authority of the throne. On the whole, the picture to be drawn from the contemporary documents is that of a people controlled by an advanced sense of justice and social order, which contrasts favorably with the absolutism of its neighbors to the E., and more nearly reflects the ideals upheld by European peoples.

6. Race and Language

It is not certain to what race belonged the original stock of Anatolia. Culturally, there was an affinity in the Neolithic Period between the inhabitants of western Asia traced at various points from Susa as far as Troy, and possibly the population of this area had something in common with the Mediterranean race. From its geographical position, however, it would seem probable that Asia Minor must always have fostered a mixture of races. Its most ready approaches, we have seen, lay on the side of Europe. From that direction we are inclined to derive the Ḫattic kings, whose official language has Indo-European affinity, while the construction of society was based, as we have noted, more nearly upon the European model. The subject is, however, very complex. Three chief areas enter within our purview; that of Ḫatti proper, namely the plateau of Asia Minor, that of Mitanni, namely Mesopotamia, with northern Syria, and that of Ḫarri in Armenia. Though in the beginning all these parts of western Asia may have been peopled by Hittite tribes, the map shows that the geographical contacts of these areas are distinct, and would lead probably to different racial and linguistic development. And though language is not a sure test of race, it is to be noted that the official Hittite language, which was that of Ḫatti, Arzawa, and Kizzuwadna, employs suffixes in much the same way as Indo-European languages, and has in fact a cousinship with old Latin. Behind this language, however there lurks (as in religion and certain social practices) an older strain. The names in this case are prefixing, and analogy for this is to be sought rather in the Caucasus. The language of the Mitannian rulers also was to some extent Aryan, but with Sanscrit affinities; while the popular language of this area was imbued with Caucasian elements. It would seem probable, but remains to be proved, that upon this primeval stock of Caucasian affinities, there came with the dawn of civilization, in the Bronze Age, overlords in one case from Europe to rule over Ḥatti, and in the other from the Iranian plateau to rule over Mitanni. The question of the original people in Armenia and their rulers (Ḥarri and their successors of Urartu) is left with fewer clues and the language is still a matter of philological discussion. From the geographical standpoint it is to be anticipated that in this area there will be traced an infiltration both from the Median highlands and from Caucasia.

7. Monuments

Our knowledge of the Hittite language is derived entirely from the cuneiform inscriptions, and chiefly from those found among the palace ruins of the Ḥattic capital. Another series of inscriptions has been longer known, those which are carved in hieroglyphs upon the rocks or pre-Hellenic monuments of the country. These are incised or left in low relief, and the two fashions appear contemporaneously. Though familiar and long studied, these have failed to give up their secret. Here and there Prof. Sayce has lighted upon local solutions; but it remains to be determined whether the language of these inscriptions is really common to the different portions of the Empire throughout which they are distributed. It is even possible that archaic forms were used, or proto-Ḥattic; but this is unlikely, for in such monuments as can be dated with some certainty to this period of the Empire (1400–1200 BC), as in the sanctuary of the capital, hieroglyphic writing is rare, and seemingly confined to the names and designations of personages represented on the monuments; whereas at Carchemish, the known history of which belongs chiefly to later centuries, inscriptions are both more numerous and lengthy. Apart from these distinctions, the distribution of the inscriptions is much the same as that of the monuments in general. The isolated monuments, though not very numerous, are distinctive and instructive: two classes readily detach themselves, the religious and the military. The most comprehensive example of the former kind is to be found in the open air sanctuary near the capital which has been described. Though the scene of a national rite, this is above all the shrine of the great Mother, and monuments varying in character and detail dedicated to this goddess are found through the length of the land from the Aegean to the Euphrates. The most westerly, and one of the oldest, is the rock shrine on Mt. Sipylus, near Smyrna, well known even in antiquity, where a giant effigy of the seated deity is carved in the living rock (Pausanias, III, xxii 4; *GHE* 177). A widely distributed class of monuments reveals her as goddess of the dead. In those she is shown seated, as usual, with a table in front, at which a devotee makes offerings, or may be seated, *vis à vis*, in a ceremonial feast. Examples have been found upon the plateau at Yarre, Eyuk, and Boghaz Keui itself; and in northern Syria, more freely, at Marash, Sinjerli, Sakje-Geuzi, Kara-Burshlu, Carchemish and other sites. Two further monuments of the goddess should not be overlooked; the rock carvings of Fraktin, upon one of the main sources of the Cilician Sarus; where the act of worship takes the form of a libation before an altar; and an actual altar marking a high pass called Kuru Bel above Comana in Anti-Taurus, on the sides of which are carved two crouching lions. The lion was, as we have seen at Boghaz Keui, her familiar emblem; and even at Carchemish, a relatively late carving, pictures her as seated upon a lion-borne throne, the prototype of Kybele in the W. Both cult and symbol endured for centuries at Hierapolis.

Military monuments usually represent the chief god of the land, or the god of Ḥatti, named Teshub in either case, clad like the Hittite warriors, in short tunic, bare legs, shoes with the points upturned and a tall conical hat, in some special act or ceremonial. The most westerly is found on the rocks in the pass of Kara-Bel above Ephesus, and the most easterly at Malatia upon the Euphrates. Others at Giaour-Kalesi and Boghaz-Keui itself mark, between these extreme points, lines of the highroads that radiated from the capital toward the W. and E. The same roads continued in use under Persian rule; and were followed by the posts from Susa to Sardis, notwithstanding that Boghaz-Keui had ceased to have any political importance, and that this route was much longer than that later developed by way of Cilicia and the S. This lining of roads was, however, fortuitous; most of the monuments mark the sites of shrines or springs; while groups of sculptures adorned the local palaces. Among them, representations of Teshub, not as a warrior but as a storm god are not infrequent. At Malatia (on a palace dado), he receives a libation, in a unique representation in which the god stands upon the back of a bull. On a rocky peak of the Kizil Dagh which rises from the southern plain between Iconium and Tyana, he sits enthroned, a veritable prototype of Zeus; and representations are not uncommon among the monuments of northern Syria.

In addition to such isolated monuments, a number of walled cities, both in Asia Minor and northern Syria contained palaces, the façades of which were freely decorated at certain epochs with instructive sculptures. The most remarkable of these in Asia Minor are found at Eyuk, northward from the capital, where, in addition, the entrance is flanked on either hand by gigantic bull-sphinxes. The sculptures further show the god Teshub as a bull, and the goddess mother enshrined, one on either hand of the portico; while other carvings represent priest-king and priestess with attendants bringing animals to sacrifice, followed by scenes of music, feasting, and the chase. In the zone of Taurus, both Malatia and Marash once claimed palaces of this kind, in which a lion cornerstone, however, replaces the bull; while in northern Syria the palace buildings of Sakje Geuzi, Sinjerli, and Carchemish have been found and excavated, disclosing whole rows and façades of similar decorative reliefs, in which the familiar themes are supplemented by others, rich in variety and in detail.

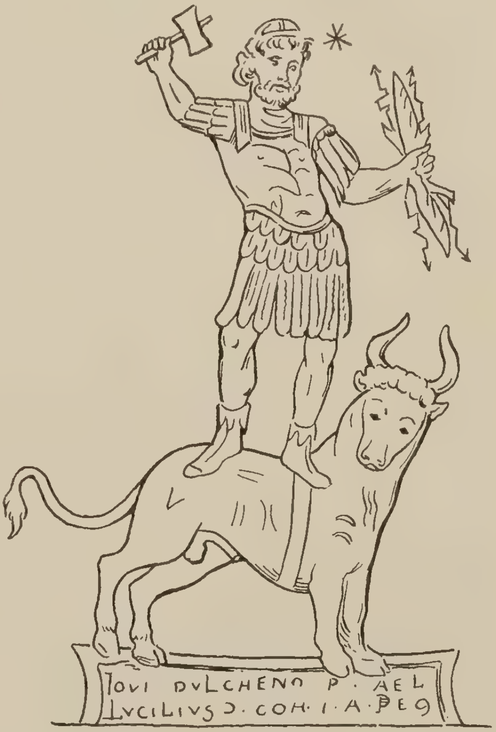
Still a third class of monuments detaches itself in a general survey, namely those which seem to record decrees or decisions of a civil character. Among these may possibly be grouped a long and difficult inscription on a rock within the city of Ḥattusas itself. A second stands upon its pedestal overlooking the bed of the Halys River near its southern bend at Bogshe. This monument is complete, and has the form of a four-sided but round topped block of stone, inscribed on all sides. Until the inscription can be read, there can, of course, be no certainty as to its purport; but its character and position suggest a village or tribal boundary stone, inscribed with some official pronouncement. In the same class we would group another inscription, in this case on the living rock, to be seen in a valley of Taurus near Bulghar Maden. In this locality silver mines have long been exploited, and possibly the text of this inscription refers to them. But a certain group of hieroglyphs which it contains is found on other inscribed monuments of the Tyanitis, and seems to reproduce the royal name of this period. These inscriptions indicate a considerable range of territory governed evidently by this potentate, and it seems probable that the inscription of Bulghar Maden also marks the boundary of a tribal or regal domain. The other two monuments of this area differ in their character and purport; the one is the well-known adoration scene of Ivriz, in which the local priest-king makes adoration to the god of grapes and corn; and the other from Bor, though broken, seems to be a fragment of a similar scene. All three monuments pertain, apparently, to a post-Ḥattic phase of art, in which there may be suspected a Semitic, possibly Assyrian, influence. The region of eastern Taurus contains a number of monuments, inscribed and sculptured, more than one of which may have marked a boundary. Particularly noteworthy are the rock inscriptions of Geurun; and a detached column, shaped almost like a human figure, at Palanga.

Looking at the distribution of the monuments in general, we find them grouped upon the plateau in four chief areas, which are, in broad terms, the basins of the Halys, and of the Sangarius, the region of the Lycaonian Lakes, and the basin of the Ak Su (*Tyanitis*). These four groups differ from one another in artistic quality and in motive. It is instructive also to remark that the monuments are all found, with but two intelligible exceptions, inside the circuit of main watersheds which incloses the plateau. This fact discloses the Hittites, from first to last, as a mountain folk; and this impression grows stronger as we trace their works through Taurus into Syria, where also no monuments have been found upon the coast. The two exceptions mentioned are found in the extreme W., being the Mother-goddess of Sipylus and the warrior-god of Kara Bel. Both indicate the possession of passes leading toward the sea, and doubtless reflect the period in the development of the Empire, when the Hittite armies penetrated to the Coast, and the Hittite rulers extended their sway from the shores of the Aegean in the W. to the Euphrates in the E.

8. Religion

The central group of sculptures, those of the capital itself, constitute the standard criteria of Ḥattic art and motive, and from their wealth of detail demand close study. These carvings form the decorations of an open-air shrine or sanctuary, which occupies a roughly three-sided recess in an outcrop of rock, some 3 miles from the city. There is no roof to this cave, so that its rocky sides, never at any time very smooth or suitable for sculpture, have now become weathered. The original artistic quality of the carving can thus hardly be gauged, except in one or two cases where, for some centuries at any rate, an accumulation of earth has helped to preserve their detail. The decorations consist almost entirely of divine and human figures, some male, others female. These may be seen at a glance to be ranged in two long processions, the males being chiefly on the left, the females on the right. These processions meet on the short "wall" opposite the "entrance," and the leading figures on either hand, at the head of their respective retinues, are carved on a larger scale, proportioned to their position and status. That on the right represents a female divinity; she is distinguished by a mural crown and the lioness upon which she stands, as a prototype of Cybele the Mother-goddess. She is accompanied by a young deity, who also stands upon a lioness and wields a double axe, the familiar consort Attis or Adonis. In the wake of these two there follow numerous goddess-like figures, clad for the most part like their leader, and distinguished only occasionally by special hieroglyphic symbols. The two leading figures of this series are grouped together as a pair and stand upon a double-headed eagle. This design reappears in the palace sculptures of the neighboring village at Eyuk already mentioned.

In seeking to explain these sculptures, we recall in the first place that nearly all treaties signed by the kings of Ḥatti conclude with an invocation to the deities of the contracting parties; and much light is thrown by these lists upon the Hittite pantheon. From the Egyptian treaty in particular (that concluded between Hattusil III and Rameses II about 1275 BC) we learn that the leading Hittite goddess was a solar divinity, the sun goddess of Arinna, whereas the goddess before us bears no solar emblems. Next in order comes the goddess of Ḥatti, named by the Egyptians Astarte, and numerous other goddesses of different states follow in the list.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Zeus of Doliche.

We may readily conclude, then, that the figure before us represents the leading Ḥattic goddess, a version of Astarte whose worship and legend was familiar throughout all western Asia; and that in her train there followed the goddesses of like kind drawn from other states that maintained her worship.

The first two figures on the left, though clad alike, are distinguished by their emblems and the objects in their hands. The leader is bearded and majestic, wielding a mace and lightning trident. He is clad in a short tunic, wears shoes with turned-up toes and a tall conical hat of a special kind. He is borne (doubtless in effigy), upon the shoulders of two robed priests, toward the goddess who faces them from her position on the right. The second figure is beardless, and he stands upon the tops of mountains. He also carries a mace or scepter, while in his outstretched hand he wields a sword. Looking beyond, nearly all the numerous figures which follow in their train are similar in dress and general attributes, interspersed here and there by the robed figures of priests. The fifth figure on this side is different, being winged and clad in a long robe which falls in oblique pleats. These details are distinctive, and enable us to recognize one of the deities of Malatia upon the Euphrates, where the representation is similar in every essential detail. We may infer at once that this numerous retinue upon the left comprises deities (mostly gods) from nearly as many Hittite states, and that the leaders in the procession must be the chief gods of the pantheon. The identification of these gives indeed little difficulty. In the treaty-lists the male deities of Ḥatti are chiefly versions of Teshub, the storm god. At the head of the pantheon is Teshub, lord of the skies, and he is followed by Teshub of Ḥatti. The same two deities, the bearded and the beardless Hittite gods, are represented on the rock carvings of Giaour Kalesi in the Phrygian area, by the line of the great West road. At Malatia, again, a remarkable scene represents the repelling of a great serpent by a Hittite warrior, who is beardless, and armed with a spear, and is supported by a bearded personage behind. In this case, one of the ritual texts, recently translated, describes the identity of the two figures, for therein the repelling of the great serpent is ascribed to Inaras with the assistance of Teshub (3 K.Bo. No 7). Other representations of Teshub from northern Syrian sites, where the divinity is identified by his thunder-hammer and lightning trident, show him to be bearded in like manner.

The chief motive of the great ritual scene and festival depicted on the rocky walls is now apparent. Toward the nature-goddess of this land is borne the chief Ḥattic god, Teshub, doubtless to divine nuptials, a veritable *hieros gamos*. Each deity is accompanied by the kindred divinities of other states, and the ceremony had assumed obviously the importance of a national festival. In the background of the scene are represented members of the populace or temple servants, engaging in a dance, such as has accompanied marriage from the beginning of human memory.

The explanation of the main theme as a harvest festival, or as a rite of fertilization in the springtime, in itself almost satisfies the subject, but not completely. The grouping is so complex, the treatment so replete with detail, and the ritual evidently so formal, that we cannot but wonder whether this amazing scene has not also a political significance. There is internal evidence which suggests that the date of these sculptures was not far removed from that of the Egyptian treaty. This was signed by Hattusil, king of Ḥatti and also significantly by his wife and queen, Putukhipa, a princess of Kizziwadna. And just as the king was chief priest of the national god, so the queen is described as high priestess of the leading goddess; she had in fact been nurtured in the precincts of the goddess Istar of Lawazantia, of which her father was chief priest. Have we not in these priestly attributes of king and queen, and the regal status of the latter, a fuller suggestion of meaning attributable to the divine marriage represented in the sculptures? Does not this theme, while adapted to local customs, commemorate also the union of the two royal houses, and with that the fusion of the two chief elements in the religion of the land at this time, namely the Mother-goddess of the land, and the great storm-god of the Ḥattic conquerors?

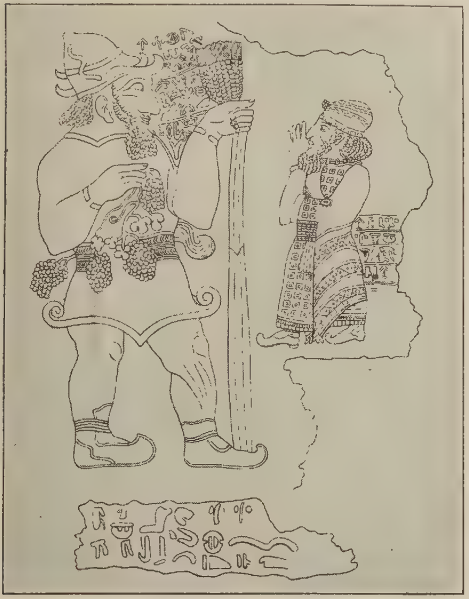
The sculptures of Iasily Kaya evidently give a unique insight into the religion of the Hittites. We see that this was composite. It comprised not only the worship of the Mother-goddess and of the storm-god as independent cults, but also the combined worship of the divine pair. All three aspects coexisted, as the monuments testify; and all three continued to exist long after the Hittite sun had set. Thus under the Empire we find libations to the goddess represented at Eyuk, Fraktin and Malatia; while in all three places are found shrines of the god, corresponding in the balance of artistic composition, though not associated necessarily in the same ritual. At Fraktin, regarded as the oldest shrine of all, a libation scene before an altar provides an exact parallel to the picture of the goddess. At Eyuk, however, the god is represented by the bull, and at Malatia he stands on the back of the bull. The bull, possibly the original totem of his votaries, remained through all time his associated emblem; just as the lion was associated in person and in symbolism with the goddess. Their worship survived separately at numerous shrines; and in the Roman period, centuries after all Hittite political power had faded from human recollection, the worship of the two divinities as a divine pair is found perpetuated also at Hierapolis Syriae and at Doliche, both north Syrian sites. At the former, where stood the famous sanctuary of the Syrian goddess (described by Lucian, Macrobius, and others) the goddess, who is said to have resembled Hera and also Aphrodite, is seated upon lions, while her consort, described both as Zeus and Hadad, is seated upon bulls. The priest of the goddess in the 3d cent. AD wears a long robe and tall conical hat, and is named "the servant of Hadad." At Doliche itself, the cult is not well illustrated, but it was widely spread by recruits in the Roman army, and is well known. The god, with hammer and trident, stands upon a bull; while the goddess, who is somewhat obscure and rare in art, appears in inscriptions as "Hera Sancta" and is associated with a lion.

Passage-Frieze, Iasily-kaia.

These leading elements in religious symbolism really reflect the religion of the Hittites, as distinguished needless to say, from the local worships of the numerous outlying areas in Syria and elsewhere that were at various times brought within the boundaries of the Hittite Empire. The oldest worship, inherent in the land, was clearly that of this goddess. We have already seen her in several aspects, particularly as the goddess of the Dead. As giver and source of life, this attribute may at first sight appear unnatural; yet it is to be recalled that through her powers the dead year revived, and her dead offspring was brought back to light and life; so that offerings and prayers for her intermediation on behalf of the dead were a manifestation of human need not alien to her worship. This evidently was but one of the numerous attributes that attached themselves with time to the chief goddess of the land. The powers of the chief Ḥattic god were equally wide and numerous; and indeed in this case there was no distinction in name between the various versions of the deity in his many local shrines. He is Lord of the Sky, the Powerful, Lord of Ḥatti, Lord of the Camp, of Trade, of Relief, and of Mounds. Numerous shrines of the god are known, and a number are mentioned in one of the ritual documents which give an inventory of the temple furniture and seasonal offerings. We may see in the unification of the various aspects of this god, some tendency toward a monotheistic conception.

Apart from these two deities in their various forms, the sun-goddess of Arinna ranks first in the pantheon. She was essentially the war-goddess, and as such was propitiated and invoked on the eve of the battle. She was also the maker and dethroner of kings, the guardian of oaths and treaties. Her shrine has not been found, but for various reasons it seems to have been located in the Cataonian area of Taurus, and precisely there at Comana survived a sanctuary of Ma-Bellona, goddess of war, represented on Roman coins as a solar deity.

In addition to these leading deities, national and tribal, appear other more elemental forms, such as the gods of mountains and streams, some of whose shrines are known. Among these may be grouped the spring-shrines of Eflatoun Bunar, in the S.W. of the plateau, of Fraktin on the Upper Sarus, and of Ivriz in Taurus; while the enthroned image of Teshub on the crag of Kizil Dagh, and the altar on Kuru-Bel, may probably be classed among the mountain shrines.



Priest-King and God of Cultivation.

We find then in this society a somewhat strange complex of religious expression, in which the forces of nature, the productivity of the earth and the beneficence of rain, take the lead. Below and behind them lurk more primitive conceptions of elemental forces and animism, expressed in symbolism with convention, but doubtless invoked by those who had need of them, with real emotion and conviction.

9. Architecture

The great movements that have traversed Asia Minor through the ages have left little trace of Hittite buildings visible above the soil; and reconstructions upon foundations disclosed by excavations cannot altogether fill this void. The remains of Pteria, the city which rose during the 10th and 9th cents. out of the ruins of the former Hittite capital, preserve apparently intact a number of original Hittite features. The earliest city crowned a hilltop, and was surrounded by a great stone wall. This was brought in places to the edge of the plateau where rocky scarps give way steeply to deep ravines which partly inclose the position. It is clear that a science of military architecture was in being, and it is from this point of view that most of the visible remains provide special interest. This aspect of the question accords with the evidence of the writings: copies of military instructions have been deciphered, giving precise details as to constructive works under varying conditions. In the line of march, for example, camp lines are laid down with the strictness of the later Roman regulations, including the depth of ditches and the length of palisades, both figures varying according to the conditions of the campaign, whether in friendly or in hostile territory. The spirit of organization is manifest in military affairs no less than in all other aspects of the national life.

In the city of Ḫattusas, great doorways through the main walls were adorned on either hand with sculptured cornerstones, which formed at the same time the jambs of the archway. All these details are worthy of attention. The masonry, in which large stones were freely employed, was bonded in a way that was calculated to resist any lateral thrust; portions of the greater stones were cut away to serve as stops, and into these were fitted smaller stones. These were not, as a rule, squared, but had a roughly five-sided shape, which lent itself more readily to this device. The deliberate purpose of this method of bonding is seen carried out with great elaboration in the remains of a palace building which was built on the brink of a ravine. In this the bonding of the lower courses of stone is reinforced by extensive "joggles" of a kind familiar in carpentry, carried out both horizontally and vertically; and even the rock upon which the walls are laid was cut and grooved in such a way that no slipping could take place. This masonry, though weathered, remains today a compact mass of stonework in which no shifting has taken place, notwithstanding that the walls in less-exposed places have largely perished. The arches which covered these doorways are of peculiar type. They were constructed of very large stones which, overhanging on either side, rested each in equilibrium upon the other. Three such stones above the giant corner pieces were usually sufficient to complete the design. Though meeting over the doorway they did not support one another, as in the familiar construction of an archway, but the effect of an arched entrance was gained by cutting and smoothing the stones so placed on either side to the shape of a pointed arch.

The sculptures are also distinctive; in this case they seem to have been carved in the 13th cent. BC. They take the form of great snarling lions, the foreparts of which project beyond the building line with realistic effect. In a neighboring city, that of Eyuk, to which allusion has been made, the cornerstones are carved as great bull-sphinxes; but the lion is the familiar emblem, becoming more common as the centuries passed, and almost standardized in the later palace buildings of the Taurus region and northern Syria. Internally, the palaces or palace-temples of the city were more or less uniform in design, wherein the chambers surround a large square central court; from which they are further separated on two sides, as a rule, by long corridors. This type of building evolved, it would seem, not only as a dwelling-house, but as a palace-temple. The lion cornerstones and other decorative sculptures are in this respect significant. For the lion, as we have seen, was the emblem of the Mother-goddess whose priest was the king. So that the lion cornerstone not merely represents the guardian of the building, but indicates its sacred character and the priestly rank of its occupier. The other sculptures with which the façades of such buildings are decorated carry out the same motive, representing scenes of sacrifice or worship with its usual accompaniment. Such palaces existed at Boghaz Keui and at Eyuk; and at the latter place the whole range of sculptures on either side was uncovered *in situ*. Other examples, better preserved, but belonging to a later cycle, are found in the sites of Syria.

In addition to the cities and palaces of Asia Minor, here and there are found small compact fortresses, usually built upon some height. The inner defenses of the capital are examples of this class; and elsewhere upon the plateau, notably at Giaour Kalesi, Kara-Burnar and in the Kizil Dagh, such buildings are found associated or in close proximity with Hittite carvings or inscriptions.

III. Hittites in Syria.—We have examined now in various aspects the story of Hittite activities in Asia Minor, and in each respect have found a link or association with northern and even central Syria, where also the Egyptians were seen to have established contact with them in the 14th cent. BC. Historically, the evidences of Hittite occupation of northern Syria, and the domination of central Syria at that time, are not in doubt, and we have found it probable that the Hittite-Amorite combination (of which there is written record) pushed further S. and penetrated into Syria during the period of the Tell el-Amarna letters. We turn in conclusion to consider the evidence of Hittite influence in Syria earlier and later than the evident period of Ḥattic expansion (the 14th–13th cent. BC).

1. Early Period

As regards the earlier centuries there is no conclusive evidence. Excavations at Carchemish and *Mishrefeh*, have shown that the dominating note in the culture of the Middle Bronze Age was Babylonian and not Ḥattic; and a piece of sculpture discovered at *Beisan* belonging to the nearer age of Thothmes III in the 15th cent. was also of Babylonian character. To the same reign belongs an inscription found at *Tell Oreimeh* on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, which refers to the overthrow of Mitanni. Further, the kinship between the societies and culture of western Asia is traceable as far back as the late neolithic period. So that, if Hittite population or influence was present in Syria before the 14th cent. BC, its culture was of Babylonian rather than Ḥattic character. That this is the explanation seems probable. It must be recalled that practically nothing material is known of the Ḥattians of Boghaz-Keui and district earlier than the period of their Empire; though in earlier centuries, Mursil I and Telebinus, according to the records, had made their power felt as far as Babylon and Damascus, while Aleppo had been reduced from its dominant position. We must further recall that the only site of Asia Minor which has been excavated in its earlier levels, namely the neighborhood of Kara Euyk (Kanes), has yielded also abundant traces of Babylonian contact and influence before the opening of the 2d millenium BC. These indications, it is to be recognized, are scanty and inconclusive; but, so far as they go, they suggest that the basis of Hittite culture was due to a strong Babylonian influence, which endured and predominated, until the dynasty of Subbiluliuma developed that remarkable social system and civilization which we distinguish as Ḥattic. The Ḥattic kings soon after 1200 BC established their supremacy in Syria, and to this end seem to have occupied strategic positions like Sinjerli in the N. At this time it is clear that the predominant influence in Syria was that of Mitanni. The culture of the Mitannian branch of the Hittites had been evolved in close contact with Babylonia and the Semitic world. A certain difficulty in explaining the connotation of the word Hittite should not obscure the main conclusion. And does not gainsay the possibility that the population of Syria, especially northern Syria, may have been largely Hittite from the beginning. Toward the south of Syria, crossing the Amorite zone, a Hittite-Amorite mingling is to be anticipated.

2. The Ḥattic Empire, 1400–1250 BC

Traces of distinctive Ḥattic work in Syria are rare. The domination of the Ḥattic kings during the 14th cent. endured too short a time to impress its distinctive traces upon the population as a whole. Nevertheless a number of sculptures unearthed in the lower levels at Sinjerli, and some few from Carchemish, seem to reflect this age and influence. We have indeed already hypothesized, from the strategic position of Sinjerli and other Hittite cities lying southward from Marash, that here the Ḥattic kings may have established their base and starting-point for further operations to the S. The Hittite name of Sinjerli is not known, so that the records cannot throw light as yet upon this matter. Carchemish, however, becomes prominent in the archives of these times, being reduced to the status of a vassal state to which the Ḥattic king dictated its external policy. Here and there also in isolated finds, like the sculptured corner piece from Aintab in the N., and the deposits found in the temple of this age at *Beisan* in the S., there is further evidence of direct Ḥattic contact; but on the whole the witness of monuments bears out the evidence of the written records, which attest a military occupation, but (so far as Syria is concerned) no organized movement or migration at this time.

3. Later Period

With the 12th cent. came the great catastrophe which destroyed the Ḥattic power, and translated considerable elements of the population from Asia Minor into Syria. Some of the peoples behind the movement were clearly in migration, among whom were the Philistines, who found their footing on the coast of southern Palestine, and the Thekels, a kindred folk who settled to the N. Doubtless other elements of the population throughout Syria were affected in like manner by this sudden incursion. But when the storm had passed, the Hittite cities of the N. revived, and from the 10th cent. BC attained a prosperous position, notwithstanding that the Ḥattic régime was at an end. The movement, indeed, affected the Ḥattians and Ḥattic power much more profoundly than the remainder of the Hittite world. Monuments in the Taurus mountains (at Ivriz and Bor) and eastward as far as Malatia, attest a notable revival in these succeeding centuries, which rivals in historical interest the period of the Empire. It is not clear whether any particular cities assumed a dominant rôle in these later centuries. Certainly tradition associates Tyana upon the plateau with the memory of a Cilician Empire, while Carchemish upon the Euphrates becomes prominent in the Assyrian records of these days. The old-established system of leagues and alliance for mutual protection still prevailed, and the city-states by their frequent combinations were able to ward off the menace of Assyria and even regain their freedom. Among the cities which flourished upon the evidence of their remains, appear Carchemish, Sinjerli, Sakje-Geuzi, and Marash; while monuments found at Aintab, Aleppo, and even farther S. upon the Orontes at Hamath and Restan, attest the development of other Hittite centers. The art and architecture of these places, as may be supposed, while reflecting Hittite motives, is distinctive in its character. It is affected, but not dominated, by Assyrian feeling, the result of a general but not overwhelming influence. It is the expression of the Hittite art of the 10th and 9th cent. BC. Its emergence argues strongly for the permanence of the Hittite occupation of these sites. The range of this culture embraced all the Taurus from Tyana to Malatia, and Syria west of the Euphrates from Marash to Hamath. Within this sphere arose new palaces of local kings, who maintained and fostered the old institutions. They were in person priests as well as rulers, their palaces were adorned with sculptures among which the lion of the goddess almost invariably formed the cornerstone. Scenes of the chase and ceremonial feasts attest periods of relative security during which these kings, inured to warfare, prospered and developed their own aspirations. These were the kings of the Hittites whose name looms large in the chronicles of Israel, where their fame in war appears calculated to strike terror in the imagination (2 K **7** 6), a fame won at the latter end in the cause of liberty.

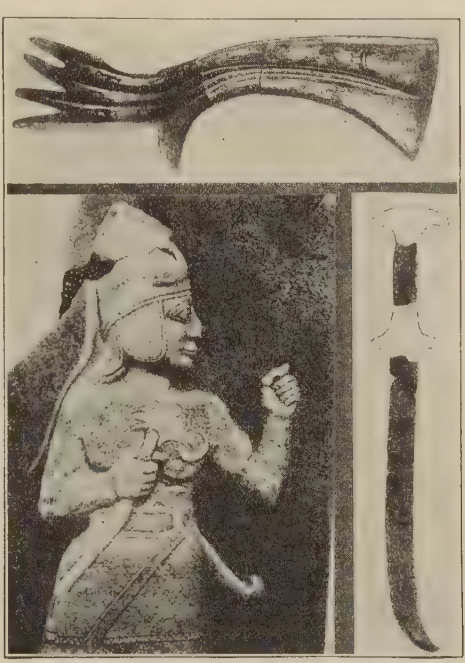
The end came with the final Assyrian conquests. Some city-states, already accepting Assyrian suzerainty, had survived in new guise and rapidly absorbed the elements of Assyrian civilization. Others held out and even stirred up disaffection among those who had opened their gates. About 743 BC Assyria began finally to assert her supremacy. Carchemish fell about 718 BC and Assyrian troops entered Asia Minor by way of Cilicia. The fastnesses of Taurus were stormed and captured by 712 BC and the fall of Marash in 709 BC closes the last chapter of Hittite history.

IV. Hittites in the OT.—The references to Hittites in the Bible are forty-six in number, but only about twelve of these appear to refer to contemporary events. These occur in 1 S **26** 6; 2 S **11** 3–24; **12** 9–10; **23** 39; 2 K **7** 6; 1 Ch **11** 41, 2 Ch **1** 17; **8** 7. They are contemporary with the monarchy, and belong to the period of Hittite revival in northern and central Syria. The great bulk of these allusions, however, refer to a single individual, Uriah, a Hittite free-lance, familiar with camp life, who had hired out his service. These references, however, disclose the presence of Hittite individuals as accepted members of the community of Palestine. Another context (namely that of 2 K **7** 6 already mentioned) contains again the suggestion that Hittite bands with their leaders might be hired in war; but that of 2 Ch **1** 17, alluding to the trade in horses, seems to reflect the established position of the Hittite kinglets in the N.

There seems to have been a common source of these allusions, for nearly all speak in almost parallel terms of the Hittites as a recognized element among the settled population of Palestine. The grouping of Amorites, Canaanites, and Hittites is almost stereotyped (Ex **3** 8, 17; **13** 5; **33** 3; **34** 11; Dt **20** 17; Jos **3** 10; **9** 1; **12** 8). Some contexts associate also smaller elements of doubtful racial stock, e.g. Perizzites (Gen **15** 20; Ex **23** 23), Jebusites (Nu **13** 29), and Girgashites and Hivites (Jos **24** 11). The Jebusites it is true are described in Ezk **16** 3, 45, as of combined Amorite-Hittite stock, a suggestive possibility; but this only confirms the general impression of an established tradition stated explicitly in Jgs **3** 5, 6. "The children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanite, the Hittite and the Amorite, and the Perizzite and the Hivite and the Jebusite; and they took their daughters to be their wives."

Apart from the unanimity of this tradition of an old-established Hittite element in the population, there is little to be discerned in the OT references that corresponds with the known development of Ḥattic influence. One passage possibly contemporary in its allusion to the period of the Ḥattic Empire, in Jos **11** 3, amended to conform with the LXX and other passages, indicates a settlement of Hittites at the foot of Hermon in the land of Mizpeh. The last name is plausibly identified with the district of *Kalat Es Subeibeh,* an identity which suits the facts and context. In any case, a Hittite monument, though apparently of the latest style, has been found as far S. as Tiberias. More apposite is the great stone lion in early Hittite style, a piece of sculpture full of vigor and animation, found at Sheikh Sàad, which commands the highroad from Damascus to the east of Jordan. This monumental cornerstone gives proof of the presence of a palatial building, hence probably of an administrative resident. The discovery also of Hittite objects of the period at *Beisan,* suggests a definite penetration of Hittite forces into northern Palestine involving of tactical necessity the occupation of Hazor, where the main roads from the N. and from Damascus converge in the Huleh Basin. This would explain and conform with certain passages in the TA letters; and moreover the site of Hazor lies in the S.W. of the small plain of Huleh, which on the opposite side is dominated by Hermon. Then scattered suggestions tend to corroborate the presence of Hittite settlers in that neighborhood.

The bulk of references to Hittites in the early contexts (even those of the Book of Jos) indicate, however, a *fait accompli;* and even in the Patriarchal age, Hittites were settled at Hebron and owned property (Gen **23**). Whatever may be the result of a critical examination of these passages, it is evident a strong tradition existed and was found in the sources from which this Bible text was prepared or amplified, to the effect that from the beginnings of Hebrew relations with Canaan, Hittites were already present in the land. The visible period of the Ḥattic Empire, heralded by the conquests of Subbiluliuma in the 14th cent. BC has left no visible impression in these records. The question remains, are we to regard all the early Hittite contexts as seeming anachronisms (like the reference to the king of the Philistines in Gen **26** 8) or do we find evidence of an earlier period of Hittite domination or dispersal which might have secured for Hittite settlers a place in Palestine? To some extent we do. The great development of the Ḥattic power which led to the conquest of Aleppo, and the sack of Babylon in the early years of the 2d millennium BC, if not marking the occasion, give an indication of such a possibility. The presence, moreover, of such colonies or settlements does not necessarily imply political ascendancy. The fact that no characteristic Ḥattic monuments of this early period (the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age) have been found in excavated sites of Palestine cannot be urged in argument, for nothing shows that Ḥattic art had then developed its individual character as we know it in later times. The evidence on this point, though scanty, tends uniformly to show that the prevailing influence throughout the Hittite world in pre-Ḥattic times was Babylonian, and that this culture was largely shared by the Mitannians whose period of authority in Syria immediately preceded that of Ḥatti.



Hittite Weapons, from Beisan, Palestine.

The mention, then, of Hittites, as among the recognized elements of the population of Palestine in Patriarchal times, is not of necessity anachronistic; it reflects on the other hand the state of society, under Babylonian influence, which tolerated Semitic colonists among the Hittite communities of Asia Minor. The presence of Hittites in the vicinity of Hermon, suggested in the Book of Jos, is not improbable, and accords in fact with the implied activities of Hittites in that neighborhood during the period of the Ḥattic Empire. The later references to kings of the Hittites reflect, as we have seen, the contemporary state of political affairs in northern Syria.

Thus emerged from the shades of obscurity one of the greatest nations of the ancient world. Twenty-five years ago some of the foremost orientalists did not believe in the existence of a Hittite nation. Today it is seen that Ḥatti formed a worthy third with the two other great nations, Egypt and Babylonia-Assyria. The Hittites were not in long centuries overrun and subjugated which suggests that they were quite able to defend themselves. But in any case the strategic location of Ḥatti gave her an advantage not possessed by either of her rivals. The difficulty, practicable impossibility, of crossing either the sea or the desert compelled those nations in any attempts against each other to pass by the Bridge of Nations, Palestine, in effect the pass of Megiddo, some forty rods wide, and by Carchemish and the Euphrates Valley. But the Hittites always sat at that Syrian corner and neither of those nations dared pass without an alliance with Ḥatti, lest they leave an enemy in the rear. How much this, in the providence of God, had to do with the sheltering of Israel at Jerusalem until Ḥatti disappeared and Nebuchadnezzar came, only future discoveries will disclose.

John Garstang

HIVITE, hī′vīt (חִוִּי, *ḥiwwī;* **Εὐαῖος**, *Heuaios*):

1. Name

A son of Canaan (Gen **10** 17), i.e. an inhabitant of the land of Canaan along with the Canaanite and other tribes (Ex **3** 17, etc). In the list of Canaanite peoples given in Gen **15** 19–21, the Hivites are omitted in the Heb text, though inserted in LXX and S. Gesenius suggests that the name is descriptive, meaning "villagers." The difficulty of explaining it is increased by the fact that it has been confused with "Horite" in some passages of the Heb text. In Josh **9** 7 the LXX reads "Horite" as also does Cod. A in Gen **34** 2, and in Gen **36** 2 a comparison with vs 24.25 shows that "Horite" must be substituted for "Hivite."

2. Geographical Situation

In Jgs **3** 3 the Hittites are described as dwelling "in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-hermon unto the entrance of Hamath," and in accordance with this the Hivite is described in Josh **11** 3 as being "under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh," and in 2 S **24** 7 they are mentioned immediately after "the stronghold of Tyre." Hence the LXX (Cod. A) reading must be right in Gen **34** 2 and Josh **9** 7, which makes the inhabitants of Shechem and Gibeon Horites instead of Hivites; indeed, in Gen **48** 22 the people of Shechem are called Amorite, though this was a general name for the population of Canaan in the patriarchal period. No name resembling Hivite has yet been found in the Egyp or Bab inscriptions.

A. H. Sayce

HIZKI, hiz′kī (חִזְקִי, *ḥizḳī;* LXX **Ἀζακί**, *Azaki;* AV **Hezeki**): A son of Elpaal, a descendant of Benjamin (1 Ch **8** 17).

HIZKIAH, hiz-kī′a (חִזְקִיָּה, *ḥizḳīyāh;* LXX **Ἐζεκία**, *Ezekia*, "strength of Jeh"):

(1) A son of Neariah, a descendant of David (1 Ch **3** 23, AV "Hezekiah").

(2) An ancestor of the prophet Zephaniah (Zeph **1** 1). In RV this word is here tr^d "Hezekiah." This name again appears in Neh **10** 17 [Heb **18**] in the form of "Hizkijah" in AV, but as "Hezekiah" in RV. See Hezekiah.

HOAR, hōr, **HOARY**, hōr′i. See Color (8); Ha.r.

HOAR-FROST, hōr′frost, **HOARY.** See Frost.

HOBAB, hō′bab (חֹבָב, *ḥōbhābh*, "beloved"; LXX **Ὀβάβ**, *Obáb*): This name occurs only twice (Nu **10** 29; Jgs **4** 11). It is not certain whether it denotes the father-in-law or the brother-in-law of Moses. The direct statement of Nu **10** 29 is that Hobab was "the son of Reuel" (AV "Raguel"). This is probably the correct view and finds support in Ex **18** 27, which tells us that some time before the departure of the Israelites from Sinai, Jethro had departed and returned to his own land. The statement of Jgs **4** 11 is ambiguous, and therefore does not help us out of the difficulty, but is rather itself to be interpreted in the light of the earlier statement in Nu **10** 29.

Mohammedan traditions favor the view that Hobab was only another name for Jethro. But this has little weight against the statements of Scripture. However, whether father-in-law or brother-in-law to Moses, the service he rendered to the leader of the hosts of Israel was most valuable and beautiful. Hobab was an experienced sheikh of the desert whose counsel and companionship Moses desired in the unfamiliar regions through which he was to journey. His knowledge of the wilderness and of its possible dangers would enable him to be to the Israelites "instead of eyes."

The facts recorded of this man are too meager to enable us to answer all the questions that arise concerning him. A difficulty that remains unsolved is the fact that in Jgs **1** 16 and **4** 11 he is described as a Kenite, while in Ex **3** 1 and **18** 1, the father-in-law of Moses is spoken of as "the priest of Midian."

Jesse L. Cotton

HOBAH, hō′ba (חוֹבָה, *ḥōbhāh*): A place "on the left hand," i.e. to the N. of "Damascus," to which Abraham pursued the defeated army of Chedorlaomer (Gen **14** 15). It is probably identical with the modern *Ḥoba*, about 60 miles N.W. of Damascus.

HOBAIAH, hŏ-bā′ya (חֳבַיָּה, *ḥŏbhāyāh*, "whom Jeh hides," i.e. "protects"): The head of a priestly family that returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. Because they could not trace their genealogy, they were not permitted to serve in the priestly office (Neh **7** 63 f). In the Ḳ^e^rē of this passage and in the ‖ list of Ezr **2** 61, this name appears in the form "Habaiah" (חֲבַיָּה, *ḥăbhayyāh*). "Obdia" is the form of the word in 1 Esd **5** 38.

HOCK (עָקַר, *‘āḳar*, "to root out"): To hamstring, i.e. to render useless by cutting the tendons of the hock (in AV and ERV "hough"). "In their self-will they hocked an ox" (Gen **49** 6, AV "digged down a wall"), in their destructiveness maiming those which they could not carry off. See also Josh **11** 6.9; 2 S **8** 4.

HOD, hod (הוֹד, *hōdh*, "majesty," "splendor"; LXX A, **Ὥδ**, *Hōd;* B, **Ὠά**, *Ōá*): One of the sons of Zophah, a descendant of Asher (1 Ch **7** 37).

HODAIAH, hŏ-dā′ya. See Hodaviah.

HODAVIAH, hod-a-vī′a (הוֹדַוְיָה, *hōdhawyāh,* or הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, *hōdhawyāhū;* LXX A, **Ὠδουία,** *Hōdouía*):

(1) One of the heads of the half-tribe of Manasseh on the E. of the Jordan (1 Ch **5** 24).

(2) A Benjamite, the son of Hassenuah (1 Ch **9** 7).

(3) A Levite, who seems to have been the head of an important family in that tribe (Ezr **2** 40). In Neh **7** 43 the name is Hodevah (הוֹדְוָה, *hōdhᵉwāh;* Ḳᵉrē הוֹדְיָה, *hōdhᵉyāh*). Cf Ezr **3** 9.

(4) A son of Elioenai, and a descendant of David (1 Ch **3** 24; הוֹדַיְוָהוּ, *hōdhaywāhū;* Ḳᵉrē הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, *hōdhawyāhū,* AV "Hodaiah").

HODESH, hō′desh (חֹדֶשׁ, *ḥōdhesh,* "new moon"): One of the wives of Shaharaim, a Benjamite (1 Ch **8** 9).

HODEVAH, hȯ-dē′va, hō′dė-va (הוֹדְוָה, *hōdhᵉwāh,* הוֹדְיָה, *hōdhᵉyāh,* "splendor of Jeh"): A Levite and founder of a Levite family, seventy-four of whom returned from exile with Zerubbabel, 538 BC (Neh **7** 43). ARVm gives as another reading "Hodeiah." In Ezr **2** 40 he is called Hodaviah, of which Hodevah and Hodeiah are slight textual corruptions, and in Ezr **3** 9 Judah, a name practically synonymous.

HODIAH, hȯ-dī′a, **HODIJAH,** hȯ-dī′ja (הוֹדִיָּה, *hōdhīyāh,* "splendor of Jeh"):

(1) A brother-in-law of Naham (1 Ch **4** 19), and possibly for that reason reckoned a member of the tribe of Judah. AV tr "his wife" is wrong.

(2) One of the Levites who explained to the people the Law as read by Ezra (Neh **8** 7) and led their prayers (Neh **9** 5). He is doubtless one of the two Levites of this name who sealed the covenant of Nehemiah (Neh **10** 10.13).

(3) One of the chiefs of the people who sealed the covenant of Nehemiah (Neh **10** 18).

J. Gray McAllister

HOGLAH, hog′la (חָגְלָה, *ḥoghlāh,* "partridge"): The third of five daughters of Zelophehad of the tribe of Manasseh (Nu **26** 33). Z. leaving no male heir, it was made a statute that the inheritance in such cases should pass to the daughters, if such there were, as joint heirs, on condition, however, of marriage within the tribe (Nu **27** 1–11; **36** 1–12; Josh **17** 3 f).

HOHAM, hō′ham (הוֹהָם, *hōhām,* "whom Jeh impels[?]" Ges.): An Amorite king of Hebron and one of the five kings of the Amorites who leagued for war on Gibeon because of its treaty of peace with Joshua. The five were defeated in the decisive battle of Beth-horon, shut up in the cave at Makkedah in which they had taken refuge, and after the battle were slain, hanged and cast into the cave (Josh **10** 1–27).

HOISE, hoiz: The older form of "hoist" (OE *hoise*), to raise, to lift, and is the tr of *epaírō,* "to lift up": "they . . . . hoised up the mainsail to the wind" (Acts **27** 40). RV "and hoisting up the foresail to the wind"; Wiclif has "lefte up," Tindale "hoysed up."

HOLD, hōld: In ARV frequently "stronghold" (Jgs **9** 49; 1 S **22** 4; **24** 22; 2 S **5** 17; **23** 14; 1 Ch **11** 16; **12** 16). See Fortification. In Rev **18** 2 for AV "cage" (*phulakḗ*) RV substitutes, as in first clause, "hold," and in m "prison."

HOLDING, hōl′ding: Occurs with various shades of meaning: (1) as the tr of *tāmakh,* "to acquire," it has the sense of taking, obtaining (Isa **33** 15, RV "that shaketh his hands from taking a bribe," ERV, as AV, "holding"); (2) of *kūl,* "to hold," "contain," having the sense of containing or restraining (Jer **6** 11, "I am weary with holding in"); (3) of *kratéō,* "to receive," "observe," "maintain" (Mk **7** 3, "holding the tradition of the elders"; 1 Tim **1** 19, *échō,* "holding faith and a good conscience"; **3** 9, "holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience"); (4) holding fast, cleaving to, *krateō* (Col **2** 19, "not holding the head," RV "holding fast"; cf Acts **3** 11; Rev **7** 1, "holding the four winds of the earth, that no wind should blow"); *antéchomai,* "to hold over against one's self," "to hold fast" (Tit **1** 9, RV "holding to the faithful word"); (5) holding forth, *epéchō,* "to hold upon, to hold out toward" (Phil **2** 16, "holding forth the word of life," so RV); Lightfoot has "holding out" (as offering); others, however, render "holding fast," persevering in the Christian faith and life—connecting with being "blameless and harmless" in ver 15.

W. L. Walker

HOLINESS, hō′li-nes (קָדוֹשׁ, *ḳādhōsh,* "holy," קֹדֶשׁ, *ḳōdhesh,* "holiness"; **ἅγιος,** *hágios,* "holy"):

I. In the OT Meaning of the Term
   1. The Holiness of God
      (1) Absoluteness and Majesty
      (2) Ethical Holiness
   2. Holiness of Place, Time and Object
   3. Holiness of Men
      (1) Ceremonial
      (2) Ethical and Spiritual
II. In the NT: The Christian Conception
   1. Applied to God
   2. To Christ
   3. To Things
   4. To Christians
      (1) As Separate from the World
      (2) As Bound to the Pursuit of an Ethical Ideal

I. In the OT Meaning of the Term.—There has been much discussion as to the original meaning of the Sem root *ḲDSH,* by which the notion of holiness is expressed in the OT. Some would connect it with an Assyr word denoting purity, clearness; most modern scholars incline to the view that the primary idea is that of cutting off or separation. Etymology gives no sure verdict on the point, but the idea of separation lends itself best to the various senses in which the word "holiness" is employed. In primitive Sem usage "holiness" seems to have expressed nothing more than that ceremonial separation of an object from common use which the modern study of savage religions has rendered familiar under the name of *taboo* (W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* Lect iv). But within the Bib. sphere, with which alone we are immediately concerned, holiness attaches itself first of all, not to visible objects, but to the invisible Jeh, and to places, seasons, things and human beings only in so far as they are associated with Him. And while the idea of ceremonial holiness runs through the OT, the ethical significance which Christianity attributes to the term is never wholly absent, and gradually rises in the course of the revelation into more emphatic prominence.

1. The Holiness of God

As applied to God the notion of holiness is used in the OT in two distinct senses: (1) First in the more general sense of separation from all that is human and earthly. It thus denotes the absoluteness, majesty, and awfulness of the Creator in His distinction from the creature. In this use of the word, "holiness" is little more than an equivalent general term for "Godhead," and the adj. "holy" is almost synonymous with "Divine" (cf Dnl **4** 8.9.18; **5** 11). Jeh's "holy arm" (Isa **52** 10; Ps **98** 1) is His Divine arm, and His "holy name" (Lev **20** 3, etc) is His Divine name. When Hannah sings "There is none holy as Jeh" (1 S **2** 2), the rest of the verse suggests that she is referring, not to His ethical holiness, but simply to His supreme Divinity.

(2) But, in the next place, holiness of character in the distinct ethical sense is ascribed to God. The injunction, "Be ye holy; for I am holy" (Lev **11** 44; **19** 2), plainly implies an ethical conception. Men cannot resemble God in His incommunicable attributes. They can reflect His likeness only along the lines of those moral qualities of righteousness and love in which true holiness consists. In the Psalmists and Prophets the Divine holiness becomes, above all, an ethical reality convicting men of sin (Isa **6** 3.5) and demanding of those who would stand in His presence clean hands and a pure heart (Ps **24** 3 f).

2. Holiness of Place, Time and Object

From the holiness of God is derived that ceremonial holiness of things which is characteristic of the OT religion. Whatever is connected with the worship of the holy Jeh is itself holy. Nothing is holy in itself, but anything becomes holy by its consecration to Him. A place where He manifests His presence is holy ground (Ex **3** 5). The tabernacle or temple in which His glory is revealed is a holy building (Ex **28** 29; 2 Ch **35** 5); and all its sacrifices (Ex **29** 33), ceremonial materials (**30** 25; Nu **5** 17) and utensils (1 K **8** 4) are also holy. The Sabbath is holy because it is the Sabbath of the Lord (Ex **20** 8–11). "Holiness, in short, expresses a *relation*, which consists negatively in separation from common use, and positively in dedication to the service of Jeh" (Skinner in *HDB*, II, 395).

3. Holiness of Men

The holiness of men is of two kinds: (1) A ceremonial holiness, corresponding to that of impersonal objects and depending upon their relation to the outward service of Jeh. Priests and Levites are holy because they have been "hallowed" or "sanctified" by acts of consecration (Ex **29** 1; Lev **8** 12. 30). The Nazirite is holy because he has separated himself unto the Lord (Nu **6** 5). Above all, Israel, notwithstanding all its sins and shortcomings, is holy, as a nation separated from other nations for Divine purposes and uses (Ex **19** 6, etc; cf Lev **20** 24). (2) But out of this merely ceremonial holiness there emerges a higher holiness that is spiritual and ethical. For unlike other creatures man was made in the image of God and capable of reflecting the Divine likeness. And as God reveals Himself as ethically holy, He calls man to a holiness resembling His own (Lev **19** 2). In the so-called "Law of Holiness" (Lev **17**–**26**), God's demand for moral holiness is made clear; and yet the moral contents of the Law are still intermingled with ceremonial elements (**17** 10 ff; **19** 19; **21** 1 ff). In psalm and prophecy, however, a purely ethical conception comes into view—the conception of a human holiness which rests upon righteousness and truth (Ps **15** 1 f) and the possession of a contrite and humble spirit (Isa **57** 15). This corresponds to the knowledge of a God who, being Himself ethically holy, esteems justice, mercy and lowly piety more highly than sacrifice (Hos **6** 6; Mic **6** 6–8).

II. In the NT: The Christian Conception.—The idea of holiness is expressed here chiefly by the word *hagios* and its derivatives, which correspond very closely to the words of the *ḲDSH* group in Heb, and are employed to render them in the LXX. The distinctive feature of the NT idea of holiness is that the external aspect of it has almost entirely disappeared, and the ethical meaning has become supreme. The ceremonial idea still exists in contemporary Judaism, and is typically represented by the Pharisees (Mk **7** 1–13; Lk **18** 11 f). But Jesus proclaimed a new view of religion and morality according to which men are cleansed or defiled, not by anything outward, but by the thoughts of their hearts (Mt **15** 17–20), and God is to be worshipped neither in Samaria nor Jerus, but wherever men seek Him in spirit and in truth (Jn **4** 21–24).

1. Applied to God

In the NT the term "holy" is seldom applied to God, and except in quotations from the OT (Lk **1** 49; 1 Pet **1** 15 f), only in the Johannine writings (Jn **17** 11; Rev **4** 8; **6** 10). But it is constantly used of the Spirit of God (Mt **1** 18; Acts **1** 2; Rom **5** 5, etc), who now, in contrast with OT usage, becomes specifically the Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost.

2. Applied to Christ

In several passages the term is applied to Christ (Mk **1** 24; Acts **3** 14; **4** 30, etc), as being the very type of ethical perfection (cf He **7** 26).

3. Applied to Things

In keeping with the fact that things are holy in a derivative sense through their relationship to God, the word is used of Jerus (Mt **4** 5), the OT covenant (Lk **1** 72), the Scriptures (Rom **1** 2), the Law (**7** 12), the Mount of Transfiguration (2 Pet **1** 18), etc.

4. Applied to Christians

But it is esp. in its application to Christians that the idea of holiness meets us in the NT in a sense that is characteristic and distinctive. Christ's people are regularly called "saints" or holy persons, and holiness in the high ethical and spiritual meaning of the word is used to denote the appropriate quality of their life and conduct. (1) No doubt, as applied to believers, "saints" conveys in the first place the notion of a separation from the world and a consecration to God. Just as Israel under the old covenant was a chosen race, so the Christian church in succeeding to Israel's privileges becomes a holy nation (1 Pet **2** 9), and the Christian individual, as one of the elect people, becomes a holy man or woman (Col **3** 12). In Paul's usage all baptized persons are "saints," however far they may still be from the saintly character (cf 1 Cor **1** 2.14 with **5** 1 ff). (2) But though the use of the name does not imply high ethical character as a realized fact, it always assumes it as an ideal and an obligation. It is taken for granted that the Holy Spirit has taken up His abode in the heart of every regenerate person, and that a work of positive sanctification is going on there. The NT leaves no room for the thought of a holiness divorced from those moral qualities which the holy God demands of those whom He has called to be His people. See SANCTIFICATION.

LITERATURE.—Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Lects iii, iv; A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the OT*, 145 ff; Schultz, *Theology of the OT*, II, 167 ff; Orr, *Sin as a Problem of To-day*, ch iii; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, 12 ff; arts. "Holiness" in *HDB* and "Heiligkeit Gottes im AT" in *RE*.

J. C. LAMBERT

HOLLOW, hol′ō (כַּף, *kaph*, נָבַב, *nābhabh*): "Hollow" is the tr of *kaph*, "hollow" (Gen **32** 25.32, "the hollow of his thigh," the hip-pan or socket, over the sciatic nerve); of *nābhabh*, "to be hollow" (Ex **27** 8; **38** 7; Jer **52** 21); of *shōʽal*, "hollow" (Isa **40** 12, "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand?" [in handfuls; cf 1 K **20** 10; Ezk **13** 19]); of *makhtēsh*, "a mortar," "socket of a tooth" (from its shape) (Jgs **15** 19, "God clave an [RV "the"] hollow place that is in Lehi"); of *shᵉḳaʽărūrōth*, prob. from *ḳāʽar*, "to sink" (Lev **14** 37, "the walls of the house with hollow strakes," so ERV, ARV "hollow streaks," depressions); of *koilótēs* (Wisd **17** 19, "the hollow mountains," RV "hollows of the mountains"); of *koílōma* (2 Macc **1** 19, "hollow place of a pit," RV "hollow of a well"); of *antrṓdēs* (**2** 5, "a hollow cave," RV "a chamber in the rock," m "Gr a cavernous chamber"). W. L. Walker

HOLM-TREE, hōm′trē:

(1) תִּרְזָה, *tirzāh* (Isa **44** 14, AV "cypress"): The name, from the root meaning (cf Arab. *taraza*) "to be hard," implies some very hard wood. Vulg has *ilex*, which is Lat for holm oak, so named from its holly-like leaves (*hollen* in OE = "holly"); this tr has now been adopted, but it is doubtful.

(2) πρῖνος, *prínos*, Sus ver 58. This is the ilex or holm oak. There is a play on the words *prinos* and *prísai* (lit. "saw") in vs 58 and 59 (see Susanna). The evergreen or holm oak is represented by two species in Pal, *Quercus ilex* and *Q. coccifera*. The leaf of both species is somewhat like a small holly leaf, is glossy green and usually spiny. The *Q. ilex* is insignificant, but *Q. coccifera* is a magnificent tree growing to a height of 40 ft. or more, and often found in Pal flourishing near sacred tombs, and itself not infrequently the object of superstitious veneration. E. W. G. Masterman

HOLOFERNES, hol-ō-fûr′nēz (Ὀλοφέρνης, *Olophérnēs*): According to the Book of Jth, chief captain of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians (Jth **2** 4), who was commissioned to make war upon the West country and to receive from the inhabitants the usual tokens of complete submission, earth and water. The object of the expedition of H., who thus became the typical persecutor of the Jews, was to compel men everywhere to worship Nebuchadnezzar. He was slain by Judith, the heroine of the book of that name, during the siege of Bethulia. There is no notice of H. except in the Book of Jth. The termination of the word would seem to indicate a Pers origin for the name. The H. of Shakespeare and Rabelais is in no way connected with the deeds of the H. of the Apoc. J. Hutchison

HOLON, hō′lon (חֹלֹן or חֹלוֹן, *ḥōlōn*):

(1) One of the towns in the hill country of Judah (Josh **15** 51) assigned to the Levites (**21** 15). In 1 Ch **6** 58 (Heb 43), it is Hilen (which see). The site may be the important ruins of *Beit ʿAlam* (see *PEF*, III, 313, 321, Sh XXI).

(2) Probably once an important town in the "plain," i.e. plateau, of Moab (Jer **48** 21); the site is unknown.

HOLYDAY, hō′li-dā: This word occurs twice in AV, viz. Ps **42** 4, "a multitude that kept [RV "keeping"] holyday," and Col **2** 16. In the latter case it is a rendering of the Gr word ἑορτή, *heortḗ*, the ordinary term for a religious festival. RV trs "feast day." In the former instance "keeping holyday" renders חָגַג, *ḥōghēgh*. The vb. means to "make a pilgrimage," or "keep a religious festival." Occasionally the idea of merrymaking prevails, as in 1 S **30** 16—"eating and drinking," and enjoying themselves merrily. The Psalmist (who was perhaps an exiled priest) remembers with poignant regret how he used to lead religious processions on festival occasions. T. Lewis

HOLY GHOST, hō′li gōst. See Holy Spirit.

HOLY GHOST (SPIRIT), SIN AGAINST THE. See Blasphemy; Holy Spirit, III, 1, (4).

HOLY OF HOLIES, hō′liz (קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים, *ḳōdhesh ha-ḳŏdhāshīm*, Ex **26** 33, דְּבִיר, *dᵉbhir*, 1 K **6** 16, etc; in the NT, ἅγια ἁγίων, *hágia hagíōn*, He **9** 3): The name given to the innermost shrine, or adytum of the sanctuary of Jeh.

1. In the Tabernacle

The most holy place of the tabernacle in the wilderness (Ex **26** 31–33) was a small cube of 10 cubits (15 ft.) every way. It was divided from the holy place by a veil which was lifted when entrance was made (see Veil). Ceiled by curtains which bore cherubic figures embroidered in blue and purple and scarlet (**26** 1), it contained no furniture but the Ark of the Covenant, covered by a slab of gold called the Mercy-Seat (q.v.), and having within it only the two stone tables of the Law (see Tabernacle; Ark of Covenant). Only the high priest, and he but once a year, on the great Day of Atonement (q.v.), was permitted to enter within the veil, clothed in penitential garments, amid a cloud of incense, and with blood of sacrifice (Lev **16**; cf He **9** 7).

2. In the Temple of Solomon

The proportions of the most holy place in the first temple were the same as in the tabernacle, but the dimensions were doubled. The sacred chamber was enlarged to 20 cubits (30 ft.) each way. We now meet with the word *dᵉbhir*, "oracle" (1 K **6** 16, etc), which with the exception of Ps **28** 2, belonging perhaps to the same age, is met with in Scripture only in the period of Solomon's reign. This *sanctum*, like its predecessor, contained but one piece of furniture—the Ark of the Covenant. It had, however, one new conspicuous feature in the two large figures of cherubim of olive wood, covered with gold, with wings stretching from wall to wall, beneath which the ark was now placed (1 K **6** 23–28; 2 Ch **3** 10–13; see Temple).

3. In Later Times

In Ezekiel's temple plans, which in many things may have been those of the temple of Zerubbabel, the prophet gives 20 cubits as the length and breadth of the most holy place, showing that these figures were regarded as too sacred to undergo change (Ezk **41** 4). There was then no Ark of the Covenant, but Jewish tradition relates that the blood of the great Day of Atonement was sprinkled on an unhewn stone that stood in its place. In Herod's temple, the dimensions of the two holy chambers remained the same—at least in length and breadth (see Temple, Herod's). The holiest place continued empty. In the spoils of the temple depicted on the Arch of Titus there is no representation of the Ark of the Covenant; only of the furniture of the outer chamber or holy place.

4. Figurative

In the Ep. to the He we are taught that the true holy of holies is the heaven into which Jesus has now entered to appear in virtue of His own sacrifice in the presence of God for us (He **9** 11 ff). Restriction is now removed, and the way into the holiest is made open for all His people (**10** 19.20). W. Shaw Caldecott

HOLY ONE. See God, Names of.

HOLY PLACE (הַקֹּדֶשׁ, *ha-ḳōdhesh*, Ex **26** 33, הַהֵיכָל, *ha-hēkhāl*, 1 K **6** 17, etc; ἡ πρώτη σκηνή, *hē prṓtē skēnḗ*, He **9** 6 f):

1. The Terms

The tabernacle consisted of two divisions to which a graduated scale of holiness is attached: "The veil shall separate unto you between the holy place and the most holy" (Ex **26** 33). This distinction was never abrogated. In the Ep. to the He these divisions are called the "first" and "second" tabernacles (He **9** 6 f). The term "holy place" is not indeed confined to the outer chamber of the sanctuary; in Lev **6** 16, it is applied to "the court of the tent of meeting." But the other is its technical use. In Solomon's temple we have a different usage. The word *hēkhāl*, "temple," is not at first applied, as after, to the whole building, but is the designation specifically of the holy place, in distinction from the *d^{e}bhīr*, or "oracle" (cf 1 K **6** 3.5.16.17.33, etc; so in Ezk **41** 1.2.4, etc). The wider usage is later (cf 2 K **11** 10 11.13, etc).

2. Size of the Holy Place

The size of the holy place differed at different times. The holy place of the tabernacle was 20 cubits long by 10 broad and 10 high (30×15×15 ft.); that of Solomon's temple was twice this in length and breadth—40 by 20 cubits; but it is contended by many (Bähr, etc) that in height it was the full internal height of the building—30 cubits; the Herodian temple has the same dimensions of length and breadth, but Jos and *Middōth* give largely increased, though differing, numbers for the height (see TEMPLE, HEROD'S).

3. Contents of Holy Place

The contents of the holy place were from the beginning ordered to be these (Ex **25** 23 ff; **30** 1–10): the altar of incense, a golden candlestick (in Solomon's temple increased to ten, 1 K **7** 49), and a table of showbread (likewise increased to ten, 2 Ch **4** 8). For the construction, position, history and uses of these objects, see TABERNACLE; TEMPLE, and arts. under the several headings. This, as shown by Jos and by the sculptures on the Arch of Titus, continued to be the furniture of the holy place till the end.

4. Symbolism

As the outer division of the sanctuary, into which, as yet, not the people, but only their representatives in the priesthood, were admitted while yet the symbols of the people's consecrated life (prayer, light, thanksgiving) were found in it, the holy place may be said to represent the people's relation to God in the earthly life, as the holy of holies represented God's relation to the people in a perfected communion. In the Ep. to the He, the holy place is not largely dwelt on as compared with the court in which the perfect sacrifice was offered, and the holiest of all into which Christ has now entered (Christ passes "through" the tabernacle into the holiest, **9** 11). It pertains, however, evidently to the earthly sphere of Christ's manifestation, even as earth is the present scene of the church's fellowship. Through earth, by the way which Christ has opened up, the believer, already in spirit, finally in fact, passes with Him into the holiest (He **10** 19; cf **9** 8; see Westcott, *Hebrews*, 233 ff).

W. SHAW CALDECOTT

HOLY SPIRIT, hō′li spir′it:

I. OT TEACHINGS AS TO THE SPIRIT
1. Meaning of the Word
2. The Spirit in Relation to the Godhead
3. In External Nature
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5. Imparting Powers for Service
(1) Judges and Warriors
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1. The Spirit in Josephus
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(5) The Holy Spirit in Other NT Writings

LITERATURE

The expression Spirit, or Spirit of God, or Holy Spirit, is found in the great majority of the books of the Bible. In the OT the Heb word uniformly employed for the Spirit as referring to God's Spirit is רוּחַ, *rū^{a}ḥ*, meaning "breath," "wind" or "breeze." The vb. form of the word is רוּחַ, *rū^{a}ḥ*, or רִיחַ, *rī^{a}ḥ*, used only in the Hiphil and meaning "to breathe," "to blow." A kindred vb. is רָוַח, *rāwaḥ*, meaning "to breathe," "having breathing room," "to be spacious," etc. The word always used in the NT for the Spirit is the Gr neuter noun πνεῦμα, *pneúma*, with or without the article, and for Holy Spirit, πνεῦμα ἅγιον, *pneúma hágion*, or τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, *tó pneúma tó hágion*. In the NT we find also the expressions, "the Spirit of God," "the Spirit of the Lord," "the Spirit of the Father," "the Spirit of Jesus," "of Christ." The word for Spirit in the Gr is from the vb. πνέω, *pnéō*, "to breathe," "to blow." The corresponding word in the Lat is *spiritus*, meaning "spirit."

I. The Teachings as to the Spirit in the OT.—At the outset we note the significance of the term itself. From the primary meaning of the word which is "wind," as referring to Nature, arises the idea of breath in man and thence the breath, wind or Spirit of God. We have no way of tracing exactly how the minds of the Bib. writers connected the earlier literal meaning of the word with the Divine Spirit. Nearly all shades of meaning from the lowest to the highest appear in the OT, and it is not difficult to conceive how the original narrower meaning was gradually expanded into the larger and wider. The following are some of the shades of OT usage. From the notion of wind or breath, *rū^{a}ḥ* came to signify: (1) the principle of life itself; spirit in this sense indicated the degree of vitality: "My spirit is consumed, my days are extinct" (Job **17** 1; also Jgs **15** 19; 1 S **30** 12); (2) human feelings of various kinds, as anger (Jgs **8** 3; Prov **29** 11), desire (Isa **26** 9), courage (Josh **2** 11); (3) intelligence (Ex **28** 3; Isa **29** 24); (4) general disposition (Ps **34** 18; **51** 17; Prov **14** 29; **16** 18; **29** 23).

1. Meaning of the Word

No doubt the Bib. writers thought of man as made in the image of God (Gen **1** 27 f), and it was easy for them to think of God as being like man. It is remarkable that their anthropomorphism did not go farther. They preserve, however, a highly spiritual conception of God as compared with that of surrounding nations. But as the human breath was an invisible part of man, and as it represented his vitality, his life and energy, it was easy to transfer the conception to God in the effort to represent His energetic and transitive action upon man and Nature. The Spirit of God, therefore, as based upon the idea of the *rū^{a}ḥ* or breath of man, originally stood for the energy or power of God (Isa **31** 3; cf A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the OT*, 117–18), as contrasted with the weakness of the flesh.

2. The Spirit in Relation to the Godhead

We consider next the Spirit of God in relation to God Himself in the OT. Here there are several points to be noted. The first is that there is no indication of a belief that the Spirit of God was a material particle or emanation from God. The point of view of Bib. writers is nearly always practical rather than speculative. They did not philosophize about the Divine nature. Nevertheless, they retained a very clear distinction between spirit and flesh or other material forms. Again we observe in the OT both an identification of God and the Spirit of God, and also a clear distinction between them. The identification is seen in Ps **139** 7 where the omnipresence of the Spirit is declared, and in Isa **63** 10; Jer **31** 33; Ezk **36** 27. In a great number of passages, however, God and the Spirit of God are not thought of as identical, as in Gen **1** 2; **6** 3; Neh **9** 20; Ps **51** 11; **104** 29 f. Of course this does not mean that God and the Spirit of God were two distinct beings in the thought of OT writers, but only that the Spirit had functions of His own in distinction from God. The Spirit was God in action, particularly when the action was specific, with a view to accomplishing some particular end or purpose of God. The Spirit came upon individuals for special purposes. The Spirit was thus God immanent in man and in the world. As the angel of the Lord, or angel of the Covenant in certain passages, represents both Jeh Himself and one sent by Jeh, so in like manner the Spirit of Jeh was both Jeh within or upon man, and at the same time one sent by Jeh to man.

Do the OT teachings indicate that in the view of the writers the Spirit of Jeh was a distinct person in the Divine nature? The passage in Gen **1** 26 is scarcely conclusive. The idea and importance of personality were but slowly developed in Israelitish thought. Not until some of the later prophets did it receive great emphasis, and even then scarcely in the fully developed form. The statement in Gen **1** 26 may be taken as the pl. of majesty or as referring to the Divine council, and on this account is not conclusive for the Trinitarian view. Indeed, there are no OT passages which compel us to understand the complete NT doctrine of the Trinity and the distinct personality of the Spirit in the NT sense. There are, however, numerous OT passages which are in harmony with the Trinitarian conception and prepare the way for it, such as Ps **139** 7; Isa **63** 10; **48** 16; Hag **2** 5; Zec **4** 6. The Spirit is grieved, vexed, etc, and in other ways is conceived of personally, but as He is God in action, God exerting power, this was the natural way for the OT writers to think of the Spirit.

The question has been raised as to how the Bib. writers were able to hold the conception of the Spirit of God without violence to their monotheism. A suggested reply is that the idea of the Spirit came gradually and indirectly from the conception of subordinate gods which prevailed among some of the surrounding nations (I. F. Wood, *The Spirit of God in Bib. Literature*, 30). But the best Israelitish thought developed in opposition to, rather than in analogy with, polytheism. A more natural explanation seems to be that their simple anthropomorphism led them to conceive the Spirit of God as the breath of God parallel with the conception of man's breath as being part of man and yet going forth from him.

3. The Spirit in External Nature

We consider next the Spirit of God in external Nature. "And the Spirit of God moved [was brooding or hovering] upon the face of the waters" (Gen **1** 2). The figure is that of a brooding or hovering bird (cf Dt **32** 11). Here the Spirit brings order and beauty out of the primeval chaos and conducts the cosmic forces toward the goal of an ordered universe. Again in Ps **104** 28–30, God sends forth His Spirit, and visible things are called into being: "Thou sendest forth thy Spirit, they are created; and thou renewest the face of the ground." In Job **26** 13 the beauty of the heavens is ascribed to the Spirit: "By his Spirit the heavens are garnished." In Isa **32** 15 the wilderness becomes a fruitful field as the result of the outpouring of the Spirit. The Bib. writers scarcely took into their thinking the idea of second causes, certainly not in the modern scientific sense. They regarded the phenomena of Nature as the result of God's direct action through His Spirit. At every point their conception of the Spirit saved them from pantheism on the one hand and polytheism on the other.

4. The Spirit of God in Man

The Spirit may next be considered in imparting natural powers both physical and intellectual. In Gen **2** 7 God originates man's personal and intellectual life by breathing into his nostrils "the breath of life." In Nu **16** 22 God is "the God of the spirits of all flesh." In Ex **28** 3; **31** 3; **35** 31, wisdom for all kinds of workmanship is declared to be the gift of God. So also physical life is due to the presence of the Spirit of God (Job **27** 3); and Elihu declares (Job **33** 4) that the Spirit of God made him. See also Ezk **37** 14 and **39** 29. Thus man is regarded by the OT writers, in all the parts of his being, body, mind and spirit, as the direct result of the action of the Spirit of God. In Gen **6** 3 the Spirit of God "strives" with or "rules" in or is "humbled" in man in the antediluvian world. Here reference is not made to the Spirit's activity over and above, but within the moral nature of man.

5. In Imparting Powers for Service

The greater part of the OT passages which refer to the Spirit of God deal with the subject from the point of view of the covenant relations between Jeh and Israel. And the greater portion of these, in turn, have to do with gifts and powers conferred by the Spirit for service in the ongoing of the kingdom of God. We fail to grasp the full meaning of very many statements of the OT unless we keep constantly in mind the fundamental assumption of all the OT, viz. the covenant relations between God and Israel. Extraordinary powers exhibited by Israelites of whatever kind were usually attributed to the Spirit. These are so numerous that our limits of space forbid an exhaustive presentation. The chief points we may notice.

(1) *Powers conferred upon judges and warriors.*—The children of Israel cried unto Jeh and He raised up a savior for them, Othniel, the son of Kenaz: "And the Spirit of Jeh came upon him, and he judged Israel" (Jgs **3** 10). So also Gideon (Jgs **6** 34): "The Spirit of Jeh came upon [lit. clothed itself with] Gideon." In Jgs **11** 29 "the spirit of Jeh came upon Jephthah"; and in **13** 25 "the Spirit of Jeh began to move" Samson. In **14** 6 "the Spirit of Jeh came mightily upon him." In 1 S **16** 14 we read "the Spirit of Jeh departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from Jeh troubled him." In all this class of passages, the Spirit imparts special endowments of power without necessary reference to the moral character of the recipient. The end in view is not personal, merely to the agent, but concerns the theocratic kingdom and implies the covenant between God and Israel. In some cases the Spirit exerts physical energy in a more direct way (2 K **2** 16; Ezk **2** 1f; **3** 12).

(2) *Wisdom and skill bestowed for various purposes.*—Bezalel is filled with the Spirit of God in wisdom and in understanding to work in gold, and silver and brass, etc, in the building of the tabernacle (Ex **31** 2–4; **35** 31); and the Spirit of wisdom is given to others in making Aaron's garments (Ex **28** 3). So also of one of the builders of Solomon's temple (1 K **7** 14; 2 Ch **2** 14). In these cases there seems to be a combination of the thought of natural talents and skill to which is superadded a special endowment of the Spirit. Pharaoh refers to Joseph as one in whom the Spirit of God is, as fitting

him for administration and government (Gen **41** 38). Joshua is qualified for leadership by the Spirit (Nu **27** 18). In this and in Dt **34** 9, Joshua is represented as possessing the Spirit through the laying on of the hands of Moses. This is an interesting OT parallel to the bestowment of the Spirit by laying on of hands in the NT (Acts **8** 17; **19** 6). Daniel is represented as having wisdom to interpret dreams through the Spirit, and afterward because of the Spirit he is exalted to a position of authority and power (Dnl **4** 8; **5** 11–14; **6** 3). The Spirit qualifies Zerubbabel to rebuild the temple (Zec **4** 6). The Spirit was given to the people for instruction and strengthening during the wilderness wanderings (Neh **9** 20), and to the elders along with Moses (Nu **11** 17.25). It thus appears how very widespread were the activities of the redemptive Spirit, or the Spirit in the covenant. All these forms of the Spirit's action bore in some way upon the national life of the people, and were directed in one way or another toward theocratic ends.

(3) *The Spirit in OT prophecy.*—The most distinctive and important manifestation of the Spirit's activity in the OT was in the sphere of prophecy. In the earlier period the prophet was called seer (רֹאֶה, *rō'eh*), and later he was called prophet (נָבִיא, *nābhī'*). The word "prophet" (*προφήτης, prophētēs*) means one who speaks for God. The prophets were very early differentiated from the masses of the people into a prophetic class or order, although Abraham himself was called a prophet, as were Moses and other leaders (Gen **20** 7; Dt **18** 15). The prophet was esp. distinguished from others as the man who possessed the Spirit of God (Hos **9** 7). The prophets ordinarily began their messages with the phrase, "thus saith Jeh," or its equivalent. But they ascribed their messages directly also to the Spirit of God (Ezk **2** 2; **8** 3; **11** 1.24; **13** 3). The case of Balaam presents some difficulties (Nu **24** 2). He does not seem to have been a genuine prophet, but rather a diviner, although it is declared that the Spirit of God came upon him. Balaam serves, however, to illustrate the OT point of view. The chief interest was the national or theocratic or covenant ideal, not that of the individual. The Spirit was bestowed at times upon unworthy men for the achievement of these ends. Saul presents a similar example. The prophet was God's messenger speaking God's message by the Spirit. His message was not his own. It came directly from God, and at times overpowered the prophet with its urgency, as in the case of Jeremiah (**1** 4 ff).

There are quite perceptible stages in the development of the OT prophecy. In the earlier period the prophet was sometimes moved, not so much to intelligible speech, as by a sort of enthusiasm or prophetic ecstasy. In 1 S **10** we have an example of this earlier form of prophecy, where a company with musical instruments prophesied together. To what extent this form of prophetic enthusiasm was attended by warnings and exhortations, if so attended at all, we do not know. There was more in it than in the excitement of the diviners and devotees of the surrounding nations. For the Spirit of Jeh was its source.

In the later period we have prophecy in its highest forms in the OT. The differences between earlier and later prophecy are probably due in part to the conditions. The early period required action, the later required teaching. The judges on whom the Spirit came were deliverers in a turbulent age. There was not need for, nor could the people have borne, the higher ethical and spiritual truths which came in later revelations through the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and others. See 2 S **23** 2; Ezk **2** 2; **8** 3; **11** 24; **13** 3; Mic **3** 8; Hos **9** 7.

A difficulty arises from statements such as the following: A lying spirit was sometimes present in the prophet (1 K **22** 21 f); Jeh puts a spirit in the king of Assyria and turns him back to his destruction (Isa **37** 7); because of sin, a lying prophet should serve the people (Mic **2** 11); in Micaiah's vision Jeh sends a spirit to entice Ahab through lying prophets (1 K **22** 19 ff); an evil spirit from Jeh comes upon Saul (1 S **16** 14; **18** 10; **19** 9). The following considerations may be of value in explaining these passages. Jeh was the source of things generally in OT thought. Its pronounced monotheism appears in this as in so many other ways. Besides this, OT writers usually spoke phenomenally. Prophecy was a particular form of manifestation with certain outward marks and signs. Whatever presented these outward marks was called prophecy, whether the message conveyed was true or false. The standard of discrimination here was not the outward signs of the prophet, but the truth or right of the message as shown by the event. As to the evil spirit from Jeh, it may be explained in either of two ways. First, it may have referred to the evil disposition of the man upon whom God's Spirit was acting, in which case he would resist the Spirit and his own spirit would be the evil spirit. Or the "evil spirit from Jeh" may have referred, in the prophet's mind, to an actual spirit of evil which Jeh sent or permitted to enter the man. The latter is the more probable explanation, in accordance with which the prophet would conceive that Jeh's higher will was accomplished, even through the action of the evil spirit upon man's spirit. Jeh's judicial anger against transgression would, to the prophet's mind, justify the sending of an evil spirit by Jeh.

6. The Spirit Imparting Moral and Spiritual Character

The activity of the Spirit in the OT is not limited to gifts for service. Moral and spiritual character is traced to the Spirit's operations as well. "Thy holy Spirit" (Ps **51** 11); "his holy Spirit" (Isa **63** 10); "thy good Spirit" (Neh **9** 20); "Thy Spirit is good" (Ps **143** 10) are expressions pointing to the ethical quality of the Spirit's action. "Holy" is from the vb. form (קָדַשׁ, *ḳādhash*), whose root meaning is doubtful, but which probably meant "to be separated," from which it comes to mean to be exalted, and this led to the conception to be Divine. And as Jeh is morally good, the conception of "the holy [=Divine] one" came to signify the holy one in the moral sense. Thence the word was applied to the Spirit of Jeh. Jeh gives His good Spirit for instruction (Neh **9** 20); the Spirit is called good because it teaches to do God's will (Ps **143** 10); the Spirit gives the fear of the Lord (Isa **11** 2–5); judgment and righteousness (Isa **32** 15 ff); devotion to the Lord (Isa **44** 3–5); hearty obedience and a new heart (Ezk **36** 26 f); penitence and prayer (Zec **12** 10). In Ps **51** 11 there is an intense sense of guilt and sin coupled with the prayer, "Take not thy holy Spirit from me." Thus we see that the OT in numerous ways recognizes the Holy Spirit as the source of inward moral purity, although the thought is not so developed as in the NT.

7. The Spirit in the Messiah

In both the first and the second sections of Isa, there are distinct references to the Spirit in connection with the Messiah, although the Messiah is conceived as the ideal King who springs from the root of David in some instances, and in others as the Suffering Servant of Jeh. This is not the place to discuss the Messianic import of the latter group of passages which has given rise to much difference of opinion. As in the case of the ideal Davidic King which, in the prophet's mind, passes from the lower to the higher and Messianic conception, so, under the form of the Suffering Servant, the "remnant" of Israel becomes the basis for an ideal which transcends in the Messianic sense the original nucleus of the conception derived from the historic events in the history of Israel. The prophet rises in the employment of both conceptions to the thought of the Messiah who is the "anointed" of Jeh as endued esp. with the power and wisdom of the Spirit. In Isa **11** 1–5 a glowing picture is given of the "shoot out of the stock of Jesse." The Spirit imparts "wisdom and understanding" and endows him with manifold gifts through the exercise of which he shall bring in the kingdom of righteousness and peace. In Isa **42** 1 ff, the "servant" is in like manner endowed most richly with the gifts of the Spirit by virtue of which he shall bring forth "justice to the Gentiles." In Isa **61** 1 ff occur the notable words cited by Jesus in Lk **4** 18 f, beginning, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," etc. In these passages the prophet describes elaborately and minutely the Messiah's endowment with a wide range of powers, all of which are traced to the action of God's Spirit.

8. Predictions of Future Outpouring of the Spirit

In the later history of Israel, when the sufferings of the exile pressed heavily, there arose a tendency to idealize a past age as the era of the special blessing of the Spirit, coupled with a very marked optimism as to a future outpouring of the Spirit. In Hag **2** 5 reference is made to the Mosaic period as the age of the Spirit, "when ye came out of Egypt, and my Spirit abode among you." In Isa **44** 3 the Spirit is to be poured out on Jacob and his seed; and in Isa **59** 20 a Redeemer is to come to Zion under the covenant of Jeh, and the Spirit is to abide upon the people. The passage, however, which esp. indicates the transition from OT to NT times is that in Joel **2** 28.32 which is cited by Peter in Acts **2** 17–21. In this prophecy the bestowal of the Spirit is extended to all classes, is attended by marvelous signs and is accompanied by the gift of salvation. Looking back from the later to the earlier period of OT history, we observe a twofold tendency of teaching in relation to the Spirit. The first is from the outward gift of the Spirit for various uses toward a deepening sense of inner need of the Spirit for moral purity, and consequent emphasis upon the ethical energy of the Spirit. The second tendency is toward a sense of the futility of the merely human or theocratic national organization in and of itself to achieve the ends of Jeh, along with a sense of the need for the Spirit of God upon the people generally, and a prediction of the universal diffusion of the Spirit.

II. The Spirit in Non-Canonical Jewish Literature.—In the Palestinian and Alexandrian literature of the Jews there are comparatively few references to the Spirit of God. The two books in which the teachings as to the Spirit are most explicit and most fully developed are of Alexandrian origin, viz. The Wisdom of Solomon and the writings of Philo.

In the OT Apocrypha and in Jos the references to the Spirit are nearly always merely echoes of a long-past age when the Spirit was active among men. In no particular is the contrast between the canonical and non-canonical literature more striking than in the teaching as to the Spirit of God.

1. The Spirit in Josephus

Jos has a number of references to the Holy Spirit, but nearly always they have to do with the long-past history of Israel. He refers to 22 books of the OT which are of the utmost reliability. There are other books, but none "of like authority," because there has "not been an exact succession of prophets" (*CAp*, I, 8). Samuel is described as having a large place in the affairs of the kingdom because he is a prophet (*Ant*, VI, v, 6). God appears to Solomon in sleep and teaches him wisdom (ib, VIII, ii); Balaam prophesies through the Spirit's power (ib, IV, v, 6); and Moses was such a prophet that his words were God's words (ib, IV, viii, 49). In Jos we have then simply a testimony to the inspiration and power of the prophets and the books written by them, in so far as we have in him teachings regarding the Spirit of God. Even here the action of the Spirit is usually implied rather than expressed.

2. The Spirit in the Pseudepigrapha

In the pseudepigraphic writings the Spirit of God is usually referred to as acting in the long-past history of Israel or in the future Messianic age. In the apocalyptic books, the past age of power, when the Spirit wrought mightily, becomes the ground of the hopes of the future. The past is glorified, and out of it arises the hope of a future kingdom of glory and power. Enoch says to Methuselah: "The word calls me and the Spirit is poured out upon me" (En **91** 1). In **49** 1–4 the Messiah has the Spirit of wisdom, understanding and might. Enoch is represented as describing his own translation. "He was carried aloft in the chariots of the Spirit" (En **70** 2). In Jub **31** 16 Isaac is represented as prophesying, and in **25** 13 it is said of Rebekah that the "Holy Spirit descended into her mouth." Sometimes the action of the Spirit is closely connected with the moral life, although this is rare. "The Spirit of God rests" on the man of pure and loving heart (XII P, Benj. **8**). In Simeon **4** it is declared that Joseph was a good man and that the Spirit of God rested on him. There appears at times a lament for the departed age of prophecy (1 Macc **9** 27; **14** 41). The future is depicted in glowing colors. The Spirit is to come in a future judgment (XII P, Levi **18**); and the spirit of holiness shall rest upon the redeemed in Paradise (Levi **18**); and in Levi **2** the spirit of insight is given, and the vision of the sinful world and its salvation follows. Generally speaking, this literature is far below that of the OT, both in moral tone and religious insight. Much of it seems childish, although at times we encounter noble passages. There is lacking in it the prevailing OT mood which is best described as prophetic, in which the writer feels constrained by the power of God's Spirit to speak or write. The OT literature thus possesses a vitality and power which accounts for the strength of its appeal to our religious consciousness.

3. The Spirit in the Wisdom of Solomon

We note in the next place a few teachings as to the Spirit of God in Wisd. Here the ethical element in character is a condition of the Spirit's indwelling. "Into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter: nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin. For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in" (Wisd **1** 4 f). This "holy spirit of discipline" is evidently God's Holy Spirit, for in ver 7 the writer proceeds to assert, "For the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world," and in vs 8.9 there is a return to the conception of unrighteousness as a hindrance to right speaking. In Wisd **7** 7 the Spirit of Wisdom comes in response to prayer. In **7** 22–30 is an elaborate and very beautiful description of wisdom: "In her is an understanding spirit, holy, one only, manifold, subtil, lively, clear, undefiled, plain, not subject to hurt, loving the thing that is good, quick, which cannot be letted, ready to do good, kind to man, stedfast, sure," etc. "She is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness," etc. No one can know God's counsel except by the Holy Spirit (**9** 17). The writer of Wisd was deeply possessed of the sense of the omnipresence of the Spirit of God, as seen in **1** 7 and in **12** 1. In the latter passage we read: "For thine incorruptible spirit is in all things."

4. The Spirit in Philo

In Philo we have what is almost wholly wanting in other Jewish literature, viz. analytic and reflective thought upon the work of the Spirit of God. The interest in Philo is primarily philosophic, and his teachings on the Spirit possess special interest on this account in contrast with Bib. and other extra-Bib. literature. In his *Questions and Solutions*, 27, 28, he explains the expression in Gen **8** 1: "He brought a breath over the earth and the wind ceased." He argues that water is not diminished by wind, but only agitated and disturbed. Hence there must be a reference to God's Spirit or breath by which the whole universe obtains security. He has a similar discussion of the point why the word "Spirit" is not used instead of "breath" in Gen in the account of man's creation, and concludes that "to breathe into" here means to "inspire," and that God by His Spirit imparted to man mental and moral life and capacity for Divine things (*Allegories*, xiii). In several passages Philo discusses prophecy and the prophetic office. One of the most interesting relates to the prophetic office of Moses (*Life of Moses*, xxiii ff). He also describes a false prophet who claims to be "inspired and possessed by the Holy Spirit" (*On Those Who Offer Sacrifice*, xi). In a very notable passage, Philo describes in detail his own subjective experiences under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and his language is that of the intellectual mystic. He says that at times he found himself devoid of impulse or capacity for mental activity, when suddenly by the coming of the Spirit of God, his intellect was rendered very fruitful: "and sometimes when I have come to my work empty I have suddenly become full, ideas being, in an invisible manner, showered upon me and implanted in me from on high; so that through the influence of Divine inspiration I have become greatly excited and have known neither the place in which I was, nor those who were present, nor myself, nor what I was saying, nor what I was writing," etc (*Migrations of Abraham*, vii).

In Philo, as in the non-canonical literature generally, we find little metaphysical teaching as to the Spirit and His relations to the Godhead. On this point there is no material advance over the OT teaching. The agency of the Holy Spirit in shaping and maintaining the physical universe and as the source of man's capacities and powers is clearly recognized in Philo. In Philo, as in Jos, the conception of inspiration as the complete occupation and domination of the prophet's mind by the Spirit of God, even to the extent of suspending the operation of the natural powers, comes clearly into view. This is rather in contrast with, than in conformity to, the OT and NT conception of inspiration, in which the personality of the prophet remains intensely active while under the influence of the Spirit, except possibly in cases of vision and trance.

III. The Holy Spirit in the NT.—In the NT there is unusual symmetry and completeness of teaching as to the work of the Spirit of God in relation to the Messiah Himself, and to the founding of the Messianic kingdom. The simplest mode of presentation will be to trace the course of the progressive activities of the Spirit, or teachings regarding these activities, as these are presented to us in the NT literature as we now have it, so far as the nature of the subject will permit. This will, of course, disturb to some extent the chronological order in which the NT books were written, since in some cases, as in John's Gospel, a very late book contains early teachings as to the Spirit.

1. The Spirit in Relation to the Person and Work of Christ

(1) *The birth of Jesus.*—In Mt **1** 18 Mary is found with child "of the Holy Spirit" (ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, *ek pneúmatos hagíou*); an angel tells Joseph that that "which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit" (**1** 20), all of which is declared to be in fulfilment of the prophecy that a virgin shall bring forth a son whose name shall be called Immanuel (Isa **7** 14). In Lk **1** 35 the angel says to Mary that the Holy Spirit (*pneuma hagion*) shall come upon her, and the power of the Most High (δύναμις Ὑψίστου, *dúnamis Hupsístou*) shall overshadow her. Here "Holy Spirit" and "power of the Most High" are ‖ expressions meaning the same thing; in the one case emphasizing the Divine source and in the other the holiness of "the holy thing which is begotten" (**1** 35). In connection with the presentation of the babe in the temple, Simeon is described as one upon whom the Holy Spirit rested, to whom revelation was made through the Spirit and who came into the temple in the Spirit (Lk **2** 25–28). So also Anna the prophetess speaks concerning the babe, evidently in Luke's thought, under the influence of the Holy Spirit (Lk **2** 36 ff).

It is clear from the foregoing that the passages in Mt and Lk mean to set forth, first, the supernatural origin, and secondly, the sinlessness of the babe born of Mary. The act of the Holy Spirit is regarded as creative, although the words employed signify "begotten" or "born" (γεννηθέν, *gennēthén*, Mt **1** 20; and γεννώμενον, *gennômenon*, Lk **1** 35). There is no hint in the stories of the nativity concerning the pretemporal existence of Christ. This doctrine was developed later. Nor is there any suggestion of the immaculate conception or sinlessness of Mary, the mother of Our Lord. Dr. C. A. Briggs has set forth a theory of the sinlessness of Mary somewhat different from the Roman Catholic view, to the effect that the OT prophecies foretell the purification of the Davidic line, and that Mary was the culminating point in the purifying process, who thereby became sinless (*Incarnation of the Lord*, 230–34). This, however, is speculative and without substantial Bib. warrant. The sinlessness of Jesus was not due to the sinlessness of His mother, but to the Divine origin of His human nature, the Spirit of God.

In He **10** 5 ff the writer makes reference to the sinless body of Christ as affording a perfect offering for sins. No direct reference is made to the birth of Jesus, but the origin of His body is ascribed to God (He **10** 5), though not specifically to the Holy Spirit.

(2) *The baptism of Jesus.*—The NT records give us very little information regarding the growth of Jesus to manhood. In Lk **2** 40 ff a picture is given of the boyhood, exceedingly brief, but full of significance. The "child grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom [m "becoming full of wisdom"]: and the grace of God was upon him." Then follows the account of the visit to the temple. Evidently in all these experiences, the boy is under the influence and guidance of the Spirit. This alone would supply an adequate explanation, although Luke does not expressly name the Spirit as the source of these particular experiences. The Spirit's action is rather assumed.

Great emphasis, however, is given to the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus at His baptism. Mt **3** 16 declares that after His baptism "the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove, and coming upon him." Mk **1** 10 repeats the statement in substantially equivalent terms. Lk **3** 22 declares that the Spirit descended in "bodily form, as a dove" (σωματικῷ εἴδει ὡς περιστεράν, *somatikô eídei hōs peristerán*). In Jn **1** 32.33 the Baptist testifies that he saw the Spirit descending upon Jesus as a dove out of heaven, and that it abode upon Him, and, further, that this descent of the Spirit was the mark by which he was to recognize Jesus as "he that baptizeth in the Holy Spirit."

We gather from these passages that at the baptism there was a new communication of the Spirit to Jesus in great fulness, as a special anointing for His Messianic vocation. The account declares that the dovelike appearance was seen by Jesus as well as John, which is scarcely compatible with a subjective experience merely. Of course, the dove here is to be taken as a symbol, and not as an assertion that God's Spirit assumed the form of a dove actually.

Various meanings have been assigned to the symbol. One connects it with the creative power, according to a gentile usage; others with the speculative philosophy of Alexandrian Judaism, according to which the dove symbolized the Divine wisdom or reason. But the most natural explanation connects the symbolism of the dove with the brooding or hovering of the Spirit in Gen **1** 3. In this new spiritual creation of humanity, as in the first physical creation, the Spirit of God is the energy through which the work is carried on. Possibly the dove, as a living organism, complete in itself, may suggest the totality and fulness of the gift of the Spirit to Jesus. At Pentecost, on the contrary, the Spirit is bestowed distributively and partially at least to individuals as such, as suggested by the cloven tongues as of fire which "sat upon each one of them" (Acts **2** 3). Jn **3** 34 emphasizes the fulness of the bestowal upon Jesus: "For he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God: for he giveth not the Spirit by measure." In the witness of the Baptist the permanence of the anointing of Jesus is declared: "Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and abiding" (**1** 33).

It is probable that the connection of the bestowal of the Spirit with water baptism, as seen later in the Book of Acts, is traceable to the reception of the Spirit by Jesus at His own baptism. Baptism in the Spirit did not supersede water baptism.

The gift of the Spirit in fulness to Jesus at His baptism was no doubt His formal and public anointing for His Messianic work (Acts **10** 38). The baptism of Jesus could not have the same significance with that of sinful men. For the symbolic cleansing from sin had no meaning for the sinless one. Yet as an act of formal public consecration it was appropriate to the Messiah. It brought to a close His private life and introduced Him to His public Messianic career. The conception of an anointing for public service was a familiar one in the OT writings and applied to the priest (Ex **28** 41; **40** 13; Lev **4** 3.5.16; **6** 20.22); to kings (1 S **9** 16; **10** 1; **15** 1; **16** 3.13); sometimes to prophets (1 K **19** 16; cf Isa **61** 1; Ps **2** 2; **20** 6). These anointings were with oil, and the oil came to be regarded as a symbol of the Spirit of God.

The anointing of Jesus with the Holy Spirit qualified Him in two particulars for His Messianic office. (*a*) It was the source of His own endowments of power for the endurance of temptation, for teaching, for casting out demons, and healing the sick, for His sufferings and death, for His resurrection and ascension. The question is often raised, why Jesus, the Divine one, should have needed the Holy Spirit for His Messianic vocation. The reply is that His human nature, which was real, required the Spirit's presence. Man, made in God's image, is constituted in dependence upon the Spirit of God. Apart from God's Spirit man fails of his true destiny, simply because our nature is constituted as dependent upon the indwelling Spirit of God for the performance of our true functions. Jesus as human, therefore, required the presence of God's Spirit, notwithstanding His Divine-human consciousness. (*b*) The Holy Spirit's coming upon Jesus in fulness also qualified Him to bestow the Holy Spirit upon His disciples. John the Baptist esp. predicts that it is He who shall baptize in the Holy Spirit (Mt **3** 11; Mk **1** 8; Lk **3** 16; see also Jn **20** 22; Acts **1** 5). It was esp. true of the king that He was anointed for His office, and the term Messiah (מָשִׁיחַ, *māshī*^{a}*ḥ*, equivalent to the Gr ὁ Χριστός, *ho Christós*), meaning the Anointed One, points to this fact.

(3) *The temptation of Jesus.*—The facts as to the temptation are as follows: In Mt **4** 1 we are told that Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. Mk **1** 12 declares in his graphic way that after the baptism "straightway the Spirit driveth [ἐκβάλλει, *ekbállei*] him forth into the wilderness." Lk **4** 1 more fully declares that Jesus was "full of the Holy Spirit," and that He was "led in the Spirit in the wilderness during 40 days." The impression which the narratives of the temptation give is of energetic spiritual conflict. As the Messiah confronted His life task He was subject to the ordinary conditions of other men in an evil world. Not by sheer divinity and acting from without as God, but as human also and a part of the world, He must overcome, so that while He was sinless, it was nevertheless true that the righteousness of Jesus was also an achieved righteousness. The temptations were no doubt such as were peculiar to His Messianic vocation, the misuse of power, the presumption of faith and the appeal of temporal splendor. To these He opposes the restraint of power, the poise of faith and the conception of a kingdom wholly spiritual in its origin, means and ends. Jesus is hurled, as it were, by the Spirit into this terrific conflict with the powers of evil, and His conquest, like the temptations themselves, was not final, but typical and representative. It is a mistake to suppose that the temptations of Jesus ended at the close of the forty days. Later in His ministry, He refers to the disciples as those who had been with Him in His temptations (Lk **22** 28). The temptations continued throughout His life, though, of course, the wilderness temptations were the severest test of all, and the victory there contained in principle and by anticipation later victories. Comment has been made upon the absence of reference to the Holy Spirit's influence upon Jesus in certain remarkable experiences, which in the case of others would ordinarily have been traced directly to the Spirit, as in Lk **11** 14 ff, etc (cf art. by James Denney in *DCG*, I, 732, 734). Is it not true, however, that the point of view of the writers of the Gospels is that Jesus is always under the power of the Spirit? At His baptism, in the temptation, and at the beginning of His public ministry (Lk **4** 14) very special stress is placed upon the fact. Thenceforward the Spirit's presence and action are assumed. From time to time, reference is made to the Spirit for special reasons, but the action of the Spirit in and through Jesus is always assumed.

(4) *The public ministry of Jesus.*—Here we can select only a few points to illustrate a much larger truth. The writers of the Gospels, and esp. Luke, conceived of the entire ministry of Jesus as under the power of the Holy Spirit. After declaring that Jesus was "full of the Holy Spirit" and that He was led about by the Spirit in the wilderness forty days in **4** 1, he declares, in **4** 14, that Jesus "returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee." This is followed in the next verse by a general summary of His activities: "And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all." Then, as if to complete his teaching as to the relation of the Spirit to Jesus, he narrates the visit to Nazareth and the citation by Jesus in the synagogue there of Isaiah's words beginning, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," with the detailed description of His Messianic activity, viz. preaching to the poor, announcement of release to the captives, recovering of sight to the blind, and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord (Isa **61** 1 f). Jesus proclaims the fulfilment of this prophecy in Himself (Lk **4** 21). In Mt **12** 18 ff a citation from Isa **42**·1–3 is given in connection with the miraculous healing work of Jesus. It is a passage of exquisite beauty and describes the Messiah as a quiet and unobtrusive and tender minister to human needs, possessed of

irresistible power and infinite patience. Thus the highest OT ideals as to the operations of the Spirit of God come to realization, esp. in the public ministry of Jesus. The comprehensive terms of the description make it incontestably clear that the NT writers thought of the entire public life of Jesus as directed by the Spirit of God. We need only to read the evangelic records in order to fill in the details.

The miracles of Jesus were wrought through the power of the Holy Spirit. Occasionally He is seized as it were by a sense of the urgency of His work in some such way as to impress beholders with the presence of a strange power working in Him. In one case men think He is beside Himself (Mk **3** 21); in another they are impressed with the authoritativeness of His teaching (Mk **1** 22); in another His intense devotion to His task makes Him forget bodily needs (Jn **4** 31); again men think He has a demon (Jn **8** 48); at one time He is seized with a rapturous joy when the 70 return from their successful evangelistic tour, and Luke declares that at that hour Jesus rejoiced in the Holy Spirit (Lk **10** 21; cf Mt **11** 25). This whole passage is a remarkable one, containing elements which point to the Johannine conception of Jesus, on which account Harnack is disposed to discredit it at certain points (*Sayings of Jesus*, 302). One of the most impressive aspects of this activity of Jesus in the Spirit is its suppressed intensity. Nowhere is there lack of self-control. Nowhere is there evidence of a coldly didactic attitude, on the one hand, or of a loose rein upon the will, on the other. Jesus is always an intensely human Master wrapped in Divine power. The miracles contrast strikingly with the miracles of the apocryphal gospels. In the latter all sorts of capricious deeds of power are ascribed to Jesus as a boy. In our Gospels, on the contrary, no miracle is wrought until after His anointing with the Spirit at baptism.

A topic of especial interest is that of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Jesus cast out demons by the power of God's Spirit. In Mt **12** 31; Mk **3** 28 f; Lk **12** 10, we have the declaration that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is an unpardonable sin. Mark particularizes the offence of the accusers of Jesus by saying that they said of Jesus, "He hath an unclean spirit." The blasphemy against the Spirit seems to have been not merely rejection of Jesus and His words, which might be due to various causes. It was rather the sin of ascribing works of Divine mercy and power—works which had all the marks of their origin in the goodness of God—to a diabolic source. The charge was that He cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils. We are not to suppose that the unpardonable nature of the sin against the Holy Spirit was due to anything arbitrary in God's arrangements regarding sin. The moral and spiritual attitude involved in the charge against Jesus was simply a hopeless one. It presupposed a warping or wrenching of the moral nature from the truth in such degree, a deep-seated malignity and insusceptibility to Divine influences so complete, that no moral nucleus remained on which the forgiving love of God might work. See BLASPHEMY.

(5) *Death, resurrection and Pentecostal gift.*—It is not possible to give here a complete outline of the activities of Jesus in the Holy Spirit. We observe one or two additional points as to the relations of the Holy Spirit to Him. In He **9** 14 it is declared that Christ "through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish unto God," and in Rom **1** 4, Paul says He was "declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead" (cf also Rom **8** 11).

As already noted, John the Baptist gave as a particular designation of Jesus that it was He who should baptize with the Holy Spirit, in contrast with his own baptism in water. In Jn **20** 22, after the resurrection and before the ascension, Jesus breathed on the disciples and said "Receive ye the Holy Spirit." There was probably a real communication of the Spirit in this act of Jesus in anticipation of the outpouring in fulness on the day of Pentecost. In Acts **1** 2 it is declared that He gave commandment through the Holy Spirit, and in **1** 5 it is predicted by Him that the disciples should "be baptized in the Holy Spirit not many days hence"; and in **1** 8 it is declared, "Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Spirit is come upon you."

It is clear from the preceding that in the thought of the NT writers Jesus is completely endued with the power of the Holy Spirit. It is in large measure the OT view of the Spirit; that is to say, the operation of the Spirit in and through Jesus is chiefly with a view to His official Messianic work, the charismatic Spirit imparting power rather than the Spirit for holy living merely. Yet there is a difference between the OT and NT representations here. In the OT the agency of the Spirit is made very prominent when mighty works are performed by His power. In the Gospels the view is concentrated less upon the Spirit than upon Jesus Himself, though it is always assumed that He is acting in the power of the Spirit. In the case of Jesus also, the moral quality of His words and deeds is always assumed.

Our next topic in setting forth the NT teaching is the Holy Spirit in relation to the kingdom of God.

2. The Spirit in the Kingdom of God

Quite in harmony with the plenary enduement of Jesus, the founder of the kingdom, with the power of the Spirit, is the communication of the Spirit to the agents employed by Providence in the conduct of the affairs of the kingdom. We need, at all points, in considering the subject in the NT to keep in view the OT background. The covenant relations between God and Israel were the presupposition of all the blessings of the OT. In the NT there is not an identical but an analogous point of view. God is continuing His work among men. Indeed in a real sense He has begun a new work, but this new work is the fulfilment of the old. The new differs from the old in some very important respects, chiefly indeed in this, that now the national and theocratic life is wholly out of sight. Prophecy no longer deals with political questions. The power of the Spirit no longer anoints kings and judges for their duties. The action of the Spirit upon the cosmos now ceases to receive attention. In short, the kingdom of God is intensely spiritualized, and the relation of the Spirit to the individual or the church is nearly always that which is dealt with.

(1) *Synoptic teachings.*—We consider briefly the synoptic teachings as to the Holy Spirit in relation to the kingdom of God. The forerunner of Jesus goes before His face in the Spirit and power of Elijah (Lk **1** 17). Of Him it had been predicted that He should be filled with the Holy Spirit from His mother's womb (Lk **1** 15). The Master expressly predicts that the Holy Spirit will give the needed wisdom when the disciples are delivered up. "It is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit" (Mk **13** 11). In Lk **12** 12 it is also declared that "The Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say." Likewise in Mt **10** 20, "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you." In Lk **11** 13 is

a beautiful saying: If we who are evil give good gifts to our children, how much more shall the "heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." This is a variation from the || passage in Mt (**7** 11), and illustrates Luke's marked emphasis upon the operations of the Spirit. In Mt **28** 19, the disciples are commanded to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. This passage has been called in question, but there is not sufficient ground for its rejection. Hitherto there has been almost no hint directly of the personality of the Spirit or the Trinitarian implications in the teaching as to the Spirit. Here, however, we have a very suggestive hint toward a doctrine of the Spirit which attains more complete development later.

(2) *In the Gospel of John* there is a more elaborate presentation of the office and work of the Holy Spirit, particularly in chs **14–17**. Several earlier passages, however, must be noticed. The passage on the new birth in Jn **3** 5 ff we notice first. The expression, "except one be born of water and the Spirit," seems to contain a reference to baptism along with the action of the Spirit of God directly on the soul. In the light of other NT teachings, however, we are not warranted in ascribing saving efficacy to baptism here. The "birth," in so far as it relates to baptism, is symbolic simply, not actual. The outward act is the fitting symbolic accompaniment of the spiritual regeneration by the Spirit. Symbolism and spiritual fact move on || lines. The entrance into the kingdom is symbolically effected by means of baptism, just as the "new birth" takes place symbolically by the same means.

In Jn **6** 51 ff we have the very difficult words attributed to Jesus concerning the eating of His flesh and the drinking of His blood. The disciples were greatly distressed by these words, and in **6** 63 Jesus insists that "it is the spirit that giveth life; the flesh profiteth nothing." One's view of the meaning of this much-discussed passage will turn largely on his point of view in interpreting it. If he adopts the view that John is reading back into the record much that came later in the history, the inference will probably follow that Jesus is here referring to the Lord's Supper. If on the other hand it is held that John is seeking to reproduce substantially what was said, and to convey an impression of the actual situation, the reference to the Supper will not be inferred. Certainly the language fits the later teaching in the establishment of the Supper, although John omits a detailed account of the Supper. But Jesus was meeting a very real situation in the carnal spirit of the multitude which followed Him for the loaves and fishes. His deeply mystical words seem to have been intended to accomplish the result which followed, viz. the separation of the true from the false disciples. There is no necessary reference to the Lord's Supper specifically, therefore, in His words. Spiritual meat and drink, not carnal, are the true food of man. He Himself was that food, but only the spiritually susceptible would grasp His meaning. It is difficult to assign any sufficient reason why Jesus should have here referred to the Supper, or why John should have desired to introduce such reference into the story at this stage.

In Jn **7** 37 ff we have a saying of Jesus and its interpretation by John which accords with the synoptic reference to a future baptism in the Holy Spirit to be bestowed by Jesus: "He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, from within him shall flow rivers of living water." John adds: "But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified." No doubt John's Gospel is largely a reproduction of the facts and teachings of Jesus in the evangelist's own words. This passage indicates, however, that John discriminated between his own constructions of Christ's teachings and the teachings themselves, and warns us against the custom of many exegetes who broadly assume that John employed his material with slight regard for careful and correct statement, passing it through his own consciousness in such manner as to leave us his own subjective Gospel, rather than a truly historical record. The ethical implications of such a process on John's part would scarcely harmonize with his general tone and esp. the teachings of his Epp. No doubt John's Gospel contains much meaning which he could not have put into it prior to the coming of the Spirit. But what John seeks to give is the teaching of Jesus and not his own theory of Jesus.

We give next an outline of the teachings in the great chapters from **14** to **17**, the farewell discourse of Jesus. In **14** 16 Jesus says, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter" (παράκλητος, *paráklētos;* see PARACLETE). Next Jesus describes this Comforter as one whom the world cannot receive. Disciples know Him because He abides in them. The truth of Christianity is spiritually discerned, i.e. it is discerned by the power and indwelling of the Holy Spirit. In the name of "reality," science sometimes repudiates these inner experiences as "mystical." But Christians cling to them as most real, data of experience as true and reliable as any other forms of human experience. To repudiate them would be for them to repudiate reality itself. The Father and Son shall make their abode in Christians (**14** 23). This is probably another form of assertion of the Spirit's presence, and not a distinct line of mystical teaching. (Cf Woods, *The Spirit of God in Bib. Literature,* 243.) For in ver 26 the promise of the Spirit is repeated. The Father is to send the Spirit in the name of Christ, and He is to teach the disciples all things, quickening also their memories. In the NT generally, and esp. in John's and Paul's writings, there is no sense of conflict between Father, Son and Spirit in their work in the Christian. All proceeds from the Father, through the Son, and is accomplished in the Christian by the Holy Spirit. As will appear, Christ in the believer is represented as being practically all that the Spirit does without identifying Christ with the Spirit. So far there are several notes suggesting the personality of the Holy Spirit. The designation "another Comforter," taken in connection with the description of his work, is one. The fact that He is sent or given is another. And another is seen in the specific work which the Spirit is to do. Another is the masculine pronoun employed here (ἐκεῖνος, *ekeínos*). In ver 26 the function of the Spirit is indicated. He is to bring to "remembrance all that I said unto you." In **15** 26 this is made even more comprehensive: "He shall bear witness of me," and yet more emphatically in **16** 14, "He shall glorify me: for he shall take of mine, and shall declare it unto you." The sphere of the Spirit's activity is the heart of the individual believer and of the church. His chief function is to illumine the teaching and glorify the person of Jesus. Jn **15** 26 is the passage which has been used in support of the doctrine of the procession of the Spirit. Jesus says, "I will send" (πέμψω, *pémpsō*), future tense, referring to the "Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father" (ἐκπορεύεται, *ekporeúetai*), present tense. The present tense here suggests timeless action and has been taken to indicate an essential relation of the Spirit to God the Father (cf Godet, *Comm. on John,* in loc.). The hazard of such an interpretation lies chiefly in the absence of other confirmatory Scriptures and in the possibility of another and simpler meaning of the word. However, the language is unusual, and the change of tense in the course of the sentence is suggestive. Perhaps it is one of the many instances where we must admit we do not know the precise import of the language of Scripture.

In **16** 7–15 we have a very important passage. Jesus declares to the anxious disciples that it is expedient for Him to go away, because otherwise the Spirit will not come. "He, when he is come, will convict the world in respect of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment" (**16** 8). The term trd "convict" (ἐλέγξει, *elégksei*) involves a cognitive along with a moral process. The Spirit who deals in truth, and makes His appeal through the truth, shall convict, shall bring the mind on which He is working into a sense of self-condemnation on account of sin. The word means more than reprove, or refute, or convince. It signifies up to a certain point a moral conquest of the mind: "of sin, because they believe not on me" (**16** 9). Unbelief is the root sin. The revelation of God in Christ is, broadly speaking, His condemnation of all sin. The Spirit may convict of particular sins, but they will all be shown to consist essentially in the rejection of God's love and righteousness in Christ, i.e. in unbelief. "Of righteousness, because I go to the Father, and ye behold me no more" (**16** 10). What does this mean? Does Jesus mean that His going to the Father will be the proof of His righteousness to those who put Him to death, or that this going to the Father will be the consummating or crowning act of His righteousness which the Spirit is to carry home to the hearts of men? Or does He mean that because He goes away the Spirit will take His place in convicting men of righteousness? The latter meaning seems implied in the words, "and ye behold me no more." Probably, however, the meanings are not mutually exclusive. "Of judgment because the prince of this world hath been judged" (**16** 11). In His incarnation and death the prince of this world, the usurper, is conquered and cast out.

We may sum up the teachings as to the Spirit in these four chapters as follows: He is the Spirit of truth; He guides into all truth; He brings to memory Christ's teachings; He shows things to come; He glorifies Christ; He speaks not of Himself but of Christ; He, like believers, bears witness to Christ; He enables Christians to do greater works than those of Christ; He convicts the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; He comes because Christ goes away; He is "another Comforter"; He is to abide with disciples forever.

These teachings cover a very wide range of needs. The Holy Spirit is the subject of the entire discourse. In a sense it is the counterpart of the Sermon on the Mount. There the laws of the kingdom are expounded. Here the means of realization of all the ends of that kingdom are presented. The kingdom now becomes the kingdom of the Spirit. The historical revelation of truth in the life, death, resurrection and glorification of Jesus being completed, the Spirit of truth comes in fulness. The gospel as history is now to become the gospel as experience. The Messiah as a fact is now to become the Messiah as a life through the Spirit's action. All the elements of the Spirit's action are embraced: the charismatic for mighty works; the intellectual for guidance into truth; the moral and spiritual for producing holy lives. This discourse transfers the kingdom, so to speak, from the shoulders of the Master to those of the disciples, but the latter are empowered for their tasks by the might of the indwelling and abiding Spirit. The method of the kingdom's growth and advance is clearly indicated as spiritual, conviction of sin, righteousness and judgment, and obedient and holy lives of Christ's disciples.

Before passing to the next topic, one remark should be made as to the Trinitarian suggestions of these chapters in Jn. The personality of the Spirit is clearly implied in much of the language here. It is true we have no formal teaching on the metaphysical side, no ontology in the strict sense of the word. This fact is made much of by writers who are slow to recognize the personality of the Holy Spirit in the light of the teachings of John and Paul. These writers have no difficulty, however, in asserting that the NT writers hold that God is a personal being (see I. F. Woods, *The Spirit of God in Bib. Literature,* 256, 268). It must be insisted, however, that in the NT, as in the OT, there is little metaphysics, little ontological teaching as to God. His personality is deduced from the same kind of sayings as those relating to the Spirit. From the ontological point of view, therefore, we should also have to reject the personality of God on the basis of the Bib. teachings. The Trinitarian formulations may not be correct at all points, but the NT warrants the Trinitarian doctrine, just as it warrants belief in the personality of God. We are not insisting on finding metaphysics in Scripture where it is absent, but we do insist upon consistency in construing the popular and practical language of Scripture as to the second and third as well as the first Person of the Trinity.

We add a few lines as to John's teachings in the Epp. and Revelation. In general they are in close harmony with the teachings in his Gospel and do not require extended treatment. The Spirit imparts assurance (1 Jn **3** 24); incites to confession of Christ (**4** 2); bears witness to Christ (**5** 6 ff). In Rev **1** 4 the "seven Spirits" is an expression for the completeness of the Spirit. The Spirit speaks to the churches (**2** 7.11; **3** 6). The seer is "in the Spirit" (**4** 2). The Spirit joins the church in the invitation of the gospel (**22** 17).

(3) *The Holy Spirit in the Book of Acts.*—The Book of Acts contains the record of the beginning of the Dispensation of the Holy Spirit. There is at the outset the closest connection with the recorded predictions of the Holy Spirit in the Gospels. Particularly does Luke make clear the continuity of his own thought regarding the Spirit in his earlier and later writing. Jesus in the first chapter of Acts gives commandment through the Holy Spirit and predicts the reception of power as the result of the baptism in the Holy Spirit which the disciples are soon to receive.

The form of the Spirit's activities in Acts is chiefly charismatic, that is, the miraculous endowment of disciples with power or wisdom for their work in extending the Messianic kingdom. As yet the work of the Spirit within disciples as the chief sanctifying agency is not fully developed, and is later described with great fulness in Paul's writings. Some recent writers have overemphasized the contrast between the earlier and the more developed view of the Spirit with regard to the moral life. In Acts the ethical import of the Spirit's action appears at several points (see Acts **5** 3.9; **7** 51; **8** 18 f; **13** 9; **15** 28). The chief interest in Acts is naturally the Spirit's agency in founding the Messianic kingdom, since here is recorded the early history of the expansion of that kingdom. The phenomenal rather than the inner moral aspects of that great movement naturally come chiefly into view. But everywhere the ethical implications are present. Gunkel is no doubt correct in the statement that Paul's conception of the Spirit as inward and moral and acting in the daily life of the Christian opens the way for the activity of the Spirit as a historical principle in subsequent ages. After all, this is the fundamental and universal import of the Spirit (see Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, etc, 76; cf Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, 200).

We now proceed to give a brief summary of the Holy Spirit's activities as recorded in Acts, and follow this with a discussion of one or two special points. The great event is of course the outpouring or baptism of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost followed by the completion of the baptism in the Holy Spirit by the baptism of the household of Cornelius (**2** 1 ff; **10** 17–48). Speaking with tongues, and other striking manifestations attended this baptism, as also witnessing to the gospel with power by the apostles. See BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. This outpouring is declared to be in fulfilment of OT prophecy, and the assertion is also made that it is the gift of the exalted Lord Jesus Christ (**2** 17.33). Following this baptism of the Holy Spirit the disciples are endued with miraculous power for their work. Miracles are wrought (Acts **2** 43 ff), and all necessary gifts of wisdom and Divine guidance are bestowed. A frequent form of expression describing the actors in the history is, "filled with the Holy Spirit." It is applied to Peter (**4** 8); to disciples (**4** 31); to the seven deacons (**6** 3); to Stephen (**6** 5; **7** 55); to Saul who becomes Paul (**13** 9).

The presence of the Spirit and His immediate and direct superintendence of affairs are seen in the fact that Ananias and Sapphira are represented as lying to the Holy Spirit (**5** 3.9); the Jews are charged by Stephen with resisting the Holy Spirit (**7** 51); and Simon Magus is rebuked for attempting to purchase the Spirit with money (**8** 18 f).

The Holy Spirit is connected with the act of baptism, but there does not seem to be any fixed order as between the two. In Acts **9** 17 the Spirit comes before baptism; and after baptism in **8** 17 and **19** 6. In these cases the coming of the Spirit was in connection with the laying on of hands also. But in **10** 44 the Holy Spirit falls upon the hearers while Peter is speaking prior to baptism and with no laying on of hands. These instances in which the order of baptism, the laying on of hands and the gift of the Spirit seem to be a matter of indifference, are a striking indication of the non-sacramentarian character of the teaching of the Book of Acts, and indeed in the NT generally. Certainly no particular efficacy seems to be attached to the laying on of hands or baptism except as symbolic representations of spiritual facts. Gunkel, in his excellent work on the Holy Spirit, claims Acts **2** 38 as an instance when the Spirit is bestowed during baptism (*Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, etc, 7). The words of Peter, however, may refer to a reception of the Spirit subsequent to baptism, although evidently in immediate connection with it. The baptism of the Holy Spirit clearly then was not meant to supplant water baptism. Moreover, in the strict sense the baptism of the Holy Spirit was a historical event or events completed at the outset when the extension of the kingdom of God, beginning at Pentecost, began to reach out to the gentile world. See BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

In Acts the entire historical movement is represented by Luke as being under the direction of the Spirit. He guides Philip to the Ethiopian and then "catches away" Philip (**8** 29.39). He guides Peter at Joppa through the vision and then leads him to Cornelius at Caesarea (**10** 19 f; **11** 12 f). The Spirit commands the church at Antioch to separate Saul and Barnabas for missionary work (**13** 2 ff). He guides the church at Jerus (**15** 28). He forbids the apostle to go to Asia (**16** 6 f). The Spirit enables Agabus to prophesy that Paul will be bound by the Jews at Jerus (**21** 11; cf also **20** 23). The Spirit appointed the elders at Ephesus (**20** 28).

One or two points require notice before passing from Acts. The impression we get of the Spirit's action here very strongly suggests a Divine purpose moving on the stage of history in a large and comprehensive way. In Jesus that purpose was individualized. Here the supplementary thought of a vast historic movement is powerfully suggested. Gunkel asserts that usually the Spirit's action is not conceived by the subjects of it in terms of means (*Mittel*) and end (*Zweck*), but rather as cause (*Ursache*) and activity (*Wirkung*) (see *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, etc, 20). There is an element of truth in this, but the idea of purpose is by no means confined to the historian who later recorded the Spirit's action. The actors in the spiritual drama were everywhere conscious of the great movement of which they as individuals were a part. In some passages the existence of purpose in the Spirit's action is clearly recognized, as in His restraining of Paul at certain points and in the appointment of Saul and Barnabas as missionaries. Divine purpose is indeed implied at all points, and while the particular end in view was not always clear in a given instance, the subjects of the Spirit's working were scarcely so naïve in their apprehension of the matter as to think of their experiences merely as so many extraordinary phenomena caused in a particular way.

We note next the glossolalia, or speaking with tongues, recorded in Acts **2**, as well as in later chapters and in Paul's Epp. The prevailing view at present is that "speaking with tongues" does not mean speaking actual intelligible words in a foreign language, but rather the utterance of meaningless sounds, as was customary among the heathen and as is sometimes witnessed today where religious life becomes highly emotional in its manifestation. To support this view the account in Acts **2** is questioned, and Paul's instructions in 1 Cor **14** are cited. Of course a man's world-view will be likely to influence his interpretation in this as in other matters. Philosophically an antisupernatural world-view makes it easy to question the glossolalia of the NT. Candid exegesis, however, rather requires the recognition of the presence in the apostolic church of a speaking in foreign tongues, even if alongside of it there existed (which is open to serious doubt) the other phenomenon mentioned above. Acts **2** 3 ff is absolutely conclusive taken by itself, and no valid critical grounds have been found for rejecting the passage. 1 Cor **14** confirms this view when its most natural meaning is sought. Paul is here insisting upon the orderly conduct of worship and upon edification as the important thing. To this end he insists that they who speak with tongues pray that they may also interpret (1 Cor **14** 5; ch **13**). It is difficult to conceive what he means by "interpret" if the speaking with tongues was a meaningless jargon of sounds uttered under emotional excitement, and nothing more. Paul's whole exposition in this chapter implies that "tongues" may be used for edification. He ranks it below prophecy simply because without an interpreter "tongues" would not edify the hearer. Paul himself spoke with tongues more than they all (**14** 18). It seems scarcely in keeping with Paul's character to suppose that he refers here to a merely emotional volubility in meaningless and disconnected sounds. See TONGUES, GIFT OF.

(4) *The Holy Spirit in Paul's writings.*—The teachings of Paul on the Holy Spirit are so rich and abundant that space forbids an exhaustive presentation. In his writings the Bib. representations reach their climax. Mr. Wood says correctly that Paul grasped the idea of the unity of the Christian life. All the parts exist in a living whole and the Holy

Spirit constitutes and maintains it (Wood, *The Spirit of God in Bib. Literature*, 268). In fact a careful study of Paul's teachings discloses three ‖ lines, one relating to faith, another to Christ, and the third to the Holy Spirit. That is to say, his teachings coalesce, as it were, point by point, in reference to these three subjects. Faith is the human side of the Divine activity carried on by the Holy Spirit. Faith is therefore implied in the Spirit's action and is the result of or response to it in its various forms. But faith is primarily and essentially faith in Jesus Christ. Hence we find in Paul that Christ is represented as doing substantially everything that the Spirit does. Now we are not to see in this any conflicting conceptions as to Christ and the Spirit, but rather Paul's intense feeling of the unity of the work of Christ and the Spirit. The "law" of the Spirit's action is the revelation and glorification of Christ. In his Gospel, which came later, John, as we have seen, defined the Spirit's function in precisely these terms. Whether or not John was influenced by Paul in the matter we need not here consider.

(*a*) We begin with a brief reference to the connection in Paul's thought between the Spirit and Jesus. The Holy Spirit is described as the Spirit of God's Son (Rom **8** 14 ff; Gal **4** 6), as the Spirit of Christ (Rom **8** 9). He who confesses Jesus does so by the Holy Spirit, and no one can say that Jesus is anathema in the Holy Spirit (1 Cor **12** 3). Christ is called a life-giving Spirit (**15** 45); and in 2 Cor **3** 17 the statement appears, "Now the Lord is the Spirit." All of this shows how completely one Paul regarded the work of Christ and the Spirit, not because they were identical in the sense in which Beyschlag has contended, but because their task and aim being identical, there was no sense of discord in Paul's mind in explaining their activities in similar terms.

(*b*) The Spirit appears in Paul as in Acts imparting all kinds of charismatic gifts for the ends of the Messianic kingdom. He enumerates a long list of spiritual gifts which cannot receive separate treatment here, such as prophecy (1 Thess **5** 19 f); tongues (1 Cor **12**–**14**); wisdom (**2** 6 ff); knowledge (**12** 8); power to work miracles (**12** 9 f); discerning of spirits (**12** 10); interpretation of tongues (**12** 10); faith (**12** 9); boldness in Christian testimony (2 Cor **3** 17 f); charismata generally (1 Thess **1** 5; **4** 8, etc). See SPIRITUAL GIFTS. In addition to the above list, Paul esp. emphasizes the Spirit's action in revealing to himself and to Christians the mind of God (1 Cor **2** 10–12; Eph **3** 5). He speaks in words taught by the Spirit (1 Cor **2** 13). He preaches in demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Cor **2** 4; 1 Thess **1** 5).

In the above manifestations of the Spirit, as enumerated in Paul's writings, we have presented in very large measure what we have already seen in Acts, but with some additions. In 1 Cor **14** and elsewhere Paul gives a new view as to the charismatic gifts which was greatly needed in view of the tendency to extravagant and intemperate indulgence in emotional excitement, due to the mighty action of God's Spirit in the Corinthian church. He insists that all things be done unto edification, that spiritual growth is the true aim of all spiritual endowments. This may be regarded as the connecting link between the earlier and later NT teaching as to the Holy Spirit, between the charismatic and moral-religious significance of the Spirit. To the latter we now direct attention.

(*c*) We note the Spirit in the beginnings of the Christian life. From beginning to end the Christian life is regarded by Paul as under the power of the Holy Spirit, in its inner moral and religious aspects as well as in its charismatic forms. It is a singular fact that Paul does not anywhere expressly declare that the Holy Spirit originates the Christian life. Gunkel is correct in this so far as specific and direct teaching is concerned. But Wood who asserts the contrary is also right, if regard is had to clear implications and legitimate inferences from Paul's statements (op. cit., 202). Rom **8** 2 does not perhaps refer to the act of regeneration, and yet it is hard to conceive of the Christian life as thus constituted by the "law of the Spirit of life" apart from its origin through the Spirit. There are other passages which seem to imply very clearly, if they do not directly assert, that the Christian life is originated by the Holy Spirit (1 Thess **1** 6; Rom **5** 5; **8** 9; 1 Cor **2** 4; **6** 11; Tit **3** 5).

The Holy Spirit in the beginnings of the Christian life itself is set forth in many forms of statement. They who have the Spirit belong to Christ (Rom **8** 9). We received not the Spirit of bondage but of adoption, "whereby we cry, Abba, Father" (Rom **8** 15). "The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God" (Rom **8** 16). The Spirit is received by the hearing of faith (Gal **3** 2). See also Rom **5** 5; **8** 2; 1 Cor **16** 11; Gal **3** 3.14; Eph **2** 18. There are two or three expressions employed by Paul which express some particular aspect of the Spirit's work in believers. One of these is "first-fruits" (Rom **8** 23, ἀπαρχή, *aparchḗ*), which means that the present possession of the Spirit by the believer is the guarantee of the full redemption which is to come, as the first-fruits were the guarantee of the full harvest. Another of these words is "earnest" (2 Cor **1** 22; **5** 5, ἀρραβών, *arrabṓn*), which also means a pledge or guarantee. Paul also speaks of the "sealing" of the Christians with the Holy Spirit of promise, as in Eph **1** 13 (ἐσφραγίσθητε, *esphragísthēte*, "ye were sealed"). This refers to the seal by which a king stamped his mark of authorization or ownership upon a document.

(*d*) Paul gives a great variety of expressions indicating the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit in the religious and moral life of the Christian. In fact at every point that life is under the guidance and sustaining energy of the Spirit. If we live after the flesh, we die; if after the Spirit, we live (Rom **8** 6). The Spirit helps the Christian to pray (Rom **8** 26 f). The kingdom of God is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (Rom **14** 17). Christians are to abound in hope through the Holy Spirit (Rom **15** 13). "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control" (Gal **5** 22). Christians are warned to grieve not the Holy Spirit (Eph **4** 30), and are urged to take the sword of the Spirit (**6** 17). The flesh is contrasted with the Spirit at a number of points in Paul's writings (e.g. Rom **8** 5 f; Gal **5** 17 ff). The Spirit in these passages probably means either the Spirit of God or man's spirit as under the influence of the Spirit of God. Flesh is a difficult word to define, as it seems to be used in several somewhat different senses. When the flesh is represented as lusting against the Spirit, however, it seems equivalent to the "carnal mind," i.e. the mind of the sinful natural man as distinct from the mind of the spiritual man. This carnal or fleshly mind is thus described because the flesh is thought of as the sphere in which the sinful impulses in large part, though not altogether (Gal **5** 19 ff), take their rise.

Paul contrasts the Spirit with the letter (2 Cor **3** 6) and puts strong emphasis on the Spirit as the source of Christian liberty. As Gunkel points out, spirit and freedom with Paul are correlatives, like spirit and life. Freedom must needs come of the Spirit's presence because He is superior to all other authorities and powers (*Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, etc, 95). See also an excellent passage on the freedom of the Christian from statutory religious requirements in *DCG*, art. "Holy Spirit" by Dr. James Denney, I, 739.

(*e*) The Holy Spirit in the church. Toward the end of his ministry and in his later group of epp., Paul devoted much thought to the subject of the church, and one of his favorite figures was of the church as the body of Christ. The Holy Spirit is represented as animating this body, as communicating to it life, and directing all its affairs. As in the case of the individual believer, so also in the body of believers the Spirit is the sovereign energy which rules completely. By one Spirit all are baptized into one body and made to drink of one Spirit (1 Cor **12** 13). All the gifts of the church, charismatic and otherwise, are from the Spirit (**12** 4.8–11). All spiritual gifts in the church are for edification (**14** 12). Prayer is to be in the Spirit (**14** 15). The church is to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace (Eph **4** 3). Love (Col **1** 8); fellowship (Phil **2** 1); worship (**3** 3) are in the Spirit. The church is the habitation of the Spirit (Eph **2** 22). The church is an epistle of Christ written by the Spirit (2 Cor **3** 3). Thus the whole life of the church falls under the operation of the Holy Spirit.

(*f*) The Spirit also carries on His work in believers in raising the body from the dead. In Rom **8** 11 Paul asserts that the present indwelling in believers of the Spirit that raised up Jesus from the dead is the guarantee of the quickening of their mortal bodies by the power of the same Spirit. See also 1 Cor **15** 44 f; Gal **5** 5.

We have thus exhibited Paul's teachings as to the Holy Spirit in some detail in order to make clear their scope and comprehensiveness. And we have not exhausted the material supplied by his writings. It will be observed that Paul nowhere elaborates a doctrine of the Spirit, as he does in a number of instances his doctrine of the person of Christ. The references to the Spirit are in connection with other subjects usually. This, however, only serves to indicate how very fundamental the work of the Spirit was in Paul's assumptions as to the Christian life. The Spirit *is* the Christian life, just as Christ is that life.

The personality of the Spirit appears in Paul as in John. The benediction in 2 Cor **13** 14 distinguishes clearly Father, Son and Spirit (cf also Eph **4** 4). In many connections the Spirit is distinguished from the Son and Father, and the work of the Spirit is set forth in personal terms. It is true, references are often made to the Holy Spirit by Paul as if the Spirit were an impersonal influence, or at least without clearly personal attributes. This distinguishes his usage as to the Spirit from that as to Christ and God, who are always personal. It is a natural explanation of this fact if we hold that in the case of the impersonal references we have a survival of the current OT conception of the Spirit, while in those which are personal we have the developed conception as found in both Paul and John. Personal attributes are ascribed to the Spirit in so many instances, it would seem unwarranted in us to make the earlier and lower conception determinative of the later and higher.

In Paul's writings we have the crowning factor in the Bib. doctrine of the Holy Spirit. He gathers up most of the preceding elements, and adds to them his own distinctive teaching or emphasis. Some of the earlier OT elements are lacking, but all those which came earlier in the NT are found in Paul. The three points which Paul esp. brought into full expression were first, the law of edification in the use of spiritual gifts, second, the Holy Spirit in the moral life of the believer, and third, the Holy Spirit in the church. Thus Paul enables us to make an important distinction as to the work of the Spirit in founding the kingdom of God, viz. the distinction between means and ends. Charismatic gifts of the Spirit were, after all, means to ethical ends. God's kingdom is moral in its purpose, "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." Christianity is, according to Paul, inherently and essentially supernatural. But its permanent and abiding significance is to be found, not in extraordinary phenomena in the form of "mighty works," "wonders," "tongues" and other miracles in the ordinary sense, but in the creation of a new moral order in time and eternity. The supernatural is to become normal and "natural" in human history, therefore, in the building up of this ethical kingdom on the basis of a redemption that is in and through Jesus Christ, and wrought out in all its details by the power of the Holy Spirit.

(5) *The Holy Spirit in other NT writings.*—There is little to add to the NT teaching as to the Holy Spirit. Paul and John practically cover all the aspects of His work which are presented. There are a few passages, however, we may note in concluding our general survey. In He the Holy Spirit is referred to a number of times as inspiring the OT Scriptures (He **3** 7; **9** 8; **10** 15). We have already referred to the remarkable statement in He **9** 14 to the effect that the blood of Christ was offered through the eternal Spirit. In **10** 29 doing "despite unto the Spirit of grace" seems to be closely akin to the sin against the Holy Spirit in the Gospels. In He **4** 12 there is a very remarkable description of the "word of God" in personal terms, as having all the energy and activity of an actual personal presence of the Spirit, and recalls Paul's language in Eph **6** 17. In 1 Pet we need only refer to **1** 11 in which Peter declares that the "Spirit of Christ" was in the OT prophets, pointing forward to the sufferings and glories of Christ.

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E. Y. MULLINS

HOMAM, hō′mam (חוֹמָם, *ḥōmām*, "destruction"): A Horite descendant of Esau (1 Ch **1** 39). The name appears in Gen **36** 22 as "Heman."

HOME, hōm (בַּיִת, *bayith*, "house," מָקוֹם, *māḳōm*, "place," אֹהֶל, *'ōhel*, "tent" [Jgs **19** 9], שׁוּב, *shūbh*, "to cause to turn back," תָּוֶךְ, *tāwekh*, תּוֹךְ, *tōkh*, "middle," "midst" [Dt **21** 12]; **οἶκος**, *oíkos*, "house," "household," **ἐνδημέω**, *endēméō*, "to be among one's people," *oíkos ídios*, "one's own proper [house]"): This term in Scripture does not stand for a single specific word of the original, but for a variety of phrases. Most commonly it is a tr of the Heb *bayith*, Gr οἶκος, "house," which means either the building or the persons occupying it. In Gen **43** 26 "home" and "into the house" represent the same phrase, "to the house" (*ha-bay*^{e}*thāh*). In Ruth **1** 21, "hath brought me home again" means "has caused me to return." In 2 Ch **25** 10 "home again" means "to their place." In Eccl **12** 5 "long home," RV "everlasting home," means "eternal house." In Jn **19** 27 "unto his own *home*" means "unto his own things" (so Jn **1** 11). In 2 Cor **5** 6 (and RV vs 8.9) "be at home" is a tr of *endēmeō*, "to be among one's own people," as opposed to *ekdēmeō*, "to be or live abroad."

Benjamin Reno Downer

HOME-BORN, hōm′bôrn (אֶזְרָח, *'ezrāḥ*): A native-born Heb, as contrasted with a foreigner of different blood. The same Heb word is found in Lev **16** 29; **18** 26 and elsewhere, but is trd differently. Home-born in Jer **2** 14 is a tr of the phrase יְלִיד בַּיִת, *yelīdh bayith,* where it means a person free-born as contrasted with a slave.

HOMER, hō′mẽr (חֹמֶר, *ḥōmer*): A dry measure containing about 11 bushels. It was equal to 10 ephas. See Weights and Measures.

HOMICIDE, hom′i-sīd (רֹצֵחַ, *rōçēaḥ*): Heb has no word for killing or murder; *rōçēaḥ* is the word for manslayer. The Gr for murder is φόνος, *phónos.* Homicide was every conscious violent action against a human being with the immediate result of death. It was always to be punished by death, being considered a crime against the image of God. Killing is definitely forbidden in the sixth commandment (Gen **9** 5 f; Ex **20** 13; **21** 12; Lev **24** 17.21; Nu **35** 16–21; Dt **19** 11–13). The penalty of death was not inflicted when the killing was unintentional or unpremeditated (Ex **21** 13; Nu **35** 22–25; Josh **20** 3–5; cf Mish, *Makkōth,* xi. 5). Cities of Refuge were founded to which the manslayer could escape from the "avenger of blood." There he had to abide till after the death of the officiating high priest. If he left the city before that event, the avenger who should kill him was free from punishment (Ex **21** 13; Nu **35** 10–15. 25–28.32; Dt **19** 1–13; Josh **20** 2 ff). See Cities of Refuge. Killing a thief who broke in during the night was not accounted murder (Ex **22** 2). Unintentional killing of the pregnant woman in a fray was punished according to the *lex talionis,* i.e. the husband of the woman killed could kill the wife of the man who committed the offence without being punished (Ex **21** 22 f). This was not usually carried out, but it gave the judge a standard by which to fine the offender. If a man failed to build a battlement to his house, and anyone fell over and was killed, blood-guiltiness came upon that man's house (Dt **22** 8). He who killed a thief in the daytime was guilty in the same way (Ex **22** 3; cf AV). Where a body was found, but the murderer was unknown, the elders of the city nearest to the place where it was found were ordered by a prescribed ceremony to declare that they were not guilty of neglecting their duties, and were therefore innocent of the man's blood (Dt **21** 1–9). Two witnesses were necessary for a conviction of murder (Nu **35** 30). If a slave died under chastisement, the master was to be punished according to the principle that "he that smiteth a man, so that he dieth, shall surely be put to death" (Ex **21** 20; cf Ex **21** 12). According to the rabbis the master was to be killed by the sword. Since in this passage the phrase "he shall die" is not used, some have supposed that punishment by death is not indicated. If the slave punished by the master died after one or two days, the master was not liable to punishment (Ex **21** 21). Because of the words, "for he is his money," the rabbis held that non-Israelitish slaves were meant. In ancient times the avenger of blood was himself to be the executioner of the murderer (Nu **35** 19.21). According to *Ṣanhedhrīn* **9** 1 the murderer was to be beheaded. Nothing is said in the law about suicide.

Paul Levertoff

HONEST, on′est, **HONESTY,** on′es-ti: The word "honest" in the NT in AV generally represents the adj. καλός, *kalós,* "good," "excellent," "honorable," and, with the exception of Lk **8** 15, "honest and good heart," is changed in RV into the more correct "honorable" (Rom **12** 17; 2 Cor **8** 21; **13** 7; Phil **4** 8); in 1 Pet **2** 12, into "seemly." In ARV "honestly" in He **13** 18 is rendered "honorably," and in 1 Thess **4** 12 (here *euschēmónōs*) is rendered "becomingly." The noun "honesty" occurs but once in AV as the tr of σεμνότης, *semnótēs* (1 Tim **2** 2), and in RV is more appropriately rendered "gravity."

James Orr

HONEY, hun′i (דְּבַשׁ, *debhash;* μέλι, *méli*): One familiar with life in Pal will recognize in *debhash* the Arab. *dibs,* which is the usual term for a sweet syrup made by boiling down the juice of grapes, raisins, carob beans, or dates. *Dibs* is seldom, if ever, used as a name for honey (cf Arab. *'asal*), whereas in the OT *debhash* probably had only that meaning. The honey referred to was in most cases wild honey (Dt **32** 13; Jgs **14** 8.9; 1 S **14** 25. 26.29.43), although the offering of honey with the first-fruits would seem to indicate that the bees were also domesticated (2 Ch **31** 5). The bees constructed their honeycomb and deposited their honey in holes in the ground (1 S **14** 25); under rocks or in crevices between the rocks (Dt **32** 13; Ps **81** 16). They do the same today. When domesticated they are kept in cylindrical basket hives which are plastered on the outside with mud. The Syrian bee is an esp. hardy type and a good honey producer. It is carried to Europe and America for breeding purposes.

In OT times, as at present, honey was rare enough to be considered a luxury (Gen **43** 11; 1 K **14** 3). Honey was used in baking sweets (Ex **16** 31). It was forbidden to be offered with the meal offering (Lev **2** 11), perhaps because it was fermentable, but was presented with the fruit offering (2 Ch **31** 5). Honey was offered to David's army (2 S **17** 29). It was sometimes stored in the fields (Jer **41** 8). It was also exchanged as merchandise (Ezk **27** 17). In NT times wild honey was an article of food among the lowly (Mt **3** 4; Mk **1** 6).

Figurative: "A land flowing with milk and honey" suggested a land filled with abundance of good things (Ex **3** 8.17; Lev **20** 24; Nu **13** 27; Dt **6** 3; Josh **5** 6; Jer **11** 5; Ezk **20** 6.15). "A land of olive trees and honey" had the same meaning (Dt **8** 8; 2 K **18** 32), and similarly "streams of honey and butter" (Job **20** 17). Honey was a standard of sweetness (Cant **4** 11; Ezk **3** 3; Rev **10** 9.10). It typified sumptuous fare (Cant **5** 1; Isa **7** 15.22; Ezk **16** 13.19). The ordinances of Jeh were "sweeter than honey and the droppings of the honeycomb" (Ps **19** 10; **119** 103). "Thou didst eat . . . . honey" (Ezk **16** 13) expressed Jeh's goodness to Jerusalem.

James A. Patch

HONORABLE, on′ẽr-a-b'l (כָּבֵד, *kābhēdh;* εὐσχήμων, *euschḗmōn*): In the OT "honorable" is for the most part the tr of *kābhēdh,* properly, "to be heavy," "weighty" (Gen **34** 19, RV "honored"; Nu **22** 15; 1 S **9** 6; Isa **3** 5, etc); *kābhōdh,* "weight," "heaviness," etc, occurs in Isa **5** 13; *hōdh,* "beauty," "majesty," "honor" (Ps **111** 3, RV "honor"); *'ādhar,* "to make honorable," "illustrious" (Isa **42** 21, "magnify the law, and make it honorable," RVm "make the teaching great and glorious"); *yāḳār,* "precious" (Ps **45** 9); *nāsā' pānīm,* "lifted up of face" (2 K **5** 1; Isa **3** 3; **9** 15); *nesū phānīm* (Job **22** 8, RVm "he whose person is accepted"); *euschēmōn*, lit. "well fashioned," is trd Mk **15** 43, AV "honorable," RV "of honorable estate"; cf Acts **13** 50; **17** 12; *éndoxos*, "in glory," occurs 1 Cor **4** 10, RV "glory"; *tímios*, "weighty" (He **13** 4, RV "had in honor"); *átimos*, "without weight or honor" (1 Cor **12** 23, "less honorable"); *éntimos*, "in honor" (Lk **14** 8), "more honorable."

RV gives for "honorable" (1 S **9** 6), "held in honor"; for "Yet shall I be glorious" (Isa **49** 5), "I am honorable"; "honorable" for "honest" (Rom **12** 17; 2 Cor **13** 7; Phil **4** 8, m "reverend"); for "honestly" (He **13** 18) ARV has "honorably."

In Apoc we have *endóxōs* trd "honorable" (Tob **12** 7, RV "gloriously"); *endoxos* (Jth **16** 21), *timios* (Wisd **4** 8), *doxázō* (Ecclus **24** 12, RV "glorified"), *dóxa* (**29** 27, RV "honor"), etc.

W L. WALKER

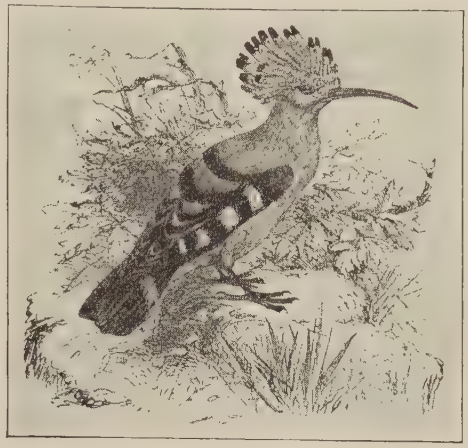
HOOD, hŏŏd (זְנִיפוֹת, *z^enīphōth*): The ladies' "hoods" of Isa **3** 23 AV appear as "turbans" RV; and "mitre" of Zec **3** 5 is "turban, or diadem" ERVm. The word is from the vb. *zānaph*, "to wrap round." It connotes a head-covering, not a permanent article of dress. See DRESS, 5; HAT.

HOOF, hōōf. See CHEW; CLOVEN.

HOOK, hŏŏk: (1) חַכָּה, *ḥakkāh*, is rendered "fishhook" in Job **41** 1 RV (AV "hook"). RV is correct here and should have used the same tr for the same word in Isa **19** 8; Hab **1** 15, instead of retaining AV's "angle." Similarly in Am **4** 2, צִנָּה, *çinnāh*, and סִירוֹת דּוּגָה, *ṣīrōth dūghāh*, appear to be synonyms for "fishhook," although the former may mean the barb of a fisher's spear. In the NT "fishhook" occurs in Mt **17** 27 (ἄγκιστρον, *ágkistron*). (2) The "flesh-hook" (מַזְלֵג, *mazlēgh*, מִזְלָגָה, *mizlāghāh*) of Ex **27** 3, etc, was probably a small pitchfork, with two or three tines. (3) The "pruning-hook" (מַזְמֵרָה, *mazmērāh*), used in the culture of the vine (Isa **18** 5), was a sickle-shaped knife, small enough to be made from the metal of a spear-point (Isa **2** 4; Joel **3** 10; Mic **4** 3). (4) וָו, *wāw*, is the name given the supports of certain hangings of the tabernacle (Ex **26** 32, etc). Their form is entirely obscure. (5) חַח, *ḥaḥ*, is rendered "hook" in 2 K **19** 28=Isa **37** 29; Ezk **29** 4; **38** 4, and Ezk **19** 4.9 RV (AV "chain"). A *ring* (cf Ex **35** 22), put in the nose of a tamed beast and through which a rope is passed to lead him, is probably meant. (6) אַגְמוֹן, *'aghmōn*, is rendered "hook" in Job **41** 2 AV, but should be "a rope" of rushes or rush-fiber as in RV, or, simply, "a rush" (on which small fish are strung). (7) חוֹחַ, *ḥō^aḥ*, is "hook" in Job **41** 2 RV (AV "thorn," perhaps right) and 2 Ch **33** 11 RVm (text "chains," AV "thorns"). On both vs see the comms. (8) שְׁפַתַּיִם, *sh^ephattayim*, is "hooks" in Ezk **40** 43 (RVm "ledges"), but the meaning of this word is completely unknown, and "hook" is a mere guess.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON

HOOPOE, hōō'pō; -pōō (דּוּכִיפַת, *dūkhīphath*; ἔποψ, *épops*; Lat *Upupa epops*): One of the peculiar and famous birds of Pal, having a curved bill and beautiful plumage. It is about the size of a thrush. Its back is a rich cinnamon color, its head golden buff with a crest of feathers of gold, banded with white and tipped with black, that gradually lengthen as they cover the head until, when folded, they lie in lines of black and white, and, when erect, each feather shows its exquisite marking. Its wings and tail are black banded with white and buff. It nests in holes and hollow trees. All ornithologists agree that it is a "nasty, filthy bird" in its feeding and breeding habits. The nest, being paid no attention by the elders, soon becomes soiled and evil smelling. The bird is mentioned only in the lists of abomination (Lev **11** 19; and Dt **14** 18). One reason for this prohibition may have been because of its habits. Quite as strong a one lay in the fact that it was one of the sacred birds of Egypt. There the belief was prevalent that it could detect water and indicate where to dig a well; that it could hear secrets and cure diseases. Its head was a part of the charms used by witches. The hoopoe was believed to have wonderful medicinal powers and was called the "Doctor Bird" by the Arabs. Because it is almost the size of a hoopoe and somewhat suggestive of it in its golden plumage, the lapwing was used in the early translations of the Bible instead of hoopoe. But when it was remembered that the lapwing is a plover, its flesh and eggs esp. dainty food, that it was eaten everywhere it was known, modern commentators rightly decided that the hoopoe was the bird intended by the Mosaic law. It must be put on record, however, that where no superstition attaches to the hoopoe and where its nesting habits are unknown and its feeding propensities little understood, as it passes in migration it is killed, eaten and considered delicious, esp. by residents of Southern Europe.



Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*).

GENE STRATTON-PORTER

1. In the OT

HOPE, hōp: In RV the NT "hope" represents the noun ἐλπίς, *elpís* (52 t), and the vb. ἐλπίζω, *elpízō* (31 t). AV, however, renders the noun in He **10** 23 by "faith," and for the vb. gives "trust" in 18 cases (apparently without much system, e.g. in Phil **2** cf vs 19 and 23; see TRUST), while in Lk 6 35 it translates ἀπελπίζω, *apelpízō*, by "hoping for nothing again" (RV "never despairing"). But in the OT there is no Heb word that has the exact force of "expectation of some *good* thing," so that in AV "hope" (noun and vb.) stands for some 15 Heb words, nearly all of which in other places are given other trs (e.g. מִבְטָח, *mibhṭāḥ*, is rendered "hope" in Jer **17** 17, "trust" in Ps **40** 4, "confidence" in Ps **65** 5). RV has attempted to be more systematic and has, for the most part, kept "hope" for the noun תִּקְוָה, *tiḳwāh*, and the vb. יָחַל, *yāḥal*, but complete consistency was not possible (e.g. Prov **10** 28; **11** 23; **23** 18). This lack of a specific word for hope has nothing to do with any undervaluation of the virtue among the Hebrews. For the religion of the OT is of all things a religion of hope, centered in God, from whom all deliverance and blessings are confidently expected (Jer **17** 17; Joel **3** 16; Ps **31** 24; **33** 18.22; **39**

7, etc). The varieties of this hope are countless (see Israel, Religion of; Salvation, etc), but the form most perfected and with fundamental significance for the NT is the firm trust that at a time appointed God, in person or through His representative (see Messiah), will establish a kingdom of righteousness.

2. In the NT

(1) The proclamation of this coming kingdom of God was the central element in the teaching of Jesus, and the message of its near advent (Mk **1** 15, etc), with the certainty of admission to it for those who accepted His teaching (Lk **12** 32, etc), is the substance of His teaching as to hope. This teaching, though, is delivered in the language of One to whom the realities of the next world and of the future are perfectly familiar; the tone is not that of prediction so much as it is that of the statement of obvious facts. In other words, "hope" to Christ is "certainty," and the word "hope" is never on His lips (Lk **6** 34 and Jn **5** 45 are naturally not exceptions). For the details see Kingdom of God; Faith; Forgiveness, etc. And however far He may have taught that the kingdom was present in His lifetime, none the less the full consummation of that kingdom, with Himself as Messiah, was made by Him a matter of the future (see Eschatology of the NT; Parousia).

(2) Hence after the ascension the early church was left with an eschatological expectation that was primarily and almost technically the "hope" of the NT—"looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ" (Tit **2** 13), "unto a living hope . . . . , unto an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, ... reserved in heaven for you, who by the power of God are guarded through faith unto a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time" (1 Pet **1** 3–5; cf Rom **5** 2; **8** 20–24; 2 Cor **3** 12; Eph **1** 18–21; Col **1** 5.23.27; Tit **1** 2; **3** 7; 1 Jn **3** 2.3). The foundations of this hope were many: (*a*) Primarily, of course, the promises of the OT, which were the basis of Christ's teaching. Such are often quoted at length (Acts **2** 16, etc), while they underlie countless other passages. These promises are the "anchor of hope" that holds the soul fast (He **6** 18–20). In part, then, the earliest Christian expectations coincided with the Jewish, and the "hope of Israel" (Acts **28** 20; cf **26** 6.7; Eph **2** 12, and esp. Rom **11** 25–32) was a common ground on which Jew and Christian might meet. Still, through the confidence of forgiveness and purification given in the atonement (He **9** 14, etc), the Christian felt himself to have a "better hope" (He **7** 19), which the Jew could not know. (*b*) Specifically Christian, however, was the pledge given in the resurrection of Christ. This sealed His Messiahship and proved His lordship (Rom **1** 4; Eph **1** 18–20; 1 Pet **3** 21, etc), so sending forth His followers with the certainty of victory. In addition, Christ's resurrection was felt to be the first step in the general resurrection, and hence a proof that the consummation of all things had begun (1 Cor **15** 23; cf Acts **23** 6; **24** 15; **26** 6.7; 1 Thess **4** 13.14, etc). (*c*) But more than all, devotion to Christ produced a religious experience that gave certainty to hope. "Hope putteth not to shame; because the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit which was given unto us" (Rom **5** 5; cf **8** 16.17; 2 Cor **1** 22; **5** 5; Eph **1** 14, etc, and see Holy Spirit). Even visible miracles were wrought by the Spirit that were signs of the end (Acts **2** 17) as well as of the individual's certainty of partaking in the final happiness (Acts **10** 47; **19** 6, etc).

(3) Yet, certain though the hope might be, it was not yet attained, and the interim was an opportunity to develop faith, "the substance of the things hoped for" (He **11** 1). Indeed, hope is simply faith directed toward the future, and no sharp distinction between faith and hope is attainable. It is easy enough to see how the AV felt "confession of our faith" clearer than "confession of our hope" in He **10** 23, although the rendition of *elpis* by "faith" was arbitrary. So in Rom **8** 20–24, "hope" is scarcely more than "faith" in this specialized aspect. In particular, in ver 24 we have as the most natural tr (cf Eph **2** 5.8), "By hope we were saved" (so AV, ERV, ARVm), and only a pedantic insistence on words can find in this any departure from the strictest Pauline theology (cf the essential outlook on the future of the classic example of "saving faith" in Rom **4** 18–22, esp. ver 18). Still, the combination is unusual, and the Gr may be rendered equally well "*For* hope we were saved" ("*in* hope" of the ARV is not so good); i.e. our salvation, in so far as it is past, is but to prepare us for what is to come (cf Eph **4** 4; 1 Pet **1** 3). But this postponement of the full attainment, through developing faith, gives stedfastness (Rom **8** 25; cf 1 Thess **1** 3; **5** 8; He **3** 6; **6** 11), which could be gained in no other way. On the other hand this stedfastness, produced by hope, reacts again on hope and increases it (Rom **5** 4; **15** 4). And so on. But no attempt is made in the NT to give a catalogue of the "fruits of hope," and, indeed, such lists are inevitably artificial.

(4) One passage that deserves special attention is 1 Cor **13** 13, "Now abideth faith, hope, love, these three." "Abideth" is in contrast to "shall be done away" in vs 8.9, and the time of the abiding is consequently after the Parousia; i.e. while many gifts are for the present world only, faith, hope and love are eternal and endure in the next world. 1 Cor **13** is evidently a very carefully written section, and the permanence of faith and hope cannot be set down to any mere carelessness on St. Paul's part, but the meaning is not very clear. Probably he felt that the triad of virtues was so essentially a part of the Christian's character that the existence of the individual without them was unthinkable, without trying to define what the object of faith and hope would be in the glorified state. If any answer is to be given, it must be found in the doctrine that even in heaven life will not be static but will have opportunities of unlimited growth. Never will the finite soul be able to dispense entirely with faith, while at each stage the growth into the next can be anticipated through hope.

3. Practical

Only Adventist bodies can use all the NT promises literally, and the tr of the eschatological language into modern practical terms is not always easy. The simplest method is that already well developed in the Fourth Gospel, where the phrase "kingdom of God" is usually replaced by the words "eternal life," i.e. for a temporal relation between this world and the next is substituted a local, so that the accent is laid on the hope that awaits the individual beyond the grave. On the other hand, the cataclysmic imagery of the NT may be interpreted in evolutionary form. God, by sending into the world the supernatural power seen in the Christian church, is working for the race as well as for the individual, and has for His whole creation, as well as for individual souls, a goal in store. The individual has for his support the motives of the early church and, in particular, learns through the cross that even his own sins shall not disappoint him of his hope. But both of the above interpretations are needed if religion is fairly to represent the spirit of the NT. A pure individualism that looks only beyond the grave for its hope empties the phrase "kingdom of God" of its meaning and tends inevitably to asceticism. And, in contrast, the religion of Jesus cannot be reduced to a mere hope of ethical advance for the present world. A Christianity that loses a transcendent, eschatological hope ceases to be Christianity. Burton Scott Easton

HOPHNI, hof′nī, **and PHINEHAS,** fin′ē-as, -az (חָפְנִי, *ḥophnī*, "pugilist" [?], פִּינְחָס, *pīneḥāṣ*, prob. "face of brass"): Sons of Eli, priests of the sanctuary at Shiloh. Their character was wicked enough to merit the double designation "sons of Eli" and (AV) "sons of Belial" (RVm "base men," 1 S **2** 12). Their evil practices are described (vs 12–17). Twice is Eli warned concerning them, once by an unknown prophet (1 S **2** 27 ff) and again by the lips of the young Samuel (1 S **3** 11–18). The curse fell at the battle of Aphek (1 S **4** 1–18) at which the brothers were slain, the ark was taken and the disaster occurred which caused Eli's death. Phinehas was father of the posthumous Ichabod, whose name marks the calamity (see Ichabod). A remoter sequel to the prophetic warnings is seen in the deposition of Abiathar, of the house of Eli, from the priestly office (1 K **2** 26.27.35).

Henry Wallace

HOPHRA, hof′ra. See Pharaoh-hophra.

HOR, hôr, **MOUNT** (הֹר הָהָר, *hōr hā-hār;* lit. "Hor, the mountain"):

1. Not Jebel Neby Harun

(1) A tradition identifying this mountain with *Jebel Neby Hārūn* may be traced from the time of Jos (*Ant*, IV, iv, 7) downward. *Onom* (s.v. Ὢρ, *Hōr*) favors this identification, which has been accepted by many travelers and scholars. In *HDB*, while noting the fact that it has been questioned, Professor Hull devotes all the space at his disposal to a description of *Jebel Neby Hārūn*. It is now recognized, however, that this identification is impossible. Niebuhr (*Reise nach Arab.*, 238), Pococke (*Description of the East*, I, 157), Robinson (*BR*, I, 185), Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, II, 201, n.), and others had pointed out difficulties in the way, but the careful discussion of Dr. H. Clay Trumbull (*Kadesh Barnea*, 127 ff) finally disposed of the claims of *Jebel Neby Hārūn*.

2. Suggested Identification

3. Jebel Maderah

From Nu **20** 22; **33** 37 we may perhaps infer that Mt. Hor, "in the edge of the land of Edom," was about a day's journey from Kadesh. The name "Hor the mountain" suggests a prominent feature of the landscape. Aaron was buried there (Nu **20** 28; Dt **32** 50). It was therefore not in Mt. Seir (Dt **2** 5), of which not even a foot-breadth was given to Israel. *Jebel Neby Hārūn* is certainly a prominent feature of the landscape, towering over the tumbled hills that form the western edges of the Edom plateau to a height of 4,800 ft. But it is much more than a day's journey from Kadesh, while it is well within the boundary of Mt. Seir. The king of Arad was alarmed at the march to Mt. Hor. Had Israel marched toward *Jebel Neby Hārūn*, away to the S.E., it could have caused him no anxiety, as he dwelt in the north. This points to some eminence to the N. or N.E. of Kadesh. A hill meeting sufficiently all these conditions is *Jebel Maderah* (see Halak, Mount), which rises to the N.E. of *'Ain ḳadīs* (Kadesh-barnea). It stands at the extreme N.W. boundary of the land of Edom, yet not within that boundary. Above the barrenness of the surrounding plain this "large, singular-looking, isolated chalk hill" rises "alone like a lofty citadel," "steep-sided" and "quite naked." Here the solemn transactions described in Nu **20** 22 ff could have been carried out lit. "in the sight of all the congregation." While certainty is impossible, no more likely suggestion has been made.

(2) A mountain named only in Nu **34** 7 f as on the N. boundary of the land of Israel. No success has attended the various attempts made to identify this particular height. Some would make it Mt. Hermon (Hull, *HDB*, s.v.); others *Jebel 'Akkār*, an outrunner on the N.E. of Lebanon (Furrer, *ZDPV*, VIII, 27), and others the mountain at the "knee of" *Nahr el-Ḳāsimīyeh* (van Kasteren, *Rev. Bib.*, 1895, 30 f). In Ezk **47** 15 הַדֶּרֶךְ, *ha-derekh*, should certainly be amended to חַדְרָךְ, *ḥadhrākh*, a proper name, instead of "the way." Possibly then Mt. Hor should disappear from Nu **34** 7 f, and we should read, with slight emendation, "From the great sea ye shall draw a line for you as far as Hadrach, and from Hadrach . . . ." W. Ewing

HORAM, hō′ram (הֹרָם, *hōrām*, "height"): A king of Gezer defeated by Joshua when he came to the help of Lachish, which Joshua was besieging (Josh **10** 33).

HOREB, hō′reb. See Sinai.

HOREM, hō′rem (חֳרֵם, *ḥŏrēm*, "consecrated"): One of the fenced cities in the territory of Naphtali (Josh **19** 38), named with Iron and Migdal-el. It may possibly be identified with the modern *Ḥūrah*, which lies on a mound at the S. end of *Wādy el-'Ain*, to the W. of *Ḳedes*.

HORESH, hō′resh (חֹרְשָׁה, *ḥōreshāh*, 1 S **23** 15.18, m only; LXX **ἐν τῇ Καινῇ**, *en tḗ Kainḗ*, "in the New"; EV "in the wood" [בַּחֹרְשָׁה, *ba-ḥōreshāh*], the particle "in" being combined with the article): *Ḥōresh* in other passages is tr^d "forest" (cf 2 Ch **27** 4; Isa **17** 9; Ezk **31** 3) and it is most probable that it should be so tr^d here.

HOR-HAGGIDGAD, hôr-ha-gid′gad (חֹר הַגִּדְגָּד, *ḥōr ha-gidhgādh*): A desert camp of the Israelites between Beeroth Bene-jaakan and Jotbathah (Nu **33** 32 f). In Dt **10** 7 it is called Gudgodah. See Wanderings of Israel.

HORI, hō′rī (חֹרִי, חוֹרִי, *ḥōrī*, "cave-dweller"):

(1) A Horite descendant of Esau (Gen **36** 22; 1 Ch **1** 39).

(2) A Simeonite, father of Shaphat, one of the twelve spies (Nu **13** 5).

HORITE, hō′rīt, **HORIM,** hō′rim (חֹרִי, *ḥōrī*, חֹרִים, *ḥōrīm;* **Χορραῖοι,** *Chorraíoi*): Denoted the inhabitants of Mt. Seir before its occupation by the Edomites (Dt **2** 12). Seir is accordingly called Horite in Gen **36** 20.30, where a list of his descendants is given, who afterward mixed with the invading Edomites. Esau himself married the daughter of the Horite chieftain Anah (Gen **36** 25; see ver 2, where "Hivite" must be corrected into "Horite"). The "Horites" in their "Mt. Seir" were among the nations defeated by the army of Chedorlaomer in the age of Abraham (Gen **14** 6). The Heb Horite, however, is the Khar of the Egyp inscriptions, a name given to the whole of Southern Palestine and Edom as well as to the adjacent sea. In accordance with this we find in the OT also traces of the existence of the Horites in other parts of the country besides Mt. Seir. In Gen **34** 2; Josh **9** 7, the LXX (Cod. A) more correctly reads "Horite" instead of "Hivite" for the inhabitants of Shechem and Gibeon, and Caleb is said to be "the son of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah" or Bethlehem (1 Ch **2** 50; **4** 4). Hor or Horite has sometimes been explained to mean "cave-dweller"; it more probably, however, denotes the "white" race. The Horites were Semites, and consequently are distinguished in Dt **2** 12 from the tall race of Rephaim.

A. H. Sayce

HORMAH, hôr′ma (חָרְמָה, *ḥormāh*): A city first mentioned in connection with the defeat of the Israelites by the Amalekites and the Canaanites, when, after the ten spies who brought an evil report of the land had died of plague, the people persisted, against the will of Moses, in going "up unto the place which Jehovah hath promised" (Nu **14** 45; Dt **1** 44). After the injury done them by the king of Arad, Israel took the city, utterly destroyed it, and called it Hormah, i.e. "accursed" (Nu **21** 3). To this event probably the reference is in Jgs **1** 17, where Judah and Simeon are credited with the work. In Josh **12** 14 it is named between Geder and Arad; in Josh **15** 30 between Chesil and Ziklag, among the uttermost cities toward the border of Edom in the S.; and in Josh **19** 4 between Bethul and Ziklag (cf 1 Ch **4** 30). To it David sent a share of the spoil taken from the Amalekites who had raided Ziklag (1 S **30** 30). The city must have lain not far from Kadesh, probably to the N.E. No name resembling Hormah has been recovered in that district. The ancient name was Zephath (Jgs **1** 17). It is not unlikely that in popular use this name outlived Hormah: and in some form it may survive to this day. In that case it may be represented by the modern *eṣ-Ṣabaitā* between *el-Khalaṣa* in the N. and *'Ain Ḳadīs* in the S., about 23 miles from the latter. If we may identify Ziklag with *'Aslūj,* about 14 miles N. of *eṣ-Ṣabaitā,* the probability is heightened. Robinson (*BR,* III, 150) compares the name Zephath with that of *Naḳb eṣ-Ṣafā,* to the N. of *Wādy el-Fiḳrah;* but this appears to be too far—about 40 miles—from Kadesh. W. Ewing

HORN, hôrn (Heb and Aram. קֶרֶן, *ḳeren;* **κέρας,** *kéras;* for the "ram's horn" [יוֹבֵל, *yōbhēl*] of Josh **6** see Music, and for the "inkhorn" of Ezk **9** [קֶסֶת, *ḳeşeth*] see separate art.):

(1) *Ḳeren* and *keras* represent the Eng. "horn" exactly, whether on the animal (Gen **22** 13), or used for musical purposes (Josh **6** 5; 1 Ch **25** 5), or for containing a liquid (1 S **16** 1.13; 1 K **1** 39), but in Ezk **27** 15 the "horns of ivory" are of course tusks and the "horns" of ebony are small (pointed?) logs. Consequently most of the usages require no explanation.

(2) Both the altar of burnt offering (Ex **27** 2; **38** 2; cf Ezk **43** 15) and the incense altar (Ex **30** 2; **37** 25.26; cf Rev **9** 13) had "horns," which are explained to be projections "of one piece with" the wooden framework and covered with the brass (or gold) that covered the altar. They formed the most sacred part of the altar and were anointed with the blood of the most solemn sacrifices (only) (Ex **30** 10; Lev **4** 7.18.25.30.34; **16** 18; cf Ezk **43** 20), and according to Lev **8** 15; **9** 9, the first official sacrifices began by anointing them. Consequently cutting off the horns effectually desecrated the altar (Am **3** 14), while "sin graven on them" (Jer **17** 1) took all efficacy from the sacrifice. On the other hand they offered the highest sanctuary (1 K **1** 50.51; **2** 28). Of their symbolism nothing whatever is said, and the eventual origin is quite obscure. "Remnants of a bull-cult" and "miniature sacred towers" have been suggested, but are wholly uncertain. A more likely origin is from an old custom of draping the altar with skins of sacrificed animals (*RS,* 436). That, however, the "horns" were mere conveniences for binding the sacrificial animals (Ps **118** 27, a custom referred to nowhere else in the OT), is most unlikely. See Altar.

(3) The common figurative use of "horn" is taken from the image of battling animals (literal use in Dnl **8** 7, etc) to denote aggressive strength. So Zedekiah ben Chenaanah illustrates the predicted defeat of the enemies by pushing with iron horns (1 K **22** 11; 2 Ch **18** 10), while "horns of the wild-ox" (Dt **33** 17; Ps **22** 21; **92** 10, AV "unicorn") represent the magnitude of power, and in Zec **1** 18–21 "horns" stand for power in general. In Hab **3** 4 the "horns coming out of his hand" denote the potency of Jeh's gesture (RV "rays" may be smoother, but is weak). So to "exalt the horn" (1 S **2** 1.10; Ps **75** 4, etc) is to clothe with strength, and to "cut off the horn" (not to be explained by Am **3** 14) is to rob of power (Ps **75** 10; Jer **48** 25). Hence the "horn of salvation" in 2 S **22** 3; Ps **18** 2; Lk **1** 69 is a means of active defence and not a place of sanctuary as in 1 K **1** 50. When, in Dnl **7** 7–24; **8** 3.8.9.20.21; Rev **13** 1; **17** 3.7.12.16, many horns are given to the same animal, they figure successive nations or rulers. But the seven horns in Rev **5** 6; **12** 3 denote the completeness of the malevolent or righteous power. In Rev **13** 11, however, the two horns point only to the external imitation of the harmless lamb, the "horns" being mere stubs. Burton Scott Easton

HORNS OF THE ALTAR (קַרְנֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, *ḳarenōth ha-mizbēaḥ*): These projections at the four

1. The Brazen Altar

corners of the altar of burnt offering were of one piece with the altar, and were made of acacia wood overlaid with brass (Ex **27** 2, "bronze"). In Ezekiel's altar-specifications their position is described as being on a level with the altar hearth (**43** 15). Fugitives seeking asylum might cling to the horns of the altar, as did Adonijah (1 K **1** 50), which is one proof among many that worshippers had at all times access to the neighborhood of the altar. On certain occasions, as at the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Ex **29** 12), and a sin offering for one of the people of the land (Lev **4** 30), the horns were touched with sacrificial blood.

2. The Golden Altar

The altar of incense, standing in the outer chamber of the sanctuary, had also four horns, which were covered with gold (Ex **37** 25). These were touched with blood in the case of a sin offering for a high priest, or for the whole congregation, if they had sinned unwittingly (Lev **4** 7.18). See Altar; Horn.

W. Shaw Caldecott

HORNS, RAMS'. See Music.

HORNET, hôr′net (צִרְעָה, *çir'āh;* cf צָרְעָה, *çor'āh,* "Zorah" [Jgs **13** 2, etc]; also cf צָרַעַת, *çāra'ath,* "leprosy" [Lev **13** 2, etc]; from root צָרַע, *çāra',* "to smite"; LXX **σφηκία,** *sphēkía,* lit. "wasp's nest"): Hornets are mentioned only in Ex **23** 28; Dt **7** 20; Josh **24** 12. All three references are to the miraculous interposition of God in driving out before the Israelites the original inhabitants of the promised land. There has been much speculation as to whether hornets are literally meant. The following seems to throw some light on this question (Ex **23** 20.27.28): "Behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee by the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. . . . . I will send my terror before thee, and will discomfit all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their backs unto thee. And I will send the hornet before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee." The "terror" of ver 27 may well be considered to be typified by the "hornet" of ver 28, the care for the Israelites (ver 20) being thrown into marked contrast with the confusion of their enemies. Cf Isa **7** 18, where the fly and the bee symbolize the military forces of Egypt and Assyria: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that Jeh will hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria."

Hornets and wasps belong to the family *Vespidae* of the order *Hymenoptera*. Both belong to the genus *Vespa*, the hornets being distinguished by their large size. Both hornets and wasps are abundant in Pal (cf *Zorah*, which may mean "town of hornets"). A large kind is called in Arab. *debbûr*, which recalls the Heb *d^ebhōrāh*, "bee." They sting fiercely, but not unless molested.

ALFRED ELY DAY

HORONAIM, hor-ō-nā′im (חֹרֹנַיִם, חוֹרֹנַיִם, *ḥōrōnayim;* **᾽Αρωνιείμ**, *Arōnieím;* in Jer **᾽Ορωναίμ**, *Orōnaím*, "the two hollows"): An unidentified place in the S. of Moab. It is named in Jer **48** 5. Isaiah (**15** 5) and Jeremiah (**48** 3) speak of "the way to Horonaim"; and Jeremiah (**48** 5) of the "descent," or "going down" of Horonaim. Mesha (MS) says he was bidden by Chemosh to "go down" and fight against Ḥoronēm. Probably, therefore, it lay on one of the roads leading down from the Moabite plateau to the Arabah. It is mentioned by Jos as having been taken by Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant*, XIII, xv, 4). Hyrcanus promised to restore it and the rest to Aretas (XIV, i, 4). There is no indication that in early times it was ever possessed by Israel. Buhl (*GAP*, 272 f) thinks it may be represented by some significant ruins near *Wādy ed-Derāʽa* (*Wādy Kerak*).

W. EWING

HORONITE, hor′ō-nīt, hō′rō-nīt (הַחֹרֹנִי, *ha-ḥōrōnī*): An appellation of Sanballat (Neh **2** 10.19; **13** 28), as an inhabitant of BETH-HORON (q.v.).

HORRIBLE, hor′i-b′l (שַׁעֲרוּר, *shaʽărūr*, שַׁעֲרוּרִי, *shaʽărūrī*): In Jer **5** 30 *shaʽărūr*, "vile," "horrible," is tr^d "horrible," "a wonderful and horrible thing," RVm "astonishment and horror"; also **23** 14; in **18** 13; Hos **6** 10 it is *shaʽărūrī;* in Ps **11** 6 we have *zilʽāphāh*, "heat," RV "burning wind"; in Ps **40** 2 *shā᾽ōn*, "noise," "tumult," "He brought me up . . . . out of a horrible pit," RVm "a pit of tumult" (or destruction). **Horribly** is the tr of *sāʽar*, "to shudder," "to be whirled away," in Jer **2** 12, and of *saʽar*, "fear," "trembling," in Ezk **32** 10; in Ezk **27** 35 RV has "horribly afraid" (*saʽar*) for "sore afraid." "Horrible" occurs frequently in Apoc (2 Esd **11** 45; **15** 28.34; Wisd **3** 19, "For horrible [*chalepós*] is the end of the unrighteous generation," RV "grievous," etc).

W. L. WALKER

HORROR, hor′ẽr (אֵימָה, *᾽ēmāh*, פַּלָּצוּת, *pallāçūth*): In Gen **15** 12 *᾽ēmāh* (often rendered "terror") is tr^d "horror," "a horror of great darkness"; *pallāçūth*, "trembling," "horror" (Ps **55** 5; Ezk **7** 18); *zalʽāphāh*, "glow," "heat" (Ps **119** 53, RV "hot indignation," m "horror"); cf Ps **11** 6; Lam **5** 10. For "trembling" (Job **21** 6) and for "fearfulness" (Isa **21** 4) RV has "horror." "Horror" does not occur in the NT, but in 2 Macc **3** 17 we have "The man was so compassed with horror" (*phrikasmós*), RV "shuddering."

1. Names

HORSE, hôrs: The common names are (1) סוּס, *ṣūṣ*, and (2) **ἵππος**, *híppos*. (3) The word פָּרָשׁ, *pārāsh*, "horseman," occurs often, and in several cases is tr^d "horse" or "war-horse" (Isa **28** 28; Ezk **27** 14; Joel **2** 4 RVm); also in 2 S **1** 6, where the "horsemen" of EV is בַּעֲלֵי הַפָּרָשִׁים, *baʽălē ha-pārāshīm*, "owners of horses"; cf Arab. فَارِس, *fâris*, "horseman," and فَرَس, *faras*, "horse." (4) The fem. form סוּסָה, *ṣūṣāh*, occurs in Cant **1** 9, and is rendered as follows: LXX **ἡ ἵππος**, *hē híppos;* Vulg *equitatum;* AV "company of horses," RV "steed." It is not clear why EV does not have "mare." (5) The word אַבִּירִים, *᾽abbirīm*, "strong ones," is used for horses in Jgs **5** 22; Jer **8** 16; **47** 3; **50** 11 (AV "bulls"). In Ps **22** 12 the same word is tr^d "strong bulls" (of Bashan). (6) For רֶכֶשׁ, *rekhesh* (cf Arab. رَكَض, *rakaḍ*, "to run"), in 1 K **4** 28; Est **8** 10.14; Mic **1** 13, RV has "swift steeds," while AV gives "dromedaries" in 1 K and "mules" in Est. (7) For כִּרְכָּרוֹת, *kirkārōth* (Isa **66** 20), AV and ERV have "swift beasts"; ERVm and ARV "dromedaries"; LXX **σκιάδια**, *skiádia*, perhaps "covered carriages." In Est **8** 10.14 we find the doubtful words (8) אֲחַשְׁתְּרָנִים, *᾽ăḥasht^erānīm*, and (9) בְּנֵי הָרַמָּכִים, *b^enē hā-rammākhīm*, which have been variously tr^d. AV has respectively "camels" and "young dromedaries," RV "used in the king's service" and "bred of the stud," RVm "mules" and "young dromedaries." See CAMEL.

2. Origin

The Heb and Egyp names for the horse are alike akin to the Assyr. The Jews may have obtained horses from Egypt (Dt **17** 16), but the Canaanites before them had horses (Josh **17** 16), and in looking toward the N.E. for the origin of the horse, philologists are in agreement with zoölogists who consider that the plains of Central Asia, and also of Europe, were the original home of the horse. At least one species of wild horse is still found in Central Asia.

3. Uses

The horses of the Bible are almost exclusively war-horses, or at least the property of kings and not of the common people. A doubtful reference to the use of horses in threshing grain is found in Isa **28** 28. Horses are among the property which the Egyptians gave to Joseph in exchange for grain (Gen **47** 17). In Dt **17** 16 it is enjoined that the king "shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he may multiply horses." This and other injunctions failed to prevent the Jews from borrowing from the neighboring civilizations their customs, idolatries, and vices. Solomon's horses are enumerated in 1 K **4**, and the *s^eʽīrīm* and *tebhen* of 1 K **4** 28 (**5** 8) are identical with the *shaʽīr* ("barley") and *tibn* ("straw") with which the Arab feeds his horse today. In war, horses were ridden and were driven in chariots (Ex **14** 9; Josh **11** 4; 2 S **15** 1, etc).

4. Figurative and Descriptive

The horse is referred to **figuratively** chiefly in Zec and Rev. A chariot and horses of fire take Elijah up to heaven (2 K **2** 11 f). In Ps **20** 7; **33** 17; and **76** 6, the great strength of the horse is recalled as a reminder of the greater strength of God. In Jas **3** 3, the small bridle by which the horse can be managed is compared to the tongue (cf Ps **32** 9). In Job **39** 19–25 we have a magnificent description of a spirited war-horse.

ALFRED ELY DAY

HORSE, BLACK (**ἵππος μέλας**, *híppos mélas*): Symbolic of famine ("balance . . . . measure of wheat for a shilling," etc, Rev **6** 5.6; cf Zec **6** 2.6). See REVELATION, BOOK OF.

HORSE GATE. See JERUSALEM.

HORSE, RED (**ἵππος πυρρός**, *híppos purrós*): Symbolic of war, bloodshed ("slay one another," etc, Rev **6** 4; cf Zec **1** 8; **6** 2). See Revelation, Book of.

HORSE, WHITE (**ἵππος λευκός**, *híppos leukós*): Symbolic of victory, conquest ("bow . . . . conquering and to conquer," Rev **6** 2; **19** 11.14; cf Zec **1** 8; **6** 3.6). See Revelation, Book of.

HORSELEACH, hôrs′lēch (עֲלוּקָה, *ʿălūḳāh;* cf Arab. عَلُوقَة, *ʿalûḳah,* "ghoul," and عَلَقَة, *ʿalaḳah,* "leech," from root عَلِقَ, *ʿaliḳ,* "to cling"; LXX **βδέλλα**, *bdélla,* "leech"): The word occurs only once, in Prov **30** 15, RVm "vampire." In Arab. *ʿalaḳah* is a leech of any kind, not only a horse-leech. The Arab. *ʿalûḳah,* which, it may be noted, is almost identical with the Heb form, is a ghoul (Arab. *ghûl*), an evil spirit which seeks to injure men and which preys upon the dead. The mythical vampire is similar to the ghoul. In zoölogy the name "vampire" is applied to a family of bats inhabiting tropical America, some, but not all, of which suck blood. In the passage cited the Arab. Bible has *ʿalûḳah,* "ghoul." If leech is meant, there can be no good reason for specifying "horseleach." At least six species of leech are known in Pal and Syria, and doubtless others exist. They are common in streams, pools, and fountains where animals drink. They enter the mouth, attach themselves to the interior of the mouth or pharynx, and are removed only with difficulty.

Alfred Ely Day

HORSEMAN, hôrs′man. See Army.

HORSES OF THE SUN (2 K **23** 11): In connection with the sun-worship practised by idolatrous kings in the temple at Jerus (2 K **23** 5; cf Ezk **8** 16), horses dedicated to the sun, with chariots, had been placed at the entrance of the sacred edifice. These Josiah, in his great reformation, "took away," and burned the chariots with fire. Horses sacred to the sun were common among oriental peoples (Bochart, *Heiroz.*, I, 2, 10).

HOSAH, hō′sa (חֹסָה, *ḥōṣāh*): A city on the border of Asher, in the neighborhood of Tyre (Josh **19** 29). LXX reads *Iaseiph,* which might suggest identification with *Kefr Yasīf,* to the N.E. of Acre. Possibly, however, as Sayce (*HCM,* 429) and Moore (*Judges,* 51) suggest, Hosah may represent the Assyr Usu. Some scholars think that Usu was the Assyr name for Palaetyrus. If "the fenced city of Tyre" were that on the island, while the city on the mainland lay at *Ras el-ʿAin,* 30 stadia to the S. (Strabo xvi.758), this identification is not improbable.

HOSANNA, hō-zan′a (**ὡσαννά**, *hōsanná*): This Gr transliteration of a Heb word occurs 6 t in the Gospels as the cry of the people when Our Lord entered Jerus as the Messiah represented by Zec (**9** 9), and of "the children" when He cleansed the temple (Mt **21** 9 *bis*.15; Mk **11** 9 f; Jn **12** 13). In Mt **21** 9 it is "Hosanna to the son of David!" followed by "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest!"; in ver 15 it is also "Hosanna to the Son of David!"; in Mk **11** 9 f it is "Hosanna; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Blessed is the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David: Hosanna in the highest"; and in Jn **12** 13 it is "Hosanna: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, even the King of Israel." Thus in all the evangelists it is an acclamation or ascription of praise. This has raised the question whether the supposed derivation from Ps **118** 25, beginning with *ʾānnāh YHWH hōshīʿāh nnāʾ,* "Save now, pray" (which is followed [ver 26] by "Blessed be he that cometh [RVm "or entereth"] in the name of Jeh") is correct. (See Thayer, *HDB;* Cheyne, *EB;* Dalman, *Words of Jesus.*) Various other explanations have been suggested. Thayer remarks, "It is most natural to regard the word Hosanna, as respects its form, as neither syncopated nor contracted, but the shorter Hiphil imperative with the appended enclitic" (*hōshaʿnāʾ;* cf Ps **86** 2; Jer **31** 7), for which there is Talmudic warrant. "As respects its force, we must for . . . . contextual reasons, assume that it had already lost its primary supplicatory sense and become an ejaculation of joy or shout of welcome." It is said to have been so used in this sense at the joyous Feast of Tabernacles, the 7th day of which came to be called "the Great Hosanna," or "Hosanna Day." But, while the word is certainly an ejaculation of praise and not one of supplication, the idea of *salvation* need not be excluded. As in Rev **7** 10 (cf **19** 1), we have the acclamation, "Salvation unto God . . . . and unto the Lamb," so we might have the cry, "Salvation to the son of David"; and "Hosanna in the Highest," might be the equivalent of "Salvation unto our God!" He who was "coming in the name of the Lord" was the king who was bringing salvation from God to the people.

W. L. Walker

HOSEA, hō-zē′a:

- I. The Prophet
  - 1. Name
  - 2. Native Place
  - 3. Date
  - 4. Personal History (Marriage)
    - (1) Allegorical View
    - (2) Literal View
- II. The Book
  - 1. Style and Scope
  - 2. Historical Background
  - 3. Contents and Divisions
    - (1) Chs 1–3
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  - 4. Testimony to Earlier History
  - 5. Testimony to Law
  - 6. Affinity with Deuteronomy
- Literature

I. The Prophet.—The name (הוֹשֵׁעַ, *hōshē*^{aʿ}; LXX **Ὡσηέ**, *Ōsēé;* for other forms vide note in *DB*),

1. Name

probably meaning "help," seems to have been not uncommon, being derived from the auspicious vb. from which we have the frequently recurring word "salvation." It may be a contraction of a larger form of which the Divine name or its abbreviation formed a part, so as to signify "God is help," or "Help, God." According to Nu **13** 8.16 that was the original name of Joshua son of Nun, till Moses gave him the longer name (compounded with the name of Jeh) which he continued to bear (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *y*^{e}*hōshu*^{aʿ}), "Jeh is salvation." The last king of the Northern Kingdom was also named Hosea (2 K **15** 30), and we find the same name borne by a chief of the tribe of Ephraim under David (1 Ch **27** 20) and by a chief under Nehemiah (Neh **10** 23).

2. Native Place

Although it is not directly stated in the book, there can be little doubt that he exercised his ministry in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Whereas his references to Judah are of a general kind, Ephraim or Samaria being sometimes mentioned in the same connection or more frequently alone, the situation implied throughout and the whole tone of the addresses agree with what we know of the Northern Kingdom at the time, and his references to places and events in that kingdom are so numerous and minute as to lead to the conclusion that he not only prophesied there, but that he was a native of that part of the country. Gilead, e.g. a district little named in the prophets, is twice mentioned (**6** 8; **12** 11) and in such a manner as to suggest that he knew it by personal observation; and Mizpah (mentioned in **5** 1) is no doubt the Mizpah in Gilead (Jgs **10** 17). Then we find Tabor (**5** 1), Shechem (**6** 9 RV), Gilgal and Bethel (**4** 15; **9** 15; **10** 5.8.15; **12** 11). Even Lebanon in the distant N. is spoken of with a minuteness of detail which could be expected only from one very familiar with Northern Pal (**14** 5–8). In a stricter sense, therefore, than Amos who, though a native of Tekoah, had a prophetic mission to the N., Hosea may be called the prophet of Northern Israel, and his book, as Ewald has said, is the prophetic voice wrung from the bosom of the kingdom itself.

3. Date

All that we are told directly as to the time when Hosea prophesied is the statement in the first verse that the word of the Lord came to him "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel." It is quite evident that his ministry did not extend over the combined reigns of all these kings; for, from the beginning of the reign of Uzziah to the beginning of that of Hezekiah, according to the now usually received chronology (Kautzsch, *Literature of the OT*, ET), there is a period of 52 years, and Jeroboam came to his throne a few years before the accession of Uzziah.

When we examine the book itself for more precise indications of date, we find that the prophet threatens in God's name that in "a little while" He will "avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu." Now Jeroboam was the great-grandson of Jehu, and his son Zechariah, who succeeded him, reigned only six months and was the last of the line of Jehu. We may, therefore, place the beginning of Hosea's ministry a short time before the death of Jeroboam which took place 743 BC. As to the other limit, it is to be observed that, though the downfall of "the kingdom of the house of Israel" is threatened (**1** 4), the catastrophe had not occurred when the prophet ceased his ministry. The date of that event is fixed in the year 722 BC, and it is said to have happened in the 6th year of King Hezekiah. This does not give too long a time for Hosea's activity, and it leaves the accuracy of the superscription unchallenged, whoever may have written it. If it is the work of a later editor, it may be that Hosea's ministry ceased before the reign of Hezekiah, though he may have lived on into that king's reign. It should be added, however, that there seems to be no reference to another event which might have been expected to find an echo in the book, viz. the conspiracy in the reign of Ahaz (735 BC) by Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus against the kingdom of Judah (2 K **16** 5; Isa **7** 1).

Briefly we may say that, though there is uncertainty as to the precise dates of the beginning and end of his activity, he began his work before the middle of the 8th cent., and that he saw the rise and fall of several kings. He would thus be a younger contemporary of Amos whose activity seems to have been confined to the reign of Jeroboam.

4. Personal History (Marriage)

Hosea is described as the son of Beeri, who is otherwise unknown. Of his personal history we are told either absolutely nothing or else a very great deal, according as we interpret chs **1** and **3** of his book. In ancient and in modern times, opinions have been divided as to whether in these chapters we have a recital of actual facts, or the presentation of prophetic teaching in the form of parable or allegory.

(1) *Allegorical view.*—The Jewish interpreters as a rule took the allegorical view, and Jerome, in the early Christian church, no doubt following Origen the great allegorizer, states it at length, and sees an intimation of the view in the closing words of Hosea's book: "Who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?" (**14** 9).

It is a mystery, he says; for it is a scandal to think of Hosea being commanded to take an unchaste wife and without any reluctance obeying the command. It is a figure, like that of Jeremiah going to the Euphrates (when Jerus was closely besieged) and hiding a girdle in the bed of the river (Jer **13**). So Ezekiel is commanded to represent, by means of a tile, the siege of Jerus, and to lie 390 days on his side to indicate the years of their iniquity (Ezk **4**); and there are other symbolical acts. Jerome then proceeds to apply the allegory first to Israel, which is the Gomer of ch **1**, and then to Judah, the wife in ch **3**, and finally to Christ and the church, the representations being types from beginning to end.

Calvin took the same view. Among modern commentators we find holding the allegorical view not only Hengstenberg, Hävernick and Keil, but also Eichhorn, Rosenmüller and Hitzig. Reuss also (*Das AT*, II, 88 ff) protests against the literal interpretation as impossible, and that on no moral or reverential considerations, but entirely on exegetical grounds. He thinks it enough to say that, when the prophet calls his children "children of whoredom," he indicates quite clearly that he uses the words in a figurative sense; and he explains the allegory as follows: The prophet is the representative of Jeh; Israel is the wife of Jeh, but faithless to her husband, going after other gods; the children are the Israelites, who are therefore called children of whoredoms because they practise the idolatry of the nation. So they receive names which denote the consequences of their sin. In accordance with the allegory, the children are called the children of the prophet (for Israel is God's own) but this is not the main point; the essential thing is the naming of the children as they are named. In the third chapter, according to this interpretation, allegory again appears, but with a modification and for another purpose. Idolatrous Israel is again the unfaithful wife of the prophet as the representative of Jeh. This relation can again be understood only as figurative; for, if the prophet stands for Jeh, the marriage of Israel to the prophet cannot indicate infidelity to Jeh. The sense is evident: the marriage still subsists; God does not give His people up, but they are for the present divorced "from bed and board"; it is a prophecy of the time when Jeh will leave the people to their fate, till the day of reconciliation comes.

(2) *Literal view.*—The literal interpretation, adopted by Theodore of Mopsuestia in the ancient church, was followed, after the Reformation, by the chief theologians of the Lutheran church, and has been held, in modern times, by many leading expositors, including Delitzsch, Kurtz, Hofmann, Wellhausen, Cheyne, Robertson Smith, G. A. Smith and others. In this view, as generally held, chs **1** and **3** go together and refer to the same person. The idea is that Hosea married a woman named Gomer, who had the three children here named. Whether it was that she was known to be a worthless woman before the marriage and that the prophet hoped to reclaim her, or that she proved faithless after the marriage, she finally left him and sank deeper and deeper into sin, until, at some future time, the prophet bought her from her paramour and brought her to his own house, keeping her secluded, however, and deprived of all the privileges of a wife. In support of this view it is urged that the details are related in so matter-of-fact a manner that they must be matters of fact. Though the children receive symbolical names (as Isaiah gave such names to his children), the meanings of these are clear and are explained, whereas the name of the wife cannot thus be explained. Then there are details, such as the weaning of one child before the conception of another (**1** 8) and the precise price paid for the erring wife (**3** 2), which are not needed to keep up the allegory, and are not invested with symbolical meaning by the prophet. What is considered a still stronger argument is relied on by modern advocates of this view, the psychological

argument that there is always a proportion between a revelation vouchsafed and the mental state of the person receiving it. Hosea dates the beginning of his prophetic work from the time of his marriage; it was the unfaithfulness of his wife that brought home to him the apostasy of Israel; and, as his heart went after his wayward wife, so the Divine love was stronger than Israel's sin; and thus through his own domestic experience he was prepared to be a prophet to his people.

The great difficulty in the way of accepting the literal interpretation lies, as Reuss has pointed out, in the statement at the beginning, that the prophet was commanded to take a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms. And the advocates of the view meet the difficulties in some way like this: The narrative as it stands is manifestly later than the events. On looking back, the prophet describes his wife as she turned out to be, not as she was at the beginning of the history. It is urged with some force that it was necessary to the analogy (even if the story is only a parable) that the wife should have been first of all chaste; for, in Hosea's representation, Israel at the time of its election in the wilderness was faithful and fell away only afterward (**2** 15; **9** 10; **11** 1). The narrative does not require us to assume that Gomer was an immoral person or that she was the mother of children before her marriage. The children receive symbolic names, but these names do not reflect upon Gomer but upon Israel. Why, then, is she described as a woman of whoredoms? It is answered that the expression *’ēsheth zᵉnūnīm* is a class-descriptive, and is different from the expression "a woman who is a harlot" (*’ishshāh zōnāh*). A Jewish interpreter quoted by Aben Ezra says: "Hosea was commanded to take a wife of whoredoms because an honest woman was not to be had. The whole people had gone astray—was an 'adulterous generation'; and she as one of them was a typical example, and the children were involved in the common declension (see **4** 1 f)." The comment of Umbreit is worthy of notice: "As the covenant of Jeh with Israel is viewed as a marriage bond, so is the prophetic bond with Israel a marriage, for he is the messenger and mediator. Therefore, if he feels an irresistible impulse to enter into the marriage-bond with Israel, he is bound to unite himself with a bride of an unchaste character. Yea, his own wife Gomer is involved in the universal guilt" (*Prak. Comm. über die Propheten*, Hamburg, 1844). It is considered, then, on this view, that Gomer, after her marriage, being in heart addicted to the prevailing idolatry, which we know was often associated with gross immorality (see **4** 13), felt the irksomeness of restraint in the prophet's house, left him and sank into open profligacy, from which (ch **3**) the prophet reclaimed her so far as to bring her back and keep her secluded in his own house.

Quite recently this view has been advocated by Riedel (*Alttest. Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1902), who endeavors to enforce it by giving a symbolic meaning to Gomer's name, *Bath-Diblaim*. The word is the dual (or might be pointed as a pl.) of a word, *dᵉbhēlāh*, meaning a fruit-cake, i.e. raisins or figs pressed together. It is the word used in the story of Hezekiah's illness (2 K **20** 7), and is found in the list of things furnished by Abigail to David (1 S **25** 18). See also 1 S **30** 12; 1 Ch **12** 40. Another name for the same thing, *’ăshīshāh*, occurs in Hos **3** 1, rendered in AV "flagons of wine," but in RV "cakes of raisins." It seems clear that this word, at least here, denotes fruit-cakes offered to the heathen deities, as was the custom in Jeremiah's time (Jer **7** 18; **44** 17). So Riedel argues that Gomer may have been described as a "daughter of fruit-cakes" according to the Heb idiom in such expressions as "daughters of song," etc (Eccl **12** 4; Prov **31** 2; 2 S **7** 10; Gen **37** 3, etc).

It will be perceived that the literal interpretation as thus stated does not involve the supposition that Hosea became aware of his wife's infidelity before the birth of the second child, as Robertson Smith and G. A. Smith suppose. The names given to the children all refer to the infidelity of Israel as a people; and the renderings of *Lō’-rūḥāmāh*, "she that never knew a father's love," and of *Lō-‘ammī*, "no kin of mine," are too violent in this connection. Nor does the interpretation demand that it was first through his marriage and subsequent experience that the prophet received his call; although no doubt the experience through which he passed deepened the conviction of Israel's apostasy in his mind.

II. The Book.—Scarcely any book in the OT is more difficult of exposition than the Book of Hos.

1. Style and Scope

This does not seem to be owing to any exceptional defect in the transmitted text, but rather to the peculiarity of the style; and partly also, no doubt, to the fact that the historical situation of the prophet was one of bewildering and sudden change of a violent kind, which seems to reflect itself in the book. The style here is preëminently the man. Whatever view we may take of his personal history, it is evident that he is deeply affected by the situation in which he is placed. He is controlled by his subject, instead of controlling it. It is his heart that speaks; he is not careful to concentrate his thoughts or to mark his transitions; the sentences fall from him like the sobs of a broken heart. Mournful as Jeremiah, he does not indulge in the pleasure of melancholy as that prophet seems to do. Jeremiah broods over his sorrow, nurses it, and tells us he is weeping. Hosea does not say he is weeping, but we hear it in his broken utterances. Instead of laying out his plaint in measured form, he ejaculates it in short, sharp sentences, as the stabs of his people's sin pierce his heart.

The result is the absence of that rhythmic flow and studied parallelism which are such common features of Heb oratory, and are often so helpful to the expositor. His imagery, while highly poetical, is not elaborated; his figures are not so much carried out as thrown out; nor does he dwell long on the same figure. His sentences are like utterances of an oracle, and he forgets himself in identifying himself with the God in whose name he speaks—a feature which is not without significance in its bearing on the question of his personal history. The standing expression "Thus saith the Lord" ("It is the utterance of Jeh" RV), so characteristic of the prophetic style, very rarely occurs (only in **2** 13.16.21; **11** 11); whereas the words that he speaks are the very words of the Lord; and without any formal indication of the fact, he passes from speaking in his own name to speaking in the name of Jeh (see, e.g. **6** 4; **7** 12; **8** 13; **9** 9.10.14–17, etc). Never was speaker so absorbed in his theme, or more identified with Him for whom he speaks. He seems to be oblivious of his hearers, if indeed his chapters are the transcript or summary of spoken addresses. They certainly want to a great extent the directness and point which are so marked a feature of prophetic diction, so much so that some (e.g. Reuss and Marti) suppose they are the production of one who had *readers* and not hearers in view.

But, though the style appears in this abrupt form, there is one clear note on divers strings sounding through the whole. The theme is twofold: the love of Jehovah, and the indifference of Israel to that love; and it would be hard to say which of the two is more vividly conceived and more forcibly expressed. Under the figures of the tenderest affection, sometimes that of the pitying, solicitous care of the parent (**11** 1.3.8; **14** 3), but more prominently as the affection of the husband (chs **1**, **3**), the Divine love is represented as ever enduring in spite of all indifference and opposition; and, on the other hand, the waywardness, unblushing faithlessness of the loved one is painted in colors so repulsive as almost to shock the moral sense, but giving thereby evidence of the painful abhorrence it had produced on the prophet's mind. Thus early does he take the sacred bond of husband and wife as the type of the Divine electing love—a similitude found elsewhere in prophetic literature, and most fully elaborated by Ezekiel (Ezk **16**; cf Jer **3**). Hosea is the prophet of love, and not without propriety has been called the St. John of the OT.

For the reasons just stated, it is very difficult to give a systematic analysis of the Book of Hos. It may, however, be helpful to that end to recall the situation of the time as furnishing a historical setting for the several sections of the book.

2. Historical Background

At the commencement of the prophet's ministry, the Northern Kingdom was enjoying the prosperity and running into the excesses consequent on the victories of Jeroboam II. The glaring social corruptions of the times are exhibited and castigated by Amos, as they would most impress a stranger from the S.; but Hosea, a native, as we are led to suppose, of the Northern Kingdom, saw more deeply into the malady, and traced all the crime and vice of the nation to the fundamental evil of idolatry and apostasy from the true God. What he describes under the repulsive figure of whoredom was the rampant worship of the *b*^{e}*ʽālīm*, which had practically obscured the recognition of the sole claims to worship of the national Jeh. This worship of the *b*^{e}*ʽālīm* is to be distinguished from that of which we read at the earlier time of Elijah. Ahab's Tyrian wife Jezebel had introduced the worship of her native country, that of the Sidonian Baal, which amounted to the setting up of a foreign deity; and Elijah's contention that it must be a choice between Jeh and Baal appealed to the sense of patriotism and the sentiment of national existence. The worship of the *baʽals*, however, was an older and more insidious form of idolatry. The worship of the Can tribes, among whom the Israelites found themselves on the occupation of Pal, was a reverence of local divinities, known by the names of the places where each had his shrine or influence. The generic name of *baʽal* or "lord" was applied naturally as a common word to each of these, with the addition of the name of place or potency to distinguish them. Thus we have Baal-hermon, Baal-gad, Baal-berith, etc. The insidiousness of this kind of worship is proved by its wide prevalence, esp. among people at a low stage of intelligence, when the untutored mind is brought face to face with the mysterious and unseen forces of Nature. And the tenacity of the feeling is proved by the prevalence of such worship, even among people whose professed religion condemns idolatry of every kind. The veneration of local shrines among Christians of the East and in many parts of Europe is well known; and Mohammedans make pilgrimages to the tombs of saints who, though not formally worshipped as deities, are believed to have the power to confer such benefits as the Canaanites expected from the *baʽals*. The very name *baʽal*, originally meaning simply lord and master, as in such expressions as "master of a house," "lord of a wife," "owner of an ox," would be misleading; for the Israelites could quite innocently call Jeh their *baʽal* or Lord, as we can see they did in the formation of proper names. We can, without much difficulty, conceive what would happen among a people like the Israelite tribes, of no high grade of religious intelligence, and with the prevailing superstitions in their blood, when they found themselves in Pal. From a nomad and pastoral people they became, and had to become, agriculturists; the natives of the land would be their instructors, in many or in most cases the actual labor would be done by them. The Book of Jgs tells us emphatically that several of the Israelite tribes "did not drive out" the native inhabitants; the northern tribes in particular, where the land was most fertile, tolerated a large native admixture. We are also told (Jgs **2** 7) that the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua and of the elders who outlived Joshua; and this hint of a gradual declension no doubt points to what actually took place. For a time they remembered and thought of Jeh as the God who had done for them great things in Egypt and in the wilderness; and then, as time went on, they had to think of Him as the giver of the land in which they found themselves, with all its varied produce. But this was the very thing the Canaanites ascribed to their *baʽals*. And so, imperceptibly, by naming places as the natives named them, by observing the customs which the natives followed, and celebrating the festivals of the agricultural year, they were gliding into conformity with the religion of their neighbors; for, in such a state of society, custom is more or less based on religion and passes for religion. Almost before they were aware, they were doing homage to the various *baʽals* in celebrating their festival days and offering to them the produce of the ground.

Such was the condition which Hosea describes as an absence of the knowledge of God (**4** 1). And the consequence cannot be better described than in the words of St. Paul: "As they refused to have God in their knowledge, God gave them up unto a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not fitting" (Rom **1** 28). Both Hosea and Amos tell us in no ambiguous terms how the devotees of the impure worship gave themselves up "to work all uncleanness with greediness" (Eph **4** 19; cf Am **2** 7 f; Hos **4** 14); and how deeply the canker had worked into the body politic is proved by the rapid collapse and irretrievable ruin which followed soon after the strong hand of Jeroboam was removed. The 21 years that followed his death in 743 BC saw no fewer than six successive occupants of the throne, and the final disappearance of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Zechariah, his son, had reigned only six months when "Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him . . . . and slew him, and reigned in his stead" (2 K **15** 10). Shallum himself reigned only a month when he was in the same bloody manner removed by Menahem. After a reign of 10 years, according to 2 K **15** 17 (although the chronology here is uncertain), he was succeeded by his son Pekahiah (2 K **15** 22), and after two years Pekah "his captain" conspired against him and reigned in his stead (2 K **15** 25). This king also was assassinated, and was succeeded by Hoshea (2 K **15** 30), the last king of the ten tribes, for the kingdom came to an end in 722 BC. Hosea must have lived during a great part of those troublous times; and we may expect to hear echoes of the events in his book.

3. Contents and Divisions

(1) *Chs 1–3*.—We should naturally expect that the order of the chapters would correspond in the main with the progress of events; and there is at least a general agreement among expositors that chs **1–3** refer to an earlier period than those that follow. In favor of this is the reference in **1** 2 to the commencement of the prophet's ministry, as also the threatening of the impending extirpation of the house of Jehu (**1** 4), implying that it was still in existence; and finally the hints of the abundance amounting to luxury which marked the prosperous time of Jeroboam's reign. These three chapters are to be regarded as going together; and, however they may be viewed as reflecting the prophet's personal experience, they leave no room for doubt in regard to the national apostasy that weighed so heavily on his heart. And this, in effect, is what he says: Just as the wife, espoused to a loving husband, enjoys the protection of home and owes all her provision to her husband, so Israel, chosen by Jeh and brought by Him into a fertile land, has received all she has from

Him alone. The giving of recognition to the *ba'als* for material prosperity was tantamount to a wife's bestowing her affection on another; the accepting of these blessings as bestowed on condition of homage rendered to the *ba'als* was tantamount to the receiving of hire by an abandoned woman. This being so, the prophet, speaking in God's name, declares what He will do, in a series of a thrice repeated "therefore" (**2** 6.9.14), marking three stages of His discipline. First of all, changing the metaphor to that of a straying heifer, the prophet in God's name declares (vs 6 ff) that He will hedge up her way with thorns, so that she will not be able to reach her lovers—meaning, no doubt, that whether by drought or blight, or some national misfortune, there would be such a disturbance of the processes of Nature that the usual rites of homage to the *ba'als* would prove ineffectual. The people would fail to find the "law of the god of the land" (2 K **17** 26). In their perplexity they would bethink themselves, begin to doubt the power of the *ba'als*, and resolve to pay to Jeh the homage they had been giving to the local gods. But this is still the same low conception of Jeh that had led them astray. To exchange one God for another simply in the hope of enjoying material prosperity is not the service which He requires. And then comes the second "therefore" (vs 9 ff). Instead of allowing them to enjoy their corn and wine and oil on the terms of a mere lip allegiance or ritual service, Jeh will take these away, will reduce Israel to her original poverty, causing all the mirth of her festival days to cease, and giving garments of mourning for festal attire. Her lovers will no longer own her, her own husband's hand is heavy upon her, and what remains? The third "therefore" tells us (vs 14 ff). Israel, now bereft of all, helpless, homeless, is at last convinced that, as her God could take away all, so it was from Him she had received all: she is shut up to His love and His mercy alone. And here the prophet's thoughts clothe themselves in language referring to the early betrothal period of national life. A new beginning will be made, she will again lead the wilderness life of daily dependence on God, cheerfully and joyfully she will begin a new journey, out of trouble will come a new hope, and the very recollection of the past will be a pain to her. As all the associations of the name *ba'al* have been degrading, she shall think of her Lord in a different relation, not as the mere giver of material blessing, but as the husband and desire of her heart, the One Source of all good, as distinguished from one of many benefactors. In all this Hosea does not make it clear how he expected these changes to be brought about, nor do we detect any references to the political history of the time. He mentions no foreign enemy at this stage, or, at most, hints at war in a vague manner (**1** 4 f). In the second chapter the thing that is emphasized is the heavy hand of God laid on the things through which Israel had been led astray, the paralyzing of Nature's operations, so as to cut at the root of Nature-worship; but the closing stage of the Divine discipline (ch **3**), when Israel, like the wife kept in seclusion, neither enjoying the privileges of the lawful spouse nor able to follow after idols, seems to point to, and certainly was not reached till, the captivity when the people, on a foreign soil, could not exercise their ancestral worship, but yet were finally cured of idolatry.

The references to Judah in these chapters are not to be overlooked. Having said (**1** 6) that Israel would be utterly taken away (which seems to point to exile), the prophet adds that Judah would be saved from that fate, though not by warlike means. Farther down (ver 11) he predicts the union of Israel and Judah under one head, and finally in ch **3** it is said that in the latter day the children of Israel would seek the Lord their God and David their king. Many critics suppose that **1** 10 f are out of place (though they cannot find a better place for them); and not a few declare that all the references to Judah must be taken as from a later hand, the usual reason for this conclusion being that the words "disturb the connection." In the case of a writer like Hosea, however, whose transitions are so sharp and sudden, we are not safe in speaking of disturbing the connection: what may to us appear abrupt, because we are not expecting it, may have flashed across the mind of the original writer; and Hosea, in forecasting the future of his people, can scarcely be debarred from having thought of the whole nation. It was Israel as a whole that was the original bride of Jeh, and surely therefore the united Israel would be the partaker of the final glory. As a matter of fact, Judah was at the time in better case than Israel, and the old promise to the Davidic house (2 S **7** 16) was deeply cherished to the end.

(2) *Chs **4–14**.*—If it is admissible to consider chs **1–3** as one related piece (though possibly the written deposit of several addresses) it is quite otherwise with chs **4–14**. These are, in a manner, a counterpart of the history. When the strong hand of Jeroboam was relaxed, the kingdom rapidly fell to pieces; a series of military usurpers follows with bewildering rapidity; but who can tell how much political disorder and social disintegration lie behind those brief and grim notices: So and So "conspired against him and slew him and reigned in his stead"? So with these chapters. The wail of grief, the echo of violence and excess, is heard through all, but it is very difficult to assign each lament, each reproof, each denunciation to the primary occasion that called it forth. The chapters seem like the recital of the confused, hideous dream through which the nation passed till its rude awakening by the sharp shock of the Assyr invasion and the exile that followed. The political condition of the time was one of party strife and national impotence. Sometimes Assyria or Egypt is mentioned alone (**5** 13; **8** 9.13; **9** 6; **10** 6; **14** 3), at other times Assyria and Egypt together (**7** 11; **9** 3; **11** 5.11; **12** 1); but in such a way as to show too plainly that the spirit of self-reliance—not to speak of reliance on Jeh—had departed from a race that was worm-eaten with social sins and rendered selfish and callous by the indulgence of every vice. These foreign powers, which figure as false refuges, are also in the view of the prophet destined to be future scourges (see **5** 13; **8** 9 f; **7** 11; **12** 1); and we know, from the Book of K and also from the Assyr monuments, how much the kings of Israel at this time were at the mercy of the great conquering empires of the East. Such passages as speak of Assyria and Egypt in the same breath may point to the rival policies which were in vogue in the Northern Kingdom (as they appeared also somewhat later in Judah) of making alliances with one or other of these great rival powers. It was in fact the Egyptianizing policy of Hoshea that finally occasioned the ruin of the kingdom (2 K **17** 4). Thus it is that, in the last chapter, when the prophet indulges in hope no more mixed with boding fear, he puts into the mouth of repentant Ephraim the words: "Assyria shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses" (**14** 3), thus alluding to the two foreign powers between which Israel had lost its independence.

It is not possible to give a satisfactory analysis of the chapters under consideration. They are not marked off, as certain sections of other prophetical books are, by headings or refrains, nor are the references to current events sufficiently clear to enable us to assign different parts to different times, nor, in fine, is the matter so distinctly laid out that we can arrange the book under subjects treated. Most expositors accordingly content themselves with indicating the chief topics or lines of thought, and arranging the chapters according to the tone pervading them.

Keil, e.g., would divide all these chapters into three great sections, each forming a kind of prophetical cycle, in which the three great prophetic tones of reproof, threatening, and promise, are heard in succession. His first section embraces ch **4** to **6** 3, ending with the gracious promise: "Come, and let us return unto Jeh," etc. The second section, **6** 4 to **11** 11, ends with the promise: "They shall come trembling as a bird . . . . and I will make them to dwell in their houses, saith Jeh." The third section, **11** 12 to **14** 9, ends: "Take with you words, and return unto Jeh," etc. Ewald's arrangement proceeds on the idea that the whole book consists of one narrative piece (chs **1–3**) and one long address (chs **4–14**), which, however, is marked off by resting points into smaller sections or addresses. The progress of thought is marked by the three great items of arraignment, punishment, and consolation. Thus: from **4** 1—**6** 11 there is arraignment; from **6** 11 to **9** 9 punishment, and from **9** 10—**14** 10 exhortation and comfort. Driver says of chs **4–14**: "These chapters consist of a series of discourses, a summary arranged probably by the prophet himself at the close of his ministry, of the prophecies delivered by him in the years following the death of Jeroboam II. Though the argument is not continuous, or systematically developed, they may be divided into three sections: (*a*) chs **4–8**, in which the thought of Israel's *guilt* predominates; (*b*) ch **9–11** 11, in which the prevailing thought is that of Israel's *punishment;* (*c*) **11** 12–ch **14** in which these two lines of thought are both continued (chs **12, 13**), but are followed (in ch **14**) by a glance at the brighter future which may ensue provided Israel repents." A. B. Davidson, after mentioning the proposed analyses of Ewald and Driver, adds: "But in truth the passage is scarcely divisible; it consists of a multitude of variations all executed on one theme, Israel's apostasy or unfaithfulness to her God. This unfaithfulness is a condition of the mind, a 'spirit of whoredoms,' and is revealed in all the aspects of Israel's life, though particularly in three things: (1) the *cultus*, which, though ostensibly service of Jeh, is in truth worship of a being altogether different from Him; (2) the *internal political disorders*, the changes of dynasty, all of which have been effected with no thought of Jeh in the people's minds; and (3) the *foreign politics*, the making of covenants with Egypt and Assyria, in the hope that they might heal the internal hurt of the people, instead of relying on Jeh their God. The three things," he adds, "are not independent; the one leads to the other. The fundamental evil is that there is no knowledge of God in the land, no true conception of Deity. He is thought of as a Nature-god, and His conception exercises no restraint on the passions or life of the people: hence the social immoralities, and the furious struggles of rival factions, and these again lead to the appeal for foreign intervention."

Some expositors, however (e.g. Maurer, Hitzig, Delitzsch and Volck), recognizing what they consider as direct references or brief allusions to certain outstanding events in the history, perceive a chronological order in the chapters. Volck, who has attempted a full analysis on this line (PRE^2) thinks that chs **4–14** arrange themselves into 6 consecutive sections as follows: (1) ch **4** constitutes a section by itself, determined by the introductory words "Hear the word of Jeh" (**4** 1), and a similar call at the beginning of ch **5**. He assigns this chapter to the reign of Zechariah, as a description of the low condition to which the nation had fallen, the priests, the leaders, being involved in the guilt and reproof (ver 6). (2) The second section extends from **5** 1 to **6** 3, and is addressed directly to the priests and the royal house, who ought to have been guides but were snares. The prophet in the spirit sees Divine judgment already breaking over the devoted land (**5** 8). This prophecy, which Hitzig referred to the time of Zechariah, and Maurer to the reign of Pekah, is assigned by Volck to the one month's reign of Shallum, on the ground of **5** 7: "Now shall a month [AV and RVm, but RV "the new moon"] devour them." It is by inference from this that Volck puts ch **4** in the preceding reign of Zechariah. (3) The third section, **6** 4—**7** 16, is marked off by the new beginning made at **8** 1: "Set the trumpet to thy mouth." The passage which determines its date is **7** 7: "All their kings are fallen," which, agreeing with Hitzig, he thinks could not have been said after the fall of one king, Zechariah, and so he assigns it to the beginning of the reign of Menahem who killed Shallum. (4) The next halting place, giving a fourth section, is at **9** 9, at the end of which there is a break in the MT, and a new subject begins. Accordingly, the section embraces **8** 1 to **9** 9, and Volck, agreeing with Hitzig, assigns it to the reign of Menahem, on the ground of **8** 4: "They have set up kings, but not by me," referring to the support given to Menahem by the king of Assyria (2 K **15** 19). (5) The fifth section extends from **9** 10 to **11** 11, and is marked by the peculiarity that the prophet three times refers to the early history of Israel (**9** 10; **10** 1; **11** 1). Identifying Shalman in **10** 14 with Shalmaneser, Volck refers the section to the opening years of the reign of Hoshea, against whom (as stated in 2 K **17** 3) Shalmaneser came up and Hoshea became his servant. (6) Lastly there is a sixth section, extending from **12** 1 to the end, which looks to the future recovery of the people (**13** 14) and closes with words of gracious promise. This portion also Volck assigns to the reign of Hoshea, just as the ruin of Samaria was impending, and there was no prospect of any earthly hope. In this way Volck thinks that the statement in the superscription of the Book of Hos is confirmed, and that we have before us, in chronological order if not in precisely their original oral form, the utterances of the prophet during his ministry. Ewald also was strongly of opinion that the book (in its second part at least) has come down to us substantially in the form in which the prophet himself left it.

The impression one receives from this whole section is one of sadness, for the prevailing tone is one of denunciation and doom. And yet Hosea is not a prophet of despair; and, in fact, he bursts forth into hope just at the point where, humanly speaking, there is no ground of hope. But this hope is produced, not by what he sees in the condition of the people: it is enkindled and sustained by his confident faith in the unfailing love of Jeh. And so he ends on the theme on which he began, the love of God prevailing over man's sin.

4. Testimony to Earlier History

The references in Hos to the earlier period of history are valuable, seeing that we know his date, and that the dates of the books recording that history are so much in dispute. These references are particularly valuable from the way in which they occur; for it is the manner of the prophet to introduce them indirectly, and allusively, without dwelling on particulars. Thus every single reference can be understood only by assuming its implications; and, taken together, they do not merely amount to a number of isolated testimonies to single events, but are rather dissevered links of a continuous chain of history. For they do not occur by way of rhetorical illustration of some theme that may be in hand, they are of the very essence of the prophet's address. The events of the past are, in the prophet's view, so many elements in the arraignment or threatening, or whatever it may be that is the subject of address for the moment: in a word, the whole history is regarded by him, not as a series of episodes, strung together in a collection of popular stories, but a course of Divine discipline with a moral and religious significance, and recorded or referred to for a high purpose. There is this also to be remembered: that, in referring briefly and by way of allusion to past events, the prophet is taking for granted that his hearers understand what he is referring to, and will not call in question the facts to which he alludes.

This implies that the mass of the people, even in degenerate Israel, were well acquainted with such incidents or episodes as the prophet introduces into his discourses, as well as the links which were necessary to bind them into a connected whole. It is necessary to bear all this in mind in forming an estimate of the historical value of other books. It seems to be taken by many modern writers as certain that those parts of the Pent (JE) which deal with the earlier history were not written till a comparatively short time before Hosea. It is plain, however, that the accounts must be of much earlier date, before they could have become, in an age when books could not have been numerous, the general possession of the national consciousness. Further, the homiletic manner in which Hosea handles these ancient stories makes one suspicious of the modern theory that a number of popular stories were supplied with didactic "frameworks" by later Deuteronomic or other "redactors," and makes it more probable that these accounts were invested with a moral and religious meaning from the beginning. With these considerations in mind, and particularly in view of the use he makes of his references, it is interesting to note the wide range of the prophet's historical survey. If we read with RV "Adam" for "men" (AV **6** 7), we have a clear allusion to the Fall, implying in its connection the view which, as all admit, Hosea held of the religious history of his people as a declension and not an upward evolution. This view is more clearly brought out in the reference to the period of the exodus and the desert life (**2** 15; **9** 10; **11** 1). Equally suggestive are the allusions to the patriarchal history, as the references to Admah and Zeboiim (**11** 8), and the repeated references to the weak and the strong points in the character of Jacob (**12** 3.12). Repeatedly he declares that Jeh is the God of Israel "from the land of Egypt" (**12** 9; **13** 4), alludes to the sin of Achan and the valley of Achor (**2** 15), asserts that God had in time past "spoken unto the prophets" (**12** 10), "hewed" His people by prophets (**6** 5), and by a prophet brought His people out of Egypt (**12** 13). There are also references to incidents nearer to the prophet's time, some of them not very clear (**1** 4; **5** 1; **9** 5. 15; **10** 9); and if, as seems probable, "the sin of Israel" (**10** 8) refers to the schism of the ten tribes, the prominence given to the Davidic kingship, which, along with the references to Judah, some critics reject on merely subjective grounds, is quite intelligible (**3** 5; **4** 15).

5. Testimony to the Law

We do not expect to find in a prophetic writing the same frequency of reference to the law as to the history; for it is of the essence of prophecy to appeal to history and to interpret it. Of course, the moral and social aspects of the law are as much the province of the prophet as of the priest; but the ceremonial part of the law, which was under the care of the priests, though it was designed to be the expression of the same ideas that lay at the foundation of prophecy, is mainly touched upon by the prophets when, as was too frequently the case, it ceased to express those ideas and became an offence. The words of the prophets on this subject, when fairly interpreted, are not opposed to law in any of its authorized forms, but only to its abuses; and there are expressions and allusions in Hosea, although he spoke to the Northern Kingdom, where from the time of the schism there had been a wide departure from the authorized law, which recognize its ancient existence and its Divine sanction. The much-debated passage (**8** 12), "Though I write for him my law in ten thousand precepts" (RV or RVm "I wrote for him the ten thousand things of my law"), on any understanding of the words or with any reasonable emendation of the text (for which see the comm.), points to written law, and that of considerable compass, and seems hardly consistent with the supposition that in the prophet's time the whole of the written law was confined to a few chapters in Ex, the so-called Book of the Covenant. And the very next verse (**8** 13), "As for the sacrifices of mine offerings, they sacrifice flesh and eat it; but Jeh accepteth them not," is at once an acknowledgment of the Divine institution of sacrifice, and an illustration of the kind of opposition the prophets entertained to sacrificial service as it was practised. So when it is said, "I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feasts, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn assemblies" (**2** 11; cf **9** 5), the reference, as the context shows, is to a deprivation of what were national distinctive privileges; and the allusions to transgressions and trespasses against the law (**8** 1; cf Dt **17** 2) point in the same direction. We have a plain reference to the Feast of Tabernacles (**12** 9): "I will yet again make thee to dwell in tents, as in the days of the solemn feast" (cf Lev **23** 39–43); and there are phrases which are either in the express language of the law-books or evident allusions to them, as "Thy people are as they that strive with the priest" (**4** 4; cf Dt **17** 12); "The princes of Judah are like them that remove the landmark" (**5** 10; cf Dt **19** 14); "Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners" (**9** 4; cf Dt **26** 14); "They [the priests] feed on the sin of my people" (**4** 8; cf Lev **6** 25 f; **10** 17). In one verse the prophet combines the fundamental fact in the nation's history and the fundamental principle of the law: "I am Jeh thy God from the land of Egypt; and thou shalt know no god but me" (**13** 4; cf Ex **20** 3).

6. Affinity with Deuteronomy

It is, however, with the Book of Dt more than with any other portion of the Pent that the Book of Hos shows affinity; and the resemblances here are so striking, that the critics who hold to the late date of Dt speak of the author of that book as "the spiritual heir of Hosea" (Driver, *Comm. on Dt*, Intro, xxvii), or of Hosea as "the great spiritual predecessor of the Deuteronomist" (Cheyne, *Jeremiah, His Life and Times*, 66). The resemblance is seen, not only in the homiletical manner in which historical events are treated, but chiefly in the great underlying principles implied or insisted upon in both books. The choice of Israel to be a peculiar people is the fundamental note in both (Dt **4** 37; **7** 6; **10** 15; **14** 2; **26** 18; Hos **12** 9; **13** 4). God's tender care and fatherly discipline are central ideas in both (Dt **8** 2.3.5.16; Hos **9** 15; **11** 1–4; **14** 4); and, conversely, the supreme duty of love to God, or reproof of the want of it, is everywhere emphasized (Dt **6** 5; **10** 12; **11** 1.13.22; **13** 3; **19** 9; **30** 6.16.20; Hos **4** 1; **6** 4.6). Now, when points of resemblance are found in two different books, it is not always easy to say on merely literary grounds which has the claim to priority. But it does seem remarkable, on the one hand, that a writer so late as the time of Josiah should take his keynote from one of the very earliest of the writing prophets two centuries before him; and, on the other hand, that these so-called "prophetic ideas," so suitable to the time of 'the kindness of youth and love of espousals' (Jer **2** 2), should have found no place in the mind of that "prophet" by whom the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt (Hos **12** 13). The ministry of Moses was to enforce the duty of whole-hearted allegiance to the God who had made special choice of Israel and claimed them as His own. Nor was Hosea the first, as it is sometimes alleged, to represent the religious history of Israel as a defection. Moses had experience of their apostasy under the very shadow of Sinai, and all his life long had to bear with a stiff-necked and rebellious people. Then, again, if these "Deuteronomic" ideas are found so clearly expressed in Hosea, why should it be necessary to postulate a late Deuteronomist going back upon older books, and editing and supplementing them with Deuteronomic matter? If Moses sustained anything like the function which all tradition assigned to him, and if, as all confess, he was the instrument of molding the tribes into one people, those addresses contained in the Book of Dt are precisely in the tone which would be adopted by a great leader in taking farewell of the people. And, if he did so, it is quite conceivable that his words would be treasured by the God-fearing men among his followers and successors, in that unbroken line of prophetic men to whose existence both Amos and Hosea appealed, and that they should be found coming to expression at the very dawn of written prophecy. Undoubtedly these two prophets took such a view, and regarded Moses as the first and greatest Deuteronomist.

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HOSEN, hō'z'n. See BREECHES.

HOSHAIAH, hō-shā'ya (הוֹשַׁעְיָה, *hōsha'yāh,* "whom Jeh helpeth"):

(1) Father of Jezaniah (probably = Azariah, so LXX; cf Jer **42** 1 and **43** 2 with 2 K **25** 23 and note similar letters in names in Heb), who with other leaders antagonized the policy and counsel of Jeremiah after the fall of Jerus (Jer **42** 1—**43** 7).

(2) A man, probably of Judah, who led half of the princes of Judah in procession at the dedication of the wall of Jerus (Neh **12** 32).

HOSHAMA, hosh'a-ma, hō-shā'ma (הוֹשָׁמָע, *hōshāmā',* abbreviated from יְהוֹשָׁמָע, *yehōshāmā',* "whom Jeh heareth"): One of the sons or descendants of Jeconiah, the captive king of Judah (1 Ch **3** 18).

HOSHEA, hō-shē'a (הוֹשֵׁעַ, *hōshēa',* "salvation"; Ὡσῆε, *Hosēe,* 2 K **17** 1–9): Son of Elah, the 19th and last king of Israel.

1. A Satrap of Assyria

The time was one of social revolution and dynastic change. Of the last five kings of Israel, four had met their deaths by violence. Hoshea himself was one of these assassins (2 K **15** 30), and the nominee of Tiglath-pileser III, whose annals read, "Pekah I slew, Hoshea I appointed over them." Though called king, Hoshea was thus really a satrap of Assyria and held his appointment only during good behavior. The realm which he administered was but the shadow of its former self. Tiglath-pileser had already carried into captivity the northern tribes of Zebulun, Naphtali, Asher and Dan; as also the two and a half tribes E. of the Jordan (2 K **15** 29).

2. The Reduced Kingdom of Israel

Apart from those forming the kingdom of Judah, there remained only Ephraim, Issachar, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. Isaiah refers to the fall of Syria in the words, "Damascus is taken away from being a city" (Isa **17** 1), and to the foreign occupations of Northern Israel in the words, "He brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali . . . . by the way of the sea, beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations" (Isa **9** 1).

3. Hosea and Ephraim

But Hosea is the prophet in whose writings we see most clearly the reflection of the politics of the day, and the altered condition of things in Israel. In the 2d division of his book, chs **4–14**, Hosea deals with a state of things which can only be subsequent to the first great deportation of Israelites, and therefore belongs to the reigns of Pekah and Hoshea. The larger part of the nation being removed, he addresses his utterances no longer to all Israel, but to Ephraim, the chief of the remaining tribes. This name he uses no less than 35 t, though not to the total exclusion of the term "Israel," as in **11** 1, "When Israel was a child, then I loved him," the whole nation in such cases being meant. Of the 35 uses of "Ephraim," the first is, "Ephraim is joined to idols; let him alone" (**4** 17), and the last, "Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols?" (**14** 8), showing that, in the prophet's estimation, the idolatrous worship of Jeh, as associated with the golden calves of Dan and Bethel, lay at the root of the nation's calamities.

4. Hoshea's Dependent Position

Over this shrunken and weakened kingdom—corresponding generally with the Samaritan district of the NT—Hoshea was placed as the viceroy of a foreign power. The first official year of his governorship was 729, though he may have been appointed a few months earlier. Tiglath-pileser III died in 727, so that three years' tribute was probably paid to Nineveh. There was, however, a political party in Samaria, which, ground down by cruel exactions, was for making an alliance with Egypt, hoping that, in the jealousy and antipathies of the two world-powers, it might find some relief or even a measure of independence. Hosea, himself a prophet of the north, allows us to see beneath the surface of court life in Samaria. "They call unto Egypt, they go to Assyria" (**7** 11), and again, "They make a covenant with Assyria, and oil is carried into Egypt" (**12** 1).

5. His Treasonable Action

This political duplicity from which it was the king's prime duty to save his people, probably took its origin about the time of Tiglath-pileser's death in 727. That event either caused or promoted the treasonable action, and the passage of large quantities of oil on the southward road was an object-lesson to be read of all men. On the accession of Shalmaneser IV—who is the Shalmaneser of the Bible (2 K **17** 3; **18** 9)—Hoshea would seem to have carried, or sent, the annual tribute for 726 to the treasury at Nineveh (2 K **17** 3). The text is not clear as to who was the bearer of this tribute, but from the statement that Shalmaneser came up against him, and Hoshea became his servant, it may be presumed that the tribute for the first year after Tiglath-pileser's death was at first refused, then, when a military demonstration took place, was paid, and obedience promised. In such a case Hoshea would be required to attend at his suzerain's court and do homage to the sovereign.

6. His Final Arrest

This is what probably took place, not without inquiry into the past. Grave suspicions were thus aroused as to the loyalty of Hoshea, and on these being confirmed by the confession or discovery that messengers had passed to "So king of Egypt," and the further withholding of the tribute (2 K **17** 4), Hoshea was arrested and shut up in prison. Here he disappears from history. Such was the ignominious end of a line of kings, not one of whom had, in all the vicissitudes of two and a quarter centuries, been in harmony with the theocratic spirit, or realized that the true welfare and dignity of the state lay in the unalloyed worship of Jeh.

7. Battle of Beth-arbel

With Hoshea in his hands, Shalmaneser's troops marched, in the spring or summer of 725, to the completion of Assyria's work in Pal. Isaiah has much to say in his 10th and 11th chs on the divinely sanctioned mission of "the Assyrian" and of the ultimate fate that should befall him for his pride and cruelty in carrying out his mission. The campaign was not a bloodless one. At Beth-arbel—at present unidentified—the hostile forces met, with the result that might have been expected. "Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle" (Hos **10** 14). The defeated army took refuge behind the walls of Samaria, and the siege began. The city was well placed for purposes of defence, being built on the summit of a lonely hill, which was Omri's reason for moving the capital from Tirzah (1 K **16** 24). It was probably during the continuance of the siege that Isaiah wrote his prophecy, "Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim," etc (Isa **28**), in which the hill of Samaria with its coronet of walls is compared to a diadem of flowers worn in a scene of revelry, which should fade and die. Micah's elegy on the fall of Samaria (ch **1**) has the same topographical note, "I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will uncover the foundations thereof" (ver 6).

8. Fall of Samaria in 721

Shalmaneser's reign was one of exactly five years, December, 727 to December, 722, and the city fell in the 1st month of his successor's reign. The history of its fall is summarized in Sargon's great Khorsabad inscription in these words, "Samaria I besieged, I captured. 27,290 of her inhabitants I carried away. 50 chariots I collected from their midst. The rest of their property I caused to be taken."

9. Hoshea's Character

Hoshea's character is summed up in the qualified phrase, "He did evil in the sight of the Lord, yet not as the kings of Israel that were before him." The meaning may be that, while not a high-principled man or of irreproachable life, he did not give to the idolatry of Bethel the official sanction and prominence which each of his 18 predecessors had done. According to Hos **10** 6 the golden calf of Samaria was to be taken to Assyria, to the shame of its erstwhile worshippers.

W. Shaw Caldecott

HOSPITALITY, hos-pi-tal'i-ti, **HOST,** hōst (**φιλοξενία**, *philoxenía*, "love of strangers," **ξένος**, *xénos*, "guest," "friend"; **πανδοχεύς**, *pandocheús*, "innkeeper"):

1. Among Nomads

When the civilization of a people has advanced so far that some traveling has become necessary, but not yet so far that traveling by individuals is a usual thing, then hospitality is a virtue indispensable to the life of the people. This stage of culture was that represented in ancient Pal and the stage whose customs are still preserved among the present-day Arabs of the desert. Hospitality is regarded as a right by the traveler, to whom it never occurs to thank his host as if for a favor. And hospitality is granted as a duty by the host, who himself may very soon be dependent on some one else's hospitality. But none the less, both in OT times and today, the granting of that right is surrounded by an etiquette that has made Arabian hospitality so justly celebrated. The traveler is made the literal master of the house during his stay; his host will perform for him the most servile offices, and will not even sit in his presence without express request. To the use of the guest is given over all that his host possesses, stopping not even short of the honor of wife or daughter. " 'Be we not all,' say the poor nomads, 'guests of Ullah? Has God given unto them, God's guest shall partake with them thereof: if they will not for God render his own, it should not go well with them' " (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 228). The host is in duty bound to defend his guest against all comers and to lay aside any personal hatred—the murderer of a father is safe as the guest of the son.

2. In the OT

An exquisite example of the etiquette of hospitality is found in Gen **18** 1–8. The very fact that the three strangers have passed by Abraham's door gives him the privilege of entertaining them. When he sees them approaching he runs to beg the honor of their turning in to him, with oriental courtesy depreciates the feast that he is about to lay before them as "a morsel of bread," and stands by them while they eat. Manoah (Jgs **13** 15) is equally pressing although more matter-of-fact, while Jethro (Ex **2** 20) sends out that the stranger may be brought in. And Job (**31** 32) repels the very thought that he could let the sojourner be unprovided for. The one case where a breach of hospitality receives praise is that of Jael (Jgs **4**–**5**), perhaps to be referred to degeneration of customs in the conflicts with the Canaanites or (perhaps more plausibly) to literary-critical considerations, according to which in Jgs **5** Sisera is not represented as entering Jael's tent or possibly not as actually tasting the food, a state of affairs misunderstood in Jgs **4**, written under later circumstances of *city* life. (For contrasting opinions see "Jael" in *EB* and *HDB*.)

3. The Table-Bond

It is well to understand that to secure the right to hospitality it is not necessary, even in modern times, for the guest to *eat* with his host, still less to eat *salt* specifically. Indeed, guests arriving after sunset and departing the next morning do not, as a rule, eat at all in the tent of the host. It is sufficient to enter the tent, to grasp a tent-pin, or even, under certain circumstances, to invoke the name of a man as host. On the other hand, the bond of hospitality is certainly strengthened by eating with one's host, or the bond may actually be created by eating food belonging to him, even by stealth or in an act of theft. Here a quite different set of motives is at work. The idea here is that of *kinship* arising from participation in a common sacrificial meal, and the modern Arab still terms the animal killed for his guest the *dhabîḥah* or "sacrifice" (cf *HDB*, II, 428). This concept finds its rather materialistic expression in the theory that after the processes of digestion are completed (a time estimated as two nights and the included day), the bond lapses if it is not renewed. There seem to be various references in the Bible to some such idea of a "table-bond" (Ps **41** 9, e.g.), but hardly in connection directly with hospitality. For a discussion of them see Bread; Guest; Sacrifice.

4. In the City

In the *city*, naturally, the exercise of hospitality was more restricted. Where travel was great, doubtless commercial provision for the travelers was made from a very early day (cf Lk **10** 34 and see Inn), and at all events free hospitality to all comers would have been unbearably abused. Lot in Sodom (Gen **19**) is the nomad who has preserved his old ideas, although settled in the city, and who thinks of the "shadow of his roof" (ver 8) as his tent. The same is true of the old man in Gibeah of Jgs **19** 16 ff. And the sin of Sodom and of Gibeah is not that wanderers cannot find hospitality so much as it is that they are unsafe in the streets at night. Both Lot and "the old man," however, are firm in their duty and willing to sacrifice their daughters for the safety of their guests. (Later ideas as to the position of woman should not be read back into these narratives.) However, when the city-dweller Rahab refuses to surrender her guests (Josh **2**), her reason is not the breach of hospitality involved but her fear of Jeh (ver 9). When Abraham's old slave is in Nahor, and begs a night's lodging for himself and his camels, he accompanies the request with a substantial present, evidently conceived of as pay for the same (Gen **24** 22 f). Such also are the modern conditions; cf Benzinger-Socin in Baedeker's *Palestine*^{3}, xxxv, who observe that "inmates" of private houses "are aware that Franks always *pay*, and *therefore* receive them gladly." None the less, in NT times, if not earlier, and even at present, a room was set apart in each village for the use of strangers, whose expenses were borne by the entire community. Most interpreters consider that the *katáluma* of Lk **2** 7 was a room of this sort, but this opinion cannot be regarded as quite certain. But many of the wealthier city-dwellers still strive to attain a reputation for hospitality, a zeal that naturally was found in the ancient world as well.

5. Christ and Hospitality

Christ's directions to the apostles to "take nothing for their journey" (Mk **6** 8, etc) presupposes that they were sure of always finding hospitality. Indeed, it is assumed that they may even make their own choice of hosts (Mt **10** 11) and may stay as long as they choose (Lk **10** 7). In this case, however, the claims of the travelers to hospitality are accentuated by the fact that they are bearers of good tidings for the people, and it is in view of this latter fact that hospitality to them becomes so great a virtue—the "cup of cold water" becomes so highly meritorious because it is given "in the name of a disciple" (Mt **10** 42; cf ver 41, and Mk **9** 41). Rejection of hospitality to one of Christ's "least brethren" (almost certainly to be understood as *disciples*) is equivalent to the rejection of Christ Himself (Mt **25** 43; cf ver 35). It is not quite clear whether in Mt **10** 14 and ‖s, simple refusal of hospitality is the sin in point or refusal to hear the message or both.

6. First Missionaries

In the Dispersion, the Jew who was traveling seemed always to be sure of finding entertainment from the Jews resident in whatever city he might happen to be passing through. The importance of this fact for the spread of early Christianity is incalculable. To be sure, some of the first missionaries may have been men who were able to bear their own traveling expenses or who were merchants that taught the new religion when on business tours. In the case of soldiers or slaves their opportunity to carry the gospel into new fields came often through the movements of the army or of their masters. And it was by an "infiltration" of this sort, probably, rather than by any specific missionary effort that the church of Rome, at least, was founded. See Romans, Epistle to the. But the ordinary missionary, whether apostle (in any sense of the word) or evangelist, would have been helpless if it had not been that he could count so confidently on the hospitality everywhere. From this fact comes one reason why St. Paul, for instance, could plan tours of such magnitude with such assurance: he knew that he would not have to face any problem of sustenance in a strange city (Rom **16** 23).

7. In the Churches

As the first Christian churches were founded, the exercise of hospitality took on a new aspect, esp. after the breach with the Jews had begun. Not only did the traveling Christian look naturally to his brethren for hospitality, but the individual churches looked to the traveler for fostering the sense of the unity of the church throughout the world. Hospitality became a virtue indispensable to the well-being of the church—one reason for the emphasis laid on it (Rom **12** 13; **16** 1 f; He **13** 2). As the organization of the churches became more perfected, the exercise of hospitality grew to be an official duty of the ministry and a reputation for hospitality was a prerequisite in some cases (1 Tim **3** 2; **5** 10; Tit **1** 8). The exercise of such hospitality must have become burdensome at times (1 Pet **4** 9), and as false teachers began to appear in the church a new set of problems was created in discriminating among applicants for hospitality. 2 and 3 Jn reflect some of the difficulties. For the later history of hospitality in the church interesting matter will be found in the *Didache*, chs xi, xii, *Apology of Aristides*, ch xv, and Lucian's *Death of Peregrinus*, ch xvi. The church certainly preferred to err by excess of the virtue.

An evaluation of the Bib. directions regarding hospitality for modern times is extremely difficult on account of the utterly changed conditions. Be it said at once, esp., that certain well-meant criticism of modern missionary methods, with their boards, organized finance, etc, on the basis of Christ's directions to the Twelve, is a woeful misapplication of Bib. teaching. The hospitality that an apostle could count on in his own day is something that the modern missionary simply cannot expect and something that it would be arrant folly for him to expect (Weinel, *Die urchristliche und die heutige Mission*, should be read by everyone desiring to compare modern missions with the apostolic). In general, the basis for hospitality has become so altered that the special virtue has become merged in the larger field of charitable enterprise of various sorts. The modern problem nearest related to the old virtue is the question of providing for the necessities of the indigent traveler, a distinctly minor problem, although a very real one, in the general field of social problems that the modern church has to study. In so far as the NT exhortations are based on missionary motives there has been again a merging into general appeals for missions, perhaps specialized occasionally as appeals for traveling expense. The "hospitality" of today, by which is meant the entertainment of friends or relatives, hardly comes within the Bib. use of the term as denoting a special virtue.

Literature.—For hospitality in the church, Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, II, ch iv (10).

Burton Scott Easton

HOSTAGE, hos′tā̇j. See War.

HOST OF HEAVEN (צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם, *ç^{e}bhā' ha-shāmayim*): The expression is employed in the OT to denote (1) the stars, frequently as objects of idolatry (Dt **4** 19; **17** 3; 2 K **17** 16; **21** 3.5; **23** 4 f; Jer **8** 2; **19** 13; Zeph **1** 5), but also as witnesses in their number, order and splendor, to the majesty and providential rule and care of Jeh (Isa **34** 4; **40** 26, "calleth them all by name"; **45** 12; Jer **33** 22); and (2) the angels (1 K **22** 19; 2 Ch **18** 18; Neh **9** 6; cf Ps **103** 21).

(1) Star-worship seems to have been an enticement to Israel from the first (Dt **4** 19; **17** 3; Am **5** 26; cf Acts **7** 42.43), but attained special prominence in the days of the later kings of Judah. The name of Manasseh is particularly connected with it. This king built altars for "all the host of heaven" in the courts of the temple (2 K **21** 3.5). Josiah destroyed these altars, and cleansed the temple from the idolatry by putting down the priests and burning the vessels associated with it (2 K **23** 4.5.12).

(2) In the other meaning of the expression, the

angels are regarded as forming Jeh's "host" or army, and He himself is the leader of them—"Jeh of hosts" (Isa **31** 4, etc)—though this designation has a much wider reference. See ANGELS; ASTRONOMY; LORD OF HOSTS; cf Oehler, *Theol of OT*, II, 270 ff (ET).
JAMES ORR

HOSTS, LORD OF. See LORD OF HOSTS.

HOTHAM, hō'tham, **HOTHAN**, hō'than (חוֹתָם, *ḥōthām*, "seal"):

(1) An Asherite, son of Heber, family of Beriah (1 Ch **7** 32).

(2) An Aroerite, father of two of the mighty men of David (1 Ch **11** 44). AV, following LXX **Χωθάν**, *Chōthán*, has, incorrectly, **Hothan.**

HOTHIR, hō'thir (הוֹתִיר, *hōthīr*, "abundance"): Mentioned in 1 Ch **25** 4.28 among the sons of Heman, and one of those set apart by David for the musical service of the house of God (cf ver 6).

HOUGH, hok. See HOCK.

HOUR, our (שַׁעֲתָא, *sha‘ăthā’*, שְׁעָא, *sh^e‘ā’*; **ὥρα**, *hôra*): Hour as a division of the day does not occur in the OT; the term *sh^e‘ā’* (*sha‘ăthā’*) found in Dnl, is Aram., and as used there denotes a short period or point of time of no definite length (Dan **3** 6.15; **4** 33 [Heb 30]; **5** 5). The Gr *hōra* is commonly used in the NT in the same way, as "that same hour," "from that hour," etc, but it also occurs as a division of the day, as, "the third hour," "the ninth hour," etc. The Hebrews would seem to have become acquainted with this division of time through the Babylonians, but whether before the captivity we are not certain. The mention of the sun dial of Ahaz would seem to indicate some such reckoning of time during the monarchy. See TIME.
H. PORTER

HOURS OF PRAYER: The Mosaic law did not regulate the offering of prayer, but fully recognized its spontaneous character. In what manner or how far back in Jewish history the sacrificial prayer, mentioned in Lk **1** 10, originated no one knows. In the days of Christ it had evidently become an institution. But ages before that, stated hours of prayer were known and religiously observed by all devout Jews. It evidently belonged to the evolutionary process of Jewish worship, in connection with the temple-ritual. Devout Jews, living at Jerus, went to the temple to pray (Lk **18** 10; Acts **3** 1). The pious Jews of the Diaspora opened their windows "toward Jerus" and prayed "toward" the place of God's presence (1 K **8** 48; Dnl **6** 10; Ps **5** 7). The regular hours of prayer, as we may infer from Ps **55** 17 and Dnl **6** 10, were three in number. The first coincided with the morning sacrifice, at the 3d hour of the morning, at 9 AM therefore (Acts **2** 15). The second was at the 6th hour, or at noon, and may have coincided with the thanksgiving for the chief meal of the day, a religious custom apparently universally observed (Mt **15** 36; Acts **27** 35). The 3d hour of prayer coincided with the evening sacrifice, at the ninth hour (Acts **3** 1; **10** 30). Thus every day, as belonging to God, was religiously subdivided, and regular seasons of prayer were assigned to the devout believer. Its influence on the development of the religious spirit must have been incalculable, and it undoubtedly is, at least in part, the solution of the riddle of the preservation of the Jewish faith in the cruel centuries of its bitter persecution. Mohammedanism borrowed this feature of worship from the Jews and early Christians, and made it one of the chief pillars of its faith.
HENRY E. DOSKER

HOUSE, hous (בַּיִת, *bayīth;* **οἶκος**, *oíkos*, in classical Gr generally "an estate," **οἰκία**, *oikía*, **οἴκημα**, *oíkēma* [lit. "habitation"], in Acts **12** 1, "prison"):

I. CAVE DWELLINGS
II. STONE- and MUD-BRICK-BUILT HOUSES
  1. Details of Plan and Construction
    (1) Corner-Stone
    (2) Floor
    (3) Gutter
    (4) Door
    (5) Hinge
    (6) Lock and Key
    (7) Threshold
    (8) Hearth
    (9) Window
    (10) Roof
  2. Houses of More than One Story
    (1) Upper Chambers and Stairs
    (2) Palaces and Castles
  3. Internal Appearance
    (1) Plaster
    (2) Paint
    (3) Decoration
    (4) Cupboards
III. OTHER MEANINGS
LITERATURE

I. Cave Dwellings.—The earliest permanent habitations of the prehistoric inhabitants of Pal were the natural caves which abound throughout the country. As the people increased and grouped themselves into communities, these abodes were supplemented by systems of artificial caves which, in some cases, developed into extensive burrowings of many adjoining compartments, having in each system several entrances. These entrances were usually cut through the roof down a few steps, or simply dropped to the floor from the rock surface. The sinking was shallow and the headroom low but sufficient for the undersized troglodites who were the occupiers. Fig. 1 is the plan of an elaborate system of cave dwellings from Gezer, all adjoining and approached by 9 separate entrances (*PEFS*, October, 1905).

II. Stone- and Mud-Brick-built Houses.—There are many references to the use of caves as dwellings in the OT. Lot dwelt with his two daughters in a cave (Gen **19** 30). Elijah, fleeing from Jezebel, lodged in a cave (1 K **19** 9). The natural successor to the cave was the stone-built hut, and just as the loose field-bowlders and the stones, quarried from the caves, served their first and most vital uses in the building of defence walls, so did they later become material for the first hut. Caves, during the rainy season, were faulty dwellings, as at the time when protection was most needed, they were being flooded through the surface openings which formed their entrances. The rudest cell built of rough stones in mud and covered with a roof of brushwood and mud was at first sufficient. More elaborate plans of several apartments, entering from what may be called a living-room, followed as a matter of course, and these, huddled together, constituted the homes of the people. Mud-brick buildings (Job **4** 19) of similar plan occur, and to protect this friable material from the weather, the walls were sometimes covered with a casing of stone slabs, as at Lachish. (See Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*.) Generally speaking, this rude type of building prevailed, although, in some of the larger buildings, square dressed and jointed stones were used. There is little or no sign of improvement until the period of the Hellenistic influence, and even then the improvement was slight, so far as the homes of the common people were concerned.

1. Details of Plan and Construction

Figs. 2 and 3 are the isometric sketch and plan showing construction of a typical small house from Gezer. The house is protected and approached from the street by an open **court,** on one side of which is a covered way. The doors enter into a living-room from which the two very small inner private rooms, **bedchambers,** are reached. Builders varied the plan to suit requirements, but in the main, this plan may be taken as typical. When members of a family married, extra accommodation was required. Additions were made as well as could be arranged on the cramped site, and in consequence, plans often became such a meaningless jumble that it is impossible to identify the respective limits of adjoining houses. The forecourt was absorbed and crushed out of existence, so that in many of the plans recovered the arrangement shown in Figs. 2 and 3 is lost. Fig. 4 shows the elevation of the house from the court.

(1) *Corner-stone* (פִּנָּה, *pinnāh*, Isa **28** 16; Jer **51** 26; **λίθος ἀκρογωνιαῖος**, *líthos akrogōniaíos*, 1 Pet **2** 6).—In the construction of rude bowlder walls, more esp. on a sloping site, as can be seen today in the highlands of Scotland and Wales, a large projecting bowlder was built into the lower angle-course. It tied together the return angles and was one of the few bond-stones used in the building. This most necessary support claimed chief importance and as such assumed a **figurative** meaning frequently used (Isa **28** 16; 1 Pet **2** 6; see CORNER-STONE). The importance given to the laying of a sure **foundation** is further emphasized by the dedication rites in common practice, evidence of which has been found on various sites in Pal (see *Excavations of Gezer*). The discovery of human remains placed diagonally below the foundations of the returning angle of the house gives proof of the exercise of dedication rites both before and after the conquest. Hiel sacrificed his firstborn to the foundations of Jericho and his youngest son to the gates thereof (1 K **16** 34). But this was in a great cause compared with a similar sacrifice to a private dwelling. The latter manifests a respect scarcely borne out by the miserable nature of the houses so dedicated. At the same time, it gives proof of the frequent collapse of structures which the winter rains made inevitable and at which superstition trembled. The fear of pending disaster to the man who failed to make his sacrifice is recorded in Dt **20** 5: "What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle." See illustration, p. 550.

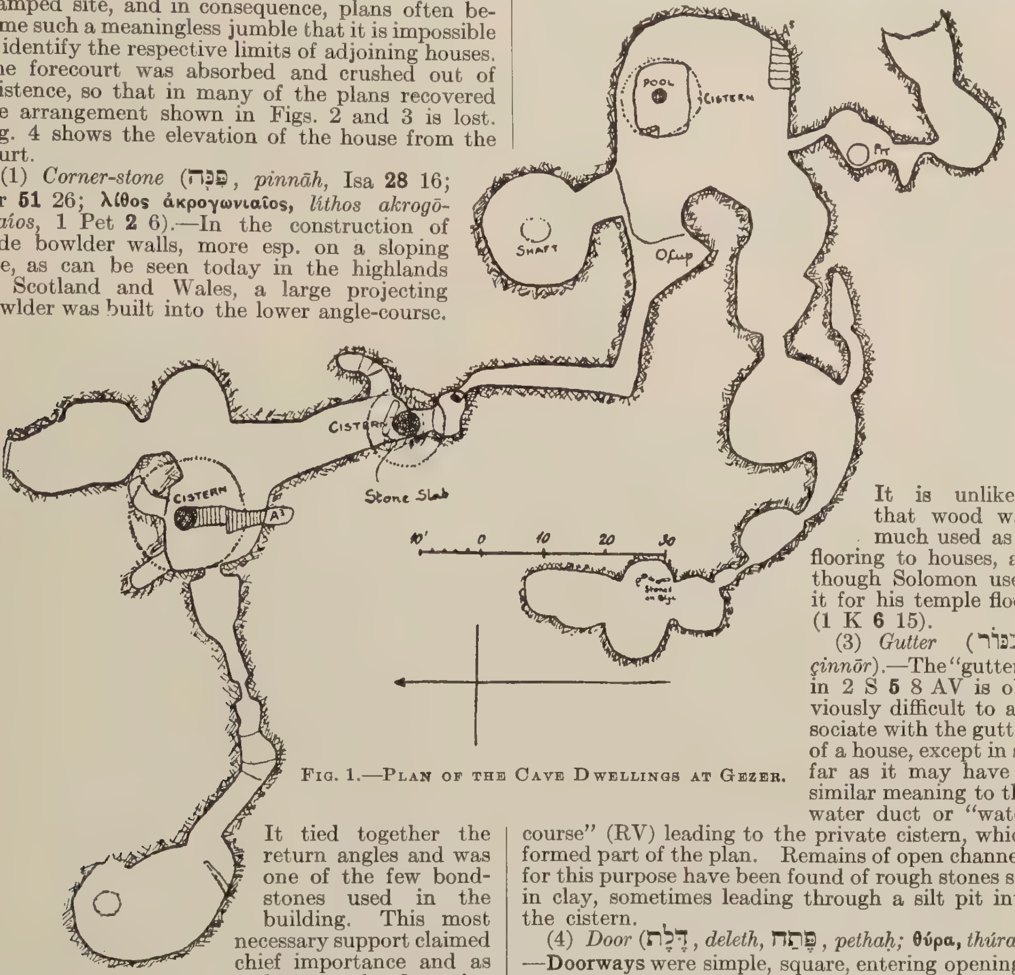


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE CAVE DWELLINGS AT GEZER.

(2) *Floor* (קַרְקַע, *ḳarḳa'*).—When houses were built on the rock outcrop, the floor was roughly leveled on the rock surface, but it is more common to find floors of beaten clay similar to the native floor of the present day. Stone slabs were sparingly used, and only appear in the houses of the great. It is unlikely that wood was much used as a flooring to houses, although Solomon used it for his temple floor (1 K **6** 15).

(3) *Gutter* (צִנּוֹר, *çinnōr*).—The "gutter" in 2 S **5** 8 AV is obviously difficult to associate with the gutter of a house, except in so far as it may have a similar meaning to the water duct or "water course" (RV) leading to the private cistern, which formed part of the plan. Remains of open channels for this purpose have been found of rough stones set in clay, sometimes leading through a silt pit into the cistern.

(4) *Door* (דֶּלֶת, *deleth*, פֶּתַח, *pethaḥ*; **θύρα**, *thúra*).—**Doorways** were simple, square, entering openings in the wall with a stone or wood **lintel** (*mashḳōph*, Ex **12** 22.23; *'ayil*, 1 K **6** 31) and a stone **threshold** raised slightly above the floor. It is easy to imagine the earliest wooden door as a simple movable boarded cover with back bars, fixed vertically by a movable **bar** slipped into sockets in the stone jambs. **Doorposts** (*ṣaph*, Ezk **41** 16) appear to have been in use, but, until locks were introduced, it is difficult to imagine a reason for them. Posts, when introduced, were probably let into the stone

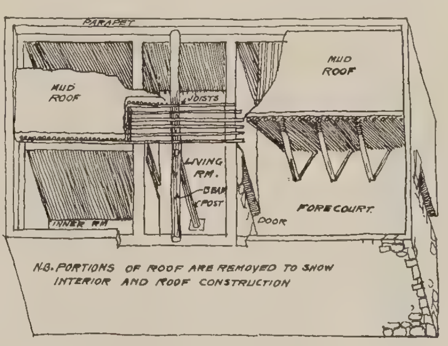

PARAPET
MUD ROOF
MUD ROOF
JOISTS
LIVING RM.
BEAM
POST
INNER RM
DOOR
FORECOURT
N.B. PORTIONS OF ROOF ARE REMOVED TO SHOW INTERIOR AND ROOF CONSTRUCTION

Fig. 2.—Isometric Sketch of a House at Gezer.

at top and bottom, and, unlike our present door frame, had no head-piece. When no wood was used, the stone **jambs** of the opening constituted the doorposts. To the present day the post retains its function as commanded in Dt **6** 9; **11** 20, and in it is fitted a small case containing a parchment on which is written the exhortation to obedience.

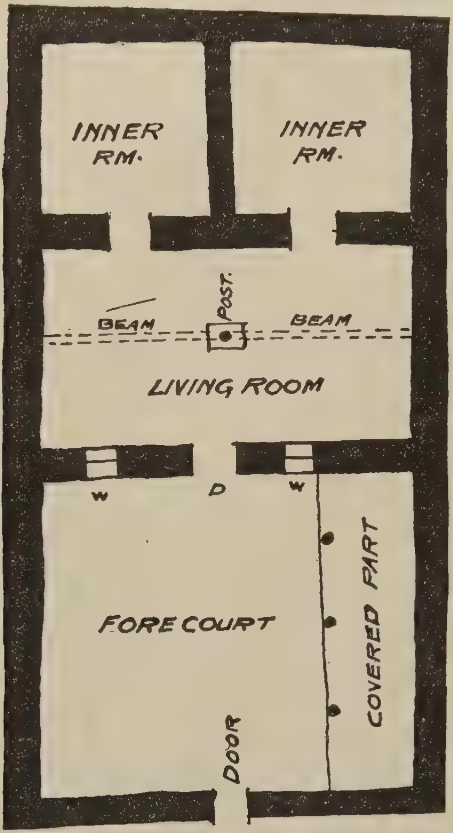


Fig. 3.—Plan of House.

(5) *Hinge* (פֹּת, *pōth,* 1 K **7** 50; צִיר, *çīr,* Prov **26** 14).—Specimens of sill and head sockets of stone have been discovered which suggest the use of the pivot hinge, the elongated swinging stile of the door being let into the sockets at top and bottom. A more advanced form of construction was necessary to this type of door than in the previous instance, and some little skill was required to brace it so that it would hold together. The construction of doors and windows is an interesting question, as it is in these two details that the joinery craft first claimed development. There is no indication, however, of anything of the nature of advancement, and it seems probable that there was none.

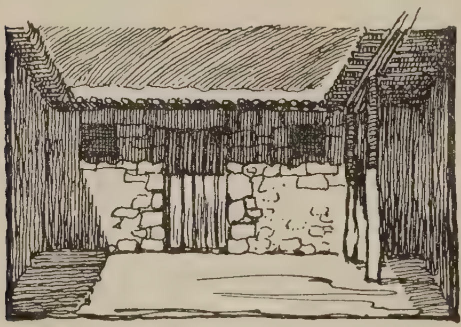


Fig. 4.—Elevation of House from Court.

(6) *Lock and key* ("lock," *man'ūl,* Neh **3** 3 ff; Cant **5** 5; "key," *maphtēᵃḥ,* Jgs **3** 25; fig. Isa **22** 22; **κλείς,** *kleís,* Mt **16** 19, etc).—In later Hellenic times a sort of primitive lock and key appeared, similar to the Arab. type. See *Excavations of Gezer,* I, 197, and illustration in art. KEY.

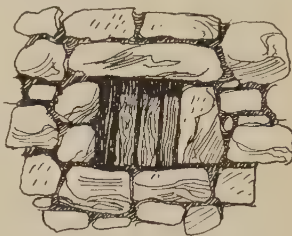


Fig. 5.—Window.

(7) *Threshold* (סַף, *ṣaph,* 1 K **14** 17; Ezk **40** 6 ff; מִפְתָּן, *miphtān,* 1 S **5** 4.5; Ezk **9** 3, etc).—Next to the corner-stone, the threshold was specially sacred, and in many instances foundation-sacrifices have been found buried under the threshold. In later times, when the Hebrews became weaned of this unholy practice, the rite remained with the substitution of a lamp inclosed between two bowls as a symbol of the life. See GEZER.

(8) *Hearth* (אָח, *'āḥ,* Jer **36** 22.23, RV "brazier"; כִּיּוֹר, *kiyyōr*).—The references in the OT and the frequent discovery of hearths make it clear that so much provision for heating had been made. It is unlikely, however, that **chimneys** were provided. The smoke from the wood or charcoal fuel was allowed to find its way through the door and windows and the many interstices occurring in workmanship of the worst possible description. The "chimney" referred to (Hos **13** 3) is a doubtful tr. The **"fire** in the brazier" (Jer **36** 22 RV) which burned before the king of Judah in his **"winter house"** was probably of charcoal. The modern natives, during the cold season, huddle around and warm their hands at a tiny glow in much the same way as their ancient predecessors. The use of cow and camel dung for **baking-oven** (*tannūr*) fires appears to have continued from the earliest time to the present day (Ezk **4** 15). See also HEARTH.

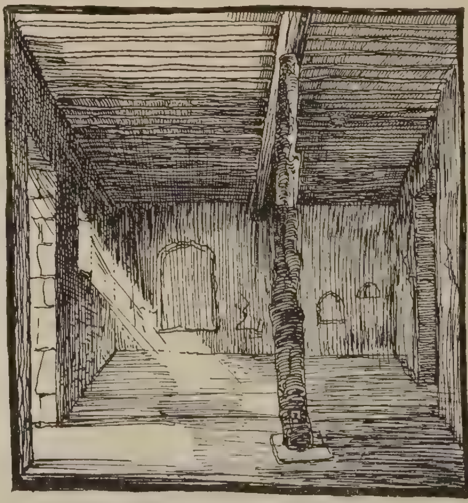
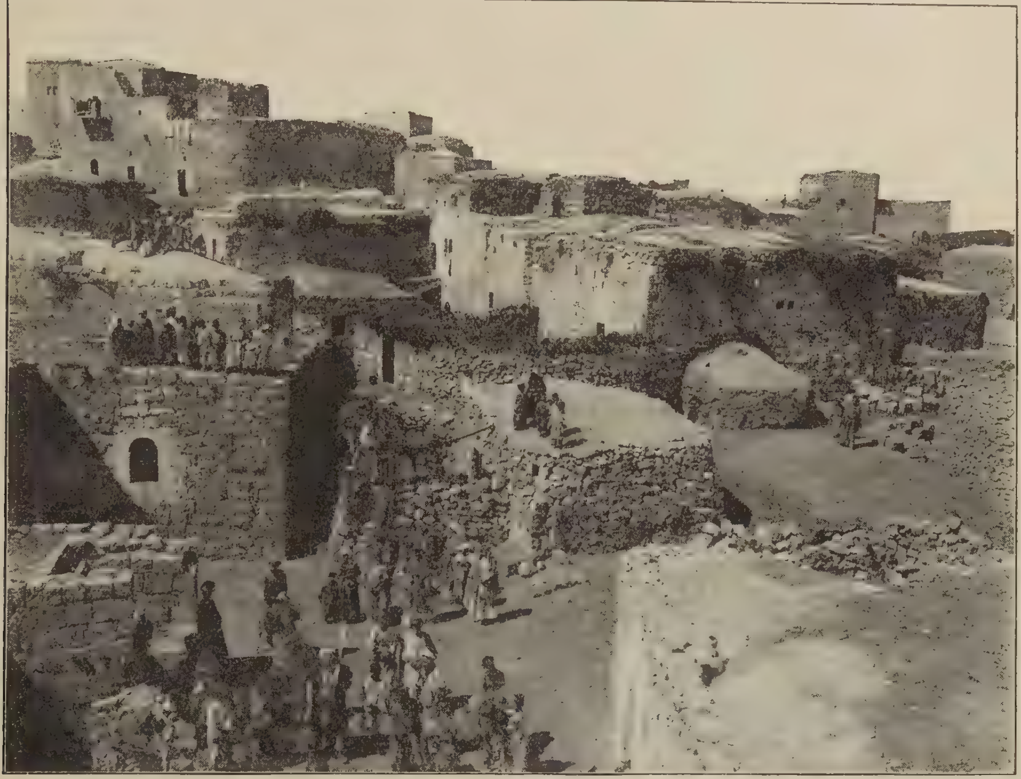


Fig. 6.—Living-Room of House.

(9) *Window* (**θυρίς,** *thurís,* Acts **20** 9; 2 Cor **11** 33).—It would appear that windows were often simple openings in the wall which were furnished with some method of closing, such as is suggested

in Fig. 5, which, it may be conjectured, was somewhat the same as the primitive door previously mentioned. The window of the ark (*ḥallōn*, Gen **8** 6), the references in Gen **26** 8; Josh **2** 15, and the window from which Jezebel looked (2 K **9** 30), were presumably of the **casement** class. Ahaziah fell through a **lattice** (*ṣ^{e}bhākhāh*) in the same palace, and the same word is used for the "networks" (1 K **7** 41) "covering the bowls of the capitals," and in Cant **2** 9, "through the lattice" (*ḥărakkīm*). It would appear, therefore, that some variety of treatment existed, and that the simple window opening with casement and the opening filled in with a lattice or grill were distinct. Windows were small, and, according to the Mish, were kept not less than 6 ft. from floor to sill. The lattice was open, without glass filling, and in this connection there is the interesting **figurative** reference in Isa **54** 12 AV, "windows of agates," tr^{d} in RV "pinnacles of rubies." Heaven is spoken of as having "windows" (*'ărubbāh*) for rain (Gen **7** 11; **8** 2; 2 K **7** 2, etc).



Modern Arab Village.

(10) *Roofs* (גָּג, *gagh;* **στέγη,** *stégē*).—These were flat, and their construction is illustrated in Figs. 2 and 6. Cf "The beams of our house are cedars, and our rafters are firs" (Cant **1** 17). To get over the difficulty of the larger spans, a common practice was to introduce a main **beam** (*ḳūrāh*) carried on the walls and strengthened by one or more intermediate posts let into stone sockets laid on the floor. Smaller timbers as joists (**"rafters,"** *rāhīṭ*) were spaced out and covered in turn with brushwood; the final covering, being of mud mixed with chopped straw, was beaten and rolled. A tiny stone roller is found on every modern native roof, and is used to roll the mud into greater solidity every year on the advent of the first rains. Similar rollers have been found among the ancient remains throughout the country; see *Excavations of Gezer*, I, 190; *PEFS*, Warren's letters, 46. "They let him down through the **tiles** [**κέραμος,** *kéramos*] with his couch into the midst before Jesus" (Lk **5** 19) refers to the breaking through of a roof similar to this. The roof (**"housetop,"** *gagh;* **δῶμα,** *dōma*) was an important part of every house and was subjected to many uses. It was used for worship (2 K **23** 12; Jer **19** 13; **32** 29; Zeph **1** 5; Acts **10** 9). Absalom spread his tent on the "top of the house" (2 S **16** 22). In the Feast of the Tabernacles temporary **booths** (*ṣukkāh*) were erected on the housetops. The people, as is their habit today, gathered together on the roof as a common meeting-place on high days and holidays (Jgs **16** 27). The wild wranglings which can be heard in any modern native village, resulting in vile accusations and exposure of family secrets hurled from the housetops of the conflicting parties, illustrate the passage, "And what ye have spoken in the ear in the inner chambers shall be proclaimed upon the housetops" (Lk **12** 3).

2. Houses of More than One Story

(1) *Upper chambers and stairs.*—It is certain that there were **upper chambers** (*'ălīyāh;* **ὑπερῷον,** *huperōon*, Acts **9** 37, etc) to some of the houses. Ahaziah was fatally injured by falling from the window of his palace, and a somewhat similar fate befell his mother, Jezebel (2 K **1** 2; **9** 33). The escape of the spies from the house on the wall at Jericho (Josh **2** 15) and that of Paul from Damascus (2 Cor **11** 33) give substantial evidence of window openings at a considerable height. Elijah carried the son of the widow of Zarephath "up into the chamber." The Last Supper was held in an upper chamber (Mk **14** 15). Some sort of **stairs** (*ma'ălāh*) of stone or wood must have

existed, and the lack of the remains of stone steps suggests that they were wood steps, probably in the form of ladders.

(2) *Palaces and castles* (*'armōn, bīrah, hēkhāl;* **αὐλή,** *aulḗ,* **παρεμβολή,** *parembolḗ*).—These were part of every city and were more elaborate in plan, raised in all probability to some considerable height. The Can. castle discovered by Macalister at Gezer shows a building of enormously thick walls and small rooms. Reisner has unearthed Ahab's palace at Samaria, revealing a plan of considerable area. Solomon's palace is detailed in 1 K **7** (see Temple). In this class may also be included the megalithic fortified residences with the beehive guard towers of an earlier date, described by Dr. Mackenzie (*PEF*, I).

3. Internal Appearance

Walls were **plastered** (Lev **14** 43.48), and small fragments of **painted** (Jer **22** 14) plaster discovered from time to time show that some attempt at **mural decoration** was made, usually in the form of crudely painted line ornament. Walls were recessed here and there into various forms of **cupboards** (q.v.) at various levels. The smaller cuttings in the wall were probably for lamps, and in the larger and deeper recesses bedmats may have been kept and garments stored. Fig. 6 shows the living-room of an ordinary house, as previously described.

III. Other Meanings.—The word has often the sense of "household," and this term is frequently substituted in RV for "house" of AV (e.g. Ex **12** 3; 2 K **7** 11; **10** 5; **15** 5; Isa **36** 3; 1 Cor **1** 11; 1 Tim **5** 14); in certain cases for phrases with "house" RV has "at home" (Acts **2** 46; **5** 42). See House of God; Household.

Literature.—Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer; PEFS;* Sellin, *Excavations at Taanach;* Schumacher, *Excavations at Tell Mutesellim;* Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities;* arts. in Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias.

Arch. C. Dickie

HOUSE, FATHER'S. See Father's House.

HOUSE, GARDEN. See Garden House.

HOUSE OF GOD: In Gen **28** 17.22 = Bethel (q.v.). In Jgs, 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr, Neh, Ps, etc (*bēth hā-'ĕlōhīm*), a designation of the sanctuary = "house of Jeh" (of the tabernacle, Jgs **18** 31; **20** 18.26 AV; of the temple, 1 Ch **9** 11; **24** 5 AV; 2 Ch **5** 14; Ps **42** 4; Isa **2** 3, etc; of the 2d temple, Ezr **5** 8.15; Neh **6** 10; **13** 11; cf Mt **12** 4). Spiritually, in the NT, the "house of God" (*oíkos theoú*) is the church or community of believers (1 Tim **3** 15; He **10** 21; 1 Pet **4** 17; cf 1 Cor **3** 9.16.17; 1 Pet **2** 5).

HOUSEHOLD, hous'hōld: Three words are usually found in the Bible where the family is indicated. These three are the Heb word *bayith* and the Gr words *oikía* and *oíkos*. The unit of the national life of Israel, from the very beginning, was found in the family. In the old patriarchal days each family was complete within itself, the oldest living sire being the unquestioned head of the whole, possessed of almost arbitrary powers. The house and the household are practically synonymous. God had called Abraham "that he might command his children and household after him" (Gen **18** 19). The Passover-lamb was to be eaten by the "household" (Ex **12** 3). The "households" of the rebels in the camp of Israel shared their doom (Nu **16** 31–33; Dt **11** 6). David's household shares his humiliation (2 S **15** 16); the children everywhere in the OT are the bearers of the sins of the fathers. Human life is not a conglomerate of individuals; the family is its center and unit.

Nor is it different in the NT. The curse and the blessing of the apostles are to abide on a house, according to its attitude (Mt **10** 13). A divided house falls (Mk **3** 25). The household believes with the head thereof (Jn **4** 53; Acts **16** 15.34). Thus the households became the nuclei for the early life of the church, e.g. the house of Prisca and Aquila at Rome (Rom **16** 5), of Stephanas (1 Cor **16** 15), of Onesiphorus (2 Tim **1** 16), etc. No wonder that the early church made so much of the family life. And in the midst of all our modern, rampant individualism, the family is still the throbbing heart of the church as well as of the nation.

Henry E. Dosker

HOUSEHOLD, CAESAR'S. See Caesar's Household.

HOUSEHOLDER, hous'hōl-dẽr (**οἰκοδεσπότης,** *oikodespótēs*): The word occurs in Mt **13** 27.52; **20** 1; **21** 33, for the master or owner of a "household," i.e. of servants (*doúloi*). The Gr word emphasizes the authority of the master.

HOUSETOP, hous'top. See House.

HOW: Represents various Heb and Gr words, interrogative, interjectional and relative. Its different uses refer to (1) the *manner* or *way*, e.g. Gen **44** 34, "How shall I go up to my father?" (*'ēkh*); Mt **6** 28, "how they grow" (*pôs*); 1 Cor **15** 35, "How are the dead raised?"; (2) *degree, extent*, frequently, "how great" (Dnl **4** 3, *māh;* Mk **5** 19, *hósos*, "how much"); "how many" (Mt **27** 13, *pósos*); "how much" (Acts **9** 13, *hosos*); "how much more" (Mt **7** 11, *posos;* 1 S **14** 30, *'aph kī*); "how oft" (Ps **78** 40, *kammāh;* Mt **18** 21, *posákis*); "how long" (Job **7** 19, *kammāh;* Mt **17** 17, *héōs póte*), etc; (3) the *reason*, wherefore, etc (Mt **18** 12; Lk **2** 49, *tis*); (4) *means*—by what means? (Jn **3** 4.9, *pôs*); (5) *cause* (Jn **12** 34; Acts **2** 8; **4** 21, *pōs*); (6) *condition*, in what state, etc (Lk **23** 55, *hōs;* Acts **15** 36, *pōs;* Eph **6** 21, *tis*); "how" is sometimes used to emphasize a statement or exclamation (2 S **1** 19.25.27, "How are the mighty fallen!"); "how" is also used for "that" (Gen **30** 29, *'ēth 'ăsher*, frequently "how that"; Ex **9** 29, *kī* most frequently, in the NT, *hóti*, Mt **12** 5; **16** 12.21; Acts **7** 25; Rom **7** 1, etc, in AV).

RV has "wherefore" for "how" (Gen **38** 29, m "how"); has "what" (Jgs **13** 12; 1 K **12** 6; Job **22** 13; 1 Cor **14** 26), omits (2 Cor **13** 5); has "how that" (1 S **2** 22); "that" (1 Ch **18** 9; Lk **1** 58; Gal **4** 13; Jas **2** 22; Rev **2** 2); has "that even" for "how that" (He **12** 17); "What is this?" for "How is it that?" (Lk **16** 2); omits "How is it?" (Mk **2** 16, different text); has "Do ye not yet," for "How is it that?" (Mk **8** 21); "Have ye not yet" (Mk **4** 40, different text); "what" for "how much" (Lk **19** 15, different text); omits "how that" (Lk **7** 22); "then how" (Jas **2** 24); has "cannot" for "How can he" (1 Jn **4** 20); omits "How hast thou" (Job **26** 3), "how is" (Jer **51** 41); has "how" for "the fashion which" (Gen **6** 15), for "and" (Ex **18** 1), for "what" (Jgs **18** 24; 1 S **4** 16; 1 Cor **7** 16), for "why" (Job **19** 28; **31** 1; Jer **2** 33; Gal **2** 14), for "when" (Job **37** 15), for "for" (Ps **42** 4), for "but God" (Prov **21** 12), for "whereunto" (Mk **4** 30); for "by what means" (Lk **8** 36; Jn **9** 21), for "how greatly" (Phil **1** 8); "how that" for "because" (Ezk **6** 9; 1 Thess **1** 5), for "and how" (Acts **20** 20); "know how to" for "can" (Mt **16** 3); "how" for "by whom" (Am **7** 2.5).

"How" in *compounds* gives us **Howbeit** (how be it). It is the tr of *'ūlām*, "but," "truly," "yet" (Jgs **18** 29); of *'akh*, "certainly," "only" (1 S **8** 9); of *'epheṣ*, "moreover," etc (2 S **12** 14); of *kēn*, "so," "thus" (2 Ch **32** 31); of *raḳ*, "only," "surely," "nevertheless" (1 K **11** 13); of *allá*, "but," etc (Jn **7** 27; Acts **7** 48; 1 Cor **8** 7, etc); of *dé*, "but," etc (Jn **6** 23); of *méntoi* (Jn **7** 13 AV); many other instances.

For "howbeit," RV has frequently "but" (2 K **12** 13, etc), "and" (2 Ch **21** 20; Mk **5** 19), "surely" (ERV) (Job **30** 24), "now" (Jn **11** 13), "yet" (2 Cor **11** 21), "nay, did" (He **3** 16); omits (Mt **17** 21, different text); it has "howbeit" for "but" (2 K **12** 3; Lk **19** 27; Jn **5** 34, etc), for "also" (Lev **23** 27.39), for "nevertheless" (Nu **13** 28; 1 K **22** 43; Mk **14** 36; Lk **13** 33 ERV; **18** 8; 2 Tim **2** 19), for "notwithstanding" (Josh **22** 19; Lk **10** 20 ERV, "nevertheless" ARV; Phil **4** 14), for "nay" (Rom **7** 7).

Howsoever (in what manner soever, although, however) is the tr of *kōl 'ăsher*, "all that which," etc (Zeph **3** 7, "howsoever I punished them," RV "according to all that I have appointed concerning her," m "howsoever I have punished her"; ERV omits "have"); of *raḳ*, "only," "surely," "nevertheless" (Jgs **19** 20); of *y^ehī-māh*, "let be what" (2 S **18** 22.23, RV "but come what may"); in 2 S **24** 3 "how" and "soever" are separated (*kāhēm*), "how many soever they may be," lit. "as they and as they."

W. L. Walker

HOZAI, hō'zā̊-ī (חוֹזַי, *ḥōzay*, or as it stands at the close of the verse in question, 2 Ch **33** 19, חוֹזָי, *ḥōzāy;* LXX **τῶν ὁρώντων,** *tôn horôntōn;* Vulg "Hozai"; AV **the seers;** AVm "Hosai"; ARV "Hozai," ARVm "the seers." LXX not improbably reads הַחֹזִים, *ha-ḥōzīm*, as in ver 18; an easy error, since there we find וְדִבְרֵי הַחֹזִים, *w^e-dhibh^erē ha-ḥōzīm*, "the words of the seers," and here דִּבְרֵי חוֹזָי, *dibh^erē ḥōzāy*, "the words of Hozai." Kittel, following Budde, conjectures as the original reading חוֹזָיו, *ḥōzāyw*, "his [Manasseh's] seers"): A historiographer of Manasseh, king of Judah. Thought by many of the Jews, incorrectly, to be the prophet Isaiah, who, as we learn from 2 Ch **26** 22, was historiographer of a preceding king, Uzziah. This "History of Hozai" has not come down to us. The prayer of Manasseh, mentioned in **33** 12 f.18 f and included in this history, suggested the apocryphal book, "The Prayer of Manasses," written, probably, in the 1st cent. BC. See Apocrypha.

J. Gray McAllister

HUCKSTER, huk'stẽr: A retailer of small wares, provisions, or the like; a peddler. "A huckster shall not be acquitted of sin" (Sir **26** 29). Neither a merchant nor a huckster is without sin.

HUKKOK, huk'ok (חֻקֹּק, *ḥuḳḳōḳ*): A town on the border of Naphtali named with Aznoth-tabor (Josh **19** 34). It is usually identified with the village of *yāḳūḳ*, which stands on the W. of *Wādy el-'Amūd*, to the N.W. of Gennesaret, about 4 miles from the sea. This would fall on the boundary of Zebulun and Naphtali, between Tabor and Hannathon (Josh **19** 14). The identification may be correct; but it seems too far from Tabor.

HUKOK, hū'kok. See Helkath.

HUL, hul (חוּל, *ḥūl*): The name of one of the "sons of Aram" in the list of nations descended from Noah, but a people of uncertain identity and location (Gen **10** 23; 1 Ch **1** 17).

HULDAH, hul'da (חֻלְדָּה, *ḥuldāh*, "weasel"; **Ὄλδα,** *Hólda*): A prophetess who lived in Jerus during the reign of Josiah. She was the wife of Shallum, keeper of the wardrobe, and resided in the "Mishneh" or second part or quarter of Jerus (location unknown). Cheyne says it should read, "She was sitting in the upper part of the gate of the Old City," i.e. in a public central place ready to receive any who wished to inquire of Jeh. He gives no reason for such a change of text. The standing and reputation of Huldah in the city are attested by the fact that she was consulted when the Book of the Law was discovered. The king, high priest, counsellors, etc, appealed to her rather than to Jeremiah, and her word was accepted by all as the word of Jeh (2 K **22** 14–20; 2 Ch **34** 22–29).

J. J. Reeve

HUMAN SACRIFICE. See Sacrifice, Human.

HUMILIATION, hū-mil-i-ā'shun, **OF CHRIST** (Acts **8** 33; Phil **2** 8). See Kenosis; Person of Christ.

HUMILITY, hū-mil'i-ti (עֲנָוָה, *'ănāwāh;* **ταπεινοφροσύνη,** *tapeinophrosúnē*):

(1) The noun occurs in the OT only in Prov **15** 33; **18** 12; **22** 4, but the adj. "humble" appears frequently as the tr of *'ānī, 'ānāw, shāphāl*, meaning also "poor," "afflicted"; the vb., as the tr of *'ānāh*, "to afflict," "to humble," and of *kāna'*, "to be or become humbled"; *çāna'*, "to be lowly," occurs in Mic **6** 8. For "humble" (Ps **9** 12; **10** 12) RV has "poor"; Ps **10** 17; **34** 2; **69** 32, "meek"; for "humbled" (Ps **35** 13), "afflicted" (Isa **2** 11; **10** 33), "brought low"; for "He humbleth himself" (Isa **2** 9) "is brought low," m "humbleth himself"; Ps **10** 10, "boweth down"; *tapeinophrosunē* is tr^d "humility" (Col **2** 18.23; 1 Pet **5** 5); in several other places it is tr^d "lowliness" and "lowliness of mind"; *tapeinós* is tr^d "humble" (Jas **4** 6; 1 Pet **5** 5; elsewhere "lowly," etc; 1 Pet **3** 8, *tapeinóphrōn*), RV "humble-minded"; *tapeinóō*, "to humble," occurs frequently (Mt **18** 4; **23** 12, etc); *tapeínōsis* is "humiliation" (Acts **8** 33); for "vile body" (Phil **3** 21) RV gives "body of our humiliation."

(2) (*a*) In the OT as well as in the NT, humility is an essential characteristic of true piety, or of the man who is right with God. God humbles men in order to bring them to Himself (Dt **8** 2.3, etc), and it is when men humble themselves before Him that they are accepted (1 K **21** 29; 2 Ch **7** 14, etc); to "walk humbly with thy God" completes the Divine requirements (Mic **6** 8). In Ps **18** 35 (2 S **22** 36) the quality is ascribed to God Himself, "Thy gentleness [or condescension] hath made me great." Of "him that hath his seat on high" it is said, "[He] humbleth [*shāphēl*] himself to behold the things that are in heaven and in the earth" (Ps **113** 6). It is in the humble heart that "the high and lofty One, ... whose name is Holy" dwells (Isa **57** 15; cf **66** 2).

(*b*) The word *tapeinophrosunē* is not found in classical Gr (Lightfoot); in the NT (with the exception of 1 Pet **5** 5) it is Pauline. In Gr pre-Christian writers *tapeinos* is, with a few exceptions in Plato and Platonic writers, used in a bad or inferior sense—as denoting something evil or unworthy. The prominence it gained in Christian thought indicates the new conception of man in relation to God, to himself, and to his fellows, which is due to Christianity. It by no means implies slavishness or servility; nor is it inconsistent with a right estimate of oneself, one's gifts and calling of God, or with proper self-assertion when called for. But the habitual frame of mind of a child of God is that of one who feels not only that he owes all his natural gifts, etc, to God, but that he has been the object of undeserved redeeming love, and who regards himself as being not his own, but God's in Christ. He *cannot* exalt himself, for he knows that he has nothing of himself. The humble mind is thus at the root of all other graces and virtues. Self-exaltation spoils everything. There can be no real *love* without humility. "Love," said Paul, "vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up" (1 Cor **13** 4). As Augustine said, humility is first, second and third in Christianity.

(*c*) Jesus not only strongly impressed His disciples with the need of humility, but was in Himself its supreme example. He described Himself as "meek and lowly [*tapeinos*] in heart" (Mt **11** 29). The first of the Beatitudes was to "the poor in spirit" (Mt **5** 3), and it was "the meek" who should "inherit the earth." Humility is the way to true greatness: he who should "humble himself as this little child" should be "the greatest in the kingdom of heaven"; "Whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled; and whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted" (Mt **18** 4; **23** 12; Lk

14 11; **18** 14). To the humble mind truth is revealed (Mt **11** 25; Lk **10** 21). Jesus set a touching example of humility in His washing His disciples' feet (Jn **13** 1–17).

(*d*) St. Paul, therefore, makes an earnest appeal to Christians (Phil **2** 1–11) that they should cherish and manifest the Spirit of their Lord's humility—"in lowliness of mind each counting other better than himself," and adduces the supreme example of the self-emptying (*kénōsis*) of Christ: "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus," etc. The rendering of *heautón ekénōsen* (Phil **2** 7 AV) by "he humbled himself" has given rise to the designation of the Incarnation as "the Humiliation of Christ."

(*e*) There is a false humility which Paul warns against, a self-sought, "voluntary humility" (Col **2** 18.23). This still exists in many forms, and has to be guarded against. It is not genuine humility when we humble ourselves with the feeling that we are greater than others, but only when we do not think of self at all. It is not alone the sense of sin that should create the humble spirit: Jesus had no sin. It belongs not merely to the creature, but even to a *son* in relation to God. There may be much self-satisfaction where sinfulness is confessed. We may be proud of our humility. It is necessary also always to beware of "the pride that apes humility."

W. L. WALKER

HUMPS, humps: Appears in Isa **30** 6 in ARV for "bunches" in AV.

HUMTAH, hum′ta (חֻמְטָה, *ḥumṭāh*): An unidentified place mentioned between Aphekah and Hebron in the mountain of Judah (Josh **15** 54).

HUNDRED, hun′dred (מֵאָה, *mē'āh;* **ἑκατόν,** *hekatón*). See NUMBER.

HUNGER, huṇ′gẽr (רָעָב, *rā'ābh;* **λιμός,** *limós* (subs.), **πεινάω,** *peináō* (vb.): (1) The desire for food, a physiological sensation associated with emptiness of the stomach, and dependent on some state of the mucous membrane; (2) starvation as the effect of want of food, as Ex **16** 3; Isa **49** 10; (3) to feel the craving for food as Dt **8** 3; when used to indicate the condition due to general scarcity of food as Jer **38** 9; Ezk **34** 29 it is replaced in RV by "famine." The word is used to express the poverty which follows idleness and sloth (Prov **19** 15). The absence of this condition is given as one of the characteristics of the future state of happiness (Isa **49** 10; Ezk **34** 29; Rev **7** 16). **Metaphorically** the passionate striving for moral and spiritual rectitude is called hungering and thirsting after righteousness (Mt **5** 6); and the satisfaction of the soul which receives Christ is described as a state in which "he shall not hunger" (Jn **6** 35).

On two occasions it is said of Our Lord that He hungered (Mt **21** 18; Lk **4** 2); 9 t the old Eng. expression "an hungred" is used, the "an" being a prefix which indicates that the condition is being continued (Mt **12** 1.3; **25** 35.37.42.44; Mk **2** 25; Lk **6** 3 AV). In Mt **4** 2 AV, "an hungred" has been changed to "hungered" in RV. "Hard bestead and hungry" in Isa **8** 21 means bested (that is, placed) in a condition of hardship, "sore distressed," ARV. The word occurs in Spenser, "Thus ill bestedd and fearful more of shame" (I, i, 24). The reference of the aggravation of the sensation of hunger when one who is starving awakes from a dream of food (Isa **29** 8) is graphically illustrated by the experience of the antarctic voyager (Shackleton, *Heart of the Antarctic*, II, 9).

ALEX. MACALISTER

HUNTING, hunt′ing (צַיִד, *çayidh*): The hunting of wild animals for sport, or for the defence of men and flocks, or for food, was common in Western Asia and Egypt, esp. in early times. Some of the Egyp and Assyr kings were great hunters in the first sense, for example Amenhotep III (1411–1375 BC), "a lion-hunting and bull-baiting Pharaoh," who boasted of having slain 76 bulls in the course of one expedition, and of having killed at one time or other 102 lions; and the Assyrian conqueror, Tiglath-pileser I (c 1100 BC), who claimed 4 wild bulls, 14 elephants and 920 lions as the trophies of his skill and courage.

1. Nimrod and His Like

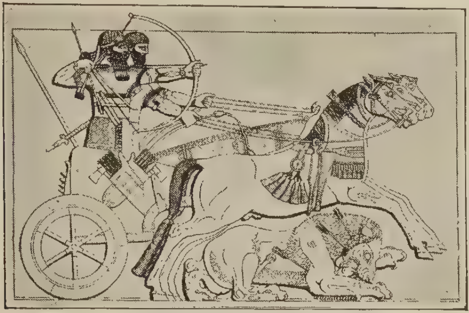
The Bib. prototype of these heroes of war and the chase is Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before Jeh" (Gen **10** 9), that is perhaps "a hunter who had no equal," a figure not yet clearly identifiable with any historical or mythical character in the Assyro-Bab monuments, but possibly the Gilgamesh of the great epic, who may be the hero represented on seals and reliefs as victorious over the lion (Skinner, "Gen," *ICC*, 208). We are reminded also of Samson's exploit at Timnah (Jgs **14** 5 f), but this, like David's encounter with the lion and the bear (1 S **17** 34 f) and Benaiah's struggle with a lion in a pit on a snowy day (2 S **23** 20), was an occasional incident and scarcely comes under the category of hunting. There is no evidence that hunting for sport was ever practised by the kings of Judah and Israel. Not until the time of Herod the Great, who had a hunting establishment and was a great hunter of boars, stags, and wild asses (Jos, *BJ*, I, xxi, 13), mastering as many as 40 beasts in one day, do we find a ruler of Pal indulging in this pastime.

2. Hunting in the OT

Hunting, however, for the two other purposes mentioned above was probably as frequent among the Israelites, even after they had ceased to be nomads, as among their neighbors. We know indeed of only two personal examples, both in the patriarchal period and both outside the direct line of Israelitish descent: Esau (Gen **25** 27 ff) and Ishmael (Gen **21** 20); but there are several references and many **figurative** allusions to the pursuit and its methods and instruments. Hunting (inclusive of fowling) is mentioned in the Pent in the regulation about pouring out the blood and covering it with dust (Lev **17** 13); and there is a general reference in the proverb (Prov **12** 27): "The slothful man roasteth not that which he took in hunting." The hunting of the lion is assumed in Ezekiel's allegory of the lioness and her two whelps (Ezk **19** 1–9; cf Job **10** 16); of the antelope or oryx (Dt **14** 5; Isa **51** 20); of the roe (Prov **6** 5); of the partridge in the mountains (1 S **26** 20), and of birds in general in many passages. Hunting is probably implied in the statement about the provision of harts, gazelles and roebucks for Solomon's kitchen (1 K **4** 23), and to some extent in the reference to the den of lions in Babylon (Dnl **6** 7 ff).

3. Methods of Hunters

The weapons most frequently employed by hunters seem to have been bows and arrows. Isaac (Gen **27** 3) commands Esau to take his bow and quiver and procure him venison or game (cf also Isa **7** 24; Job **41** 28). This method is amply illustrated by the monuments. Ashur-nazir-pal III (885–860 BC) and Darius (c 500 BC), for example, are depicted shooting at lions from the chariot. Use was also made of the sword, the spear, the dart or javelin, the sling and the club (Job **41** 26.28 f, where the application of these weapons to hunting is implied). The larger animals were sometimes caught in a pit. The classical reference is in Ezekiel's allegory, "He was taken in their pit" (*shaḥath*, Ezk **19** 4.8; cf also Isa **24** 17 f; Jer **48** 43 f; Ps **35** 7, etc). The details of this mode of capture as practised at the present day, and probably in ancient times, are described by Tristram in his *Natural History of the Bible* (118 f). A more elaborate method is described by Maspero in *Lectures historiques* (285).

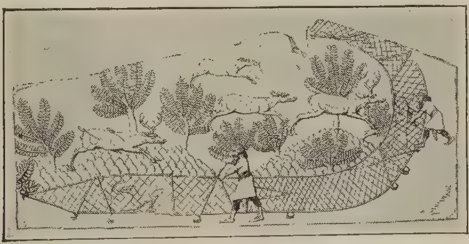


Assyrian Lion Hunt.

To make the pit-capture more effective, nets were also employed: "They spread their net over him" (Ezk **19** 8; cf Ps **35** 7). When caught, the lion was sometimes placed in a large wooden cage (Ezk **19** 9, *ṣūghar*, the Assyr *shigāru;* for the word and the thing cf *SBOT*, "Ezk," Eng., 132; Heb, 71). The lion (or any other large animal) was led about by a ring or hook (*ḥāḥ*) inserted in the jaws or nose (2 K **19** 28=Isa **37** 29; Ezk **19** 4.9; **29** 4; **38** 4). From wild animals the brutal Assyrians transferred the custom to their human captives, as the Israelites were well aware (2 Ch **33** 11 RVm, Heb *ḥō^{a}ḥ;* for monumental illustrations cf *SBOT*, "Ezk," Eng., 132 f). Nets were also used for other animals such as the oryx or antelope (Isa **51** 20). The Egyp and Assyr monuments show that dogs were employed in hunting in the ancient East, and it is not improbable that they were put to this service by the Hebrews also, but there is no clear Bib. evidence, as "greyhound" in Prov **30** 31 is a questionable rendering. Jos indeed (*Ant*, IV, viii, 9) mentions the hunting dog in a law ascribed to Moses, but the value of the allusion is uncertain.

4. Fowlers and Their Snares

The hunting of birds or fowling is so often referred or alluded to that it must have been very widely practised (cf Ps **91** 3; **124** 7; Prov **1** 17; **6** 5; Eccl **9** 12; Am **3** 5, etc). The only bird specifically mentioned is the partridge, said to be hunted on the mountains (1 S **26** 20). The method of hunting is supposed by Tristram (*NHB*, 225) to be that still prevalent—continual pursuit until the creature is struck down by sticks thrown along the ground—but the interpretation is uncertain. Birds were generally caught by snares or traps. Two passages are peculiarly instructive on this point: Job **18** 8–10, where six words are used for such contrivances, represented respectively by "net," "toils," "gin," "snare," "noose," "trap"; and Am **3** 5, which is important enough to be cited in full: "Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth, where no gin is set for him? shall a snare spring up from the ground, and have taken nothing at all?" The word for "snare" in this passage (*paḥ*) probably describes a net laid on the ground, perhaps a circular net like the Egyp bird-trap represented in the *Cambridge Bible*, "Amos," 157. The word for "gin," usually tr^d in RV "snare" (*mōḳēsh*, lit. "fowling instrument") is supposed to refer either to the bait (ib, 158) or to the catch connected with it which causes the net to collapse (Siegfried). For a full account of Egyp modes of fowling which probably illustrate ancient Palestinian methods, cf Wilkinson, *Popular Account*, II, 178–83. The two words (*mōḳēsh* and *paḥ*) mentioned above are used figuratively in many OT passages, the former repeatedly of the deadly influence of Canaanitish idolatry on Israel, as in Ex **23** 33, "For if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a snare unto thee" (cf Ex **34** 12; Dt **7** 16; Josh **23** 13). The use of the hawk in fowling, which is attested for Northern Syria by a bas-relief found in 1908 at Sakje-Geuzi, is not mentioned in the OT, but there may perhaps be an allusion in Apoc (Bar **3** 17, "they that had their pastime with the fowls of the air"). A reference to the use of decoys has been found in Jer **5** 27, "a cage . . . . full of birds," but that is a doubtful interpretation, and in the Gr of Sir **11** 30, "As a decoy partridge in a cage, so is the heart of a proud man," but the Heb text of the latter is less explicit. See Fowler.



Hunting Deer in an Enclosed Field.

5. Allusions in the NT

The NT has a few figurative allusions to hunting. The words for "catch" in Mk **12** 13 and Lk **11** 54 (*agreúō* and *thēreúō*) mean lit. "hunt." The vb. "ensnare" (*pagideúō*) occurs once in the Gospels (Mt **22** 15), and the noun "snare" (*pagís*) is met with in 5 passages (Lk **21** 34; Rom **11** 9; 1 Tim **3** 7; **6** 9; 2 Tim **2** 26). Another word for "snare" (*bróchos*), which means lit. "noose" (RVm), is used in 1 Cor **7** 35. The words for "things that cause stumbling" and "stumble" (*skándalon* and *skandalízō*) may possibly conceal in some passages an allusion to a hunter's trap or snare. *Skandalon* is closely allied to *skandálēthron*, "the stick in a trap on which the bait is placed," and is used in LXX for *mōḳēsh*. The abundant use of imagery taken from hunting in the Bible is remarkable, in view of the comparative rarity of literal references.

Literature.—In addition to the works cited in the course of the art., the art. "Hunting" in *DB*^{2}, *HDB* large and small, *EB*, *Jew Enc;* and "Jagd" in *German Bible Dicts.* of Guthe, Riehm^2, and Wiener, and in *RE*^{3}.

William Taylor Smith

HUPHAM, hū'fam (חוּפָם, *ḥūphām*, "coast-inhabitant"): One of Benjamin's sons and head of the **Huphamite** family (Nu **26** 39). See Huppim.

HUPPAH, hup'a (חֻפָּה, *ḥuppāh*, "protection"): The priest in charge of the 13th course as prescribed under David (1 Ch **24** 13).

HUPPIM, hup'im (חֻפִּים, *ḥuppīm*, "coast-people"): Probably a variant form of Hupham (q.v.). From the only mention made of him (Gen **46** 21; 1 Ch **7** 12.15), his direct descent is difficult to establish.

HUR, hûr (חוּר, *ḥūr*):

(1) A prominent official in Israel. With Aaron he held up Moses' hands during the battle against the Amalekites (Ex **17** 10.12) and assisted him as judicial head of the people during Moses' stay in the mount (Ex **24** 14).

(2) Grandfather of Bezalel, the head artificer in the construction of the Tabernacle (Ex **31** 2; **35** 30; **38** 22; 2 Ch **1** 5). He is here assigned to the tribe of Judah, and in 1 Ch is connected with the same by descent through Caleb (**2** 19.20.50; **4** 1.4). Jos (*Ant*, III, ii, 4; vi, 1) makes him identical with (1) and the husband of Miriam.

(3) One of the five kings of Midian slain along with Balaam when Israel avenged the "matter of Peor" upon this people (Nu **31** 8; cf vs 1.2.16). In Josh **13** 21 these kings are spoken of as "chiefs [*n^{e}sī'īm*] of Midian" and "princes [*n^{e}ṣīkhīm*] of Sihon," king of the Amorites.

(4) According to 1 K **4** 8 AV, the father of one of Solomon's twelve officers who provided food for the king's household, and whose district was the hill country of Ephraim. Here RV has "Ben-hur," taking the Heb *ben*, "son of," as part of the proper name; and the same is true in reference to the

names of four others of these officers (cf vs 9.10. 11.13).

(5) Father of Rephaiah, who was one of the builders of the wall under Nehemiah, and ruler of half the district of Jerus (Neh **3** 9).

Benjamin Reno Downer

HURAI, hū′rī, hū′rȧ-ī, hů-rā′ī (חוּרַי, *ḥūray*, "linen-weaver"): One of David's "mighty men" mentioned in 1 Ch **11** 32 as of the brooks of Gaash, i.e. from Mt. Gaash. In the ‖ 2 S **23** 30, the orthography is Hiddai.

HURAM, hū′ram (חוּרָם, *ḥūrām*, "noble-born"):

(1) Grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch **8** 5).

(2) King of Tyre in alliance with David and Solomon. So named in 2 Ch **2** 3.11.12; **8** 2; **9** 10.21, but elsewhere written Hiram (q.v.).

(3) The Tyrian artisan who is so named in 2 Ch **2** 13; **4** 11.16, but elsewhere called "Hiram."

HURI, hū′rī (חוּרִי, *ḥūrī*, "linen weaver"): One of the immediate descendants of Gad, and father of Abihail, a chief man of his family (1 Ch **5** 14).

HURT, hûrt: The term (noun and vb.) represents a large number of Heb words, of which the chief are רַע, *ra'* (vb. רָעַע, *rā'a'*), "evil" (Gen **26** 29; 1 S **24** 9; Ps **35** 4, etc), and שֵׁבֶר or שֶׁבֶר, *shēbher* or *shebher* (from שָׁבַר, *shābhar*), "a fracture" or "breaking" (Jer **6** 14; **8** 11.21; **10** 19; cf Ex **22** 10.14). In Gr a principal vb. is ἀδικέω, *adikéō*, "to do injustice" (Lk **10** 19; Rev **2** 11; **6** 6, etc); once the word "hurt" is used in AV (Acts **27** 10, story of Paul's shipwreck) for ὕβρις, *húbris*, "injury" (thus RV). In RV "hurt" sometimes takes the place of other words in AV, as "sick" (Prov **23** 35), "breach" (Isa **30** 26), "bruise" (Jer **30** 12; Nah **3** 19); sometimes, on the other hand, the word in AV is exchanged in RV for "evil" (Josh **24** 20), "harm" (Acts **18** 10), or, as above, "injury" (Acts **27** 10). These references sufficiently show the meaning of the word—harm, bruise, breaking, etc. In Jer (*ut supra*) the word is used **figuratively** for moral disease or corruption. James Orr

HUSBAND, huz′band (אִישׁ, *'īsh*; ἀνήρ, *anḗr*): In the Heb household the husband and father was the chief personage of an institution which was regarded as more than a social organism, inasmuch as the family in primitive Sem society had a distinctively religious character and significance. It was through it that the cult of the household and tribal deities was practised and perpetuated. The house-father, by virtue of being the family head, was priest of the household, and as such, responsible for the religious life of the family and the maintenance of the family altar. As priest he offered sacrifices to the family gods, as at first, before the centralization of worship, he did to Jeh as the tribal or national Deity. We see this reflected in the stories of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in the Book of Job. This goes far to explain such records as we have in Gen **31** 53; **32** 9, and the exceptional reverence that was paid the paternal sepulchers (1 S **20** 6). Abraham was regarded as being the father of a nation. It was customary, it would seem, to assign a "father" to every known tribe and nation (Gen **10**). So the family came to play an important and constructive part in Heb thought and life, forming the base upon which the social structure was built, merging gradually into the wider organism of the clan or tribe, and vitally affecting at last the political and religious life of the nation itself.

The husband from the first had supreme authority over his wife, or wives, and children. In his own domain his rule was well-nigh absolute. The wife, or wives, looked up to him as their lord (Gen **18** 12). He was chief (cf Arab. *sheîk*), and to dishonor him was a crime to be punished by death (Ex **21** 15.17). He was permitted to divorce his wife with little reason, and divorces were all too common (Dt **22** 13.19.28.29; Isa **50** 1; Jer **3** 8; **5** 8; Mal **2** 16, etc). The wife seems to have had no redress if wronged by him. Absolute faithfulness, though required of the wife, was apparently not expected or exacted of the husband, so long as he did not violate the rights of another husband. In general among Eastern people women were lightly esteemed, as in the Japhetic nations they came to be. Plato counted a state "disorganized" "where slaves are disobedient to their masters, and wives are on equality with their husbands." "Is there a human being," asks Socrates, "with whom you talk less than with your wife?" But from the first, among the Hebrews the ideal husband trained his household in the way they should go religiously, as well as instructed them in the traditions of the family, the tribe, and the nation (Gen **18** 19; Ex **12** 26; **13** 8; Dt **6** 7, etc). It was due to this, in part at least, that, in spite of the discords and evils incident to polygamy, the Heb household was a nursery of virtue and piety to an unusual degree, and became a genuine anticipation of the ideal realized later in the Christian home (1 Cor **7** 2 ff; Eph **5** 25; 1 Pet **3** 7).

Used **figuratively** of the relation (1) between Jeh and His people (Isa **54** 5; Jer **3** 14; Hos **2** 19 f); (2) between Christ and His church (Mt **9** 15; 2 Cor **11** 2; Eph **5** 25; Rev **19** 7; **21** 2).

Geo. B. Eager

HUSBANDMAN, huz′band-man, **HUSBANDRY,** huz′band-ri: Husbandman, originally a "householder" or "master of the house," is now limited in its meaning to "farmer" or "tiller of the soil." In this sense it is the correct tr of the various Bib. words: אִישׁ אֲדָמָה, *'īsh 'ădhāmāh*, lit. "man of the soil" (Gen **9** 20); אִכָּר, *'ikkār*, lit. "digger," "a farmer" (2 Ch **26** 10; Jer **31** 24; **51** 23; Am **5** 16; Joel **1** 11); גּוּב, *gūbh*, "to dig" (2 K **25** 12); יָגַב, *yāghabh*, "to dig" (Jer **52** 16); **γεωργός,** *geōrgós*, "cultivator" (Mt **21** 33 ff; Jn **15** 1; Jas **5** 7). See Agriculture.

It is a common practice in Pal and Syria today for a rich man to own lands in many different parts of the country. He sets farmers over these different tracts who, with the helpers, do the plowing, planting, reaping, etc; or he lets out his lands to farmers who pay him an annual rental or return to him a certain percentage of the crop. Much of the plain of Esdraelon, for example, was until recently owned by Beirut proprietors and farmed in this way. The writer while riding on the plain near ancient Dan, was surprised to overtake an acquaintance from Beirut (3 days' journey away), who had just dismounted at one of his farms to inspect it and to receive the annual account of his farmer. The pride with which the husbandman pointed out the abundant harvest will not be forgotten. All the difficulties of the owner with his husbandmen described by Jesus are often repeated today.

Figurative: Jesus said "I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman" (Jn **15** 1). He sows, cultivates, prunes and expects fruits from His church. In the parable of the Householder (Mt **21** 33 ff), the wicked husbandmen were the Jews. The church is referred to as "God's husbandry" in 1 Cor **3** 9 (m "tilled land"). James A. Patch

HUSBAND'S BROTHER (יָבָם, *yābhām*, "brother-in-law"; ἐπιγαμβρεύω, *epigambreúō*; Late Lat *levir*): He was required (Dt **25** 5–10; Mt **22**

24) "to perform the duty of a husband's brother" (*yibb^{e}māh*); that is, if his brother, living with him on the paternal estate, died without male issue, he should take the widow to wife, and "raise up seed unto his brother," the firstborn of the new marriage inheriting the deceased brother's estate. Refusal of the duty was possible, but entailed public ceremonial disgrace and lasting reproach. This provision for a specific case modified the general law which forbade the marriage of a sister-in-law (Lev **18** 16. 18). It was a patriarchal custom (Gen **38**; Judah and Tamar), and is alluded to in Ruth **1** 11–13. A related custom is found in Ruth **4** 1, Boaz playing, however, the part, not of *levir* ("brother-in-law"), but of *gōʽēl* ("redeemer"). It was at least theoretically in force in Our Lord's time (Mt **22** 23–28; the question of the Sadducees concerning the resurrection). For the origin and object of this custom see Family; Marriage.

Philip Wendell Crannell

HUSHAH, hū'sha (חוּשָׁה, *ḥūshāh,* "haste"): Mentioned in 1 Ch **4** 4 as probably an individual, a Judahite, or a family name; but may possibly be a place.

HUSHAI, hū'shī, hū'shā-ī (חוּשַׁי, *ḥūshay,* **Χουσεί,** *Chouseí;* Jos, *Chousí*): An Archite, native of Archi or Erech(?), W. of Bethel on the northern border of Benjamin and southern border of Joseph (Josh **16** 2). Hushai was one of David's most faithful and wise counsellors. When David was fleeing from Jerus and Absalom, Hushai met him, having his coat rent and earth on his head. The king persuaded him to return to Jerus, feign submission to Absalom, and try to defeat the counsel of Ahithophel (2 S **15** 32 f). Whatever Absalom decided on, Hushai was to send word to David through two young men, sons of the priests Zadok and Abiathar (**15** 34–36). Hushai obeyed, and succeeded in persuading Absalom to adopt his counsel rather than that of Ahithophel (2 S **16** 16—**17** 14). He sent word to David of the nature of Ahithophel's counsel, and the king made good his escape that night across the Jordan. The result was the suicide of Ahithophel and the ultimate defeat and death of Absalom.

J. J. Reeve

HUSHAM, hū'sham (חֻשָׁם, *ḥushām,* Gen **36** 34; חוּשָׁם, *ḥūshām,* 1 Ch **1** 45–46, "alert"): According to the former reference, Husham was one of the kings of Edom, and according to the latter he was "of the land of the Temanites" and (1 Ch **1** 35 f) descended from Esau.

HUSHATHITE, hū'shath-īt (חוּשָׁתִי, *ḥūshāthī,* "a dweller in Hushah"?): The patronymic given in two forms, but probably of the same man, **Sibbeccai,** one of David's thirty heroes (2 S **21** 18; 1 Ch **11** 29; **20** 4; **27** 11), or **Mebunnai** as named in the ‖ passage (2 S **23** 27).

HUSHIM, hū'shim (חֻשִׁם, חֻשִׁים, חוּשִׁים, *ḥūshīm,* "hasters"):

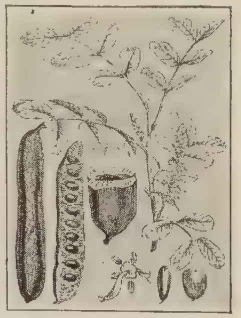
(1) Family name of the children of Dan (Gen **46** 23), but of form "Shuham" in Nu **26** 42.

(2) The sons of Aher, of the lineage of Benjamin (1 Ch **7** 12).

(3) One of the wives of Shaharaim, of the family of Benjamin (1 Ch **8** 8.11).

HUSHSHATHITE, hush'shath-īt (חֻשָׁתִי, *ḥushshāthī*). Same as Hushathite (q.v.), except in reduplicated form (1 Ch **27** 11; cf **11** 29, Heb pronunciation).

HUSKS, husks (**κεράτια,** *kerátia,* i.e. "little horns," Lk **15** 16): These are the pods of the carob tree (RVm), also called the locust tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*). This tree flourishes all over Pal, esp. on the western mountain slopes toward the sea; by the Arabs it is called *kharrûb.* It is dioecious, has dense, dark, evergreen foliage, glossy leaves and long, curved pods, like small horns (hence the name). These pods which are from 4 to 9 in. in length, have a leathery case containing a pulpy substance in which the beans are imbedded; this pulp is of a pleasant, sweetish flavor and has a characteristic odor, and is much loved by children. The pods are sold in the markets, both as cattle food and for the poor, who extract by boiling them a sweetish substance like molasses. The tradition that the "locusts" of Mt **3** 4; Mk **1** 6 were carob pods is preserved in the name given to them, "St. John's bread," but it has little to be said for it.



Carob Tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*).

E. W. G. Masterman

HUZ, huz (Gen **22** 21 AV). See Uz.

HUZZAB, huz'ab (הֻצַּב, *huççābh,* only in Nah **2** 7 AV and RVm): Its meaning is doubtful. According to Gesenius, it is a vb., Hoph. of צָבַב, *çābhabh,* "flow," hence to be rendered with preceding ver, "The palace is dissolved and made to flow down." Wordsworth made it Pual of נָצַב, *nāçabh,* "fix": "The palace is dissolved, though established." LXX renders with the next word, *hē hupóstasis apokalúphthē,* "The foundation [or treasure] is uncovered." AV, RVm and ARV text make it Hoph. of *nāçabh,* "fix," hence "It is decreed." Perhaps more probably, with AV and RV text and ARVm, it is a name, or noun with the article (or the corruption of such a word), referring either to the Assyr queen, or personifying Nineveh. No such queen is now known, but Assyriology may throw light. The "name" interpretation accords best with the general trend of the passage, which describes the discomfiture of a royal personage. *BDB* calls it "perhaps textual error." The Massoretic vocalization may be at fault.

Philip Wendell Crannell

HYACINTH, hī'a-sinth (**ὑάκινθος,** *huákinthos*): RV uses this word in Rev **9** 17 for AV "jacinth," with reference, not to stone, but to dark-purple color. In Rev **21** 20, where stone is meant, RV tr^{s} "sapphire."

HYADES, hī'a-dēz. See Astrology, II, 4.

HYDASPES, hī-das'pēz (**Ὑδάσπης,** *Hudáspēs*): A river mentioned in Jth **1** 6 in connection with the Euphrates and Tigris, but otherwise unknown. It is possible there may be a confusion with the Hydaspes of India. Some have conjectured an identity with the Choaspes.

HYENA, hī-ē'na (צָבוּעַ, *çābhū^{a}ʽ* [Jer **12** 9]; LXX **ὕαινη,** *huainē* [Jer **12** 9; Ecclus **13** 18]; cf Arab. ضَبْع or ضَبُع, *ḍabʽ* or *ḍabuʽ,* "hyaena"; cf צְבֹעִים, *ç^{e}bhōʽīm,* Zeboim [1 S **13** 18; Neh **11** 34]; also cf צִבְעוֹן, *çibhʽōn,* Zibeon [Gen **36** 2.14.20; 1 Ch **1** 38]; but not צְבֹיִים, *ç^{e}bhōyīm,* Zeboiim [Gen **10** 19; **14** 2, etc]): EV does not contain the word "hyena," except in Ecclus **13** 18, "What peace is there between the hyena and the dog? and what peace between the rich man and the poor?" In Jer **12** 9, where the Heb has *ha-ʿayiṭ çābhū*^{a}ʿ (RV "a speckled bird of prey"), LXX has σπήλαιον ὑαίνης, *spḗlaion huaínēs*, "a hyena's den," as if from a Heb original having *m*^{e}*ʿārāh*, "cave," instead of *ha-ʿayiṭ*, "bird." The root *çābhaʿ* may mean "to seize as prey" (cf Arab. *sebʿ*, "lion" or "rapacious animal"), or "to dip" or "to dye" (cf Arab. *ṣabagh*, "to dye"), hence the two tr^{s} of *çābhū*^{a}ʿ as "hyena" and as "speckled" (Vulg *versicolor*).

The hyena of Pal is the striped hyena (*Hyaena striata*) which ranges from India to North Africa. The striped, the spotted, and the brown hyenas constitute a distinct family of the order of Carnivora, having certain peculiarities of dentition and having four toes on each foot, instead of four behind and five in front, as in most of the order. The hyena is a nocturnal animal, rarely seen though fairly abundant, powerful but cowardly, a feeder on carrion and addicted to grave-robbing. The last habit in particular has won it the abhorrence of the natives of the countries which it inhabits. In the passage cited in Ecclus, it is to be noted that it is to the hyena that the rich man is compared. The jaws and teeth of the hyena are exceedingly strong and fitted for crushing bones which have resisted the efforts of dogs and jackals. Its dens are in desolate places and are littered with fragments of skeletons. "Is my heritage unto me as a speckled bird of prey?" (Jer **12** 9) becomes a more striking passage if the LXX is followed, "Is my heritage unto me as a hyena's den?"

Shaḳḳ-ud-Ḍibâʿ, "Cleft of the hyenas," is the name of a valley north of *Wâdi-ul-Ḳelt*, and *Wâdi-Abu-Dibâʿ* (of similar meaning) is the name of an affluent of *Wâdi-ul-Ḳelt*. Either of these, or possibly *Wâdi-ul-Ḳelt* itself, may be the valley of Zeboim (valley of hyenas) of 1 S **13** 18.

The name of Zibeon the Horite (Gen **36** 2, etc) is more doubtfully connected with "hyena."

ALFRED ELY DAY

HYMENAEUS, hī-men-ē'us (Ὑμέναιος, *Huménaios*, so named from Hymen, the god of marriage, **1** Tim **1** 20; 2 Tim **2** 17): A heretical teacher in Ephesus, an opponent of the apostle Paul, who in the former reference associates him with Alexander (see ALEXANDER), and in the latter, with Philetus (see PHILETUS).

1. His Career

It is worthy of notice that in both passages where these persons are mentioned, the name of Hymenaeus occurs first, showing, perhaps, that he was the leader. In the passage in 1 Tim Hymenaeus is included in the "some" who had put away faith and a good conscience and who had made shipwreck concerning faith. The apostle adds that he had delivered Hymenaeus and Alexander unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme.

2. His Denial of the Resurrection

In the passage in 2 Tim, Hymenaeus and Philetus are included among persons whose profane and vain babblings will increase unto more ungodliness, and whose word "will eat as doth a gangrene." The apostle declares that Hymenaeus and Philetus are of the number of such people as those just described, and he adds that those two persons "concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some." Then, for the guidance of Timothy, he goes on to say the seal upon the foundation of God is, "The Lord knoweth them that are his: and, Let every one that nameth the name of the Lord depart from unrighteousness." The inference intended is, that though Hymenaeus and Philetus had named the name of Christ, they did not depart from iniquity. There is no doubt in regard to the identity of this Hymenaeus with the person of the same name in 1 Tim. Accordingly, the facts mentioned in the two epistles must be placed together, viz. that though he had made a Christian profession by naming the name of Christ, yet he had not departed from iniquity, but by his profane teaching he proceeded unto more ungodliness, and that he had put away faith and a good conscience and had made shipwreck of faith.

The error, therefore, of Hymenaeus and his two companions would amount to this: They taught that "the resurrection is past already," that there shall be no bodily resurrection at all, but that all that resurrection means is that the soul awakes from sin. This awakening from sin had already taken place with themselves, so they held, and therefore there could be no day in the future when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God and shall come forth from the grave (Jn **5** 28).

3. Incipient Gnosticism

This teaching of Hymenaeus had been so far successful: it had "overthrown the faith of some" (2 Tim **2** 18). It is impossible to define exactly the full nature of this heresy, but what Paul says regarding it makes it evident that it was a form of incipient Gnosticism. This spiritualizing of the resurrection sprang from the idea of the necessarily evil nature of all material substance. This idea immediately led to the conclusion of the essentially evil nature of the human body, and that if man is to rise to his true nature, he must rid himself of the thraldom, not of sin, but of the body. This contempt for the body led to the denial of the resurrection in its literal sense; and all that Christ had taught on the subject was explained only, in an allegorical sense, of the resurrection of the soul from sin.

4. Overthrows Faith

Teaching of this kind is described by Paul as having effects similar to the "eating" caused by a gangrene. It is deadly; it overthrows Christian faith. If not destroyed, it would corrupt the community, for if there is no literal resurrection of the dead, then, as Paul shows in 1 Cor **15**, Christ is not raised; and if the literal resurrection of Christ is denied, Christian believers are yet in their sins, and the Christian religion is false.

5. Delivered unto Satan

The way in which the apostle dealt with these teachers, Hymenaeus and his companions, was not merely in the renewed assertion of the truth which they denied, but also by passing sentence upon these teachers—"whom I delivered unto Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme." In regard to the meaning of this sentence much difficulty of interpretation exists. Some understand it to mean simple excommunication from the church. But this seems quite inadequate to exhaust the meaning of the words employed by Paul. Others take it to signify the infliction of some bodily suffering or disease. This also is quite insufficient as an explanation. It seems that a person who was delivered unto Satan was cut off from all Christian privileges, he was "put away" from the body of Christian believers, and handed over to "the Satan," the Evil One in his most distinct personality (1 Cor **5** 2.5.13). Cf the cases of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts **5**), and of Elymas (Acts **13** 11).

It is important that the purpose of this terrible sentence should not be overlooked. The intention of the punishment was distinctly remedial. Both in the case of Hymenaeus and Alexander, and in that of the person dealt with in 1 Cor **5**, the intention was the attaining of an ultimate good. In 1 Cor it is "for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Similarly, Hymenaeus and Alexander are delivered unto Satan, not for their final perdition, but that they may be taught, through this terrible discipline—for such is the signification of the word which is tr^{d} "taught"—not to blaspheme. The purpose of this discipline, that they might learn *not to blaspheme*, shows the dreadful length of impiety and of railing at Christian truth to which Hymenaeus had gone.

6. The "Perverse Things" at Ephesus

In the history of Hymenaeus and his companions, and in their bold and anti-Christian teaching which had overthrown the faith of some, we cannot fail to see the fulfilment of what Paul had said many years previously, in his farewell address to the elders of the church in Ephesus: "I know that after my departing grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them" (Acts **20** 29 f). It was in the Ephesian church that Hymenaeus and Alexander and Philetus had arisen. The gangrene-like nature of their teaching has already been described.

JOHN RUTHERFURD

HYMN, him (**ὕμνος,** *húmnos*): In Col **3** 16; Eph **5** 19 St. Paul bids his readers sing "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." Gregory of Nyssa (4th cent.) distinguishes these as follows: the Pss were accompanied by instruments, the hymns were mainly vocal, and the song, ode, was a general term comprehending both. This distinction might suggest that the psalm belonged especially to the public worship of the church, while the hymn was the production, more or less spontaneous, of the individual member. The inference is, however, inconsistent with 1 Cor **14** 26, and it is probable that in the apostolic age, at least, the terms were used indiscriminately. Of Christian psalms or hymns we have examples in the NT. Lk **1** and **2** contain such hymns in the songs of Mary, Zacharias and Simeon. The Apocalypse is studded with hymns or odes, many of them quite general in character, and probably borrowed or adapted from Jewish books of praise. In the Epp. of Paul, esp. the later ones, fragments of hymns seem to be quoted. Lightfoot detects one in Eph **5** 14, and others readily suggest themselves.

It is probable that the hymn mentioned as having been sung by Jesus and the disciples after the Passover (Mt **26** 30; Mk **14** 26) was the second part of the *Hallel*, i.e. Pss **115–18,** and the hymns of Paul and Silas were most likely also taken from the Psalter. But the practice of interpolating and altering Jewish non-canonical books, like the Psalter of Solomon and the recently discovered Odes of Solomon, shows that the early Christians adopted for devotional purposes the rich store of sacred poetry possessed by their nation. For the music to which these psalms, etc, were sung, see MUSIC; SONG.

JAMES MILLAR

HYPOCRISY, hi-pok′ri-si, **HYPOCRITE,** hip′ō-krit (חֹנֶף, *ḥōneph*, חָנֵף, *ḥānēph;* **ὑπόκρισις,** *hupókrisis*, **ὑποκριτής,** *hupokritḗs*):

(1) "Hypocrisy" occurs only once in the OT as the tr of *ḥōneph* (Isa **32** 6, RV "profaneness"); *ḥānēph*, from which it is derived, means properly "to cover," "to hide," or "becloud," hence to pollute, to be polluted or defiled, to make profane, to seduce; as a subst. it is trd "hypocrite" (Job **8** 13; **13** 16; **15** 34; **17** 8; **20** 5; **27** 8; **34** 30; **36** 13, in all which instances RV has "godless man," "godless men," "godless"; Prov **11** 9, RV "the godless man"; Isa **9** 17, RV "profane"; Isa **33** 14, RV "the godless ones"); it is rendered "hypocritical," in Ps **35** 16; Isa **10** 6, RV "profane."

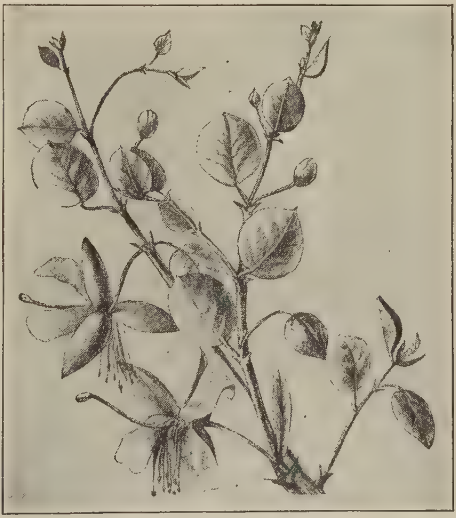
(2) "Hypocrisy," "hypocrite" are frequent in the NT, chiefly in Christ's discourses in the Gospels. The word *hupokrisis* (primarily, "an answer," "response") meant generally, in classical Gr, stage-playing, acting, the histrionic art; hence it came to mean *acting a part in life*, etc. We find *hupokrisis* in this sense in 2 Macc **6** 25, RV "dissimulation," and *hupokrínomai*, "to pretend," "to feign," etc. Ecclus **1** 29; **32** 15; **33** 2, trd "hypocrite"; 2 Macc **5** 25, "pretending peace," RV "playing the man of peace"; **6** 21, RV "to make as if." *Hupokritēs* (lit. "an actor") is the LXX for *ḥānēph* (Job **34** 30; **36** 13), equivalent to bad, wicked, godless, which is perhaps included in some of Our Lord's uses of the words, e.g. Mt **23** 27 f, "full of hypocrisy and iniquity" (cf vs 29 f; **24** 51); but, in general, the meaning is acting a part, false, deceptive and deceived, formally and outwardly religious and good, but inwardly insincere and unrighteous; the hypocrite may come to deceive himself as well as others, but "the hypocrite's hope shall perish" (Job **8** 13 AV). On no class did Our Lord pronounce such severe condemnation as on the hypocrites of His day.

"Hypocrisy" (*hupokrisis*) occurs in Mt **23** 28; Mk **12** 15; Lk **12** 1; 1 Tim **4** 2; 1 Pet **2** 1 (in Gal **2** 13 it is rendered "dissimulation"); "hypocrite" (*hupokritēs*), Mt **6** 2.5.16; **7** 5; **15** 7; **22** 18; **23** 13.15.23. 25 ff.29; **24** 51; Mk **7** 6; Lk **12** 56; **13** 15; in Jas **3** 17, *anupókritos* is "without hypocrisy," so RV, Rom **12** 9 ("unfeigned," 2 Cor **6** 6; 1 Tim **1** 5; 2 Tim **1** 5; 1 Pet **1** 22).

W. L. WALKER

HYRCANUS, hẽr-kā′nus (**Ὑρκανός,** *Hurkanós*): "Son of Tobias, a man of great dignity," who had a large sum of money deposited in the Temple of Jerus when Heliodorus was sent to confiscate it in 187 BC (2 Macc **3** 11 ff). Opinions differ as to the identity of this H. with the grandson of Tobias whose birth and history are related at considerable length by Jos (*Ant*, XII, iv, 6 ff), or with another of the same name mentioned in *Ant*, XIII, viii, 4. See ASMONEANS; MACCABAEUS.

HYSSOP, his′up (אֵזוֹב, *'ēzōbh;* **ὕσσωπος,** *hússōpos*, Ex **12** 22; Lev **14** 4.6.49 ff; Nu **19** 6.18; 1 K **4** 33; Ps **51** 7; Jn **19** 29; He **9** 19): A plant used for ritual cleansing purposes; a humble plant springing out of the wall (1 K **4** 33), the extreme contrast to the cedar.



Caper (*Capparis spinosa*).

The common hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis*) of the N.O. *Labiatae*, an aromatic plant with stomatic properties, cannot be the hyssop of the Bible as it is unknown in Pal, but allied aromatic plants of the same N.O. have by Maimonides (*Neg.* xiv.6) and other Jewish writers been identified with it. Probably hyssop is identical with the Arab. *zaʽtār*, a name applied to a group of aromatic plants of the genus marjoram and thyme. They would any of them furnish a bunch suitable for sprinkling, and they have the important recommendation that they grow everywhere, being found even in the desert. Post thinks of all varieties the *Origanum maru*, a special variety of marjoram which favors terrace walls and rocks, is the most probable.

The proposal (Royle, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, VII, 193–213) to identify the caper (*Capparis spinosa*) with hyssop, which has been popularized by the works of Tristram, has not much to recommend it. It is true that the caper is very commonly seen growing out of walls all over Pal (1 K **4** 33), but in no other respect is it suitable to the requirements of the Bib. references. The supposed similarity between the Arab. *'aṣaf* ("caper") and the Heb *'ēzōbh* is fanciful; the caper with its stiff, prickly stems and smooth, flat leaves would not furnish a bunch for sprinkling as serviceable as many species of *zaʽtar*. It has been specially urged that the hyssop suits the conditions of Jn **19** 29, it being maintained that a stem of caper would make a good object on which to raise the "sponge full of vinegar" to the Saviour's face, the equivalent of the "reed" of Mt **27** 48; Mk **15** 36. For such a purpose the flexible, prickly stems of the hyssop would be most unsuitable; indeed, it would be no easy matter to find one of sufficient length. It is necessary to suppose either that a bunch of hyssop accompanied the sponge with the vinegar upon the reed, or, as has been proposed by several writers (for references see art. "Hyssop," *EB*), that *hussôpō* is a corruption of *hussô*, "javelin," and that the passage should read "They put a sponge full of vinegar upon a javelin." E. W. G. Masterman

I

I, I AM, I AM THAT I AM. See God, Names of.

I WILL BE. See God, Names of.

IACIMUS, ī-as′i-mus. See Alcimus.

IACUBUS, ī-ak′ū-bus (**'Ιακοῦβος,** *Iakoúbos;* 1 Esd **9** 48): "Akkub" in Neh **8** 7.

IADINUS, ī-ad′i-nus (**'Ιάδεινος,** *Iádeinos;* 1 Esd **9** 48, AV **Adinus**): Same as Jamin of Neh **8** 7.

IBHAR, ib′här (יִבְחָר, *yibhḥār*, "He [God] chooses"; in S, B, **'Εβεάρ,** *Ebeár*, in Ch, B, **Βαάρ,** *Baár*, A, **'Ιεβαάρ,** *Iebaár*): One of David's sons, born at Jerus; son of a wife and not of a concubine (1 Ch **3** 6; 2 S **5** 15); otherwise unknown. His name in all three lists follows Solomon's. In Peshiṭṭa', "Juchabar."

IBIS, ī′bis. In Isa **34** 11, *yanshōph*, which is rendered "owl," apparently indicates the sacred ibis (*Ibis religiosa*). The LXX gives *eíbis* and Vulg *ibis;* RVm "bittern." See Owl.

IBLEAM, ib′lē-am (יִבְלְעָם, *yibhlᵉʽām*); A town in the territory of Issachar which was assigned to Manasseh (Josh **17** 11). This tribe, however, failed to expel the inhabitants, so the Canaanites continued to dwell in that land (Jgs **1** 27). It was on the route by which Ahaziah fled from Jehu. He was overtaken and mortally wounded "at the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam" (2 K **9** 27). The name appears as Bileam in 1 Ch **6** 70; and it probably corresponds to Belmen of Jth. It is now represented by the ruin of *Belʽāmeh* on the W. of the valley through which the road to the south runs, about half a mile from *Jenīn*. In 2 K **15** 10, where it is said that Zechariah the son of Jeroboam was slain by Shallum "before the people," this last phrase, which is awkward in the Heb, should be amended to read "in Bileam." Possibly "Gath-rimmon" in Josh **21** 25 is a clerical error for "Ibleam." W. Ewing

IBNEIAH, ib-nē′ya (יִבְנְיָה, *yibhnᵉyāh*, "Jeh buildeth up"): A Benjamite, son of Jeroham (1 Ch **9** 8).

IBNIJAH, ib-nī′ja (יִבְנִיָּה, *yibhnīyāh*, or יִבְנְיָה, *yibhnᵉyāh*, "Jeh buildeth up"): A Benjamite, father of Reuel (1 Ch **9** 8).

IBRI, ib′rī (עִבְרִי, *ʽibhrī*, "a Hebrew"): A Merarite Levite, son of Jaaziah (1 Ch **24** 27).

IBSAM, ib′sam (יִבְשָׂם, *yibhsām*, "fragrant," AV **Jibsam**): Descendant of Issachar, family of Tolah (1 Ch **7** 2).

IBZAN, ib′zan (אִבְצָן, *'ibhçān*): The 10th judge of Israel. His city is given as Bethlehem (whether of Judah or Zebulun is not stated). He judged Israel 7 years, and when he died he was buried in his native place. The only personal details given about him in the Bib. narrative are that he had 30 sons and a like number of daughters. He sent all of his sons "abroad" for wives and brought husbands from "abroad" for all his daughters. The exact meaning of *ha-ḥūç*, "abroad," is mere matter of speculation, but the great social importance of the man and, possibly, alliances among tribes, are suggested in the brief narrative (Jgs **12** 8–10). Jewish tradition identifies Ibzan with Boaz of Bethlehem-Judah (Talm, *Bābhā'*, *Bathrā'*, **91***a*). Ella Davis Isaacs

ICE, īs (קֶרַח, *ḳeraḥ*): Ice is almost unknown in Pal and Syria except on the highest mountains. At moderate heights of less than 4,000 ft. a little ice may form during the night in winter, but the warm rays of the sun melt it the next day. A great quantity of snow is packed away in caves in the mountains during the winter, and is thus preserved for use in the summer months. The word is found in the Bible in three places where it describes God's power. "Out of whose womb came the ice? And the . . . . frost" (Job **38** 29); "By the breath of God ice is given" (**37** 10); "He casteth forth his ice like morsels" (Ps **147** 17).

Figurative: Untrue friends are compared to streams "which are black by reason of the ice" (Job **6** 16). Alfred H. Joy

ICHABOD, ik′a-bod, ī′ka-bod (אִי־כָבוֹד, *'ī-khābhōdh*, "inglorious"; B, **οὐαὶ βαρχαβώθ,** *ouaí barchabōth*, A, **οὐαὶ χαβώθ,** *ouaí chabōth*, **"Ατιμος,** *Átimos*): Son of Phinehas, Eli's son, slain at the battle of Aphek when the ark was taken. Ichabod was born after his father's death. His mother gave him this name on her death-bed to indicate that the "glory [had] departed from Israel" (1 S **4** 19 ff). He was thus important as a symbol, though little is recorded of him as an individual. His nephew Ahijah was one of those who tarried with Saul and the six hundred at Gibeah just before Jonathan's brave attack upon the Philis (1 S **14** 2 f). Henry Wallace

ICONIUM, ī-kō′ni-um (**'Ικόνιον,** *Ikónion*, also **Εἰκόνιον,** *Eikónion*, on inscriptions): Iconium was visited by St. Paul on his first and on his second missionary journey (Acts **13** 51 ff; **16** 2 ff), and if the "South Galatian theory" be correct, probably also on his third journey. His sufferings there are referred to in 2 Tim **3** 11.

The topographical position of Iconium is clearly indicated in Acts, and the evidence of Acts has been confirmed by recent research.

1. Topographical Position Was Iconium in Phrygia or in Lycaonia, and in what sense can it be said to have belonged to one ethnical division or the other? The majority of our ancient authorities (e.g. Cicero, Strabo, Pliny), writing from the point of view of Rom provincial administration, give Iconium to Lycaonia, of which geography makes it the natural capital. But Xenophon, who marched with Cyrus' expedition through Phrygia into Lycaonia, calls Iconium the last city of Phrygia. The writer of Acts **14** 6 makes the same statement when he represents St. Paul and St. Barnabas as fleeing from Iconium to the cities of Lycaonia—implying that the border of Phrygia and Lycaonia passed between Iconium and Lystra, 18 miles to the S. Other ancient authorities who knew the local conditions well speak of Iconium as Phrygian until far into the Rom imperial period. At the neighboring city of Lystra (Acts **14** 11), the natives used the "speech of Lycaonia." Two inscriptions in the Phrygian language found at Iconium in 1910 prove that the Phrygian language was in use there for 2 centuries after St. Paul's visits, and afford confirmation of the interesting topographical detail in Acts (see *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, 1911, 189).

In the apostolic period, Iconium was one of the chief cities in the southern part of the Rom province

2. In Apostolic Period Galatia, and it probably belonged to the "Phrygian region" mentioned in Acts **16** 6. The emperor Claudius conferred on it the title Claudiconium, which appears on coins of the city and on inscriptions, and was formerly taken as a proof that Claudius raised the city to the rank of a Rom *colonia.* It was Hadrian who raised the city to colonial rank; this is proved by its new title, *Colonia Aelia Hadriana Iconiensium*, and by a recently discovered inscription, which belongs to the reign of Hadrian, and which mentions the first *duumvir* who was appointed in the new *colonia.* Iconium was still a Hellenic city, but with a strong pro-Rom bias (as proved by its title "Claudian") when St. Paul visited it.

About 295 AD, an enlarged province, Pisidia, was formed, with Antioch as capital, and Iconium

3. Later History as a "sort of secondary metropolis." The Byzantine arrangement, familiar to us in the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*, under which Iconium was the capital of a province Lycaonia, dates from about 372 AD. Iconium, the modern Konia, has always been the main trading center of the Lycaonian Plain. Trade attracted Jews to the ancient Phrygio-Hellenic city (Acts **14** 1), as it attracts Greeks and Armenians to the modern Turkish town.

4. St. Thekla St. Paul's experiences at Iconium form part of the theme of the semihistorical legend of St. Thekla, on which see Professor Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire*, 380 ff.

Literature.—Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. on Paul's Ep. to the Gal*, 214 ff; *Cities of St. Paul*, 317 ff. To the lit. referred to in the notes to the latter book (pp. 448 ff) add *Ath. Mitth.*, 1905, 324 ff; *Revue de Philologie*, 1912, 48 ff; *Jour. Hellenic Studies*, 1911, 188 ff.

W. M. Calder

IDALAH, id′a-la, i-dā′la (יִדְאֲלָה, *yidh'ălāh*): A town in the territory of Zebulun, named with Shimron and Beth-lehem (Josh **19** 15). The Talm identifies it with *Ḥuryēh* (Talm Jerus on *Meghgh.*, I, 1). This, Conder thinks, may be represented by the modern *Khirbet el-Ḥuwāra* to the S. of *Beit Laḥm.*

IDBASH, id′bash (יִדְבָּשׁ, *yidhbāsh*, "honey-sweet"[?]): A man of Judah, one of the sons of the father of Etam (1 Ch **4** 3; LXX "sons of Etam").

IDDO, id′ō:

(1) (אִדּוֹ, *'iddō* [? אָדַד, *'ādhadh*, "to be strong"], "hap," "happy" [?], Ezr **8** 17): The "chief at the place Casiphia," who provided Ezra with Levites and Nethinim, the head of the Levitical body or school, said to be one of the Nethinim or temple slaves, but perhaps an "and" has slipped out, and it should read: "his brethren *and* the Nethinim." 1 Esd **8** 45.46 has "Loddeus [AV "Saddeus"], the captain who was in the place of the treasury," *keṣeph* meaning silver. LXX has "in the place of the silver [ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου, *en arguríō toú tópou*] . . . . to his brethren and to the treasurers."

(2) (יִדּוֹ, *yiddō*, "beloved," or "loving," 1 Ch **27** 21): Son of Zechariah, and captain of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Gilead, under David.

(3) (יִדּוֹ, *yiddō*, "beloved," or "loving," Ezr **10** 43): One of those who had taken foreign wives. Another reading is Jaddai, AV "Jadau." In 1 Esd **9** 35 "Edos" (AV "Edes").

(4) (עִדֹּא, *'iddō'*, "timely," 1 K **4** 14): Father of Abinadab, Solomon's commissary in Mahanaim in Gilead.

(5) (יִדּוֹ, *yiddō*, "beloved," or "loving," 1 Ch **6** 21): A Gershomite Levite, son of Joah, called Adaiah in ver 41; ancestor of Asaph.

(6) (יֶעְדּוֹ, *ye'dō* [Kethībh יֶעְדִּי, *ye'dī*], or עִדּוֹ, *'iddō*, "decked," "adorned"): Seer (*ḥōzeh*) and prophet (*nābhi*), the Chronicler's "source" for the reign of Solomon (2 Ch **9** 29): "The visions of Iddo the seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat"; and for the reign of Rehoboam (2 Ch **12** 15): "The histories of Iddo [עִדּוֹ, *'iddō*] the seer, after the manner of [or, "in reckoning"] genealogies"; and for the reign of Abijah (2 Ch **13** 22): "The commentary [*midhrash*] of the prophet Iddo" (עִדּוֹ, *'iddō*). He may have been the prophet who denounced Jeroboam (1 K **13**), who is called by Jos and Jerome Jadon, or Jaddo. Jerome makes Iddo and Oded the same.

(7) (עִדּוֹ, *'iddō*, "timely," Zec **1** 1): Grandfather (father, according to Ezra) of the prophet Zechariah. See also Zec **1** 7; Ezr **5** 1; **6** 14 (עִדּוֹא, *'iddō'*). In 1 Esd **6** 1, "Addo."

(8) (עִדּוֹא, *'iddō'*, "decked," "adorned," Neh **12** 4.16): A priest who went up with Zerubbabel (ver 4); one of the priestly clans which went up (ver 16); perhaps same as (7).

Philip Wendell Crannell

IDLE, ī′d'l, **IDLENESS**, ī′d'l-nes: Both words, adj. and noun, render different Heb words (from עָצֵל, *'āçēl*, "to be lazy," רָפָה, *rāphāh*, "to relax," and שָׁקַט, *shāḳaṭ*, "to be quiet"). According to the Yahwistic narrative Pharaoh's retort to the complaints of the Israelites was a charge of indolence (Ex **5** 8.17). It was a favorite thought of Heb wisdom—practical philosophy of life—that indolence inevitably led to poverty and want (Prov **19** 15; Eccl **10** 18). The "virtuous woman" was one who would not eat the "bread of idleness" (Prov **31** 27). In Ezk **16** 49 for AV "abundance of idleness," RV has "prosperous ease." In the NT "idle" generally renders the Gr word ἀργός, *argós*, lit. "inactive," "useless" (Mt **20** 3.6). In Lk **24** 11 "idle talk" corresponds to one Gr word which means "empty gossip" or "nonsensical talk."

T. Lewis

IDOLATRY, ī-dol′a-tri (תְּרָפִים, *terāphīm*, "household idols," "idolatry"; εἰδωλολατρεία, *eidōlola-*

treía): There is ever in the human mind a craving for visible forms to express religious conceptions, and this tendency does not disappear with the acceptance, or even with the constant recognition, of pure spiritual truths (see IMAGES). Idolatry originally meant the worship of idols, or the worship of false gods by means of idols, but came to mean among the OT Hebrews any worship of false gods, whether by images or otherwise, and finally the worship of Jeh through visible symbols (Hos **8** 5.6; **10** 5); and ultimately in the NT idolatry came to mean, not only the giving to any creature or human creation the honor or devotion which belonged to God alone, but the giving to any human desire a precedence over God's will (1 Cor **10** 14; Gal **5** 20; Col **3** 5; 1 Pet **4** 3). The neighboring gods of Phoenicia, Canaan, Moab—Baal, Melkart, Astarte, Chemosh, Moloch, etc—were particularly attractive to Jerus, while the old Sem calf-worship seriously affected the state religion of the Northern Kingdom (see GOLDEN CALF). As early as the Assyr and Bab periods (8th and 7th cents. BC), various deities from the Tigris and Euphrates had intruded themselves—the worship of Tammuz becoming a little later the most popular and seductive of all (Ezk **8** 14)—while the worship of the sun, moon, stars and signs of the Zodiac became so intensely fascinating that these were introduced even into the temple itself (2 K **17** 16; **21** 3–7; **23** 4.12; Jer **19** 13; Ezk **8** 16; Am **5** 26).

The special enticements to idolatry as offered by these various cults were found in their deification of natural forces and their appeal to primitive human desires, esp. the sexual; also through associations produced by intermarriage and through the appeal to patriotism, when the help of some cruel deity was sought in time of war. Baal and Astarte worship, which was esp. attractive, was closely associated with fornication and drunkenness (Am **2** 7.8; cf 1 K **14** 23 f), and also appealed greatly to magic and soothsaying (e.g. Isa **2** 6; **3** 2; **8** 19).

Sacrifices to the idols were offered by fire (Hos **4** 13); libations were poured out (Isa **57** 6; Jer **7** 18); the first-fruits of the earth and tithes were presented (Hos **2** 8); tables of food were set before them (Isa **65** 11); the worshippers kissed the idols or threw them kisses (1 K **19** 18; Hos **13** 2; Job **31** 27); stretched out their hands in adoration (Isa **44** 20); knelt or prostrated themselves before them and sometimes danced about the altar, gashing themselves with knives (1 K **18** 26.28; for a fuller summary see *EB*).

Even earlier than the Bab exile the Heb prophets taught that Jeh was not only superior to all other gods, but reigned alone as God, other deities being nonentities (Lev **19** 4; Isa **2** 8.18.20; **19** 1.3; **31** 7; **44** 9–20). The severe satire of this period proves that the former fear of living demons supposed to inhabit the idols had disappeared. These prophets also taught that the temple, ark and sacrifices were not essential to true spiritual worship (e.g. Jer **3** 16; Am **5** 21–25). These prophecies produced a strong reaction against the previously popular idol-worship, though later indications of this worship are not infrequent (Ezk **14** 1–8; Isa **42** 17). The Maccabean epoch placed national heroism plainly on the side of the one God, Jeh; and although Gr and Egyp idols were worshipped in Gaza and Ascalon and other half-heathen communities clear down to the 5th or 6th cent. of the Christian era, yet in orthodox centers like Jerus these were despised and repudiated utterly from the 2d cent. BC onward. See also GOLDEN CALF; GODS; IMAGES; TERAPHIM.

LITERATURE.—Wm. Wake, *A Discourse concerning the Nature of Idolatry*, 1688; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites;* E. B. Tylor, *Prim. Culture;* J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (3 vols); L. R. Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, 1905; Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte;* Baethgen, *Der Gott Israels u. die Götter der Heiden*, 1888.

CAMDEN M. COBERN

IDUEL, id'ū-el (**'Ιδουῆλος,** *Idouēlos*): 1 Esd **8** 43, EVm "ARIEL" (q.v.).

IDUMAEA, id-ū-mē'a, **IDUMAEANS,** id-ū-mē'-anz. See EDOM.

IEDDIAS, yed-ī'as, ī-ed-ī'as, AV **Eddias** (**'Ιεδδίας,** *Ieddías*): One who agreed to put away his foreign wife (1 Esd **9** 26); called also "Jezeias."

IEZER, ī-ē'zẽr, **IEZERITES,** ī-ē'zẽr-īts (אִיעֶזֶר, *'ī'ezer*, Nu **26** 30): Contracted from ABIEZER (Josh **17** 2, etc) (q.v.).

IGAL, ī'gal (יִגְאָל, *yigh'āl*, "he [God] redeems"; LXX variously **'Ιγάλ,** *Igál*, **Γαάλ,** *Gaál*, **'Ιωήλ,** *Iōēl*):

(1) One of the twelve spies sent by Moses from the wilderness of Paran; son of Joseph, tribe of Issachar (Nu **13** 7).

(2) One of David's heroes, son of Nathan of Zobah (2 S **23** 36). In 1 Ch **11** 38 he is "Joel [יוֹאֵל, *yō'ēl*], the brother of Nathan."

(3) Son of Shemaiah of the royal house of David, descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch **3** 22, AV "Igeal").

IGDALIAH, ig-da-lī'a (יִגְדַּלְיָהוּ, *yighdalyāhū*, "Jeh is great"): Ancestor of certain persons who had a "chamber" in the temple in Jeremiah's time (Jer **35** 4).

IGEAL, ī'gē-al, ī'jē-al (יִגְאָל, *yigh'āl*, "he [i.e. God] redeems"): A remote descendant of David (1 Ch **3** 22, RV "Igal").

IGNORANCE, ig'nō-rans (שְׁגָגָה, *sh^{e}ghāghāh;* **ἄγνοια,** *ágnoia*): "Ignorance" is the tr of *sh^{e}ghāghāh*, "wandering," "going astray" (Lev **4** 2, etc, "if a soul sin through ignorance," RV "unwittingly," m "through error"; **5** 15; Nu **15** 24 ff; cf **35** 11; Josh **20** 3 ff; Eccl **5** 6; **10** 5, "an error"). In the Law *sh^{e}ghāghāh* means "innocent error," such as had to be taken with consideration in judgment (see passages referred to). "Ignorance" is also expressed by the negative *lō'* with *yādha'*, "to know" (Isa **56** 10; **63** 16; Ps **73** 22); also by *bi-bh^{e}lī da'ath*, lit. "in want of knowledge" (Dt **19** 4; cf **4** 12; Josh **20** 5, tr^d "unawares," "unwittingly").

In the NT the words are *agnoia*, "absence of knowledge" (Acts **3** 17; **17** 30; Eph **4** 18; 1 Pet **1** 14); *agnóēma*, "error" (He **9** 7, RVm "Gr ignorances"); *agnōsía*, "ignorance" (1 Pet **2** 15), "no knowledge" (1 Cor **15** 34 RV); *agnoéō*, "to be without knowledge," "ignorant" (Rom **1** 13; **10** 3; **11** 25, etc), "not knowing" (Rom **2** 4, etc), "understood not" (Mk **9** 32, etc), "ignorantly" (Acts **17** 23, RV "in ignorance"; 1 Tim **1** 13); *idiōtēs*, tr^d "ignorant" (Acts **4** 13), "unlearned" (1 Cor **14** 16, RVm "him that is without gifts," and so in vs 23.24), "rude" (2 Cor **11** 6); *agrámmatos*, once only in connection with *idiōtēs* (Acts **4** 13, "unlearned and ignorant men"); *agrammatos* corresponds to modern "illiterate" (cf Jn **7** 15; Acts **26** 24); *idiōtēs* originally denoted "the private man" as distinguished from those with a knowledge of affairs, and took on the idea of contempt and scorn. In Philo it denoted the whole congregation of Israel as distinguished from the priests (*De Vita Mosis*, III, 29). With Paul (1 Cor **14** 16.23.24) it seems to denote "plain believers as distinguished from those with special spiritual gifts." In Acts **4** 13 it may refer to the want of *Jewish* learning; certainly it does not mean *ignorant* in the modern sense.

Paul in Rom **1** 18.32 attributes the pre-Christian ignorance of God to "the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hinder the truth in unrighteousness" (but m has, with AV, "*hold* the truth, cf 1 Cor **7** 30, Gr"); many, however (Alford, De Wette, Meyer and others), tr "hold back the truth." A wilful ignorance is also referred to in Eph **4** 17 f; 2 Pet **3** 5. But there is also a less blameworthy ignorance. Paul at Athens spoke of "times of ignorance" which God had "overlooked" (Acts **17** 30); Paul says of himself that he "obtained mercy, because [he] did it [against Christ] ignorantly in unbelief" (1 Tim **1** 13); Peter said to the Jews (Acts **3** 17) that they and their rulers rejected Christ "in ignorance" (cf 1 Cor **2** 8); and Jesus Himself prayed for those who crucified Him: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do"; (Lk **23** 34); in He **5** 2 the necessary qualification of a high priest is that he "can bear gently with the ignorant and erring"—those who sin in ignorance or go astray (cf **9** 7, "blood, which he offereth for himself, and for the errors of the people," m "Gr ignorances"). Growing light, however, brings with it increasing responsibility, and the "ignorance" that may be "overlooked" at one stage of the history of men and nations may be blameworthy and even criminal at another. W. L. WALKER

IIM, ī′im (עִיִּים, *ʽīyīm*): Same as IYIM (q.v.).

IJE-ABARIM, ī-jḗ-ab′a-rim. See IYE-ABARIM.

IJON, ī′jon (עִיּוֹן, *ʽīyōn;* LXX in K has **Ἀίν,** *Aín,* or **Ναίν,** *Naín;* in Ch **Ἰώ,** *Iṓ;* **Αἰών,** *Aiṓn*): A town in the territory of Naphtali, first mentioned in connection with the invasion of Ben-hadad, in the reign of Baasha. It was captured along with Dan and Abel-beth-maacah (1 K **15** 20; 2 Ch **16** 4). It shared with these cities a similar fate at the hands of Tiglath-pileser in the reign of Pekah (2 K **15** 29). The name survives in that of *Merj Aʽyūn,* "meadow of springs," a rich, oval-shaped plain to the N.W. of *Tell el Ḳāḍy,* where the *Liṭāny* turns sharply westward to the sea. The ancient city may be represented by *Tell Dibbīn,* an important site to the N. of the plain. W. EWING

IKKESH, ik′esh (עִקֵּשׁ, *ʽiḳḳēsh,* "crooked"): A Tekoite, father of Ira, one of David's "thirty" (2 S **23** 26; 1 Ch **11** 28; **27** 9).

ILAI, ī′lā̇-ī, ī′lī (עִילַי, *ʽīlay*): A mighty man of David (1 Ch **11** 29); called Zalmon in 2 S **23** 28.

ILIADUN, i-lī′a-dun, il′i-ad-un (**Ἐλιαδούν,** *Eliadoún,* 1 Esd **5** 58; AV **Eleadun**): Possibly corresponding to Henadad in Ezr **3** 9.

ILL, il, **ILL-FAVORED,** il-fā′vẽrd. See EVIL-FAVOREDNESS.

ILLUMINATION, i-lū-mi-nā′shun: He **10** 32 AV, only, "the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated [RV "enlightened"], ye endured a great fight of afflictions." The vb. is *φωτίζω, phōtízō,* rendered in **6** 4 by "enlightened" and in both passages (and not elsewhere in the NT) being used to describe complete conversion. The vb., indeed, is used in such a technical way that Syr VSS render by "baptized," and it is not perhaps impossible that the author of He had baptism definitely in mind. (In the early church baptism is frequently described as "illumination," e.g. Justin, *Apol.,* i.61.) But this probably would go too far; the most that can be said is that he means the state of mind of a full Christian and not that of a catechumen (cf also Bar **4** 2 AV; Sir **25** 11). BURTON SCOTT EASTON

ILLUSTRIOUS, i-lus′tri-us, **THE** (**θαυμαστός,** *thaumastós*): A title of rank and merit attached to the name of Bartacus, the father of Apame (1 Esd **4** 29, AV "the admirable). Instead of "the illustrious" we should possibly read "colonel" (*Ant,* XI, iii, 5; *EB,* s.v.). See BARTACUS; APAME.

ILLYRICUM, i-lir′i-kum (**Ἰλλυρικόν,** *Illurikón*): A province of the Rom Empire, lying E. and N.E. of the Adriatic Sea. In his Ep. to the Rom Paul emphasizes the extent of his missionary activities in the assertion that "from Jerus, and round about even unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ" (**15** 19). An examination of this statement involves three questions: What is the force of the preposition "even unto" (*μέχρι, méchri*)? What meaning is borne by the word Illyricum? and, At what period of his missionary career did Paul reach the limit here spoken of?

1. Force of "even unto"

In Gr, as in Eng., the preposition "unto" may either be exclusive or inclusive. In other words, Paul may mean that he has preached throughout Macedonia as far as the Illyrian frontier, or his words may involve a journey within Illyricum itself, extending perhaps to Dyrrhachium (mod. *Durazzo*) on the Adriatic seaboard, which, though belonging politically to Macedonia, lay in "Gr Illyria." But since no word is said in the Acts of any extension of Paul's travels beyond the confines of Macedonia, and since the phrase, "I have fully preached," precludes a reference to a hurried or cursory tour in Illyricum, we should probably take the word "unto" in its exclusive sense, and understand that Paul claims to have evangelized Macedonia as far as the frontier of Illyricum.

2. Meaning of "Illyricum"

What, then, does the word "Illyricum" denote? It is sometimes used, like the Gr terms Illyris and Illyria, to signify a vast area lying between the Danube on the N. and Macedonia and Thrace on the S., extending from the Adriatic and the Alps to the Black Sea, and inhabited by a number of warlike and semi-civilized tribes known to the Greeks under the general title of Illyrians (Appian, *Illyr.* 1; Suetonius, *Tiberius,* 16); it thus comprised the provinces of Illyricum (in the narrower sense), Pannonia and Moesia, which for certain financial and military purposes formed a single administrative area, together with a strip of coast land between Dalmatia and Epirus and, at a later date, Dacia. Appian (*Illyr.* 6) even extends the term to include Raetia and Noricum, but in this he appears to be in error. But Illyricum has also a narrower and more precise meaning, denoting a single Roman province, which varied in extent with the advance of the Roman conquest but was finally organized in 10 AD by the emperor Augustus. At first it bore the name *superior provincia Illyricum* or simply *Illyricum;* later it came to be known as Dalmatia (Tac. *Annals,* iv.5; Jos, *BJ,* II, xvi; Dio Cassius, xlix.36, etc). In accordance with Paul's habitual usage of such terms, together with the fact that he employs a Gr form which is a transliteration of the Lat Illyricum but does not occur in any other extant Gr writer, and the fact that he is here writing to the church at Rome, we may conclude that in Rom **15** 19 Illyricum bears its more restricted meaning.

3. Relation to Rome

The Romans waged two Illyrian wars: in 229–228 BC and in 219 BC, but no province was formed until 167, when, after the fall of the Macedonian power, Illyria received its provincial constitution (Livy, xlv.26). At this time it extended from the Drilo (mod. *Drin*) to Dalmatia, which was gradually subjugated by Rom arms. In 59 BC Julius Caesar received as his province Illyricum and Gaul, and later Octavian and his generals, Asinius Pollio and Statilius Taurus, waged war there with such success that in 27 BC, at the partition of the provinces between Augustus and the Senate, Illyricum was regarded as wholly pacified and was assigned to the latter. Renewed disturbances led, however, to its transference to the emperor in 11 BC. Two years later the province was extended to the Danube, but in 9 AD, at the close of the 2d Pannonian War, it was divided into two separate provinces, Pannonia and Illyricum (Dalmatia). The latter remained an imperial province, administered by a consular *legatus Augusti pro praetore* residing at Salonae (mod. *Spalato*), and two legions were stationed there, at Delminium and at Burnum. One of these was removed by Nero, the other by Vespasian, and thenceforward the province was garrisoned only by auxiliary troops. It fell into three judicial circuits (*conventus*), that of Scardona comprising Liburnia, the northern portion of the province, while those of Salonae and Narona made up the district of Dalmatia in the narrower sense. The land was rugged and mountainous, and civilization progressed but slowly; the Romans, however, organized 5 Rom colonies within the province and a considerable number of *municipia*.

4. Paul's Relation to Illyricum The extension of Paul's preaching to the Illyrian frontier must be assigned to his 3d missionary journey, i.e. to his 2d visit to Macedonia. His movements during the 1st visit (Acts **16** 12—**17** 15) are too fully recorded to admit of our attributing it to that period, but the account in Acts **20** 2 of his second tour is not only very brief, but the words, "when he had gone through those parts," suggest an extensive tour through the province, occupying, according to Ramsay, the summer and autumn of 56 AD. See also Dalmatia.

Literature.—A. M. Poinsignon, *Quid praecipue apud Romanos adusque Diocletiani tempora Illyricum fuerit* (Paris, 1846); Zippe, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus* (Leipzig, 1877); H. Cons, *La province romaine de Dalmatie* (Paris, 1882); T. Mommsen, *CIL*, III, pp. 279 ff; T. Mommsen et J. Marquardt, *Manuel des antiquités romaines* (Fr. T), IX, 171 ff.

M. N. Tod

IMAGE, im'āj (צֶלֶם, *çelem;* **εἰκών,** *eikōn*): Its usage falls under 3 main heads. (1) "Image" as object of idolatrous worship (trs about a dozen words, including מַסֵּכָה, *maşşēkhāh,* "molten image" [Dt **9** 12, etc]; מַצֵּבָה, *maççēbhāh,* in AV trd "image" or "pillar," in RV always "pillar" [Ex **23** 24, etc]; פֶּסֶל, *peşel,* "graven image" [Ex **20** 4, etc]; *çelem,* "image" [2 K **11** 18, etc]; *eikōn,* "image" [e.g. Rev **14** 9]); (2) of man as made in the image of God; (3) of Christ as the image of God. Here we are concerned with the last two usages. For "image" in connection with idolatrous practices, see Idolatry; Images; Pillar; Teraphim, etc.

I. Man as Made in the Divine Image.—**1. In the OT** To define man's fundamental relation to God, the priestly writer in Gen uses two words: "image" (*çelem*) and "likeness" (*d^emūth*); once employing both together (Gen **1** 26; cf **5** 3), but elsewhere one without the other, "image" only in **1** 27; **9** 6, and "likeness" only in **5** 1. The priestly writer alone in the OT uses this expression to describe the nature of man, though the general meaning of the passage Gen **1** 26 f is echoed in Ps **8** 5–8, and the term itself reappears in Apoc (Sir **17** 3; Wisd **2** 23) and in the NT (see below).

The idea is important in relation to the Bib. doctrine of man, and has figured prominently in theological discussion. The following are some of the questions that arise:

(1) Is there any distinction to be understood between "image" and "likeness"? Most of the Fathers, and some later theologians, attempt to distinguish between them. (*a*) Some have referred "image" to man's bodily form, and "likeness" to his spiritual nature (Justin Martyr, Irenaeus). (*b*) Others, esp. the Alexandrian Fathers, understood by the "image" the mental and moral endowments native to man, and by the "likeness" the Divine perfections which man can only gradually acquire by free development and moral conflict (Clement of Alexandria and Origen), or which is conferred on man as a gift of grace. (*c*) This became the basis of the later Roman Catholic distinction between the natural gifts of rationality and freedom (=the image), and the supernatural endowments of grace which God bestowed on man after He had created him (the likeness=*donum superadditum*). The former remained after the Fall, though in an enfeebled state; the latter was lost through sin, but restored by Christ. The early Protestants rejected this distinction, maintaining that supernatural righteousness was part of the true nature and idea of man, i.e. was included in the "image," and not merely externally superadded. Whatever truth these distinctions may or may not contain theologically, they cannot be exegetically inferred from Gen **1** 26, where (as is now generally admitted) no real difference is intended. We have here simply a "duplication of synonyms" (Driver) for the sake of emphasis. The two terms are elsewhere used interchangeably.

(2) What, then, is to be understood by the Divine image? Various answers have been given. (*a*) Some of the Fathers (influenced by Philo) supposed that the "image" here = the Logos (called "the image of the invisible God" in Col **1** 15), on the pattern of whom man was created. But to read the Logos doctrine into the creation narrative is to ignore the historic order of doctrinal development. (*b*) That it connotes physical resemblance to God (see (1), (*a*) above; so in the main Skinner, *ICC,* in loc.). It may be admitted that there is a secondary reference to the Divine dignity of the human body; but this does not touch the essence of the matter, inasmuch as God is not represented as having physical form. (*c*) That it consists of dominion over the creatures (Socinian view; so also Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, etc). This would involve an unwarranted narrowing of the idea. It is true that such "dominion" is closely associated with the image in Gen **1** 26 (cf Ps **8** 6–8). But the "image of God" must denote primarily man's relation to his Creator, rather than his relation to the creation. Man's lordship over Nature is not identical with the image, but is an effect of it. (*d*) It is best to take the term as referring to the whole dignity of man, in virtue of his fundamental affinity to God. It implies the possession by man of a free, self-conscious, rational and moral *personality,* like unto that of God—a nature capable of distinguishing right and wrong, of choosing the right and rejecting the wrong, and of ascending to the heights of spiritual attainment and communion with God. This involves a separation of man from the beast, and his supremacy as the culmination of the creative process.

(3) Does the term imply man's original perfection, lost through sin? The old Protestant divines maintained that the first man, before the Fall, possessed original righteousness, not only in germ but in developed form, and that this Divine image was destroyed by the Fall. Exegetically considered, this is certainly not taught by the priestly writer, who makes no mention of the Fall, assumes that the image was transmitted from father to son (cf Gen **5** 1 with **5** 3), and naïvely speaks of post-diluvian men as created in the image of God (Gen **9** 6; cf 1 Cor **11** 7; Jas **3** 9). Theologically considered, the idea of the perfect holiness of primitive man is based on an abstract conception of God's work in creation, which precludes the idea of development, ignores the progressive method of the Divine government and the essential place of effort and growth in human character. It is more in harmony with modern conceptions (*a*) to regard man as originally endowed with the power of right choice, rather than with a complete character given from the first; and (*b*) to think of the Divine image (though seriously defaced) as continuing even in the sinful state, as man's inalienable capacity for goodness and his true destination. If the Divine image in man is a self-conscious, rational and ethical personality, it cannot be a merely accidental or transitory attribute, but is an essential constituent of his being.

2. In the NT

Two features may be distinguished in the NT doctrine of the Divine image in man: (1) man's first creation in Adam, (2) his second or new creation in Christ. As to (1), the doctrine of the OT is assumed in the NT. Paul makes a special application of it to the question of the relation of husband and wife, which is a relation of subordination on the part of the wife, based on the fact that man alone was created immediately after the Divine image (1 Cor **11** 7). Thus Paul, for the special purpose of his argument, confines the meaning of the image to man's lordly authority, though to infer that he regards this as exhausting its significance would be quite unwarranted. Man's affinity to God is implied, though the term "image" is not used, in Paul's sermon to the Athenians (Acts **17** 28 f, man the "offspring" of God). See also Jas **3** 9 (it is wrong to curse men, for they are "made after the likeness of God").

(2) More characteristic of the NT is the doctrine of the new creation. (*a*) The redeemed man is said to be in the image of *God* (the Father). He is "renewed unto knowledge after the image of him that created him" (Col **3** 10), i.e. of God the Creator, not here of Christ or the Logos (as some) (cf Eph **4** 24, "after God"). Though there is here an evident reference to Gen **1** 26 f, this does not imply that the new creation in Christ is identical with the original creation, but only that the two are analogous. To Paul, the spiritual man in Christ is on a higher level than the natural ("psychical") man as found in Adam (cf esp. 1 Cor **15** 44–49), in whom the Divine image consisted (as we have seen) in potential goodness, rather than in full perfection. Redemption is infinitely more than the restoration of man's primitive state. (*b*) The Christian is further said to be gradually transformed into the image of the *Son of God*. This progressive metamorphosis involves not only moral and spiritual likeness to Christ, but also ultimately the Christian's future glory, including the glorified body, the "passing through a gradual assimilation of mind and character to an ultimate assimilation of His δόξα, *dóxa*, the absorption of the splendor of His presence" (Sanday and Headlam, *Rom*, 218; see Rom **8** 29; 1 Cor **15** 49; 2 Cor **3** 18; and cf Phil **3** 21; 1 Jn **3** 2).

II. Christ the Image of God.—In 3 important passages in EV, the term "image" defines the relation of Christ to God the Father; twice in Paul: "the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God" (2 Cor **4** 4); "who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation" (Col **1** 15); and once in He: "who being the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance" (**1** 3). These statements, taken in their contexts, register the highest reach of the Christology of the Epp.

1. The Terms

In the two Pauline passages, the word used is *eikōn*, which was generally the LXX rendering of *çelem* (Vulg *imago*); it is derived from εἴκω, *eíkō*, ἔοικα, *éoika*, "to be like," "resemble," and means that which resembles an object and represents it, as a copy represents the original. In He **1** 3 the word used is χαρακτήρ (*charaktḗr*), which is found here only in the NT, and is tr^d in Vulg *figura*, AV "express image," RV "very image," RVm "impress." It is derived from χαράσσω (*charássō*), "to engrave," and has passed through the following meanings: (1) an engraving instrument (active sense); (2) the engraved stamp or mark on the instrument (passive sense); (3) the impress made by the instrument on wax or other object; (4) hence, generally, the exact image or expression of any person or thing as corresponding to the original, the distinguishing feature, or traits by which a person or thing is known (hence Eng. words "character," "characteristic"). The word conveys practically the same meaning as *eikōn;* but Westcott distinguishes them by saying that the latter "gives a complete representation, under conditions of earth, of that which it figures," while *charaktḗr* "conveys representative traits only" (Westcott on He **1** 3).

2. Meaning as Applied to Christ

The idea here expressed is closely akin to that of the Logos doctrine in Jn (**1** 1–18). Like the Logos, the Image in Paul and in He is the Son of God, and is the agent of creation as well as the medium of revelation. "What a word (*logos*) is to the ear, namely a revelation of what is within, an image is to the eye; and thus in the expression there is only a translation, as it were, of the same fact from one sense to another" (Dorner, *System of Ch. D.*, ET, III, 178). As Image, Christ is the visible representation and manifestation of the invisible God, the objective expression of the Divine nature, the face of God turned as it were toward the world, the exact likeness of the Father in all things except being the Father. Thus we receive "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor **4** 6). He is the facsimile of God.

3. To What State Does It Refer?

Is Christ described as the Image of God in His preincarnate, His incarnate, or else His exalted state? It is best to say that different passages refer to different states, but that if we take the whole trend of NT teaching, Christ is seen to be essentially, and in every state, the Image of God. (*a*) In He **1** 3 the reference seems to be to the eternal, *preincarnate* Son, who is inherently and essentially the expression of the Divine substance. So Paul declares that He subsisted originally in the form of God (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, *en morphḗ theoú hupárchōn*, Phil **2** 6). (*b*) In Jn **1** 18; **12** 45; **14** 9, though the term image is not used, we have the idea of the *historical* Jesus as a perfect revelation of the character and glory of God. (*c*) In the two Pauline passages (2 Cor **4** 4; Col **1** 15), the reference is probably to the glorified, *exalted* Christ; not to His preëxistent Divine nature, nor to His temporal manifestation, but to His "whole Person, in the divine-human state of His present heavenly existence" (Meyer). These passages in their cumulative impressions convey the idea that the Image is an inalienable property of His personality, not to be limited to any stage of His existence.

4. Theological Implications

Does this involve identity of essence of Father and Son, as in the Homoousion formula of the Nicene Creed? Not necessarily, for man also bears the image of God, even in his sinful state (see I above), a fact which the Arians sought to turn to their advantage. Yet in the light of the context, we must affirm of Christ an absolutely unique kinship with God. In the Col passage, not only are vast cosmic and redemptive functions assigned to Him, but there is said to dwell in Him "all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (**1** 19; **2** 9). In He not only is the Son the final revelation of God to men, the upholder of the universe, and the very image of the Divine nature, but also the effulgence (ἀπαύγασμα, *apaúgasma*) of God's glory, and therefore of one nature with Him as the ray is of one essence with the sun (**1** 1–3). The superiority of the Son is thus not merely one of function but of nature. On the other hand, the figure of the "image" certainly guards against any Sabellian identification of Father and Son, as if they were but modes of the one Person; for we cannot identify the pattern with its copy, nor speak of anyone as an image of himself. And, finally, we must not overlook the affinity of the Logos with man; both are the image of God, though the former in a unique sense. The Logos is at once the prototype of humanity within the Godhead, and the immanent Divine principle within humanity.

5. Relation to Pre-Christian Thought

Both in Paul and in He we have an echo of the Jewish doctrine of Wisdom, and of Philo's doctrine of the Logos. In the Alexandrine Book of Wisd, written probably under Stoic influence, Divine Wisdom is pictorially represented as "an effulgence [*apaugasma*] from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image [*eikōn*] of His goodness" (**7** 26). Philo repeatedly calls the Logos or Divine world-principle the image [*eikōn, charaktēr*] of God, and also describes it as an effulgence of God. But this use of current Alexandrian terminology and the superficial resemblance of ideas are no proof of conscious borrowing on the part of the apostles. There is this fundamental distinction, that Philo's Logos is not a self-conscious personality, still less a historical individual, but an allegorical hypostatizing of an abstract idea; whereas in Paul and He, as in John, the Divine archetype is actually realized in a historical person, Jesus Christ, the Son and Revealer of God.

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IMAGE OF GOD. See God, Image of.

IMAGERY, im'ȧj-ri (מַשְׂכִּית, *maskīth*, "carved figure"): Only in Ezk **8** 12, "every man in his chambers of imagery," i.e. dark chambers on whose walls were pictures in relief representing all kinds of reptiles and vermin, worshipped by elders of Israel. Some maintain that the cult was of foreign origin, either Egyp (Bertholet, *Comm. on Ezk*), or Bab (Redpath, *Westminster Comm. on Ezk*); others that it was the revival of ancient superstitions of a totemistic kind which had survived in obscure circles in Israel (W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, rev. ed, 357). The word here rendered "imagery" is elsewhere in AV trd "image" (of stone) (Lev **26** 1, RV "figured stone"), "pictures" (Nu **33** 52, RV "figured stones"; Prov **25** 11, RV "network"); twice it means imagination, conceit, i.e. a mental picture (Ps **73** 20; Prov **18** 11). "Imagery" occurs once in Apoc (Sir **38** 27 AV, *εἰς ὁμοιῶσαι ζωγραφίαν, eis homoiōsai zōgraphían*, RV "to preserve likeness in his portraiture").

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IMAGES, im'ȧj-iz (צֶלֶם, *çelem;* **εἰκών**, *eikōn*):

1. Definition
2. Origin
3. Early Developments
4. Bible References
   Palestinian Customs
5. Some Technical Terms
   (1) *Maççēbhāh* ("pillar")
   (2) *'Ăshērāh* ("grove")
   (3) *Ḥammān* ("sun-image")
6. Obscure Bible References
   (1) Golden Calf
       Jeroboam's Calves
   (2) Brazen Serpent
   (3) Teraphim
   (4) Image of Jealousy
   (5) Chambers of Imagery
   (6) Ephod
Literature

1. Definition

Images, as used here, are visible representations of supposedly supernatural or divine beings or powers. They may be (1) themselves objects of worship, (2) pictures, embodiments or dwelling-places (temple, ark, pillar, priests) of deities worshipped, (3) empowered instruments (amulets, charms, etc) of object or objects worshipped, (4) pictures or symbols of deities reverenced though not worshipped. These images may be shapeless blocks, or symmetrically carved figures, or objects of Nature, such as animals, sun, moon, stars, etc. These visible objects may sometimes be considered, esp. by the uninstructed, as deities, while by others in the small community they are thought of as instruments or symbolizations of deity. Even when they are thought of as deities, this does not exclude a sense and apprehension of a spiritual godhead, since visible corporeal beings may have invisible souls and spiritual attributes, and even the stars may be thought of as "seats of celestial spirits." An idol is usually considered as either the deity itself or his permanent tenement; a fetish is an object which has been given a magical or divine power, either because of its having been the temporary home of the deity, or because it has been formed or handled or otherwise spiritually influenced by such deity. The idol is generally communal, the fetish private; the idol is protective, the fetish is usually not for the common good. (See Jevons, *Idea of God in Early Religions*, 1910.) Relics and symbolic figures do not become "images" in the objectionable sense until reverence changes to worship. Until comparatively recent times, the Hebrews seem to have offered no religious objection to "artistic" images, as is proved not only from the description of Solomon's temple, but also from the discoveries of the highly decorated temple of Jeh at Syene dating from the 6th cent. BC, and from ruins of synagogues dating from the pre-Christian and early Christian periods (*PEF*, January, 1908; *Expos*, December, 1907; *Expos T*, January and February, 1908). The Second Commandment was not an attack upon artists and sculptors but upon idolaters. Decoration by means of graven figures was not anciently condemned, though, as Jos shows, by the time of the Seleucidae all plastic art was regarded with suspicion. The brazen serpent was probably destroyed in Hezekiah's time because it had ceased to be an ancient artistic relic and had become an object of worship (see below). So the destruction of the ark and altar and temple, which for so long a time had been the means of holy worship, became at last a prophetic hope (Isa **6** 7; Jer **3** 6; Am **5** 25; Hos **6** 6; cf Zec **14** 20). While the temple is not naturally thought of as an "image," it was as truly so as any Bethel. An idol was the temple in miniature—a dwelling-place of the god. When an image became the object of worship or a means by which a false god was worshipped, it became antagonistic to the First and Second Commandments respectively.

2. Origin

The learned author of the art. on "Image Worship" in the *EB* (11th ed) disposes too easily of this question when he suggests that image-worship is "a continuance by adults of their childish games with dolls. . . . Idolatrous cults repose largely on make-believe."

Compare the similar statement made from a very different standpoint by the author of *Great Is Diana of the Ephesians, or the Original of Idolatry* (1695): "All Superstitions are to the People but like several sports to children, which varying in their several seasons yield them pretty entertainment," etc.

No universal institution or custom is founded wholly on superstition. If it does not answer to some real human need, and "if its foundations are not laid broad and deep in the nature of things, it must perish" (J. G. Fraser, *Psyche's Task*, 1909, 103; cf Salomon Reinach, *Revue des études grecques*, 1906, 324). Image-worship is too widespread and too natural to humanity, as is proved in modern centuries as well as in the cruder earlier times, to have its basis and source in any mere external and accidental circumstances. All modern research tends to corroborate our belief that this is psychological rather than ecclesiastical in its origin. It is not imposed externally; it comes from within, and naturally accompanies the organic unfoldment of the human animal in his struggle toward self-expression. This is now generally acknowledged to be true of religious feeling and instinct (see esp. Rudolf Eucken, *Christianity and the New Idealism,* 1909, ch i; I. King, *The Development of Religion,* 1910); it ought to be counted equally true of religious expression. Neither can the origin of image-worship or even of magical rites be fully explained, as Fraser thinks, by the ordinary laws of association. These associations only become significant because the devoted worshipper already has a body of beliefs and generalizations which make him attentive to the associations which seem to him religiously or magically important. (Jastrow, *Aspects of Rel. Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria;* cf James H. Leuba, *Psychological Origin and Nature of Religion,* 1909; *Study of Religions,* 1911). So animism must be regarded as a philosophy rather than as an original religious faith, since it is based on an "explanation of phenomena rather than an attitude of mind toward the cause of these phenomena" (*EB,* 11th ed, art. "Animism," and cf Höffding, *Philosophy of Religion,* 1906, 138). In whatever ways the various image-worshipping cults arose historically—whether from a primitive demonology or from the apotheosis of natural objects, or from symbolism, or a false connection of cause with effect—in any case it had some human need behind it and human nature beneath it. The presence of the image testifies to faith in the supernatural being represented by the image and to a desire to keep the object of worship near. Prayer is easier when the worshipper can see his god or some sacred thing the god has honored (cf M. L'abbé E. Van Drival, *De l'origine et des sources de l'idolatrie,* Paris, 1860).

3. Historical Beginnings and Early Development

The first man was not born with a totem-pole in his fist, nor did the earliest historic men possess images. They lacked temples and altars and ephods and idols, as they lacked the fire-stick and potter's wheel. Religion, which showed itself so strong in the next stage of human life, must have had very firm beginnings in the prehistoric period; but what were its external expressions we do not yet certainly know, excepting in the methods of burying and caring for the dead. It seems probable that primitive historic man saw in everything that moved an active soul, and that he saw in every extraordinary thing in earth or heaven the expression of a supernatural power. Yet reflective thinking began earlier than Tylor and all the older scientific anthropologists supposed. Those earlier investigators were without extended chronological data, and although ingenuity was exercised in systematizing the beliefs and customs of modern savages, it was necessarily impossible always to determine in this way which were the most primitive cults. Excavations in Babylonia, Egypt and elsewhere have enabled us for the first time to trace with some chronological certainty the religious expressions of earliest historic man. That primitive man was so stupid that he could not tell the difference between men and things, and that therefore totemism or fetishism or a low form of animism was necessarily the first expression of religious thought is a theory which can no longer be held very buoyantly in the face of the new and striking knowledge, material and religious, which is now seen to be incorporated in some of the most ancient myths of mankind. (See e.g. Winckler, *Die jüngsten Kämpfe wider den Panbabylonismus,* 1907; Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East,* 2 vols, 1911.) The pan-Bab theory, which makes so much use of these texts, is not certain, but the facts upon which the theory depends are clear. It is a suggestive fact that among the earliest known deities or symbols of deities mentioned in the most ancient inscriptions are to be found the sun, moon, stars and other great forces of Nature. Out of these conceptions and the mystery of life—which seems to have affected early mankind even more powerfully than ourselves—sprang the earliest known religious language, the myth, which antedated by aeons our oldest written texts, since some of these myths appear fully formed in the oldest texts. Rough figures of these solar and stellar deities are found from very early times in Babylonia. So in the earliest Egyp texts the sun appears as divine and the moon as "the bull among the stars," and rough figures of the gods were carved in human or animal form, or these are represented pictorially by diadems or horns or ostrich feathers, as far back as the IId Dynasty, while even earlier than this stakes and pillars and heaps of stones are sacred. (See further, *HDB,* 5th vol, 176 ff; Erman, *A Handbook of Egyp Rel.;* Steindorf, *Rel. of the Ancient Egyptians,* 1905.) These rude and unshaped objects do not testify, as was once supposed, to a lower form of religious development than when sculptured images are found. The shapeless fetish, which not long ago was generally accepted as the earliest form of image, really represents a more advanced stage and higher form of religious expression than the worship of a beautifully or horribly carved image. It has been generally conceded since the days of Robertson Smith that it takes at least as much imagination and reflection to see an expression of deity in imageless matter as in the carved forms. Rude objects untouched by human hand, even in the most highly developed worships, have been most prized. The earliest images were probably natural objects which, because of their peculiar shapes or functions, were thought of either as divine or as made sacred by the touch of deity. Multiplied copies of these objects would naturally be made when worshippers increased or migrations occurred. While images may have been used in the most early cults, yet the highest development of image-worship has occurred among the most civilized peoples. Both deities and idols are less numerous in the early than in the later days of a religion. This is true in India, Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, as all experts now agree. Idols are not found among uncivilized peoples, such as the Bushmen, Fuegians, Eskimos, etc. (See e.g. Allen Menzies, *History of Rel.,* 1895.) Images of the gods presuppose a power of discrimination that could only be the result of reflection. The earliest idols known among the Semites were rude stone pillars or unshapen blocks. These, as the fetish, were probably adored, not for themselves, but for the spirit that was supposed to be in them or to have touched them. Deities and idols are multiplied easily, not only by philological, geographical and social causes, but through intertribal and international associations. One thing absolutely proved by recent excavations has been the extent to which the representations of local deities have been modified by the symbolic art of surrounding nations. Babylonia, for example, was influenced by the Syro-Hittite religious art at least as much as by that of Egypt (William Hayes Ward, *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals,* 1909; Clay, *Amurru,* 1910). Even in adjacent localities the same deity varied greatly in its pictorial representation. See PALESTINE EXPLORATION, and *Revue biblique,* XIV, 315–48. With the possible exception of one reign in Egypt, during which Ikhnaton refused to allow any deities to be worshipped excepting the sun disc and himself, idolatry outside of the Heb kingdom was never made a crime against the state until the days of Constantine. Theodosius (392 AD) not only placed sacrifices and divination among the capital crimes, but placed a penalty upon anyone who entered a heathen temple.

4. Bible References and Palestinian Customs

The dignity of the image in common thought in Bible times may be seen from the fact that man is said to have been made in God's image (צֶלֶם, *çelem;* cf 1 S **6** 5; Nu **33** 52), and Christ is said to be "the image of the invisible God" (*εἰκών, eikōn;* cf Col **1** 15 with Rom **1** 23). The heathen thought of the sun and stars and idols as being images of the gods, but the Hebrews, though Jeh's temple was imageless, thought of normal humanity as in some true sense possessing a sacred resemblance to Deity, though early Christians taught that only Christ was the Father's "image" in unique and absolute perfection. See Image. The ordinary words for "image" by a slight change came to mean vermin, carrion, false gods, no gods, carcases, dung, etc. Heathen gods were undoubtedly accounted real beings by the early Hebrews, and the images of these enemies of Jeh were doubtless looked upon as possessing an evil associated (?) power. In the earlier OT era, images, idols, and false gods are synonymous; but as early as the 8th cent. BC Heb prophets begin to reach the lofty conception that heathen gods are non-existent, or at least practically so, when compared with the ever-living Jeh, while the idols are "worthless things" or "non-entities" (Isa **2** 8.18.20; **10** 10.11; **19** 1; **31** 7; cf Jer **14** 14; Ezk **30** 13; note the satiric term *'ĕlīlīm,* as contrasted with the powerful *'ĕlōhīm*). The many ordinary terms used by the Hebrews for an idol or image mean "copy," *simulacrum,* "likeness," "representation." These are often, however, so compounded as technically to express a particular form, as "graven" or "carved" image (e.g. Ex **20** 4; 2 Ch **33** 7) of wood or stone, i.e. one cut into shape by a tool; "molten image" (e.g. Ex **32** 4; Lev **19** 4), i.e. one cast out of melted metal (standing image) (Lev **26** 1 AV, and see below), etc. However, a few of the OT terms and modes of worship are unusual, or have a more difficult technical meaning, or have been given a new interest by new discoveries, and such deserve a more extended notice.

5. Most Important Technical Terms

מַצֵּבָה, *maççēbhāh:* These were upright stone pillars, often mentioned in the OT, sometimes as abodes (Bethels) or symbols of deity—esp. as used by the heathen—but also as votive offerings, memorial and grave stones (Gen **28** 18; **31** 45; **35** 14.20; Josh **24** 26; 1 S **7** 12). The reverence for these stones is closely connected with that found among all Sem peoples for obelisks (Gen **33** 20; **35** 7), cairns (Gen **28** 18; Josh **4** 6), and circles (Josh **4** 3.5.20). Rough stone pillars from time immemorial were used in Sem worship (Kittel, *Hist of the Hebrews,* II, 84). They were thought of primitively as dwelling-places of deity, and the stones and the spots where they stood were therefore accounted sacred. From very early times the mystery of life pressed itself upon human attention, and these stones were viewed as phallic images. These images were at first rough and undifferentiated, but became later well defined as male organs. At *Tell Zakarîyah* the end of one is sculptured to represent a human face. Some sort of phallicism underlies all early Sem religion, the form of which is determined by the attention paid to the date palm, to the breeding of flocks, to astrology, and to social life. This phallicism did not always represent coarse thought, but sometimes a very profound spiritual conception; cf Golden Calf, and note Wiedemann's statement in *HDB,* V, 180 that in Egypt the gods *Hu,* "Taste," and *Sa,* "Perception," were created from the blood of the sun-god's phallus. These images of fertility and reproduction were naturally connected in Canaan with the worship of the Baals or "lords" of each locality, upon whose favor as possessor of the land fertility depended. They were also naturally associated with the cult of Astarte, the female counterpart of all the Baals (see Astarte). In the OT the Baalim and Asherim are almost invariably classed together, although the latter were wooden posts dedicated to a particular goddess, while "Baal" was merely a title which could be given to any male Sem deity, and sometimes even to his female associate. The *maççēbhōth* were set up in a "high place" (q.v.), attracting reverence because of its "elevation, isolation and mystery" (Vincent). Originally these pillars were not considered as idols, but were naturally erected to Jeh (Gen **28** 18; **31** 45; **35** 14; Ex **24** 4), and even Isaiah (**19** 19) and Hosea (**3** 4) approve them, though pillars dedicated to idols must of course be destroyed (Ex **23** 24; **34** 13; Jer **43** 13; Ezk **26** 11). Only in late times or by very far-sighted law-givers were the *maççēbhōth* erected to Jeh condemned; but after the centralization of the Jeh-worship in Jerus, these pillars were condemned, even when set up in the name of Jeh, and the older places of worship with their indiscriminate rituals and necessary heathen affiliations were also wisely discarded (Lev **26** 1; Dt **16** 22; see also Golden Calf).

אֲשֵׁרָה, *'ăshērāh:* Perhaps a goddess (see Asherah), but as ordinarily used in the OT, a sacred tree or stump of a tree planted in the earth (Dt **16** 21) or a pole made of wood and set up near the altar (Jgs **6** 26; 1 K **16** 33; Isa **17** 8).

It has been supposed that these were primarily symbols of a goddess Asherah or Ashtoreth (Kuenen, Baethgen), and they were certainly in primitive thought connected with the tree cult and the sacred groves so universally honored by the Semites (see esp. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* 169, 437; Stade, *Geschichte,* 160 ff; Fraser, *Golden Bough,* II, 56–117; John O'Neill, *Night of the Gods,* II, 57); but the tree of life is closely connected in texts and pictures with the human organ of generation, and there can be no doubt that there is a phallic meaning connected with this sacred stake or pole, as with the *maççēbhōth* described above. See references in *HDB* under "Asherah," and cf *Transactions of the Victoria Institute,* XXXIX, 234; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum AT.* As these wooden posts from earliest times represented the ideas of fertility and were connected with the mystery of life, they naturally became the signs and symbols in many lands of the local gods and goddesses of fertility.

Astarte was by far the most popular deity of ancient Pal. See Ashtoreth. The figures of Astarte from the 12th to the 9th cent. BC, as found at Gezer, have large hips, disclosing an exaggerated idea of fecundity. In close connection with the Astarte sanctuaries in Pal were found numberless bodies of little children, none over a week old, undoubtedly representing the sacrifice of the firstborn by these Canaanites (R.A.S. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer,* 3 vols). These Asherim were erected at the most sacred Heb sanctuaries, at Samaria (2 K **13** 6), Bethel (2 K **23** 15), and even in the Temple of Jerus (2 K **23** 6). The crowning act of King Josiah's reformation was to break down these images (2 K **23** 14). As the astrological symbol of Baal was the sun, Astarte is often thought of as the moon-goddess, but her symbol was really Venus. She was, however, sometimes called "Queen of Heaven" (Jer **7** 18; **44** 17.19; but see *ZATW,* VI, 123–30).

חַמָּן, *ḥammān,* AV "images," "idols"; RV "sun-images" (Lev **26** 30; 2 Ch **14** 5; **34** 4.7; Isa **17** 8; **27** 9; Ezk **6** 4. 6): This worship may originally have come from Babylonia, but the reverence of the sun under the name Baal-hamman had long been common in Pal before Joshua and the Israelites entered the country. These sun-images were probably obelisks or pillars connected with the worship of some local Baal. The chariot and horses of the sun, mentioned (2 K **23** 11) as having an honored place at the western entrance of the

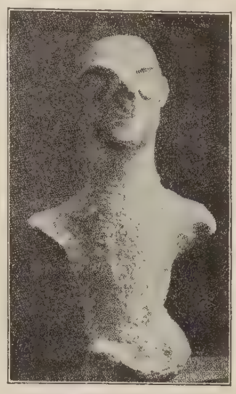
Jerus Temple, represented not a local but a foreign cult. In Bab temples, sacrifices were made to the sun-chariot, which seems to have had a special significance in time of war (Pinches, *HDB*, IV, 629; see also Chariots of the Sun).

(1) *Golden Calf and Jeroboam's Calves* (see Golden Calf).

6. Obscure Bible References

(2) *Brazen Serpent* (Nu **21** 4–9; 2 K **18** 4).—The serpent, because of its strange, lightning-like power of poisonous attack, its power to shed its skin, and to paralyze its prey, has been the most universally revered of all creatures. Living serpents were kept in Bab temples. So the cobra was the guardian of royalty in Egypt, symbolizing the kingly power of life and death. In mythology, the serpent was not always considered a bad demon, enemy of the Creator, but often appears as the emblem of wisdom, esp. in connection with health-giving and life-giving gods, such as Ea, savior of mankind from the flood, and special "god of the physicians" in Babylon; Thoth, the god of wisdom in Egypt, who healed the eye of Horus and brought Osiris to life again; Apollo, the embodiment of physical perfection, and his son, Aesculapius, most famous giver of physical and moral health and curer of disease among the Greeks. Among the Hebrews also a seal (1500–1000 BC) shows a worshipper before a horned serpent raised on a pole (Wm. Hayes Ward). In Phoen mythology the serpent is also connected with wisdom and long life, and it is found on the oldest Heb seals and on late Jewish talismans (*Revue biblique internationale*, July, 1908, 382–94); at Gezer, in Pal, a small "brazen serpent" (a cobra) was found in the "cave of oracles," and in early Christian art Jesus the Lord of Life is often represented standing triumphantly upon the serpent or holding it in His fist. In the Heb narrative found in Nu **21**, the serpent evidently appears as a well-known symbol representing the Divine ability to cure disease, being erected before the eyes of the Israelites to encourage faith and stop the plague. It was not a totem, for the totem belongs to a single family and is never set up for the veneration of other families (Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 39). Hezekiah destroyed it because it was receiving idolatrous worship (2 K **18** 4), though there is no hint that such worship was ever a part of the official temple cult (Benzinger); for if this had been done, the earlier prophets could hardly have remained silent. The above explanation seems preferable to the one formerly offered that the serpent was merely a copy of the disease-bearer, as the images offered by the Philis were copies of the ulcers that plagued them (1 S **6** 4). See further Nehushtan.

(3) *Teraphim* (תְּרָפִים, *t^erāphīm*).—These are usually considered household gods, but this does not necessarily include the idea that they were images of ancestors, though this is not improbable (Nowack, *Hebrew Archaeology*, II, 23; *HDB*, II, 190); that they were images of Jeh is a baseless supposition (see Kautzsch, *HDB*, V, 643). Sometimes they appear in the house (1 S **19** 13.16); sometimes in sanctuaries (Jgs **17** 5; **18** 14); sometimes as carried by travelers and armies (Gen **31** 30; Ezk **21** 21). They are never directly spoken of as objects of worship (yet cf Gen **31** 30), but are mentioned in connection with wizardry (2 K **23** 24), and as a means of divination (Ezk **21** 21; Zec **10** 2), perhaps not necessarily inconsistent with Jeh-worship (Hos **3** 4). They were sometimes small and could be easily hidden (Gen **31** 34); at other times larger and in some way resembling a human being (1 S **19** 13). Jewish commentators thought the *t^erāphīm* were in early times mummified human heads which were represented in later centuries by rude images (Moore, *Crit. and Exeg. Comm. on Jgs*, 1895, 382; see esp. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier u. der Ssabismus*, II, 19, 150). Customs of divination by means of such heads were not unknown. In Israel the *t^erāphīm* were sometimes certainly used in consulting Jeh (Jgs **17** 5; **18** 14 ff), though their use was later officially condemned (2 K **23** 24). The *t^erāphīm* in the home doubtless correspond in use to the Ephod (which see) in the sanctuary, and therefore these are frequently connected. Certain small rude images have lately been uncovered in Pal by Bliss, at *Tell el-Hesy*, and by Sellin, at *Tell Ta‘annuk*, which are supposed to be teraphim.



"Household God" from Gezer.

(4) *Image of jealousy* (סֶמֶל, *ṣemel*).—It is not certain what this statue was which was set up by the door of the inner gate of the Jerus temple (Ezk **8** 3). It was no doubt some idol, perhaps the image of the Asherah (2 K **21** 7; **23** 6), which certainly had previously been set up in the temple and may have been there again in this day of apostasy. "Jealousy" is not the name of the idol, but it was probably called "image of jealousy" because in a peculiar manner this particular image seems to have been drawing the people from the worship of Jeh and therefore provoking Him to jealousy.

(5) *Chambers of imagery* (חַדְרֵי מַשְׂכִּיתוֹ, *ḥadhrē maskīthō*).—Does Ezekiel mean that in his heart every man in his chambers of imagery was an idol-worshipper, or does this refer to actual wall decorations in the Jerus Temple (Ezk **8** 11.12)? Most expositors take it literally. W. R. Smith has been followed almost if not quite universally in his supposition that a debased form of vermin-worship is described in the "creeping things and abominable beasts" (ver 10). But while this low and ignorant worship was an ancient cult, it had been banished for centuries from respectable heathen worship, and it seems inconceivable that these Israelites who were of the highest class could have fallen to these depths, or if they had done so that the Tammuz and sun-worship should have been considered so much worse (vs 13.14). To the writer it seems more probable that the references are to Egyp or Gr mysteries which would be described by a Hebrew just as Ezekiel describes this secret chamber. It is now known that the Gr mysteries experienced a revival at exactly this era, and it was probably this revival which was making itself felt in Jerus, for Gr influence was at this time greatly affecting Pal (see Duruy, *Hist of Greece*, II, 126–80, 374; Cobern, *Comm. on Ezk and Dnl*, 80–83, 280–82; and separate arts., Chambers of Imagery; Imagery).

(6) *Ephod* (אֵפוֹד, *'ēphōdh*).—There is no doubt that this was the name of a vestment or ritual loin cloth of linen worn by common priests and temple servants and on special occasions by the king (1 S **2** 18; **22** 18; 2 S **6** 14). The ephod of the high priest was an ornamental waist coat on the front of which was fastened the holy breastplate containing the pocket in which were the Urim and Thummim (Ex **28** 6.30; **29** 5; **39** 2–5; Lev **8** 28).

There are several passages, however, which have convinced many scholars that another ephod is mentioned which must be an image of Jeh (see Ephod). The chief passages relied upon are Jgs **8** 26.27, where Gideon made an ephod with 1,700 shekels of gold and "set" this in Ophrah, where it became an object of worship. So in Jgs **17** 4; **18** 14–20, Micah provides an ephod as well as an image and pillar for his sanctuary; in 1 S **21** 9 the sword of Goliath is preserved behind the ephod; while in various places the will of Jeh is ascertained, not by putting on the ephod, but by "bringing it near" and "bearing" and "carrying" it (1 S **23** 6.9; **30** 7, etc). On the basis of these passages Kautzsch (*HDB*, V, 641) concludes most inconsistently that the ephod appears "exclusively as an image of Jeh." Driver, after an examination of each text, concludes that just in one passage (Jgs **8** 27) the term "ephod" is certainly used of the gold casing of an image, and that therefore it *may* also have this meaning in other passages (*HDB*, I, 725). It does not seem quite certain, however, that a ceremonial vestment heavily ornamented with gold might not have been "set" or "erected" in a holy place where later it might become an object of worship. If this had been an idolatrous image, would Hosea have deplored its loss (Hos **3** 4), and would its use not have been forbidden in some Bible passage?

Kautzsch's view that the ephod meant primarily the garment used to clothe the Divine image, which afterward gave its name to the image itself, is a guess unsustained by the Scriptures quoted or, I think, by any archaeological parallel. We conclude that there is no certain proof that this was an image of Jeh, though it was used ritualistically in receiving the oracles of Jeh (cf Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, I, 100; Kittel, *Hist of the Hebrews*, II, 42; König, *Die Hauptprobleme*, 59–63). See also IDOLATRY; CALF, GOLDEN; SERPENT WORSHIP.

LITERATURE.—See esp. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites;* E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture;* J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (3 vols); Baethgen, *Beiträge zur sem. Rel.-Gesch.;* Kittel, *Hist of the Hebrews;* Nowack, *Heb Arch.*, II; Baudissin, *Studien z. sem. Rel.-Gesch.* For recent excavations, L. P. H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'expl. récente*, 1907; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* (1912); Wm. Hayes Ward, *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals*, 1909.

CAMDEN M. COBERN

IMAGINATION, i-maj-i-nā′shun (יֵצֶר, *yēçer*, שְׁרִירוּת, *sh^{e}rīrūth;* **διάνοια**, *diánoia*): "Imagination" is the tr of *yēçer*, properly "a shaping," hence "a thought" (Gen **6** 5; **8** 21; Dt **31** 21; 1 Ch **28** 9; **29** 18). In Isa **26** 3 *yēçer* is tr^d "mind" (AVm "thought" or "imagination"), "whose mind is stayed on thee" (RVm "or imagination"); in Ps **103** 14 it is "frame"; of *sh^{e}rīrūth*, "obstinacy," "stubbornness" (Dt **29** 19; Jer **3** 17; **7** 24; **9** 14; **11** 8; **13** 10; **16** 12; **18** 12; **23** 17); in Ps **81** 12 AV it is, "lust," m "hardness or imaginations"; 3 t of *maḥăshebheth*, "thought" or "purpose" in AV (Prov **6** 18; Lam **3** 60.61); once of *dianoia*, "mind," "understanding" (Lk **1** 51); of *logismós*, "reasoning" (2 Cor **10** 5); and of *dialogismós*, "reasoning through" (Rom **1** 21 AV).

RV gives "stubbornness" in each instance where *sh^{e}rīrūth* is in AV tr^d "imagination"; in Prov **6** 18 ARV has "purposes"; RV has "devices" (Lam **3** 60.61) and "reasonings" (Rom **1** 21), "imagination" for "conceit" (Prov **18** 11), and (ERV) for "device" (Lam **3** 62).

"Imagination" is frequent in Apoc, e.g. Ecclus **22** 18 (*dianóēma*); **37** 3 (*enthúmēma*, "wicked imagination"); **40** 2 (*dialogismos*, RV "expectation").

W. L. WALKER

IMAGINE, i-maj′in (חָשַׁב, *ḥāshabh;* **μελετάω**, *meletáō*): The word most frequently tr^d "to imagine" in the OT, only in AV and ERV, not in ARV, is *ḥāshabh*, "to bind," "combine," "think" (Job **6** 26; Ps **10** 2; **21** 11; **140** 2; Hos **7** 15; Nah **1** 9.11; Zec **7** 10; **8** 17); we have also *hāghāh* in AV and ERV, but not in ARV, "to meditate," "mutter," "speak" (Ps **2** 1; **38** 12); *zāmam*, "to devise" (Gen **11** 6 AV); *ḥārash*, "to grave," "devise" (Prov **12** 20 AV); *hāthath*, "to break in upon," to "attack unjustly" (Ps **62** 3 AV); *meletaō*, "to meditate" (Acts **4** 25). W. L. WALKER

IMALCUE, ī-mal-kū′ē (**'Ιμαλκουή**, *Imalkouḗ;* AV Simalcue): An Arabian prince to whom Alexander Balas entrusted the upbringing of his young son Antiochus. Tryphon, who had formerly been on the side of Alexander, persuaded Imalcue to set up the young Antiochus (Antiochus VI) against Demetrius, who had incurred the enmity of his men of war (1 Macc **11** 39.40). Antiochus confirmed Jonathan in the high-priesthood and appointed him to be one of the king's friends (ver 57). In Jos (*Ant*, XIII, v, 1) the name is given as Malchus.

J. HUTCHISON

IMLA, im′la, **IMLAH** (יִמְלָה, *yimlāh*, "fulness"?): Father of the prophet Micaiah (1 K **22** 8.9; 2 Ch **18** 7.8).

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, i-mak′ū-lāt kon-sep′shun, **THE**:

1. Definition

The historic designation of the Roman Catholic dogma promulgated by Pope Pius IX on December 8, 1854, in the Papal Bull entitled "*Ineffabilis Deus.*" The term is often incorrectly applied, even by those whose intelligence should make such an error impossible, to the VIRGIN BIRTH OF CHRIST (q.v.).

2. Statement of the Dogma

The central affirmation of this proclamation, which was read in St. Peter's in the presence of over two hundred bishops, is expressed in the following words: It is proclaimed "by the authority of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and in our own authority, that the doctrine which holds the blessed Virgin Mary to have been, from the first instant of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, in view of the merits of Christ Jesus the Saviour of Mankind, preserved free from all stain of original sin, was revealed by God, and is, therefore, to be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful" (see Schaff, *A History of the Creeds of Christendom*, II, 211, 212).

3. Objections to the Dogma

(1) *Drawn from specifically Protestant principles.*—Objections to the dogma are mainly two: (*a*) the claim to authority upon which the proclamation rests. There is every reason to believe that one of the major motives to the entire transaction was the wish, on the part of Pius and his advisers, to make an unmistakable assertion of absolute doctrinal authority by the Rom pontiff. To Protestants of all shades of opinion there would be unbearable offence in the wording of the decree, even if assent could be given to the doctrine itself. The whole vital issue of the Reformation is involved in the use by an ecclesiastic of the words "in our own authority" in addition to the words "by the authority of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul." (*b*) The tendency to Mariolatry in the entire movement. As we shall see, the ascription of Divine honors to Mary is avoided in the public statement of the dogma and in the defence of it by Roman Catholic writers, but one has but to survey the course of discussion leading up to the publication of 1854, and subsequent to it, to discover a growing tendency to lift Mary out of the realm of human beings and to endow her with Divine attributes and functions. An extended discussion of Mariolatry lies beyond the range of this art. (see MARY); it is only necessary to point out the obvious connections (see *Roman Catholic Dictionary* and church histories, sub loc.).

(2) *Drawn from Roman Catholic principles.*—It is far from the truth to suppose that there are no objections to this modern dogma save those which are specifically Protestant. From the viewpoint of the devout Roman Catholic, and for the sake of the prestige of the papacy, this particular dogma seems to have been unfortunately chosen.

(*a*) It has no basis in Scripture. The only attempt made to provide a Scriptural argument is by using a vague and unsatisfactory ‖ between Mary and Eve before the Fall, to be found in the writings of certain church Fathers who did not hold the papal dogma but unconsciously provided a slender and most insecure basis for it (see infra). Most Roman Catholic writers are intelligent enough to admit that the theory of inspired tradition alone can be appealed to in support of the idea. The ordinary and only tenable argument is that the ecclesiastical promulgation and acceptance of the doctrine prove its apostolic origin (see *Catholic Dictionary*, sub loc.).

(*b*) It weakens the authority of the church. It would almost seem as if the doctrines of ecclesiastical authority and particularly of papal infallibility had, in this unfortunate proclamation, reached a *reductio ad absurdum* for the comfort of their foes. Notice with care the historical standing of this dogma: (*α*) The acknowledged absence of all positive evidence for apostolic origin and primitive authority (see *Catholic Dictionary* ut supra). (*β*) The abundant positive evidence that the principal Fathers of the early church did not believe in the sinlessness of Mary (see list of names and references given by H. C. Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*, sub loc.). (*γ*) The uncertain and equivocal testimony *per contra* drawn from the early Fathers. They are practically confined to the following: Ephrem Syrus (*Carmina*, Hymn 27, strophe 8), where he says "Truly it is Thou and Thy mother only who are fair altogether. For in Thee there is no stain and in Thy mother no spot"; St. Augustine (*De Natura et Gratia*, cap. 26), "Two were made simple, innocent, perfectly like each other, Mary and Eve," etc. To these may be added the words of Irenaeus: "The knot of Eve's disobedience was untied by Mary's obedience" (*Catholic Dictionary*, 422). In regard to these three passages it may reasonably be contended that even if these statements necessarily implied the Immaculate Conception of Mary, which they certainly do not, they would still have to be estimated against the many weighty statements which may be brought forward on the other side. (*δ*) The prolonged controversy over the doctrine. From the earliest time when the idea of Mary's miraculous freedom from sin appears, up to the Old Catholic agreement of 1874, devout and faithful Roman Catholics have protested against the addition of this unscriptural dogma to the faith of the church. Bonaventura (*Locus Theol.*, VII, 1) says: "All the saints who have made mention of this matter, with one mouth have asserted that the blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin." With the statement of the Old Catholic agreement we may safely sum up the ecclesiastical situation, even from the viewpoint of those who hold to the doctrinal validity of tradition. Art. X reads: "We reject the New Rom doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as being contrary to the tradition of the first 13 centuries, according to which Christ alone is conceived without sin."

(3) *Drawn from general considerations of Christian doctrine.*—The most serious objections to this offensive and gratuitous dogma are not at all specifically Protestant but, rather, broadly Christian. It is necessary at this point to assure ourselves that we understand (as many Protestants evidently do not) just what is meant by the doctrine *as* a doctrine. According to the accepted Roman Catholic explanation, Mary, at the supposed stage of her conception when the soul was actually infused into the body waiting for it, received the special grace of God whereby she was delivered from all stain of original sin. The point which Protestants need esp. to note is that, according to Roman Catholic ideas, this gracious act of God was performed on the basis of the foreseen merits of Christ's sacrifice. This tones down the offensiveness of the doctrine in that it does not *per se* imply the equality of Mary with Christ, but rather the contrary, in so far as the grace betowed upon her was gained by anticipation from Him. Roman Catholic writers naturally emphasize this fact in recommending the doctrine to Protestant minds. None the less the offence remains. The "Immaculate Conception" necessarily implies the "immaculate life," and on the same basis of supernatural grace, else would the special miracle have occurred in vain and the fall of Adam been repeated in Mary. Hence, a full account of the doctrine would be that Mary was completely and miraculously redeemed at her conception and completely and miraculously kept from sin throughout her whole life. Apart from all questions as to the rightful place of Mary in Christian thought, this idea involves utter doctrinal confusion. It means that Mary never became a true human being and never lived a true human life. Redemption by a miraculous process begun at conception and carried on throughout the life is an utter impossibility, for the Holy Spirit does not work impersonally, and miraculous holiness which is holiness of a purely Divine character, without a free, coöperating human factor, is no *human* holiness at all. This dogma reads Mary out of the human family, reduces her to an image and makes her life a phantasm. Moreover, the parallels which are adduced in its support are not true parallels at all.

Our Lord's sinlessness was not mechanically guaranteed by His miraculous conception (see VIRGIN BIRTH) but was His own achievement through the Holy Spirit granted to Him and personally appropriated. The Hallowing of Children at the Font (see *Catholic Dictionary*, 470*a*), the sanctifying of those "separated from the womb" (Gal **1** 15) to God's service, does not imply the miraculous guarantee of artificial sinlessness, but such a gracious influence as enables the subject freely coöperating to obtain victory over sin as a controlling principle. Actual sin and need of forgiveness is not praetermitted by such special grace.

We can only say, in conclusion, that every reason, which usually operates in a Christian mind to insure rejection of a false teaching, ought to preclude the possibility of accepting this peculiar dogma which is Scripturally baseless, historically unjustified and doctrinally unsound.

LITERATURE.—The best simple and reasonably fair-minded discussion of this dogma from the Roman Catholic viewpoint is to be found in the *Catholic Dictionary* already mentioned, where wide references will be found. For the Protestant view consult any authoritative church history, esp. that of Professor H. C. Sheldon where copious references to Patristic lit. will be found.

LOUIS MATTHEWS SWEET

IMMANUEL, i-man′ū-el (עִמָּנוּ אֵל, ‘*immānū ’ēl*): The name occurs but 3 t, twice in the OT (Isa **7** 14; **8** 8), and once in the NT (Mt **1** 23). It is a Heb word signifying "God is with us." The form "Emmanuel" appears in LXX (’Εμμανουήλ, *Emmanouḗl*).

1. Isaiah Rebukes Ahaz

In 735 BC Ahaz was king of Judah. The kingdom of Israel was already tributary to Assyria (2 K **15** 19.20). Pekah, king of Israel, a bold and ambitious usurper, and Rezin, king of Syria, formed an alliance, the dual object of which was, first, to organize a resistance against Assyria, and second, to force Ahaz to coöperate in their designs against the common tyrant. In the event of Ahaz' refusal, they planned to depose him, and to set the son of Tabeel, a choice of their own, upon the throne of David. To this end they waged war against Judah, advancing as far as Jerus itself, but without complete success (Isa **7** 1). Ahaz, a weak king, and now panic-stricken, determined to invoke the aid of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria (2 K **16** 7). This he actually did at a later stage in the war (**6** 9; **15** 29). Such a course would involve the loss of national independence and the payment of a heavy tribute. At this period of crisis, Isaiah, gathering his disciples around him (Isa **8** 16), is told to deliver a message to the king. Ahaz, though making a show of resistance against the coalition, is in reality neither depending upon the help of Jeh nor upon the courage of his people. Isaiah, in an effort to calm his fears and prevent the fatal alliance with Assyria, offers him a sign. This method is specially characteristic of this prophet. Fearing to commit himself to the policy of Divine dependence, but with a pretense at religious scruples, "Neither will I tempt Jeh," the king refuses (Isa **7** 12). The prophet then chides him bitterly for his lack of faith, which, he says, not only wearies men, but God also (**7** 13).

2. The Sign of "Immanuel"

He then proceeds to give him a sign from God Himself, the sign of "Immanuel" (**7** 14). The interpretation of this sign is not clear, even apart from its NT application to Christ. The Heb word tr^{d} "virgin" in EV means, more correctly, "bride," in the OE sense of one who is about to become a wife, or is still a young wife. Ps **68** 25 EV gives "damsels."

Isaiah predicts that a young bride shall conceive and bear a son. The miracle of virgin-conception, therefore, is not implied. The use of the definite article before "virgin" (*hā-‘almāh*) does not of itself indicate that the prophet had any particular young woman in his mind, as the Heb idiom often uses the definite article indefinitely. The fact that two other children of the prophet, like Hosea's, bore prophetic and mysterious names, invites the conjecture that the bride referred to was his own wife. The hypothesis of some critics that a woman of the harem of Ahaz became the mother of Hezekiah, and that he was the Immanuel of the prophet's thought is not feasible. Hezekiah was at least 9 years of age when the prophecy was given (2 K **16** 2).

Immanuel, in the prophetic economy, evidently stands on the same level with Shear-jashub (**7** 3) as the embodiment of a great idea, to which Isaiah again appeals in Isa **8** 8 (see Isaiah, VII).

3. Was It a Promise or a Threat?

The question as to whether the sign given to Ahaz was favorable or not presents many difficulties. Was it a promise of good or a threat of judgment? It is evident that the prophet had first intended an omen of deliverance and blessing (**7** 4.7). Did the king's lack of faith alter the nature of the sign? Ver 9, "If ye will not believe," etc, implies that it might have done so. The omission of ver 16, and esp. the words "whose two kings thou abhorrest," greatly simplifies this theory, as "the land," singular, would more naturally refer to Judah than to Syria and Ephraim collectively. The omen would then become an easily interpreted threat, referring to the overthrow of Judah rather than that of her enemies. Immanuel should eat curdled milk and honey (ver 15), devastation reducing the land from an agricultural to a pastoral one. The obscure nature of the passage as it stands suggests strongly that it has suffered from interpolation. The contrary theory that the sign was a promise and not a prediction of disaster, has much to commend it, though it necessitates greater freedom with the text. The name "Immanuel" implies the faith of the young mother of the child in the early deliverance of her country, and a rebuke to the lack of that quality in Ahaz. It is certain also that Isaiah looked for the destruction of Syria and Ephraim, and that, subsequent to the Assyr invasion, salvation should come to Judah through the remnant that had been faithful (**11** 11). The fact that the prophet later gave the name of Maher-shalal-hash-baz to his new-born son, a name of good omen to his country, further strengthens this position. The omission of vs 15.17 would make the sign a prophecy of the failure of the coalition. It is plain, whichever theory be accepted, that something must be eliminated from the passage to insure a consistent reading.

4. Its Relation to the Messianic Hope

The question now presents itself as to what was the relation of Immanuel to the Messianic prophecies. Should the emphasis be laid upon "a virgin," the son, or the name itself? For traditional interpretation the sign lay in the virgin birth, but the uncertainty of implied virginity in the Heb noun makes this interpretation improbable. The identification of the young mother as Zion personified, and of the "son" as the future generation, is suggested by Whitehouse and other scholars. But there is no evidence that the term *‘almāh* was used at that time for personification. The third alternative makes Immanuel a Messiah in the wider use of the term, as anticipated by Isaiah and his contemporaries. There can be little doubt but that there existed in Judah the Messianic hope of a national saviour (2 S **7** 12). Isaiah is expecting the arrival of one whose character and work shall entitle him to the great names of **9** 6. In him should dwell all the fulness of God. He was to be "of the stem of Jesse," the bringer of the Golden Age. The house of David is now beset by enemies, and its reigning representative is weak in faith. The prophet therefore announces the immediate coming of the deliverer. If he had intended the virgin-conception of Christ in the distant future, the sign of "Immanuel" would have possessed no immediate significance, nor would it have been an omen to Ahaz. With regard to the Messianic idea, Mic **5** 3 ("until the time that she who travaileth hath brought forth") is of importance as indicating the prevalent thought of the time. Recent evidence shows that even in Babylonia and Egypt there existed expectations of a divinely born and wonderful saviour. To this popular tradition the prophet probably appealed, his hearers being easily able to appreciate the force of oracular language that is to us obscure. There is much to confirm the view, therefore, that the prophecy is Messianic.

5. The Virgin Birth

The use of the word as it relates to the virgin birth of Christ and the incarnation cannot be dealt with here (see Person of Christ). These facts, however, may be noted. The LXX (which has *parthénos*, "virgin") and the Alexandrian Jews interpreted the passage as referring to the virgin birth and the Messianic ministry. This interpretation does not seem to have been sufficiently prominent to explain the rise of the idea of miraculous virgin conception and the large place it has occupied in Christological thought. See Virgin Birth. Arthur Walwyn Evans

IMMER, im′ẽr (אִמֵּר, *'immēr*):

(1) A priest of David's time (1 Ch **24** 14), whose descendants are mentioned in Ezr **2** 37; **10** 20; Neh **3** 29; **7** 40; **11** 13.

(2) A priest of Jeremiah's time (Jer **20** 1).

(3) A place in Babylonia (Ezr **2** 59; Neh **7** 61).

IMMORTAL, i-môr′tal, **IMMORTALITY**, im-or-tal′i-ti (**ἀθανασία**, *athanasía*, 1 Cor **15** 53; 1 Tim **6** 16, **ἀφθαρσία**, *aphtharsía*, lit. "incorruption," Rom **2** 7; 1 Cor **15**; 2 Tim **1** 10, **ἄφθαρτος**, *áphthartos*, lit. "incorruptible," Rom **1** 23; 1 Cor **15** 52; 1 Tim **1** 17):

1. Preliminary—Need of Definition and Distinction
2. Biblical Conception
   - I. THE NATURAL BELIEF
     - 1. Its Origin
     - 2. Philosophical Arguments
       - (1) The Soul Spiritual
         - Soul not Inherently Indestructible
       - (2) Capacities of Human Nature
       - (3) The Moral Argument
   - II. THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE—THE OT
     - 1. Starting-Point—Man's Relation to God
       - Man's Nature
     - 2. Sin and Death
     - 3. Grace and Redemption—The True Immortality
       - Deliverance from Sheol
     - 4. Later Jewish Thought
   - III. THE CHRISTIAN HOPE
     - 1. Immortality through Christ
       - (1) Survival of the Soul
       - (2) Union with Christ in Unseen World
       - (3) The Resurrection
       - (4) The Wicked Also Raised
       - (5) Eternal Life
     - 2. Contrasts

LITERATURE

1. Preliminary—Need of Definition and Distinction In hardly any subject is it more necessary to be careful in the definition of terms and clear distinction of ideas, esp. where the Bib. doctrine is concerned, than in this of "immortality." By "immortality" is frequently meant simply the survival of the soul, or spiritual part of man, after bodily death. It is the assertion of the fact that death does not end all. The soul survives. This is commonly what is meant when we speak of "a future life," "a future state," "a hereafter." Not, however, to dwell on the fact that many peoples have no clear conception of an immaterial "soul" in the modern sense (the Egyptians, e.g. distinguished several parts, the *Ka*, the *Ba*, etc, which survived death; often the surviving self is simply a ghostly resemblance of the earthly self, nourished with food, offerings, etc), there is the more serious consideration that the state into which the surviving part is supposed to enter at death is anything but a state which can be described as "life," or worthy to be dignified with the name "immortality." It is a state peculiar to "death" (see DEATH); in most cases, shadowy, inert, feeble, dependent, joyless; a state to be dreaded and shrunk from, not one to be hoped for. If, on the other hand, as in the hope of immortality among the nobler heathen, it is conceived of, as for some, a state of happiness—the clog of the body being shaken off—this yields the idea, which has passed into so much of our modern thinking, of an "immortality of the soul," of an imperishableness of the spiritual part, sometimes supposed to extend backward as well as forward; an inherent indestructibility.

2. Biblical Conception It will be seen as we advance, that the Bib. view is different from all of these. The soul, indeed, survives the body; but this disembodied state is never viewed as one of complete "life." For the Bible "immortality" is not merely the survival of the soul, the passing into "Sheol" or "Hades." This is not, in itself considered, "life" or happiness. The "immortality" the Bible contemplates is an immortality of the *whole person*—body and soul together. It implies, therefore, deliverance from the state of death. It is not a condition simply of future existence, however prolonged, but a state of blessedness, due to redemption and the possession of the "eternal life" in the soul; it includes resurrection and perfected life in *both* soul and body. The subject must now be considered more particularly in its different aspects.

I. The Natural Belief.—In some sort the belief in the survival of the spirit or self at death is a practically universal phenomenon. To what is it traceable?

1. Its Origin A favorite hypothesis with anthropologists is that it has its origin in dreams or visions suggesting the continued existence of the dead (cf H. Spencer, *Eccles. Instit.*, chs i, xiv). Before, however, a dream can suggest the survival of the soul, there must be the idea of the soul, and of this there seems a simpler explanation in the consciousness which even the savage possesses of something within him that thinks, feels and wills, in distinction from his bodily organs. At death this thinking, feeling something disappears, while the body remains. What more natural than to suppose that it persists in some other state apart from the body? (Cf Max Müller, *Anthrop. Religion*, 281.) Dreams, etc, may help this conviction, but need not create it. It is only as we assume such a deeper root for the belief that we can account for its universality and persistence. Even this, however, while an instinctive presumption, can hardly be called a *proof* of survival after death, and it does not yield an idea of "immortality" in any worthy sense. It is at most, as already said, a ghostly reduplication of the earthly life that is thus far reached.

2. Philosophical Arguments (1) *The soul spiritual.*—The more philosophical arguments that are adduced for the soul's immortality (or survival) are not all of equal weight. The argument based on the metaphysical essence of the soul (see Plato's *Phaedo*) is not in these days felt to be satisfying. On the other hand, it can be maintained against the materialist on irrefragable grounds that the soul, or thinking spirit, in man is immaterial in Nature, and, where this is granted, there is, or can be, no proof that death, or physical dissolution, destroys this conscious spirit. The presumption is powerfully the other way. Cicero of old argued that death need not even be the suspension of its powers (cf *Tusc. Disp.* i.20); Butler reasons the matter from analogy (*Anal.*, I, ch i); modern scientists like J. S. Mill (*Three Essays*, 201) and Professor Huxley (*Life and Letters*, I, 217 ff; cf William James, *Ingersoll Lecture*) concede that immortality cannot be *disproved*. The denial one hears from various sides more frequently than formerly is therefore not warranted. Still possibility is not certainty, and there is nothing as yet to show that even if the soul survives death, its new state of existence has in it anything desirable.

It was hinted that one use which the Greeks made of the metaphysical argument was to prove the *indestructibility* of the soul—its immortality in the sense of having no beginning and no end. This is not the Christian doctrine. The soul has no such inherent indestructibility. It is dependent on God, as everything else is, for its continued existence. Did He withdraw His sustaining power, it would cease to exist. That it does continue to exist is not doubted, but this must be argued on other grounds.

(2) *Capacities of human nature.*—A much more apprehensible argument for immortality—more strictly, of a future state of existence—is drawn from the rich capacities and possibilities of human nature, for which the earthly life affords so brief and inadequate a sphere of exercise. It is the characteristic of spirit that it has in it an element of infinitude, and aspires to the infinite. The best the world can give can never satisfy it. It has in it the possibility of endless progress, and ever higher satisfaction. It was this consideration which led Kant, with all his theoretical skepticism, to give immortality a place among his "doctrinal beliefs" (see his *Critique of Pure Reason*, Bohn's tr, 590–91), and moved J. S. Mill to speak of it as the only hope

which gave adequate scope to the human faculties and feelings, "the loftier aspirations being no longer kept down by a sense of the insignificance of human life by the disastrous feeling of 'not worth while'" (*Three Essays*, 249). Yet when these arguments are calmly weighed, they amount to no more than a proof that man is *constituted* for immortality; they do not afford a guarantee that this destiny might not be forfeited, or if they yield such a guarantee for the good, they hardly do so for the wicked. The belief, in their case, must depend on other considerations.

(3) *The moral argument.*—It is, as Kant also felt, when we enter the moral sphere that immortality, or the continued existence of the soul, becomes a practical certainty to the earnest mind. With moral personality is bound up the idea of moral law and moral responsibility; this, in turn, necessitates the thought of the world as a moral system, and of God as moral Ruler. The world, as we know it, is certainly a scene of moral administration—of probation, of discipline, of reward and penalty—but as obviously a scene of *incomplete* moral administration. The tangled condition of things in this life can satisfy no one's sense of justice. Goodness is left to suffer; wickedness outwardly triumphs. The evil-doer's own conscience proclaims him answerable, and points to future judgment. There is need for a final rectification of what is wrong here. But while a future state seems thus called for, this does not of itself secure eternal existence for the wicked, nor would such existence be "immortality" in the positive sense. In view of the mystery of sin, the lamp of reason grows dim. For further light we must look to revelation.

II. The Biblical Doctrine—the OT.—The Bib. view of immortality starts from man's relation to God. Man, as made in the image of God (Gen **1** 27), is fitted for the knowledge of God, for fellowship with Him. This implies that man is more than an animal; that he has a life which transcends time. In it already lies the pledge of immortality if man is obedient.

1. Starting-Point—Man's Relation to God

Man's nature.—With this corresponds the account given of man's creation and original state. Man is a being composed of body and soul; both are integral parts of his personality. He was created for life, not for mortality. The warning, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (Gen **2** 17), implies that if man continued obedient he would live. But this is not an immortality of the soul only. It is a life in the body (cf Gen **3** 22). Its type is such cases as Enoch and Elijah (Gen **5** 24; 2 K **2** 11.12; cf Ps **49** 15; **73** 24).

2. Sin and Death

The frustration of this original destiny of man comes through sin. Sin entails death (see DEATH). Death in its physical aspect is a separation of soul and body—a breaking up of the unity of man's personality. In one sense, therefore, it is the destruction of the immortality which was man's original destiny. It does not, however, imply the extinction of the soul. That survives, but not in a state that can be called "life." It passes into Sheol—the sad, gloomy abode of the dead, in which there is no joy, activity, knowledge of the affairs of earth, or (in the view of Nature) remembrance of God, or praise of His goodness (on this subject, and the Heb belief in the future state generally, see ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OT; DEATH; SHEOL). This is not future "life"—not "immortality."

3. Grace and Redemption—the True Immortality

It is the part of grace and redemption to restore immortality in the true sense. Had the world been left to develop in sin, no further hope could have come to it. The picture of Sheol would have become ever darker as the idea of retribution grew stronger; it could never become brighter. But God's grace intervened: "Deliver him from going down to the pit, I have found a ransom" (Job **33** 24). God's mercy breaks in on the hopelessness of man's lot. He gives to man His promises; makes His covenant with man; admits man to His fellowship (Gen **3** 15; **4** 4; **5** 24; **6** 8.9; **12** 1–3; **15**, etc). In this fellowship the soul was raised again to its true life even on earth. But this held in it also a hope for the future. The promises placed in the forefront as tokens of God's favors were indeed predominatingly temporal—promises for this life—but within these (the kernel within the shell) was the supreme possession of God Himself (Ps **4** 6 f; **16** 2). This held in it the hope of redemption and the principle of every good.

Deliverance from Sheol.—Here we reach the core of the OT hope of immortality. Such fellowship as the believer had with God could not be lost, even in Sheol; beyond that was deliverance from Sheol. In their highest moments it was this hope that sustained patriarchs, psalmists, prophets, in their outlook on the future. Doubt might cloud their minds; there might be seasons of darkness and even despair; but it was impossible in moments of strong faith to believe that God would ever really desert them. The eternal God was their dwelling-place; beneath them were everlasting arms (Dt **33** 27; cf Ps **90** 1). Their hope of immortality, therefore, was, in principle, the hope not merely of an "immortality of the soul," but likewise of resurrection—of complete deliverance from Sheol. Thus it is clearly in the impassioned outburst of Job (**19** 25–27; cf **14** 13 ff), and in many of the psalms. The hope always clothes itself in the form of complete deliverance from Sheol. Thus in Ps **17** 14 f, the wicked have their portion "in this life," but, "As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness" (ARV "with beholding thy form"); and in Ps **49** 14 f, the wicked are "appointed as a flock for Sheol," but "God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol; for he will receive me" (same expression as that regarding Enoch, Gen **5** 24; cf Ps **73** 24). It will be remembered that when Jesus expounded the declaration, "I am the God of Abraham," etc, it was as a pledge of resurrection (Mt **22** 31 f). The idea comes to final expression in the declaration in Dnl of a resurrection of the just and unjust (**12** 2). For further development and illustration see ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OT.

4. Later Jewish Thought

Later Jewish thought carried out these ideas of the OT to further issues. A blessed future for the righteous was now accepted, and was definitely connected with the idea of resurrection. The wicked remained in Sheol, now conceived of as a place of retribution. The Gentiles, too, shared this doom. See ESCHATOLOGY.

III. The Christian Hope.—In full consonance with what is revealed in part in the OT is the hope of immortality discovered in the NT.

1. Immortality through Christ

The ring of this joyful hope is heard in every part of the apostolic writings. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," says Peter, "who according to his great mercy begat us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you" (1 Pet **1** 3 f). Paul declares, "Our Saviour Christ Jesus, who .... brought life and immortality [incorruption] to light through the gospel" (2 Tim **1** 10). In Rom **2** 7 he had spoken of those who "by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honor and incorruption, eternal life." This immortality, it is seen, is part of the eternal life bestowed through Jesus on believers. It is guaranteed by Christ's own resurrection and life in glory. The nature of this hope of the gospel may now be further analyzed.

(1) *Survival of the soul.*—The soul survives the body. A future state for both righteous and wicked is plainly declared by Jesus Himself. "He that believeth on me," He said to Martha, "though he die, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die" (Jn **11** 25 f). To His disciples He said, "If I go and prepare a place for you, I come again, and will receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also" (Jn **14** 3). Cf His words to the penitent thief: "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise" (Lk **23** 43). The survival of both righteous and wicked is implied in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk **16** 19–31). So in many other places (e.g. Mt **5** 29 f; **10** 28; **11** 21–24; **12** 41, etc). The same is the teaching of the epp. The doctrine of a future judgment depends on and presupposes this truth (Rom **2** 5–11; 2 Cor **5** 10, etc).

(2) *Union with Christ in unseen world.*—Death for the redeemed, though a result of sin, does not destroy the soul's relation to God and to Christ. The eternal life implanted in the soul in time blossoms in its fruition into the life and blessedness of eternity (Rom **8** 10 f; Phil **1** 21; Col **1** 27). The soul is, indeed, in an incomplete state till the resurrection. It "waits for our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body" (Rom **8** 23). But its state, though incomplete, is still a happy one. Hades has lost its gloom, and is for it a "Paradise" (Lk **23** 43). It dwells in a chamber of the Father's house (Jn **14** 2 f; **17** 24). It is to be, even in the unclothed state ("absent from the body"), "at home with the Lord" (2 Cor **5** 8). It is for it an object of desire to be "with Christ" in that state after death (Phil **1** 21). The pictures in Rev, though highly figurative, indicate a condition of great blessedness (Rev **7** 9–17).

(3) *The resurrection.*—The fulness of the blessedness of immortality implies the resurrection. The resurrection is a cardinal article of Christ's teaching (Mt **22** 29–32; Jn **5** 25–29; **11** 23–26). He Himself is the Lord of life, and life-giver in the resurrection (Jn **5** 21.25.26; **11** 25, "I am the resurrection, and the life"). The resurrection of believers is secured by His own resurrection. Jesus died; He rose again (see RESURRECTION). His resurrection carries with it the certainty of the resurrection of all His people. This is the great theme of 1 Cor **15**. As Christ lives, they shall live also (Jn **14** 19). The believers who are alive at His Parousia shall be changed (1 Cor **15** 51; 1 Thess **4** 17); those who are dead shall be raised first of all (1 Thess **4** 16). The resurrection body shall be a body like to Christ's own (Phil **3** 21)—incorruptible, glorious, powerful, spiritual, immortal (1 Cor **15** 42 ff.53f). This is not to be confused with sameness of material particles (vs 37 f), yet there is the connection of a vital bond between the old body and the new. This is the hope of the believer, without which his redemption would not be complete.

(4) *The wicked also raised.*—The wicked also are raised, not, however, to glory, but for judgment (Jn **5** 29; Acts **24** 15; Rev **20** 12–15). The same truth is implied in all passages on the last judgment. Excluded from the blessedness of the righteous, their state is described by both Jesus and His apostles as one of uttermost tribulation and anguish (e.g. Mt **25** 46; Mk **9** 43–50; Rom **2** 8 f). This is not "immortality" or "life," though the continued existence of the soul is implied in it (see PUNISHMENT, EVERLASTING; HELL; RETRIBUTION).

(5) *Eternal life.*—The condition of the blessed in their state of immortality is one of unspeakable felicity of both soul and body forever. There are, indeed, degrees of glory—this is carefully and consistently taught (Mt **25** 14 ff; Lk **19** 12 ff; 1 Cor **3** 10–15; **15** 41; Phil **3** 10–14; 2 Tim **4** 7 f; 1 Jn **2** 28)—but the condition as a whole is one of perfect satisfaction, holiness and blessedness (cf Mt **13** 43; **25** 34; Rom **2** 7.10; Rev **22** 3 ff, etc). The blessedness of this eternal state includes such elements as the following: (1) restoration to God's image and likeness to Christ (1 Cor **15** 49; 2 Cor **3** 18; Eph **4** 24; Col **3** 10; 1 Jn **3** 2); (2) perfect holiness in the possession of God's Spirit (2 Cor **7** 1; Phil **1** 6; Rev **21** 27; **22** 4.11); (3) the unveiled vision of God's glory (Rev **22** 4; cf Ps **17** 15); (4) freedom from all sorrow, pain and death (Rev **21** 3 f); (5) power of unwearied service (Rev **22** 3).

2. Contrasts

The contrast between the Bib. view of immortality and that of heathenism and of the schools will now be obvious. It is not mere future existence; not a bare, abstract immortality of the soul; it is the result of redemption and of renewal by God's spirit; it embraces the whole personality, soul and body; it is not shared by the unholy; it includes the perfection of rational, moral and spiritual blessedness, in an environment suitable to such glorified existence. As such it is the supreme prize after which every believer is called to strive (Phil **3** 13 f).

LITERATURE.—*Ingersoll Lectures on Immortality*, by Professor William James, Professor Osler, etc; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality;* Orr, *Christian View of God and the World*, Lects iv, v, with App. to v; works specified in art. on ESCHATOLOGY.

JAMES ORR

IMMUTABILITY, i-mū-ta-bil′i-ti, **IMMUTABLE**, i-mū′ta-b'l (ἀμετάθετος, *ametáthetos*): Occurs in He **6** 17.18 of the unchangeableness of the Divine counsel. It is the perfection of Jeh that He changes not in character, will, purpose, aim (Mal **3** 6; so of Christ, He **13** 8). See FAITHFULNESS; UNCHANGEABLE.

IMNA, im′na (יִמְנָע, *yimnā'*): A descendant of Asher (1 Ch **7** 35).

IMNAH, im′na (יִמְנָה, *yimnāh*):

(1) Eldest son of Asher (Gen **46** 17, AV "Jimnah"; Nu **26** 44, AV "Jimna"; 1 Ch **7** 30).

(2) A Levite of Hezekiah's time (2 Ch **31** 14).

IMNITES, im′nīts (יִמְנִי, *yimnī*): Descendants of IMNAH (q.v. [1]) (Nu **26** 44, AV "Jimnites").

IMPART, im-pärt′ (μεταδίδωμι, *metadídōmi*, "to share"): "They . . . . imparted [AV "added"] nothing to me" (Gal **2** 6); that is, did not propose any correction or addition to my teaching. "That I may impart unto you some spiritual gift" (Rom **1** 11) expresses the apostle's hope that the Rom believers may increase in faith and love through his teaching and influence.

"To impart unto you . . . . our own souls" (1 Thess **2** 8) meant to spend their utmost strength and to expose their lives in their service.

IMPEDIMENT, im-ped′i-ment: Found in Mk **7** 32, "had an impediment in his speech," as a tr of μογίλαλος, *mogílalos*, comp. of μόγος, *mógos*, "toil" and λάλος, *lálos*, "speech," i.e. one who speaks with difficulty. In the LXX the word is used as a tr of אִלֵּם, *'illēm*, "dumb" (Isa **35** 6).

IMPLEAD, im-plēd′ (Acts **19** 38 AV, "Let them implead one another"): "Implead" means "to sue at law," hence RV "Let them accuse one another." Court days are kept, let them prosecute the suit in court and not settle matters in riot. ἐγκαλεῖν, *egkaleín,* means "to call in," "to call to account."

IMPORTABLE, im-pōr′ta-b'l (**δυσβάστακτος,** *dusbástaktos*): An obsolete word, meaning "unbearable" (Lat *im,* "not," *portabilis,* "bearable") found in Pr Man, "Thine angry threatening [RV "the anger of thy threatening"] toward sinners is importable"; cf Rheims version, Mt **23** 4, "heavy burdens and importable"; Chaucer ("Clerk's Tale" C.T.), "For it were importable though they wolde."

IMPORTUNITY, im-por-tū′ni-ti: Occurs only in Lk **11** 8, where it is the rendering of ἀναίδεια, *anaídeia* (WH, ἀναιδία, *anaidía*). This Gr word implies an element of impudent insistence rising to the point of shamelessness which the Eng. word "importunity" fails to express, thus weakening the argument of the parable, which is that if by shameless insistence a favor may be won, even from one unwilling and ungracious, still more surely will God answer the earnest prayer of His people. God's willingness to give exceeds our ability to ask. The parable teaches by way of contrast, not by parallel.

David Foster Estes

IMPOSITION, im-pō̍-zish′un, **OF HANDS.** See Hands, Imposition (Laying on) of.

IMPOSSIBLE, im-pos′i-b'l (vb. **ἀδυνατέω,** *adunatéō;* adj **ἀδύνατος,** *adúnatos*): "To be impossible" is the tr of *adunateō,* "to be powerless," "impotent" (Mt **17** 20; Lk **1** 37, RV "void of power"); *adunatos,* "powerless," etc, is tr^{d} "impossible" (Mt **19** 26; Mk **10** 27; Lk **18** 27; He **6** 4.18; **11** 6; "impossible" in He **6** 4 is in RV transferred to ver 6); *anéndektos,* "not to be received" or "accepted," is also tr^{d} "impossible" (Lk **17** 1). In several of these passages it is affirmed that "nothing is impossible with God," but, of course, this means nothing that is consistent with the Divine nature, e.g. (as He **6** 18) it is not possible for God to lie. So, when it is said that nothing is impossible to *faith,* the same limitation applies and also that of the mind or will of God for us. But much more is possible to a strong faith than a weak faith realizes, or even believes.

W. L. Walker

IMPOTENT, im′pō̍-tent (**ἀσθενέω,** *asthenéō,* **ἀδύνατος,** *adúnatos*): The vb. signifies "to be without strength," and derivatives of it are used in Jn **5** 3.7 AV and Acts **4** 9 to characterize the paralyzed man at Bethesda and the cripple at the Temple gate. For the same condition of the Lystra lame man the word *adunatos* is used, which is synonymous. In these cases it is the weakness of disease. In this sense the word is used by Shakespeare (*Love's Labor Lost,* V, ii, 864; *Hamlet,* I, ii, 29). The impotent folk referred to in the Epistle of Jeremy (Bar **6** 28) were those weak and feeble from age and want; cf "impotent and snail-paced beggary" (*Richard III,* IV, iii, 53).

Alex. Macalister

IMPRISONMENT, im-priz″n-ment. See Punishments; Prison.

IMPURITY, im-pū′ri-ti. See Uncleanness.

IMPUTATION, im-pū̍-tā′shun:

I. Meaning and Use of the Term
II. The Threefold Use of the Term in Theology
  Original Sin, Atonement, Justification
III. The Scriptural Basis of These Doctrines
  1. Imputation of Adam's Sin to His Posterity
  2. Imputation of the Sins of His People to Christ
  3. Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ to His People
Literature

I. Meaning and Use of the Term.—The word "imputation," according to the Scriptural usage, denotes an attributing of something to a person, or a charging of one with anything, or a setting of something to one's account. This takes place sometimes in a judicial manner, so that the thing imputed becomes a ground of reward or punishment. The word is used in AV a number of times to translate the Heb vb. *ḥāshabh* and the Gr vb. *logizomai.* These words, both of which occur frequently in Scripture, and which in a number of instances mean simply "to think," express the above idea. That this is the case is clear also from the other Eng. words used in AV to translate these Heb and Gr words, as, for example, "to count," "to reckon," "to esteem." Thus *ḥāshabh* is tr^{d} in AV by the vb. "to impute" (Lev **7** 18; **17** 4; 2 S **19** 19); by the vb. "to reckon" (2 S **4** 2); by "to count" as something (Lev **25** 31 EV). The vb. in 1 S **22** 15 is שִׂים, *sīm.* Similarly, *logizomai* is tr^{d} by the vb. "to impute" (Rom **4** 6.8.11.22.23.24; 2 Cor **5** 19; Jas **2** 23); by the vb. "to count" (Rom **2** 26; **4** 3.5); "to account" (Gal **3** 6); and by the vb. "to reckon" (Rom **4** 4.9.10). In RV the word used to render *logizomai* is the vb. "to reckon."

These synonyms of the vb. "to impute" bring out the idea of reckoning or charging to one's account. It makes no difference, so far as the meaning of imputation is concerned, who it is that imputes, whether man (1 S **22** 15) or God (Ps **32** 2); it makes no difference what is imputed, whether a good deed for reward (Ps **106** 30 f) or a bad deed for punishment (Lev **17** 4); and it makes no difference whether that which is imputed is something which is personally one's own prior to the imputation, as in the case above cited, where his own good deed was imputed to Phinehas (Ps **106** 30 f), or something which is not personally one's own prior to the imputation, as where Paul asks that a debt not personally his own be charged to him (Philem ver 18). In all these cases the act of imputation is simply the charging of one with something. It denotes just what we mean by our ordinary use of the term. It does not change the inward state or character of the person to whom something is imputed. When, for example, we say that we impute bad motives to anyone, we do not mean that we make such a one bad; and just so in the Scripture the phrase "to impute iniquity" does not mean to make one personally bad, but simply to lay iniquity to his charge. Hence when God is said "to impute sin" to anyone, the meaning is that God accounts such a one to be a sinner, and consequently guilty and liable to punishment. Similarly, the non-imputation of sin means simply not to lay it to one's charge as a ground of punishment (Ps **32** 2). In the same manner, when God is said "to impute righteousness" to a person, the meaning is that He judicially accounts such a one to be righteous and entitled to all the rewards of a righteous person (Rom **4** 6.11).

II. The Threefold Use of the Term in Theology.—Three acts of imputation are given special prominence in the Scripture, and are implicated in the Scriptural doctrines of Original Sin, Atonement and Justification, though not usually expressed by the words *ḥāshabh* and *logizomai.* Because, however, of its "forensic" or "judicial" meaning, and possibly through its use in the Vulg to translate *logizomai* in Rom **4** 8, the term "imputation" has been used in theology in a threefold sense to denote the judicial acts of God by which the guilt of Adam's sin is imputed to his posterity; by which the sins of Christ's people are imputed to Him; and by which the righteousness of Christ is imputed to His people. The act of imputation is precisely the same in each case. It is not meant that Adam's sin was personally the sin of his descendants, but that it was set to their account, so that they share its guilt and penalty. It is not meant that Christ shares personally in the sins of men, but that the guilt of His people's sin was set to his account, so that He bore its penalty. It is not meant that Christ's people are made personally holy or inwardly righteous by the imputation of His righteousness to them, but that His righteousness is set to their account, so that they are entitled to all the rewards of that perfect righteousness.

These doctrines have had a place in the theology of the Christian church from the earliest Christian cents., though the doctrine of the imputation of the righteousness of Christ was first fully and clearly stated at the time of and following the Reformation. The first two of these doctrines have been the possession of the entire Christian church, while the third one of them is affirmed by both the Reformed and Lutheran branches of Protestantism.

III. The Scriptural Basis of These Doctrines.—These three doctrines have a basis in the Scripture, and underlie the Scripture doctrines of Original Sin, Atonement, and Justification.

1. Imputation of Adam's Sin to His Posterity

The doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity is implied in the account of the Fall in Gen **2** and **3,** taken in connection with the subsequent history of the human race as recorded in Gen and in the rest of the OT. Many ancient and modern interpreters regard this narrative as an allegorical, mythical or symbolical representation in historical form, either of a psychological fact, i.e. of something which takes place in every individual, or of certain general truths concerning sin. By some exegetes, following Kant, it has been held to depict an advance of the race in culture or ethical knowledge (Reuss; against which view cf Budde, Clemen); by others it has been regarded as a symbolical representation of certain truths concerning sin (Oehler, Schultz); by others it has been regarded as historical (Delitzsch). This latter view is the one which accords with the narrative itself. It is evidently intended as historical by its author, and is so regarded by the NT writers. It is, moreover, introduced to explain, not an advance of the race, but the entrance of sin into the world, and the connection of certain penal evils with sin. It does this by showing how these evils came upon Adam as a punishment for his disobedience, and the subsequent history shows that his posterity were subjected to the same evils. It is true that the threat of punishment to Adam in case of disobedience was made to him alone, and that the penalties threatened are said to have come only upon him and Eve (Gen **3** 16–19). Nevertheless, it is clear from the account of the subsequent history of the race that it actually shared in the punishments inflicted upon Adam, and that this was in consequence of his sin. This implies that in Gen **2** 16 f are contained the terms of a covenant in which Adam acted as the representative of the race. If, therefore, the race shares in the penalty of Adam's sin, it must also share in his guilt or the judicial obligation to suffer punishment. And this is precisely what the theology of the entire Christian church has meant by saying that the guilt of Adam's sin was imputed to his posterity. This is in accordance with God's method of dealing with men in other recorded instances (Gen **19** 15; Ex **20** 5; Dt **1** 37; **3** 26); and the assertion of the principle of personal responsibility by Ezekiel and Jeremiah against an abuse of the principle of representative responsibility implies a recognition of the latter (Ezk **18** 2.4; **33** 12; Jer **31** 29).

The universality of sin and death is not brought into connection with the Fall of Adam by the other OT writers. This is done, however, by Paul. In 1 Cor **15** 21 f, Paul says that the death of all men has its cause in the man Adam in the same way in which the resurrection from the dead has its cause in the man Christ. The death of all men, accordingly, is not brought about by their personal sins, but has come upon all through the disobedience of Adam. Upon what ground this takes place, Paul states in the passage Rom **5** 12–21. He introduces the subject of Adam's relation to the race to illustrate his doctrine of the justification of sinners on the ground of a righteousness which is not personally their own. In order to do this he takes the truth, well known to his readers, that all men are under condemnation on account of Adam's sin. The comparison is between Adam and Christ, and the specific point of the comparison is imputed sin and imputed righteousness. Hence in ver 12 Paul does not mean simply to affirm that as Adam sinned and consequently died, so men sin and die. Nor can he mean to say that just as God established a precedent in Adam's case that death should follow sin, so He acts upon this precedent in the case of all men because all sin, the real ground of the reign of death being the fact that all sin, and the formal ground being this precedent (B. Weiss); nor that the real ground is this precedent and the subordinate ground the fact that all sin (Hünefeld). Neither can Paul intend to say that all men are subject to death because they derive a corrupt nature from Adam (Fritzsche); nor that men are condemned to die because all have sinned (Pfleiderer). Paul's purpose is to illustrate his doctrine of the way in which men are delivered from sin and death by the way in which they are brought into condemnation. The main thought of the passage is that, just as men are condemned on account of the imputation to them of the guilt of Adam's sin, so they are justified on account of the imputation to them of the righteousness of Christ. Paul says that it was by one man that sin and death entered into the world, and it was by one man that death passed to all men, because all were implicated in the guilt of that one man's sin (ver 12). In proof of this the apostle cites the fact that death as a punishment was reigning during a period in which the only possible judicial ground of this fact must have been the imputation of the guilt of that one man's sin (vs 13.14). Hence there is a precise parallel between Adam and Christ. Just as men are condemned on account of Adam's disobedience, so they are justified on account of the obedience of Christ (vs 18.19). The thought of the passage is imputed sin and imputed righteousness as the ground of condemnation and of justification respectively.

2. The Imputation of the Sins of His People to Christ

That our sins are imputed to Christ is not expressly stated in the Scripture, but is implied in those passages which affirm that Christ "bore our sins," and that our iniquities were "laid upon him" by Jeh. To bear inquity or sin, though it may sometimes mean to bear it away or remove it, is an expression often applied in Scripture to persons charged with guilt and subjected to the punishment of their own sin (Lev **5** 17; **7** 18; **19** 8; **22** 9). That the Heb vb. *nāsā'* has this meaning is also indicated by its being interchanged with the vb. *ṣābhal,* which means "to bear as a burden" and is used to denote the bearing of the punishment of sin (Isa **53** 11). In the OT sacrificial system, which according to the NT is typical of the sacrifice of

Christ, the imposition of hands on the head of the victim signified the substitution of it for the offender and the transfer of his guilt to it. This idea is brought out clearly in the case of the two goats on the great Day of Atonement (Lev **16**). When, therefore, the Servant of Jeh in Isa **53** is said "to bear iniquity" (ver 11), or that "the chastisement of our peace was upon him "(ver 5), or that "Jeh hath laid [lit. "caused to fall"] on him the iniquity of us all" (ver 6), the idea expressed is that Christ bore the punishment of our sin vicariously, its guilt having been imputed to Him. The thought of the prophecy is, as Delitzsch says, that of vicarious punishment, which implies the idea of the imputation of the guilt of our sins to Christ.

The same idea underlies these expressions when they occur in the NT. When Peter wishes to hold up Christ as an example of patience in suffering, he takes up the thought of Isa, and adduces the fact that Christ "his own self bare our sins in his body upon the tree" (1 Pet **2** 24). The context indicates that Peter had the prophecy of Isa **53** in mind, so that his meaning is, not that Christ carried our sins even up to the cross, but that in His death on the cross Christ bore the punishment of our sin, its guilt having been imputed to Him. The same thought is expressed by the writer of the Ep. to the He, where the contrast between the first and second advents of Christ is made to hinge upon the fact that in the first He came to be sacrificed as a sin-bearer, burdened with the guilt of the sin of others, whereas in His second coming He will appear without this burden of imputed or vicarious guilt (He **9** 28). Paul also gives expression to the same thought when he says that Christ was "made to be sin on our behalf" (2 Cor **5** 21), and that He became "a curse for us" (Gal **3** 13). In the former passage the idea of substitution, although not expressed by the preposition *hupér* which indicates that Christ's work was for our benefit, is nevertheless clearly implied in the thought that Christ, whose sinlessness is emphasized in the ver, is made sin, and that we sinners become righteous in Him. Paul means that Christ was made to bear the penalty of our sin and that its guilt was imputed to Him in precisely the same way in which we sinners become the righteousness of God in Him, i.e. by the imputation of His righteousness to us. The same thought is expressed in Gal **3** 13, where the statement that Christ was made a curse for us means that He was made to endure the curse or penalty of the broken law. In all these passages the underlying thought is that the guilt of our sin was imputed to Christ.

3. The Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ to His People

The righteousness upon the ground of which God justifies the ungodly is, according to Paul, witnessed to in the OT (Rom **3** 21). In order to obtain the blessedness which comes from a right relation to God, the pardon or non-imputation of sin is necessary, and this takes place through the "covering" of sin (Ps **32** 1.2). The nature of this covering by the vicarious bearing of the penalty of sin is made clear in Isa **53**. It is, moreover, the teaching of the OT that the righteousness which God demands is not to be found among men (Ps **130** 3; **143** 2; Isa **64** 6). Accordingly, the prophets speak of a righteousness which is not from man's works, but which is said to be in Jeh or to come from Him to His people (Isa **32** 16 f; **45** 23 ff; **54** 17; **58** 8; **61** 3; Jer **51** 10; Hos **10** 12). This idea finds its clearest expression in connection with the work of the Messiah in Jer **33** 16, where Jerus is called "Jeh our righteousness" because of the coming of the Messianic king, and in Jer **23** 6 where the same name is given to the Messiah to express His significance for Israel. Although the idea of the imputation of righteousness is not explicitly asserted in these passages, the idea is not merely that the righteousness spoken of is recognized by Jeh (Cremer), but that it comes from Him, so that Jeh, through the work of the Messiah, is the source of His people's righteousness.

This idea is taken up by Paul, who makes explicit the way in which this righteousness comes to sinners, and who puts the idea of imputed righteousness at the basis of his doctrine of Justification. By the righteousness of Christ Paul means Christ's legal status, or the merit acquired by all that He did in satisfying the demands of God's law, including what has been called His active and passive obedience. Notwithstanding the fact that most of the modern expositors of Paul's doctrine have denied that he teaches the imputation of Christ's obedience, this doctrine has a basis in the apostle's teaching. Justification leads to life and final glorification (Rom **5** 18; **8** 30); and Paul always conceives the obtaining of life as dependent on the fulfilment of the law. If, therefore, Christ secures life for us, it can only be in accordance with this principle. Accordingly, the apostle emphasizes the element of obedience in the death of Christ, and places this act of obedience at the basis of the sinner's justification (Rom **5** 18). He also represents the obedience of the cross as the culminating point of a life of obedience on Christ's part (Phil **2** 8). Moreover, Paul affirms that our redemption from all the demands of the law is secured by the fact that Christ was born under law (Gal **4** 4). This cannot be restricted to the fact that Christ was under the curse of the law, for He was born under law and the result of this is that we are free from all of its demands. This doctrine is also implied in the apostle's teaching that Justification is absolutely gracious, taken in connection with the fact that it leads to a complete salvation.

The importance in Paul's thought of the doctrine of the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to the believer can be seen from the fact that the question how righteousness was to be obtained occupied a central place in his religious consciousness, both before and after his conversion. The apostle's conversion by the appearance of the risen Christ determined his conception of the true way of obtaining righteousness, since the resurrection of Christ meant for Paul the condemnation of his entire past search for righteousness by works of the law.

That the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to the believer does lie at the basis of Paul's doctrine of Justification can be further seen from the fact that Justification is absolutely free and unmerited so far as the sinner is concerned (Rom **3** 24; **5** 15; Gal **5** 4; Tit **3** 7); its object being one who is ungodly (Rom **4** 5); so that it is not by works (Rom **3** 20.28; Gal **2** 16; **3** 11; **5** 4; Phil **3** 9); and yet that it is not a mere pardon of sin, but is a strictly "forensic" or judicial judgment, freeing the sinner from all the claims of the law, and granting him the right to eternal life. This last truth is plain because God's retributive righteousness lies at the basis of Paul's doctrine of Justification (Rom **2**); is manifested in it (Rom **3** 25 f); because Christ's expiatory work is its ground (Rom **3** 25); and because our redemption from the curse of the law rests upon Christ's having borne it for us, and our redemption from all the demands of the law depends upon their fulfilment by Christ (Gal **3** 13; **4** 4). Hence the gracious character of Justification, according to Paul, does not consist in its being merely a gracious pardon without any judicial basis (Ritschl); or in God's acceptance of a subjective righteousness produced by Him in the sinner (Tobac); or in the acceptance of faith instead of a perfect righteousness (Cremer). The gracious character of Justification consists for Paul in the fact that the righteousness on the ground of which God justifies the ungodly is a righteousness which is graciously provided by God, and which Paul contrasts with his own righteousness which comes from law works (Phil **3** 9). The sinner, therefore, is pardoned and accepted as a righteous person, not on account of anything in himself, but only on account of what Christ has done for him, which means that the merits of Christ's suffering and obedience are imputed to the sinner as the ground of his justification.

This truth is explicitly affirmed by Paul, who speaks of God's imputing righteousness without works, and of righteousness being imputed (Rom **4** 6.11). The idea of the imputation of righteousness here is made clear by the context. The one who is declared righteous is said to be "ungodly" (**4** 5). Hence he is righteous only by God's imputation of righteousness to him. This is also clear from the contrast between imputation according to grace and according to debt (**4** 4). He who seeks righteousness by works would be justified as a reward for his works, in antithesis to which, imputation according to grace would be the charging one with a righteousness which he does not possess. Accordingly, at the basis of Justification there is a reckoning to the sinner of an objective righteousness. This same idea is also implied and asserted by Paul in the parallel which he draws between Adam and Christ (Rom **5** 18 f). The apostle says that just as men are condemned on account of a sin not their own, so they are justified on account of a righteousness which is not their own. The idea of imputed sin and imputed righteousness, as was said, is the precise point of the parallelism between condemnation in Adam and justification in Christ. This is also the idea which underlies the apostle's contrast of the Old and New Covenants (2 Cor **3** 9). The New Covenant is described as a "ministry of righteousness," and contrasted with the Old Covenant which is described as a "ministry of condemnation." If, therefore, this last expression does not denote a subjective condition of men under the old dispensation, but their relation to God as objects of His condemnation, righteousness must denote the opposite of this relation to the law, and must depend on God's judicial acquittal. The same truth is expressed by Paul more concretely by saying that Christ has been "made unto us righteousness from God" (1 Cor **1** 30). Here the concrete mode of expression is chosen because Paul speaks also of Christ being our sanctification and redemption, so that an expression had to be chosen which would cover all of these ideas. One of the clearest statements concerning this objective righteousness is Phil **3** 9. The apostle here affirms that the righteousness which the believer in Christ obtains is directly opposite to his own righteousness. This latter comes from works of the law, whereas the former comes from God and through faith in Christ. It is, therefore, objective to man, comes to him from God, is connected with the work of Christ, and is mediated by faith in Christ.

The idea clearly stated in this last passage of a righteousness which is objective to the sinner and which comes to him from God, i.e. the idea of a new legal standing given to the believer by God, explains the meaning, in most cases, of the Pauline phrase "righteousness of God." This phrase is used by Paul 9 t: Rom **1** 17; **3** 5.21f.25f; **10** 3 (twice); 2 Cor **5** 21. It denotes the Divine attribute of righteousness in Rom **3** 5.25f. The customary exegesis was to regard the other instances as denoting the righteousness of a sinner which comes to him from God, in accordance with Phil **3** 9. More recently Haering, following Kölbing in general, has interpreted all these instances as denoting God's justifying action. But this interpretation is most strained in 2 Cor **5** 21, where we are said to "become the righteousness of God," and in Rom **10** 3–6, where the righteousness of God is identified with the righteousness which comes from faith, this latter being contrasted with man's own inward righteousness. That a righteousness of man which he receives from God is here referred to, is confirmed by the fact that the reason given for the error of the Jews in seeking a righteousness from law works is the fact that the work of Christ has made an end of this method of obtaining righteousness (Rom **10** 4). This righteousness, therefore, is one of which man is the possessor. The phrase, however, cannot mean a righteousness which is valid in God's sight (Luther), although this thought is elsewhere expressed by Paul (Rom **3** 20; Gal **3** 11). It means a righteousness which comes from God and of which He is the author. This is not, however, by making man inwardly righteous, since all the above passages show the purely objective character of this righteousness. It is the righteousness of Phil **3** 9; the righteousness which God imputes to the believer in Christ. Thus we "become the righteousness of God" in precisely the same sense in which Christ was "made to be sin" (2 Cor **5** 21). Since Christ was made sin by having the guilt of our sin imputed to Him so that He bore its penalty, Paul must mean that we "become the righteousness of God" in this same objective sense through the imputation to us of the righteousness of Christ. In the same way, in Rom **10** 3, the contrast between God's righteousness and the Jew's righteousness by works of the law shows that in each case righteousness denotes a legal status which comes from God by imputation. It is this same imputed righteousness which makes the gospel the power of God unto salvation (Rom **1** 17), which has been revealed by the law and the prophets, which is received by faith in Christ by whose expiatory death God's retributive righteousness has been made manifest (Rom **3** 21.22.25.26), and which is represented by Peter as the object of Christian faith (2 Pet **1** 1).

In two passages Paul affirms that Abraham believed God and "it was imputed to him for righteousness" (Rom **4** 3 AV; Gal **3** 6). The old Arminian theologians, and some modern exegetes (H. Cremer) assert that Paul means that Abraham's faith was accepted by God instead of a perfect righteousness as the meritorious ground of his justification. This, however, cannot be the apostle's meaning. It is diametrically opposed to the context where Paul introduces the case of Abraham for the very purpose of proving that he was justified without any merit on his part; it is opposed to Paul's idea of the nature of faith which involves the renunciation of all claim to merit, and is a simple resting on Christ from whom all its saving efficacy is derived; and this interpretation is also opposed to Paul's doctrine of the absolutely gracious character of Justification. The apostle in these passages wishes to illustrate from the case of Abraham the gracious character of Justification, and quotes the untechnical language of Gen **15** 6. His meaning is simply that Abraham was justified as a believer in God, and not as one who sought righteousness by works. See SIN; ATONEMENT; JUSTIFICATION.

LITERATURE.—Besides the Comm., see works on OT Theology by Dillmann, Davidson, Oehler, Schultz; and on NT Theology by H. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, Schmidt; also Chemnitz, *De Vocabulo Imputationis*, *Loc. Theol.*, 1594, II, 326 ff; J. Martin, *The Imputation of Adam's Sin*, 1834, 20–46; Clemen, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, I, 1897, 151–79; Dietzsch, *Adam und Christus*, 1871; Hünefeld, *Rom* ***5*** *12–21*, 1895; Crawford, *The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture Respecting the Atonement*^{2},

1876, 33–45, 188–90. Cf also the appropriate sections in the works on the Scripture doctrine of Justification, and esp. on Paul's doctrine of Justification, e.g. Owen, *Justification*, 1st Am. ed, 185–310; Ritschl, *Die Christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, II^2, 1882, 303–31; Böhl, *Von der Rechtfertigung durch den Glauben*, 1890, 115–23; Nösgen, *Schriftbeweis für die evangel. Rechfertigungslehre*, 1901, 147–96; Pfleiderer, *Die Paulinische Rechtfertigung*, ZWT (Hilgenfeld herausg.), 1872, 161–200; *Paulinism*, ET, I, 171–86; with which compare Pfleiderer's later view of Paul's teachings, 2d ed, 1890, 178–89; G. Schwarz, *Justitia Imputata?* 1891; H. Cremer, *Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*^{2}, 1900, 329–49; Tobac, *Le problème de la justification dans Saint Paul*, 1908, 206–25. On Paul's doctrine of the righteousness of God, of the many monographs the following may be mentioned: Fricke, *Der Paulinische Grundbegriff der δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, erörtert auf Grund v. Röm. III, 21–26*, 1888; Kölbing, *Studien zur Paulinische Theologie*, *TSK*, 1895, 7–51; Häring, *Δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, bei Paulus*, 1896.

CASPAR WISTAR HODGE

IMRAH, im′ra (יִמְרָה, *yimrāh*): A descendant of Asher (1 Ch **7** 36).

IMRI, im′rī (אִמְרִי, *'imrī*):

(1) A Judahite (1 Ch **9** 4).

(2) Father of Zaccur who helped to rebuild the walls of Jerus under Nehemiah (Neh **3** 2).

IN: A principal thing to notice about this prep., which in AV represents about 16 Heb and as many Gr words and preps., is that, in hundreds of cases (esp. in the OT, but frequently also in the NT) in RV the rendering is changed to more exact forms ("to," "unto," "by," "upon," "at," "with," "among," "for," "throughout," etc; cf e.g. Gen **6** 16; **13** 8; **17** 7.9.12; **18** 1; Ex **8** 17; Lev **1** 9, etc); while, nearly as often, "in" is substituted for divergent forms of AV (e.g. Gen **2** 14; **17** 11; **31** 54; **40** 7; **49** 17; Ex **8** 14.24; Lev **3** 17; **4** 2, etc). The chief Gr prep. ἐν, *en*, is frequently adhered to as "in" in RV where AV has other forms ("with," "among," etc; cf "in" for "with" in John's baptism, Mt **3** 11, and ‖; "in the tombs" for "among the tombs," Mk **5** 3). In 2 Thess **2** 2, "shaken in mind" in AV is more correctly rendered in RV "shaken from [*apó*] your mind." There are numerous such instructive changes.

JAMES ORR

IN THE LORD (ἐν Κυρίῳ, *en Kuríō*): A favorite Pauline expression, denoting that intimate union and fellowship of the Christian with the Lord Jesus Christ which supplies the basis of all Christian relations and conduct, and the distinctive element in which the Christian life has its specific character. Cf the synonymous Pauline phrases, "in Christ," "in Christ Jesus," and the Johannine expressions, "being in Christ," "abiding in Christ." "In the Lord" denotes: (1) the motive, quality, or character of a Christian duty or virtue, as based on union with Christ, e.g. "Free to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord" (1 Cor **7** 39), i.e. provided the marriage be consistent with the Christian life. Cf 1 Cor **15** 58; Phil **3** 1; **4** 1.2. 4.10; Eph **6** 1.10; Col **3** 18, etc; (2) the ground of Christian unity, fellowship, and brotherly salutation, e.g. Rom **16** 2.8.22; 1 Cor **16** 19; Col **4** 7; (3) it is often practically synonymous with "Christian" (noun or adj.), "as Christians" or "as a Christian," e.g. "Salute them of the household of Narcissus, that are in the Lord," i.e. that are Christians (Rom **16** 11); "I . . . . the prisoner in the Lord," i.e. the Christian prisoner (Eph **4** 1); cf Rom **16** 13; 1 Cor **9** 1.2; Eph **6** 21 ("faithful minister in the Lord" = faithful Christian minister); Col **4** 17 (see Grimm-Thayer, *Lex. of NT*, ἐν, *en*, I, 6).

D. MIALL EDWARDS

INCANTATION, in-kan-tā′shun. See MAGIC.

INCARNATION, in-kär-nā′shun. See PERSON OF CHRIST.

INCENSE, in′sens (קְטֹרָה, *k^{e}ṭōrāh;* in Jer **44** 21, קִטֵּר, *ḳiṭṭēr;* in Mal **1** 11, קָטַר, *ḳāṭar*, "In every place incense shall be offered unto my name"; the word לְבוֹנָה, *l^{e}bhōnāh*, tr^d "incense" in several passages in Isa and Jer in AV, is properly "frankincense," and is so rendered in RV): The offering of incense, or burning of aromatic substances, is common in the religious ceremonies of nearly all nations (Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, etc), and it is natural to find it holding a prominent place in the tabernacle and temple-worship of Israel. The newer critical theory that incense was a late importation into the religion of Israel, and that the altar of incense described in Ex **30** 1 ff is a post-exilian invention, rests on presuppositions which are not here admitted, and is in contradiction to the express notices of the altar of incense in 1 K **6** 20.22; **7** 48; **9** 25; cf 2 Ch **4** 19 (see discussion of the subject by Delitzsch in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1880, 113 ff). In the denunciation of Eli in 1 S **2** 27 ff, the burning of incense is mentioned as one of the functions of the priesthood (ver 28). The "smoke" that filled the temple in Isaiah's vision (Isa **6** 4) may be presumed to be the smoke of incense. The word *k^{e}ṭōrāh* itself properly denotes "smoke." For the altar of incense see art. on that subject, and TABERNACLE and TEMPLE. The incense used in the tabernacle service—called "sweet incense" (*k^{e}ṭōreth ha-ṣammīm*, Ex **25** 6, etc)—was compounded according to a definite prescription of the perfumes, stacte, onycha, galbanum and pure frankincense (Ex **30** 34 f), and incense not so compounded was rejected as "strange incense" (*k^{e}ṭōrāh zārāh*, **30** 9). In the offering of incense, burning coals from the altar of burnt offering were borne in a censer and put upon the altar of incense (the "golden altar" before the oracle), then the fragrant incense was sprinkled on the fire (cf Lk **1** 9 f). Ample details of the rabbinical rules about incense may be seen in the art. "Incense," in *DB;* Macht, *Holy Incense.*

Figuratively, incense was symbolical of ascending prayer. The multitude were praying while Zacharias offered incense (Lk **1** 10, θυμίαμα, *thumíama*), and in Rev **5** 8; **8** 3 f, the incense in the heavenly temple is connected and even identified (**5** 8) with "the prayers of the saints."

JAMES ORR

INCEST, in′sest. See CRIMES.

INCONTINENCY, in-kon′ti-nen-si (**ἀκρασία,** *akrasía*, "without control"): In 1 Cor **7** 5, it evidently refers to lack of control in a particular matter, and signifies unchastity. In Mt **23** 25, the Gr word is tr^d in both AV and ARV by "excess."

INCORRUPTION, in-kô-rup′shun (**ἀφθαρσία,** *aphtharsía*): Occurs in 1 Cor **15** 42.50.53.54, of the resurrection body, and is twice used in RV for AV "immortality" (Rom **2** 7; 2 Tim **1** 10 m). See IMMORTALITY.

INCREASE, in′krēs (noun), in-krēs′ (vb.): Employed in the Eng. Bible both as vb. and as noun, and in both cases to represent a number of different words in the original. As a vb. it is used in the ordinary sense of the term. As a noun it is usually used of plant life, or of the herds and flocks, to denote the fruitage or the offspring; more rarely of money, to denote the interest. As examples of the different terms tr^d by this word, students who read Heb or Gr may compare Dt **7** 22; Prov **16** 21; Job **10** 16 AV; **12** 23; Nu **18** 30; Dt **7** 13; Ezk **22** 12 in the OT, and Jn **3** 30; 1 Cor **3** 6; Col **2** 19; Eph **4** 16 in the NT.

RUSSELL BENJAMIN MILLER

INDIA, in′di-a (הֹדּוּ, *hōddū;* ἡ Ἰνδική, *hē Indikē*): The name occurs in canonical Scripture only in Est **1** 1; **8** 9, of the country which marked the eastern boundary of the territory of Ahasuerus. The Heb word comes from the name of the Indus, *Hondu,* and denotes, not the peninsula of Hindustan, but the country drained by that great river. This is the meaning also in 1 Esd **3** 2; Ad Est **3** 2; **16** 1. Many have thought that this country is intended by Havilah in Gen **2** 11 and that the Indus is the Pishon. The drivers of the elephants (1 Macc **6** 37) were doubtless natives of this land. The name in 1 Macc **8** 9 is certainly an error. India never formed part of the dominions of Antiochus the Great. It may possibly be a clerical error for "Ionia," as Media is possibly a mistake for Mysia. If the Israelites in early times had no direct relations with India, many characteristic Indian products seem to have found their way into Palestinian markets by way of the Arabian and Syrian trade routes, or by means of the Red Sea fleets (1 K **10** 11.15; Ezk **27** 15 ff, etc). Among these may be noted "horns of ivory and ebony," "cassia and calamus," almug (sandalwood), apes and peacocks.
W. EWING

INDIGNITIES, in-dig′ni-tiz. See PUNISHMENTS.

INDITE, in-dīt′: AV Ps **45** 1, "My heart is inditing a good matter"; RV "My heart overfloweth with a goodly matter," is in harmony with רָחַשׁ, *rāḥash,* "to bubble up"; cf LXX ἐξηρεύξατο, *exēreúxato,* "to pour out." "Indite" in Eng. is becoming obsolete. It may mean "to dictate," "to invite," "to compose." In the latter meaning it is used in the above passage.

INFANCY, in′fan-si, **GOSPEL OF THE.** See APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

INFANT, in′fant, **BAPTISM.** See BAPTISM.

INFANTICIDE, in-fan′ti-sīd. See CRIMES.

INFIDEL, in′fi-del (ἄπιστος, *ápistos,* "unbelieving," "incredulous"): AV has this word twice: "What part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" (2 Cor **6** 15); "If any provide not for his own, ... is worse than an infidel" (1 Tim **5** 8). In both passages ERV and ARV have "unbeliever" in harmony with numerous other instances of the use of the Gr *apistos.* The word nowhere corresponds to the modern conception of an infidel, one who denies the existence of God, or repudiates the Christian faith; but always signifies one who has not become a believer in Christ. It was formerly so used in Eng., and some of the older VSS have it in other passages, besides these two. It is not found in the OT, but "infidelity" (incredulity) occurs in 2 Esd **7** 44 [114].
WILLIAM OWEN CARVER

INFINITE, in′fin-it, **INFINITUDE,** in-fin′i-tūd:

1. Scripture Use

The word "infinite" occurs 3 t only in the text of AV (Job **22** 5; Ps **147** 5; Nah **3** 9) and once in m (Nah **2** 9). In Ps **147** 5, "His understanding is infinite," it represents the Heb אֵין מִסְפָּר, *'ēn miṣpār,* "no number"; in the other passages the Heb אֵין קֵץ, *'ēn ḳēç* (Job **22** 5, of iniquities) and אֵין קֵצָה, *'ēn ḳēçeh* (Nah **3** 9, of strength of Ethiopia and Egypt; AVm **2** 9, of "spoil"), meaning "no end." RV, therefore, renders in Job **22** 5, "Neither is there any end to thine iniquities," and drops the marginal reference in Nah **2** 9.

2. Application to God

Ps **147** 5 is thus the only passage in which the term is directly applied to God. It there correctly conveys the idea of absence of all limitation. There is nothing beyond the compass of God's understanding; or, positively, His understanding embraces everything there is to know. Past, present and future; all things possible and actual; the inmost thoughts and purposes of man, as well as his outward actions, lie bare to God's knowledge (He **4** 13; see OMNISCIENCE).

3. Infinity Universally Implied

While, however, the term is not found, the truth that God is infinite, not only in His understanding, but in His being and all His perfections, natural and moral, is one that pervades all Scripture. It could not be otherwise, if God was unoriginated, exalted above all limits of time, space and creaturehood, and dependent only on Himself. The Bib. writers, certainly, are far from thinking in metaphysical categories, or using such terms as "self-existence," "absoluteness," "unconditioned," yet the ideas for which these terms stand were all of them attributed in their conceptions to God. They did not, e.g. conceive of God as having been born, or as having a beginning, as the Bab and Gr gods had, but thought of Him as the ever-existing One (Ps **90** 1.2), and free Creator and Disposer of all that exists. This means that God has self-existence, and for the same reason that He is not bound by His own creation. He must be thought of as raised above all creaturely limits, that is, as infinite.

4. Anthropomorphisms

The anthropomorphisms of the Bible, indeed, are often exceedingly naïve, as when Jeh is said to "go down" to see what is being done (Gen **11** 5.7; **18** 21), or to "repent" of His actions (Gen **6** 6); but these representations stand in contexts which show that the authors knew God to be unlimited in time, space, knowledge and power (cf Gen **6** 7, God, Creator of all; **11** 8.9, universal Ruler; **18** 25, universal Judge; Nu **23** 19, incapable of repentance, etc). Like anthropomorphisms are found in Dt and the Prophets, where it is not doubted that the higher conceptions existed. In this infinity of God is implied His *unsearchableness* (Job **11** 7; Ps **145** 3; Rom **11** 33); conversely, the latter attribute implies His infinity.

5. Infinity a Perfection Not a Quantity

This infinitude of God is displayed in all His attributes—in His eternity, omnipresence, omniscience, omnipotence, etc—on which see the separate arts. As regards the proper conception of infinity, one has chiefly to guard against figuring it under too *quantitative* an aspect. Quantitative boundlessness is the natural symbol we employ to represent infinity, yet reflection will convince us that it is inadequate as applied to a spiritual magnitude. Infinitude in power, e.g. is not an infinite *quantity* of power, but the *potentiality* in God of accomplishing without limit everything that is possible to power. It is a *perfection,* not a *quantity.* Still more is this apparent in moral attributes like love, righteousness, truth, holiness. These attributes are not *quantities* (a quantity can never be truly infinite), but *perfections;* the infinity is *qualitative,* consisting in the absence of all defect or limitation in degree, not in amount.

6. Errors Based on Quantitative Conceptions

The recollection of the fact now stated will free the mind from most of the perplexities that have been raised by metaphysical writers as to the abstract possibility of the coexistence of infinite attributes in God (thus e.g. Mansel); the reconcilability of God's infinity with His Personality, or with the existence of a finite world; the power of the human mind to conceive infinity, etc. How, it is asked, can the idea of infinity get into our finite minds? It might as well be asked how the mind can take in the idea of the sun's distance of some 90 millions of miles from the earth, when the skull that holds the brain is only a few cubic inches in capacity. The idea of a mile is not a mile big, nor is the idea of infinity too large to be *thought of* by the mind of man. The essence of the power of thought is its capacity for the universal, and it cannot rest till it has apprehended the most universal idea of all—the infinite.

James Orr

INFIRMITY, in-fûr′mi-ti (דָּוָה, *dāwāh*, חָלָה, *ḥālāh*, מַחֲלָה, *maḥălāh;* **ἀσθένεια,** *asthéneia*): This word is used either in the sing. or pl. (the latter only in the NT) and with somewhat varying signification. (1) As sickness or bodily disease (Jn **5** 5; Mt **8** 17; Lk **5** 15; **8** 2; 1 Tim **5** 23). In the last instance the affections seem to have been dyspeptic, the discomfort of which might be relieved by alcohol, although the disease would not be cured thereby. It is probable that this condition of body produced a certain slackness in Timothy's work against which Paul several times cautions him. In Lk **7** 21 RV has "diseases," which is a better rendering of the Gr *nosôn*, used here, than the AV "infirmities." (2) Imperfections or weaknesses of body (Rom **6** 19; 2 Cor **11** 30 AV; **12** 5.9.10 AV; Gal **4** 13). (3) Moral or spiritual weaknesses and defects (Ps **77** 10; Rom **8** 26; **15** 1; He **4** 15; **5** 2; **7** 28). In this sense it is often used by the classic Eng. writers, as in Milton's "the last infirmity of noble minds"; cf *Caesar*, IV, iii, 86. The infirmity which a man of resolution can keep under by his will (Prov **18** 14) may be either moral or physical. In Lk **13** 11 the woman's physical infirmity is ascribed to the influence of an evil spirit.

Alex. Macalister

INFLAME, in-flām′, **ENFLAME,** en-flām′ (דָּלַק, *dālaḳ*): "To inflame" in the meaning "to excite passion" is found in Isa **5** 11, "till wine inflame them." In some AV passages (e.g. Isa **57** 5) we find "enflaming" with the same meaning; cf AV Sus ver 8 and Sir **28** 10 AV (RV "inflame").

INFLAMMATION, in-fla-mā′shun (דַּלֶּקֶת, *dalleḳeth;* **ῥῖγος,** *rhígos*): Only in Dt **28** 22, was considered by Jewish writers as "burning fever," by LXX as a form of ague. Both this and typhoid fever are now, and probably were, among the commonest of the diseases of Pal. See Fever. In Lev **13** 28 AV has "inflammation" as the rendering of *çārebheth*, which LXX reads *charaktḗr*, and for which the proper Eng. equivalent is "scar," as in RV.

INFLUENCES, in′flōō-ens-iz (מַעֲדַנּוֹת, *ma'ădhannōth*): This word occurs only in Job **38** 31 AV, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades?" RV "the cluster of the Pleiades," m "or *chain*, or *sweet influences*"; Delitzsch, Dillmann and others render "fetters," that which binds the group together; "influences," if correct, would refer to the *seasons*, which were believed to be regulated, so far, by the Pleiades (q.v.). In Wisd **7** 25, it is said of Wisdom that she is "a pure influence [*apórrhoia*, RV "effluence"] flowing from the glory of the Almighty."

W. L. Walker

INGATHERING, in′gath-ẽr-ing, **FEAST OF.** See Feasts and Fasts; Booth.

INHABIT, in-hab′it, **INHABITANT,** in-hab′it-ant (יָשַׁב, *yāshabh*, "to sit," "remain, "dwell," "inhabit," שָׁכֵן, *shākhēn*, "to settle down," "tabernacle," "dwell"; **κατοικέω,** *katoikéō*, "to settle," "dwell"): See Dwell. The vb. "to inhabit," now used only transitively, had once an intransitive meaning as well. Cf Cowper, *Olney Hymns*, XIV,

> "Who built it, who *inhabits* there?"

So in 1 Ch **5** 9 AV, "And eastward he inhabited unto the entering in of the wilderness" (but RV "dwelt"). We have the obsolete **inhabiters** for "inhabitants" in Rev **8** 13 AV (but RV "them that dwell") and Rev **12** 12 AV (but omitted in RV). The rare **inhabitress** (fem.) is found only in Jer **10** 17 m; "the church called the inhabitress of the gardens" (Bishop Richardson).

D. Miall Edwards

INHERITANCE, in-her′i-tans (נַחֲלָה, *nahălāh*, "something inherited," "occupancy," "heirloom," "estate," "portion"): The word is used in its widest application in the OT Scriptures, referring not only to an estate received by a child from its parents, but also to the land received by the children of Israel as a gift from Jeh. And in the **figurative** and poetical sense, the expression is applied to the kingdom of God as represented in the consecrated lives of His followers. In a similar sense, the Psalmist is represented as speaking of the Lord as the portion of his inheritance. In addition to the above word, the King James Version tr^{s} as inheritance, מוֹרָשָׁה, *mōrāshāh*, "a possession," "heritage" (Dt **33** 4; Ezk **33** 24); יְרֻשָּׁה, *y^{e}rushshāh*, "something occupied," "a patrimony," "possession" (Jgs **21** 17); חֵלֶק, *ḥēleḳ*, "smoothness," "allotment" (Ps **16** 5); κληρονομέω, *klēronoméō*, "to inherit" (Mt **5** 5, etc); κληρονόμος, *klēronómos*, "heir" (Mt **21** 38, etc); κληρονομία, *klēronomía*, "heirship," "patrimony," "possession"; or κλῆρος, *klḗros*, "an acquisition," "portion," "heritage," from κληρόω, *klēróō*, "to assign," "to allot," "to obtain an inheritance" (Mt **21** 38; Lk **12** 13; Acts **7** 5; **20** 32; **26** 18; Gal **3** 18; Eph **1** 11.14.18; **5** 5; Col **1** 12; **3** 24; He **1** 4; **9** 15; **11** 8; 1 Pet **1** 4).

The Pent distinguishes clearly between real and personal property, the fundamental idea regarding the former being the thought that the land is God's, given by Him to His children, the people of Israel, and hence cannot be alienated (Lev **25** 23.28). In order that there might not be any respecter of persons in the division, the lot was to determine the specific piece to be owned by each family head (Nu **26** 52–56; **33** 54). In case, through necessity of circumstances, a homestead was sold, the title could pass only temporarily; for in the year of Jubilee every homestead must again return to the original owner or heir (Lev **25** 25–34). Real estate given to the priesthood must be appraised, and could be redeemed by the payment of the appraised valuation, thus preventing the transfer of real property even in this case (Lev **27** 14–25). Inheritance was controlled by the following regulations: (1) The firstborn son inherited a double portion of all the father's possession (Dt **21** 15–17); (2) the daughters were entitled to an inheritance, provided there were no sons in the family (Nu **27** 8); (3) in case there were no direct heirs, the brothers or more distant kinsmen were recognized (vs 9–11); in no case should an estate pass from one tribe to another. The above points were made the subject of statutory law at the instance of the daughters of Zelophehad, the entire case being clearly set forth in Nu **27**, **36**.

Frank E. Hirsch

INIQUITY, in-ik′wi-ti (עָוֹן, *'āwōn;* **ἀνομία,** *anomía*): In the OT of the 11 words tr^{d} "iniquity," by far the most common and important is *'āwōn* (about 215 t). Etymologically, it is customary to explain it as meaning lit. "crookedness," "perverseness," i.e. evil regarded as that which is not straight or upright, moral distortion (from עִוָּה, *'iwwāh*, "to bend," "make crooked," "pervert"). Driver, however (following Lagarde), maintains that two roots, distinct in Arab., have been confused in Heb, one="to bend," "pervert" (as above), and the other="to err," "go astray"; that *'āwōn* is derived from the latter, and consequently expresses the idea of error, deviation from the right path, rather than that of perversion (Driver, *Notes on Sam*, 135 n.) Whichever etymology is adopted, in actual usage it has three meanings which almost imperceptibly pass into each other: (1) iniquity, (2) guilt of iniquity, (3) punishment of iniquity. Primarily, it denotes "not an action, but the character of an action" (Oehler), and is so distinguished from "sin" (*ḥaṭṭā'th*). Hence we have the expression "the iniquity of my sin" (Ps **32** 5). Thus the meaning glides into that of "guilt," which might often take the place of "iniquity" as the tr of *'āwōn* (Gen **15** 16; Ex **34** 7; Jer **2** 22, etc). From "guilt" it again passes into the meaning of "punishment of guilt," just as Lat *piaculum* may denote both guilt and its punishment. The transition is all the easier in Heb because of the Heb sense of the intimate relation of sin and suffering, e. g. Gen **4** 13, "My punishment is greater than I can bear"; which is obviously to be preferred to AVm, RVm "Mine iniquity is greater than can be forgiven," for Cain is not so much expressing sorrow for his sin, as complaining of the severity of his punishment; cf 2 K **7** 9 (RV "punishment," RVm "iniquity"); Isa **5** 18 (where for "iniquity" we might have "punishment of iniquity," as in Lev **26** 41.43, etc); Isa **40** 2 ("iniquity," RVm "punishment"). The phrase "bear iniquity" is a standing expression for bearing its consequences, i.e. its penalty; generally of the sinner bearing the results of his own iniquity (Lev **17** 16; **20** 17.19; Nu **14** 34; Ezk **44** 10, etc), but sometimes of one bearing the iniquity of another vicariously, and so taking it away (e.g. Ezk **4** 4 f; **18** 19 f). Of special interest in the latter sense are the sufferings of the Servant of Jeh, who shall "bear the iniquities" of the people (Isa **53** 11; cf ver 6).

Other words frequently trᵈ "iniquity" are: אָוֶן, *'āwen*, lit. "worthlessness," "vanity," hence "naughtiness," "mischief" (47 t in AV, esp. in the phrase "workers of iniquity," Job **4** 8; Ps **5** 5; **6** 8; Prov **10** 29, etc); *'āwel* and *'awlāh*, lit. "perverseness" (Dt **32** 4; Job **6** 29 AV, etc).

In the NT "iniquity" stands for *anomia*=prop., "the condition of one without law," "lawlessness" (so trᵈ in 1 Jn **3** 4, elsewhere "iniquity," e.g. Mt **7** 23), a word which frequently stood for *'āwōn* in LXX; and *adikía*, lit. "unrighteousness" (e.g. Lk **13** 27).

D. Miall Edwards

INJOIN, in-join'. See Enjoin.

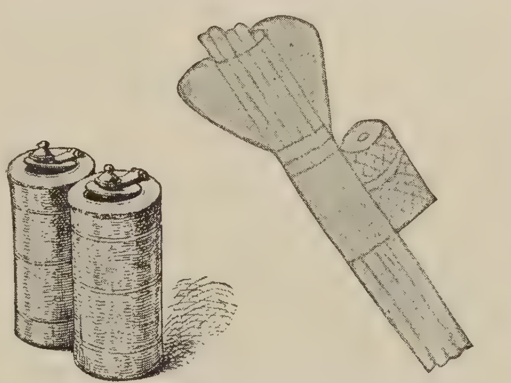
INJURIOUS, in-jōō'ri-us, in-jū'ri-us (**ὑβριστής**, *hubristḗs*, "insolent"): In former usage, the word was strongly expressive of insult as well as hurtfulness. So in 1 Tim **1** 13. In Rom **1** 30 the same adj. is trᵈ "insolent" (AV "despiteful").

INJURY, in'ju-ri, in'jŏŏ-ri. See Crimes.

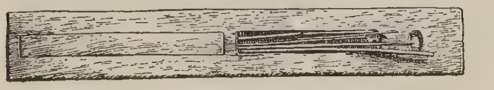
INK, ink (דְּיוֹ, *deyō*, from root meaning "slowly flowing," *BDB*, 188; **μέλαν**, *mélan*, "black"): Any fluid substance used with pen or brush to form written characters. In this sense ink is mentioned once in the Heb Bible (Jer **36** 2) and 3 t in the Gr NT (2 Cor **3** 3; 2 Jn ver 12; 3 Jn ver 13), and it is implied in all references to writing on papyrus or on leather. The inference from the "blotting out" of Ex **32** 33 and Nu **5** 23 that the Heb ink was a lamp-black and gum, or some other dry ink, is confirmed by the general usage of antiquity, by the later Jewish prejudice against other inks (*OTJC*, 71 n.) and by a Jewish receipt referring to ink-tablets (Drach, "Notice sur l'encre des Hébreux," *Ann. philos. chrét.*, 42, 45, 353). The question is, however, now being put on a wholly new basis by the study of the Elephantine Jewish documents (Meyer, *Papyrusfund*², 1912, 15, 21), and above all of the Harvard Ostraca from Samaria which give actual specimens of the ink in Pal in the time of Ahab (*Harvard Theol. Review*, Jan. 1911, 136–43). It is likely, however, that during the long period of Bible history various inks were used. The official copy of the law in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus was, according to Jos (*Ant*, XII, ii, 11), written in gold, and the vermilion and red paints and dyes mentioned in Jer **22** 14; Ezk **23** 14, and Wisd **13** 14 (*míltō kaí phúkei*) were probably used also for writing books or coloring incised inscriptions. See literature under Writing; esp. Krauss, Talm, *Arch.* 3, 148–53; Gardthausen, *Gr Pal*, 1911, I, 202–17, and his bibliographical references *passim*.

E. C. Richardson

INK-HORN, ink'hôrn (קֶשֶׁת=קֶסֶת, *keṣeth*=*keseth*, *BDB*, 903): This term "inkhorn" occurs 3 t in Ezk **9** (vs 2.3.11), in the phrase "writer's inkhorn upon his loins" (or "by his side"). The word is more exactly "implement case," or "writing-case" (*calamarium atramentarium*, *theca calamaria*, *theca libraria*, *graphiaria*). This may have been the Egyp palette (Budge, *Mummy*, 350–52) seen so often in the monuments of all periods, or the later form of pen-case with ink-well attached, which is a modified form adapted for ink carried in fluid form. The Egyp palette was carried characteristically over the shoulder or under the arm, neither of which methods is strictly "upon the loins." The manner of carrying, therefore, was doubtless in the girdle, as in modern oriental usage (Benzinger, *Heb Archaeol.*, 185). A good example of the pen-case and ink-well writing-case (given also in Garucci, Daremberg-Saglio, Gardthausen, etc) is given from the original in Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, 220, and is reproduced (*a*) in this article, together with (*b*) an Egyp palette. Whether the form of Ezekiel's case approached the palette or the ink-well type probably depends on the question of whether dry ink or fluid ink was used in Ezekiel's time (see Ink). Compare Hieronymus ad loc., and for literature,



(*a*) Ink-Wells and Pen-Case with Ink-Well.



(*b*) Scribe's Palette.

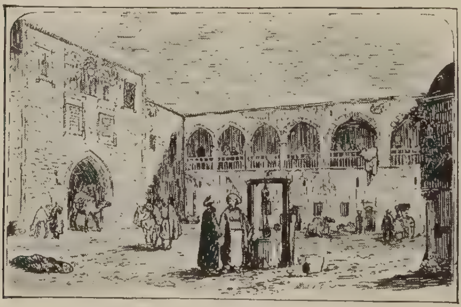
see Writing, and esp. Gardthausen, *Gr Pal*, 1911, I, 193–94. E. C. Richardson

1. Earliest Night Resting-Places

INN (מָלוֹן, *mālōn;* **πανδοχεῖον,** *pandocheíon*, **κατάλυμα,** *katáluma*): The Heb word *mālōn* means lit. a "night resting-place," and might be applied to any spot where caravans (Gen **42** 27; **43** 21 AV), individuals (Ex **4** 24; Jer **9** 2), or even armies (Josh **4** 3.8; 2 K **19** 23; Isa **10** 29) encamped for the night. In the slightly altered form *m^{e}lūnāh*, the same word is used of a night-watchman's lodge in a garden (Isa **1** 8; **24** 20, AV "cottage"). The word in itself does not imply the presence of any building, and in the case of caravans and travelers was doubtless originally, as very often at the present day, only a convenient level bit of ground near some spring, where baggage might be unloaded, animals watered and tethered, and men rest on the bare ground. Nothing in the OT suggests the occupancy of a house in such cases. The nearest approach to such an idea occurs in Jer **41** 17 m, where *gērūth kimhām* is tr^{d} "the lodging-place of Chimham," but the text is very doubtful and probably refers rather to sheepfolds. We cannot say when buildings were first used, but the need of shelter for caravans traveling in winter, and of protection in dangerous times and districts, would lead to their introduction at an early period in the history of trade.

2. Public Inns

It is noteworthy that all the indisputable designations of "inn" come in with the Gr period. Jos (*Ant*, XV, v, 1; *BJ*, I, xxi, 7) speaks of "public inns" under the name of *katagogaí*, while in the Aram. Jewish writings we meet with *'ūshpīzā'*, from Lat *hospitium*, and *'akhṣanyā'* from the Gr *xenía;* the NT designation *pandocheion* has passed into the Aram. *pundheḳā'* and the Arab. *funduḳ*. All these are used of public inns, and they all correspond to the modern "khan" or "caravanserai." These are to be found on the great trade routes all over the East. In their most elaborate form they have almost the strength of a fortress. They consist of a great quadrangle into which admission is gained through a broad, strong gateway. The quadrangle is inclosed on all sides by a 2-story building, the windows in the case of the lower story opening only to the interior. The upper story is reached by stairways, and has a gangway all around, giving access to the practically bare rooms which are at the disposal of travelers.



Interior of Vizir Khan, Aleppo.

3. Their Evil Name

There is usually a well of good water in the center of the quadrangle, and travelers as a rule bring their own food and often that of their animals (Jgs **19** 19) with them. There are no fixed payments, and on departure, the arranging of *haqq el-khan* generally means a disagreeable dispute, as the innkeepers are invariably untruthful, dishonest and oppressive. They have ever been regarded as of infamous character. The Rom laws in many places recognize this. In Mish, *Y^{e}bhāmōth*, xvi.7 the word of an innkeeper was doubted, and Mish, *'Ăbbōdhāh Zārāh*, ii.4 places them in the lowest scale of degradation. The NT is quite clear in speaking of "Rahab the *harlot*" (He **11** 31; Jas **2** 25). The Tg designates her an "innkeeper," while Rashi tr^{s} *zōnāh* as "a seller of kinds of food," a meaning the word will bear. Ḳimḥī, however, accepts both meanings. This evil repute of public inns, together with the Sem spirit of hospitality, led the Jews and the early Christians to prefer to recommend the keeping of open house for the entertainment of strangers. In the Jewish Morning Prayers, even in our day, such action is linked with great promises, and the NT repeatedly (He **13** 2; 1 Pet **4** 9; 3 Jn ver 5) commends hospitality. It is remarkable that both the Talm (*Shab* **127***a*) and the NT (He **13** 2) quote the same passage (Gen **18** 3) in recommending it.

The best-known khans in Pal are *Khan Jubb-Yusuf*, N. of the Lake of Galilee, *Khan et-Tujjār*, under the shadow of Tabor, *Khan el-Lubbān* (cf Jgs **21** 19), and *Khan Ḥaḍrur*, midway between Jerus and Jericho. This last certainly occupies the site of the inn referred to in Lk **10** 34, and it is not without interest that we read in Mish, *Y^{e}bhāmōth*, xvi.7, of another sick man being left at that same inn. See illustration, p. 64.

4. Guest Chambers

The Gr word *kataluma*, though implying a "loosing" for the night, seems rather to be connected with the idea of hospitality in a private house than in a public inn. Luke with his usual care distinguishes between this and *pandocheion*, and his use of the vb. *katalúō* (Lk **9** 12; **19** 7) makes his meaning clear. In the LXX, indeed, *mālōn* is sometimes tr^{d} *kataluma*, and it appears in 1 S **9** 22 for *lishkāh*, AV "parlour." It is the word used of the "upper room" where the Last Supper was held (Mk **14** 14; Lk **22** 11, "guest-chamber"), and of the place of reception in Bethlehem where Joseph and Mary failed to find quarters (Lk **2** 7). It thus corresponds to the spare or upper room in a private house or in a village, i.e. to the *manzil* adjoining the house of the sheikh, where travelers received hospitality and where no payment was expected, except a trifle to the caretaker. In Jerus such payments were made by leaving behind the earthenware vessels that had been used, and the skins of the animals that had been slaughtered (*Yōmā'* **12***a*).

5. Birth of Christ

Judging from the word used, and the conditions implied, we are led to believe that Joseph and Mary had at first expected reception in the upper room or *manzil* at the house of the sheikh of Bethlehem, probably a friend and member of the house of David; that in this they were disappointed, and had to content themselves with the next best, the elevated platform alongside the interior of the stable, and on which those having the care of the animals generally slept. It being now the season when they were in the fields (Lk **2** 8), the stable would be empty and clean. There then the Lord Jesus was born and laid in the safest and most convenient place, the nearest empty manger alongside of this elevated platform. Humble though the circumstances were, the family were preserved from all the annoyance and evil associations of a public khan, and all the demands of delicacy and privacy were duly met. W. M. Christie

INNER MAN. See Inward Man.

INNOCENCE, in'ō-sens, **INNOCENCY,** in'ō-sen-si, **INNOCENT,** in'ō-sent (זָכוּ, *zākhū*, נָקִין,

nikkāyōn, חִנָּם, *ḥinnām*, חַף, *ḥaph*, נָקִי, *nāḳī*; **ἀθῷος**, *athōos*): AV and ARV have **innocency** in Gen **20** 5; Ps **26** 6; **73** 13; Dnl **6** 22; Hos **8** 5. In Dnl the Heb is *zākhū*, and the innocence expressed is the absence of the guilt of disloyalty to God. In all the other places the Heb is *nikkāyōn*, and the innocence expressed is the absence of pollution, Hos having reference to the pollution of idolatry, and the other passages presenting the cleansing under the figure of washing hands. AV has **innocent** not fewer than 40 t. In one place (1 K **2** 31) the Heb is *ḥinnām*, meaning "undeserved," or "without cause," and, accordingly, ARV, instead of "innocent blood . . . . shed," has "blood . . . . shed without cause." In another place (Job **33** 9) the Heb is *ḥaph*, meaning "scraped," or "polished," therefore "clean," and refers to moral purity. In all the other places the Heb is *nāḳī*, or its cognates, and the idea is doubtless the absence of pollution. In more than half the passages "innocent" is connected with blood, as "blood of the innocent," or simply "innocent blood." In some places there is the idea of the Divine acquittal, or forgiveness, as in Job **9** 28: "I know that thou wilt not hold me innocent" (cf Job **10** 14, where the the same Heb word is used). The NT has "innocent" twice in connection with blood—"innocent blood," and "innocent of the blood" (Mt **27** 4.24).

E. J. Forrester

INNOCENTS, in'ō-sents, **MASSACRE,** mas'a-kẽr, **OF THE:**

I. Meaning and History of the Term
II. Analysis of Narrative with Special Reference to Motive
  1. Focus of Narrative—Residence at Nazareth
  2. Corollaries from Above Facts
  3. Marks of Historicity

I. Meaning and History of the Term.

—The conventional, ecclesiastical name given to the slaughter by Herod I (q.v.) of children two years old and under in Bethlehem and its environs at the time of the birth of Christ (Mt **2** 16). The accepted title for this event may be traced through Augustine to Cyprian.

Irenaeus (d. 202 AD) calls these children "martyrs," and in a very beautiful passage interprets the tragedy which ended their brief lives as a gracious and tender "sending before" into His kingdom by the Lord Himself.

Cyprian (d. 258 AD) says: "That it might be manifest that they who are slain for Christ's sake are innocent, innocent infancy was put to death for his name's sake" (Ep. lv.6).

Augustine (b. 354 AD), following Cyprian, speaks of the children, formally, as "the Innocents" (*Comm.* on Ps **43** 5).

The ecclesiastical treatment of the incident is remarkable because of the exaggeration which was indulged in as to the extent of the massacre and the number of victims. At an early date the Gr church canonized 14,000, and afterward, by a curious misinterpretation of Rev **14** 1.3, the number was increased to 144,000.

According to Milman the liturgy of the Church of England retains a reminiscence of this ancient error in the use of Rev **14** on Holy Innocents' Day (see *History of Christianity*, I, 107, n. *e*). This exaggeration, of which there is no hint in the NT, is worthy of note because the most serious general argument against the historicity of the narrative is drawn from the silence of Jos. As in all probability there could not have been more than twenty children involved (cf Farrar, *Life of Christ*, I, 45, n.), the incident could not have bulked very largely in the series of horrors perpetrated or planned by Herod in the last months of his life (see Farrar, *The Herods*, 144 f).

II. Analysis of Narrative with Special Reference to Motive.

—In estimating the value of such a narrative from the viewpoint of historicity, the first and most important step is to gauge the motive. Why was the story told? This question is not always easy to answer, but in the present instance there is a very simple and effective test at hand.

1. Focus of Narrative—Residence at Nazareth

In Mt's infancy section (chs **1** and **2**) there are five quotations from the OT which are set into the narrative of events. These five quotations represent the cardinal and outstanding points of interest. The quotations are placed thus: (1) at the Virgin Birth (**1** 23); (2) at the birth at Bethlehem (**2** 6); (3) at the visit to Egypt (**2** 15); (4) at the murder of the children (**2** 18); (5) at the Nazareth residence (**2** 23). It will be noticed at once as peculiar and significant that no quotation is attached to the visit of the Magi. This omission is the more noteworthy because in Nu **24** 7; Ps **72** 15; Isa **60** 6, and numerous references to the ingathering of the Gentiles there are such beautiful and appropriate passages to link with the visit of the strangers from the far East. This peculiar omission, on the part of a writer so deeply interested in prophecy and its fulfilment and so keen to seize upon appropriate and suggestive harmonies, in a section constructed with a view to such harmonies, can be explained only on the ground that the visit of the Magi did not, in the writer's view of events, occupy a critical point of especial interest. Their visit is told, not for its own sake, but because of its connection with the murder of the children and the journey to Egypt. The murder of the children is of interest because it discloses the character of Herod and the perils surrounding the newborn Messiah. It also explains the visit to Egypt and the subsequent residence at Nazareth. The latter is evidently the objective point, because it is given a place by itself and marked by a quotation. Moreover, the one evidence of overstrain in the narrative is in the ambiguous and obscure statement by which the OT is brought into relationship with the Nazareth residence. The center of interest in the entire section which is concerned with Herod and the Magi is the *Nazareth residence*. The story is told for the express purpose of explaining why the heir of David, who was born at Bethlehem, lived at Nazareth.

This brings the narrative of Mt into striking relationship with that of Lk. The latter's concern is to show how it was that the Messiah who lived at Nazareth was born at Bethlehem. We have here one of the undesigned unities which bind together these two narratives which are seemingly so divergent. That Mt says nothing about a previous residence at Nazareth and that Lk says nothing about a forced return thither may be explained, in accordance with the balance of probabilities, on the ground, either that each evangelist was ignorant of the fact omitted by himself, or that in his condensed and rapid statement he did not see fit to mention it. In any case the harmony immeasurably outweighs the discrepancy.

2. Corollaries from Above Facts

The fact that the focus of the entire narrative lies in the residence of Jesus at Nazareth effectually disposes of a number of current hypotheses as to its origin.

(1) The idea that it is merely legend told for the purpose of literary embellishment. The dovetailing of what would be the main item into the rest of the narrative and its subordination to secondary features cannot be explained on this hypothesis. The absence of adornment by available passages from the OT alone is conclusive on this point (see Allen, "Matthew," *ICC*, 14, 15).

(2) The idea that the story is told for the purpose of illustrating the scope of the Messiah's influence beyond Israel. Here, again, the subordinate position assigned to the story of the Magi together with the absence of OT material is conclusive. Moreover, the history of the Magi is abruptly dropped with the statement of their

return home. Interest in them flags as soon as their brief connection with the movement of the history through Herod ceases. And the intensely Hebraic character of Mt's infancy section as a whole is incidental evidence pointing in the same direction (cf remarks of the writer, *Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ*, 70 f).

(3) The idea that the story is told to emphasize the wonder-element in connection with the birth of Christ. The facts contradict this. In addition to the primary consideration, the subordinate position, there are others of great value. That the Magi were providentially guided to the feet of the Messiah is evidently the firm conviction of the narrator. The striking feature of the story is that with this belief in his mind he keeps so strictly within the limits of the natural order. In vs 9 and 12 only is there apparent exception. Of these the statement in ver 9 is the only one peculiar to this part of the narrative. Two things are to be remembered concerning it: It is clear that the verse cannot be interpreted apart from a clear understanding of the whole astronomical occurrence of which it forms a part.

It is also evident that ver 9 must not be interpreted apart from the context. From the viewpoint of a wonder-tale the writer makes a fatal blunder at the most critical point of his story. The popular notion that the Magi were miraculously led to the Messiah finds no support in the text. The Magi did not come to Bethlehem, but to Jerus, asking: "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" Ver 9 comes after this statement and after the conclave called by Herod in which Bethlehem was specified. In view of all this it seems clear that the Magi were led, not miraculously, but in accordance with the genius of their own system, and that the Providential element lay in the striking coincidence of their visit and the birth of Jesus. The interest of the writer was not in the wonder-element, else, infallibly, he would have sharpened its outlines and expurgated all ambiguity as to the nature of the occurrence.

We may now glance at the positive evidence for the historicity of the event.

3. Marks of Historicity

(1) The centering of the narrative upon the residence of Jesus at Nazareth. This not only brings Lk's Gospel in support of the center, but groups the story around a point of known interest to the first generation of believers. It is interesting to note that the residence in Egypt has independent backing of a sort. There are in existence two stories, one traced by Origen through Jews of his own day to earlier times, and the other in the Talm, which connect Jesus with Egypt and attempt to account for His miracles by reference to Egyp magic (see Plummer, "Matthew," *Ex. Comm.*, 17,18).

(2) The fact that the story of the Magi is told so objectively and with such personal detachment. Both Jews and early Christians had strong views both as to astrology and magic in general (see Plummer, op. cit., 15), but the author of this Gospel tells the story without emphasis and without comment and from the viewpoint of the Magi. His interest is purely historical and matter-of-fact.

(3) The portrait of Herod the Great. So far as Herod is concerned the incident is usually discussed with exclusive reference to the savagery involved. By many it is affirmed that we have here a hostile and unfair portrait. This contention could hardly be sustained even if the question turned entirely upon the point of savagery. But there is far more than savagery in the incident. (*a*) In the first place there is this undeniable element of inherent probability in the story. Practically all of Herod's murders, including those of his beloved wife and his sons, were perpetrated under the sway of one emotion and in obedience to a single motive. They were in practically every instance for the purpose of consolidating or perpetuating his power. He nearly destroyed his own immediate family in the half-mad jealousy that on occasion drove him to the very limits of ferocity, simply because they were accused of plotting against him. The accusations were largely false, but the suspicion doomed those accused. The murder of the Innocents was another crime of the same sort. The old king was obsessed by the fear of a claimant to his petty throne; the Messianic hope of the Jews was a perpetual secret torment, and the murder of the children, in the attempt to reach the child whose advent threatened him, was at once so original in method and so characteristic in purpose as to give an inimitable verisimilitude to the whole narrative. There are also other traits of truth. (*b*) Herod's prompt discovery of the visit of the Magi and their questions is in harmony with what we know of the old ruler's watchfulness and his elaborate system of espionage. (*c*) Characteristic also is the subtlety with which he deals with the whole situation. How striking and vivid, with all its rugged simplicity, is the story of the king's pretended interest in the quest of the strangers, the solemn conclave of Jewish leaders with himself in the rôle of earnest inquirer, his urgent request for information that he may worship also, followed by his swift anger (note that ἐθυμώθη, *ethumōthē*, "was wroth," ver 16, is not used elsewhere in the NT) at being deceived, and the blind but terrible stroke of his questing vengeance.

All these items are so true to the man, to the atmosphere which always surrounded him, and to the historic situation, that we are forced to conclude, either that we have veracious history more or less directly received from one who was an observer of the events described, or the work of an incomparably clever romancer. LOUIS MATTHEWS SWEET

INORDINATE, in-ôr′di-nât ("ill-regulated," hence "immoderate," "excessive"; Lat *in*, "not," *ordinatus*, "set in order"): Only twice in AV. In each case there is no corresponding adj. in the original, but the word was inserted by the translators as being implied in the noun. It disappears in RV: Ezk **23** 11, "in her inordinate love" (RV "in her doting"); עֲגָבָה, *‘ăghābhāh*, "lust"; Col **3** 5 "inordinate affection" (RV "passion"); πάθος, *páthos*, a word which in classical Gr may have either a good or a bad sense (any affection or emotion of the mind), but in the NT is used only in a bad sense (passion). D. MIALL EDWARDS

INQUIRE, in-kwīr′ (שָׁאַל, *shā’al*, "to ask," "desire"; ζητέω, *zētéō*, "to seek"); A form sometimes employed with reference to the practice of divination, as where Saul "inquires of" (or "consults") the witch of Endor as to the issue of the coming battle (1 S **28** 6.7) (see DIVINATION).

In Job **10** 6, "to inquire [בָּקַשׁ, *bāḳash*] after iniquity" signifies to bring to light and punish for it, and Job asks distractedly if God's time is so short that He is in a hurry to find him guilty and to punish him as if He had only a man's few days to live.

"To inquire of Jeh" denotes the consultation of oracle, priest, prophet or Jeh Himself, as to a certain course of action or as to necessary supplies (Jgs **20** 27 AV, "to ask"; 1 K **22** 5; 1 S **9** 9 [דָּרַשׁ, *dārash*]; **10** 22 AV; 2 S **2** 1; **5** 19.23; Ezk **36** 37).

"To inquire [בָּקַר, *bāḳar*] in his temple" (palace) means to find out all that constant fellowship or unbroken intercourse with God can teach (Ps **27** 4).

Prov **20** 25 warns against rashness in making a vow and afterward considering (*bāḳar*, "to make inquiry") as to whether it can be fulfilled or how it may be eluded.

In the AV, the tr of several Gr words: *diaginôskō*, "to know thoroughly" (Acts **23** 15); *epizētéō*, "to seek after" (Acts **19** 39); *suzetéō*, "to seek together" (Lk **22** 23); *exetázō*, "to search out" (Mt **10** 11). M. O. EVANS

INQUISITION, in-kwi-zish′un (דָּרַשׁ, *dārash*, "to follow," "diligently inquire," "question," "search" [Dt **19** 18; Ps **9** 12], בָּקַשׁ, *bāḳash*, "to search out," "to strive after," "inquire" [Est **2** 23]): The term refers, as indicated by these passages, first of all to a careful and diligent inquiry necessary to ascertain the truth from witnesses in a court, but may also refer to a careful examination into circumstances or conditions without official authority.

INSCRIPTION, in-skrip′shun (vb. ἐπιγράφω, *epigráphō*, "to write upon," "inscribe"): The word occurs once in EV in Acts **17** 23 of the altar at Athens with the inscription "To an Unknown God." On inscriptions in archaeology, see ARCHAEOLOGY; ASSYRIA; BABYLONIA, etc.

INSECTS, in′sekts: In EV, including the marginal notes, we find at least 23 names of insects or words referring to them: ant, bald locust, bee, beetle, cankerworm, caterpillar, creeping thing, cricket, crimson, flea, fly, gnat, grasshopper, honey, hornet, locust, louse, (lice), moth, palmer-worm, sandfly, scarlet-worm, silk-worm. These can be referred to about 12 insects, which, arranged systematically, are: *Hymenoptera*, ant, bee, hornet; *Lepidoptera*, clothes-moth, silk-worm; *Siphonaptera*, flea; *Diptera*, fly; *Rhynchota*, louse, scarlet-worm; *Orthoptera*, several kinds of grasshoppers and locusts.

The word "worm" refers not only to the scarlet-worm, but to various larvae of *Lepidoptera*, *Coleoptera*, and *Diptera*. "Creeping things" refers indefinitely to insects, reptiles, and beasts. In the list of 23 names given above honey and bee refer to one insect, as do crimson and scarlet. Sandfly has no place if "lice" be retained in Ex **8** 16 ff. Bald locust, beetle, canker-worm, cricket, and palmer-worm probably all denote various kinds of grasshoppers and locusts. When the translators of EV had to do with two or more Heb words for which there was only one well-recognized Eng. equivalent, they seem to have been content with that alone, if the two Heb words occurred in different passages; e.g. *z^{e}bhūbh*, "fly" (Eccl **10** 1; Isa **7** 18), and *‘ārōbh*, "fly" (Ex **8** 21 ff). On the other hand, they were put to it to find equivalents for the insect names in Lev **11** 22; Joel **1** 4, and elsewhere. For *ṣal^{e}’ām* (Lev **11** 22) they evidently coined "bald locust," following a statement of the Talm that it had a smooth head. For *gāzām* and *yeleḳ* they imported "palmer-worm" and "canker-worm," two old Eng. names of caterpillars, using "caterpillar" for *ḥāsīl*. The AV "beetle" for *ḥargol* is absolutely inappropriate, and the RV "cricket," while less objectionable, is probably also incorrect. The Eng. language seems to lack appropriate names for different kinds of grasshoppers and locusts, and it is difficult to suggest any names to take the places of those against which these criticisms are directed. See under the names of the respective insects. See also SCORPION and SPIDER, which are not included here because they are not strictly insects.

ALFRED ELY DAY

INSPIRATION, in-spi-rā′shun:

1. Meaning of Terms
2. Occurrences in the Bible
3. Consideration of Important Passages
    (1) 2 Tim **3** 16
    (2) 2 Pet **1** 19–21
    (3) Jn **10** 34 f
4. Christ's Declaration That Scripture Must Be Fulfilled
5. His Testimony That God Is Author of Scripture
6. Similar Testimony of His Immediate Followers
7. Their Identification of God and Scripture
8. The "Oracles of God"
9. The Human Element in Scripture
10. Activities of God in Giving Scripture
11. General Problem of Origin: God's Part
12. How Human Qualities Affected Scripture. Providential Preparation
13. "Inspiration" More than Mere "Providence"
14. Witness of NT Writers to Divine Operation
15. "Inspiration" and "Revelation"
16. Scriptures a Divine-Human Book?
17. Scripture of NT Writers Was the OT
18. Inclusion of the NT
LITERATURE

1. Meaning of Terms

The word "inspire" and its derivatives seem to have come into Middle Eng. from the Fr., and have been employed from the first (early in the 14th cent.) in a considerable number of significations, physical and metaphorical, secular and religious. The derivatives have been multiplied and their applications extended during the procession of the years, until they have acquired a very wide and varied use. Underlying all their use, however, is the constant implication of an influence from without, producing in its object movements and effects beyond its native, or at least its ordinary powers. The noun "inspiration," although already in use in the 14th cent., seems not to occur in any but a theological sense until late in the 16th cent. The specifically theological sense of all these terms is governed, of course, by their usage in Lat theology; and this rests ultimately on their employment in the Lat Bible. In the Vulg Lat Bible the vb. *inspiro* (Gen **2** 7; Wisd **15** 11; Ecclus **4** 12; 2 Tim **3** 16; 2 Pet **1** 21) and the noun *inspiratio* (2 S **22** 16; Job **32** 8; Ps **18** 15; Acts **17** 25) both occur 4 or 5 t in somewhat diverse applications. In the development of a theological nomenclature, however, they have acquired (along with other less frequent applications) a technical sense with reference to the Bib. writers or the Bib. books. The Bib. books are called inspired as the Divinely determined products of inspired men; the Bib. writers are called inspired as breathed into by the Holy Spirit, so that the product of their activities transcends human powers and becomes Divinely authoritative. Inspiration is, therefore, usually defined as a supernatural influence exerted on the sacred writers by the Spirit of God, by virtue of which their writings are given Divine trustworthiness.

2. Occurrences in the Bible

Meanwhile, for Eng.-speaking men, these terms have virtually ceased to be Bib. terms. They naturally passed from the Lat Vulg into the Eng. VSS made from it (most fully into the Rheims-Douay: Job **32** 8; Wisd **15** 11; Ecclus **4** 12; 2 Tim **3** 16; 2 Pet **1** 21). But in the development of the Eng. Bible they have found ever-decreasing place. In the EV of the Apoc (both AV and RV) "inspired" is retained in Wisd **15** 11; but in the canonical books the nominal form alone occurs in AV and that only twice: Job **32** 8, "But there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding"; and 2 Tim **3** 16, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." RV removes the former of these instances, substituting "breath" for "inspiration"; and alters the latter so as to read: "Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness," with a marginal alternative in the form of, "Every scripture is inspired of God and profitable," etc. The word "inspiration" thus disappears from the Eng. Bible, and the word "inspired" is left in it only once, and then, let it be added, by a distinct and even misleading mistranslation.

For the Gr word in this passage—θεόπνευστος, *theópneustos*—very distinctly does not mean "inspired of God." This phrase is rather the rendering of the Lat, *divinitus inspirata*, restored from the Wyclif ("Al Scripture of God ynspyrid is . . . .") and Rhemish ("All Scripture inspired of God is . . . .") VSS of the Vulg. The Gr word does not even mean, as AV tr^{s} it, "given by inspiration of God," although that rendering (inherited from Tindale: "All Scripture given by inspiration of God is . . . ." and its successors; cf Geneva: "The whole Scripture is given by inspiration of God and is . . . .") has at least to say for itself that it is a somewhat clumsy, perhaps, but not misleading, paraphrase of the Gr term in the theological language of the day. The Gr term has, however, nothing to say of *in*spiring or of *in*spiration: it speaks only of a "spiring" or "spiration." What it says of Scripture is, not that it is "breathed into by God" or is the product of the Divine "inbreathing" into its human authors, but that it is breathed out by God, "God-breathed," the product of the creative breath of God. In a word, what is declared by this fundamental passage is simply that the Scriptures are a Divine product, without any indication of how God has operated in producing them. No term could have been chosen, however, which would have more emphatically asserted the Divine production of Scripture than that which is here employed. The "breath of God" is in Scripture just the symbol of His almighty power, the bearer of His creative word. "By the word of Jeh," we read in the significant parallel of Ps **33** 6, "were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." And it is particularly where the operations of God are energetic that this term (whether רוּחַ, *rū^{a}ḥ*, or נְשָׁמָה, *n^{e}shāmāh*) is employed to designate them—God's breath is the irresistible outflow of His power. When Paul declares, then, that "every scripture," or "all scripture" is the product of the Divine breath, "is God-breathed," he asserts with as much energy as he could employ that Scripture is the product of a specifically Divine operation.

3. Important Passages

(1) 2 Tim **3** 16: In the passage in which Paul makes this energetic assertion of the Divine origin of Scripture he is engaged in explaining the greatness of the advantages which Timothy had enjoyed for learning the saving truth of God. He had had good teachers; and from his very infancy he had been, by his knowledge of the Scriptures, made wise unto salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. The expression, "sacred writings," here employed (ver 15), is a technical one, not found elsewhere in the NT, it is true, but occurring currently in Philo and Jos to designate that body of authoritative books which constituted the Jewish "Law." It appears here anarthrously because it is set in contrast with the oral teaching which Timothy had enjoyed, as something still better: he had not only had good instructors, but also always "an open Bible," as we should say, in his hand. To enhance yet further the great advantage of the possession of these Sacred Scriptures the apostle adds now a sentence throwing their nature strongly up to view. They are of Divine origin and therefore of the highest value for all holy purposes.

There is room for some difference of opinion as to the exact construction of this declaration. Shall we render "Every Scripture" or "All Scripture"? Shall we render "Every [or all] Scripture is God-breathed and [therefore] profitable," or "Every [or all] Scripture, being God-breathed, is as well profitable"? No doubt both questions are interesting, but for the main matter now engaging our attention they are both indifferent. Whether Paul, looking back at the Sacred Scriptures he had just mentioned, makes the assertion he is about to add, of them distributively, of all their parts, or collectively, of their entire mass, is of no moment: to say that every part of these Sacred Scriptures is God-breathed and to say that the whole of these Sacred Scriptures is God-breathed, is, for the main matter, all one. Nor is the difference great between saying that they are in all their parts, or in their whole extent, God-breathed and therefore profitable, and saying that they are in all their parts, or in their whole extent, because God-breathed as well profitable. In both cases these Sacred Scriptures are declared to owe their value to their Divine origin; and in both cases this their Divine origin is energetically asserted of their entire fabric. On the whole, the preferable construction would seem to be, "Every Scripture, seeing that it is God-breathed, is as well profitable." In that case, what the apostle asserts is that the Sacred Scriptures, in their every several passage—for it is just "passage of Scripture" which "Scripture" in this distributive use of it signifies—is the product of the creative breath of God, and, because of this its Divine origination, is of supreme value for all holy purposes.

It is to be observed that the apostle does not stop here to tell us either what particular books enter into the collection which he calls Sacred Scriptures, or by what precise operations God has produced them. Neither of these subjects entered into the matter he had at the moment in hand. It was the value of the Scriptures, and the source of that value in their Divine origin, which he required at the moment to assert; and these things he asserts, leaving to other occasions any further facts concerning them which it might be well to emphasize. It is also to be observed that the apostle does not tell us here everything for which the Scriptures are made valuable by their Divine origination. He speaks simply to the point immediately in hand, and reminds Timothy of the value which these Scriptures, by virtue of their Divine origin, have for the "man of God." Their spiritual power, as God-breathed, is all that he had occasion here to advert to. Whatever other qualities may accrue to them from their Divine origin, he leaves to other occasions to speak of.

(2) 2 Pet **1** 19–21: What Paul tells us here about the Divine origin of the Scriptures is enforced and extended by a striking passage in 2 Pet (**1** 19–21). Peter is assuring his readers that what had been made known to them of "the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" did not rest on "cunningly devised fables." He offers them the testimony of eyewitnesses of Christ's glory. And then he intimates that they have better testimony than even that of eyewitnesses. "We have," says he, "the prophetic word" (EV, unhappily, "the word of prophecy"): and this, he says, is "more sure," and therefore should certainly be heeded. He refers, of course, to the Scriptures. Of what other "prophetic word" could he, over against the testimony of the eyewitnesses of Christ's "excellent glory" (AV) say that "we have" it, that is, it is in our hands? And he proceeds at once to speak of it plainly as "Scriptural prophecy." You do well, he says, to pay heed to the prophetic word, because we know this first, that "every prophecy of scripture . . . ." It admits of more question, however, whether by this phrase he means the whole of Scripture, designated according to its character, as prophetic, that is, of Divine origin; or only that portion of Scripture which we discriminate as particularly prophetic, the immediate revelations contained in Scripture. The former is the more likely view, inasmuch as the entirety of Scripture is elsewhere conceived and spoken of as prophetic. In that case, what Peter has to say of this "every prophecy of scripture"—the exact equivalent, it will be observed, in this case of Paul's "every scripture" (2 Tim **3** 16)—applies to the whole of Scripture in all its parts. What he says of it is that it does not come "of private interpretation"; that is, it is not the result of human investigation into the nature of things, the product of its writers' own thinking. This is as much as to say it is of Divine gift. Accordingly, he proceeds at once to make this plain in a supporting clause which contains both the negative and the positive declaration: "For no prophecy ever came [m "was brought"] by the will of man, but it was as borne by the Holy Spirit that men spoke from God." In this singularly precise and pregnant statement there are several things which require to be carefully observed. There is, first of all, the emphatic denial that prophecy—that is to say, on the hypothesis upon which we are working, Scripture—owes its origin to human initiative: "No prophecy ever was brought—'came' is the word used in the EV text, with 'was brought' in RVm—by the will of man." Then, there is the equally emphatic assertion that its source lies in God: it was spoken by men, indeed, but the men who spoke it "spake from God." And a remarkable clause is here inserted, and thrown forward in the sentence that stress may fall

on it, which tells us how it could be that men, in speaking, should speak not from themselves, but from God: it was "as borne"—it is the same word which was rendered "was brought" above, and might possibly be rendered "brought" here—"by the Holy Spirit" that they spoke. Speaking thus under the determining influence of the Holy Spirit, the things they spoke were not from themselves, but from God.

Here is as direct an assertion of the Divine origin of Scripture as that of 2 Tim **3** 16. But there is more here than a simple assertion of the Divine origin of Scripture. We are advanced somewhat in our understanding of how God has produced the Scriptures. It was through the instrumentality of men who "spake from him." More specifically, it was through an operation of the Holy Ghost on these men which is described as "bearing" them. The term here used is a very specific one. It is not to be confounded with guiding, or directing, or controlling, or even leading in the full sense of that word. It goes beyond all such terms, in assigning the effect produced specifically to the active agent. What is "borne" is taken up by the "bearer," and conveyed by the "bearer's" power, not its own, to the "bearer's" goal, not its own. The men who spoke from God are here declared, therefore, to have been taken up by the Holy Spirit and brought by His power to the goal of His choosing. The things which they spoke under this operation of the Spirit were therefore His things, not theirs. And that is the reason which is assigned why "the prophetic word" is so sure. Though spoken through the instrumentality of men, it is, by virtue of the fact that these men spoke "as borne by the Holy Spirit," an immediately Divine word. It will be observed that the proximate stress is laid here, not on the spiritual value of Scripture (though that, too, is seen in the background), but on the Divine trustworthiness of Scripture. Because this is the way every prophecy of Scripture "has been brought," it affords a more sure basis of confidence than even the testimony of human eyewitnesses. Of course, if we do not understand by "the prophetic word" here the entirety of Scripture described, according to its character, as revelation, but only that element in Scripture which we call specifically prophecy, then it is directly only of that element in Scripture that these great declarations are made. In any event, however, they are made of the prophetic element in Scripture as written, which was the only form in which the readers of this Ep. possessed it, and which is the thing specifically intimated in the phrase "every prophecy *of scripture.*" These great declarations are made, therefore, at least of large tracts of Scripture; and if the entirety of Scripture is intended by the phrase "the prophetic word," they are made of the whole of Scripture.

(3) Jn **10** 34 f: How far the supreme trustworthiness of Scripture, thus asserted, extends may be conveyed to us by a passage in one of Our Lord's discourses recorded by John (Jn **10** 34–35). The Jews, offended by Jesus' "making himself God," were in the act to stone Him, when He defended Himself thus: "Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came (and the scripture cannot be broken), say ye of him, whom the Father sanctified [m "consecrated"] and sent unto the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?" It may be thought that this defence is inadequate. It certainly is incomplete: Jesus made Himself God (Jn **10** 33) in a far higher sense than that in which "Ye are gods" was said of those "unto whom the word of God came": He had just declared in unmistakable terms, "I and the Father are one." But it was quite sufficient for the immediate end in view—to repel the technical charge of blasphemy based on His making Himself God: it is not blasphemy to call one God in any sense in which he may fitly receive that designation; and certainly if it is not blasphemy to call such men as those spoken of in the passage of Scripture adduced gods, because of their official functions, it cannot be blasphemy to call Him God whom the Father consecrated and sent into the world. The point for us to note, however, is merely that Jesus' defence takes the form of an appeal to Scripture; and it is important to observe how He makes this appeal. In the first place, He adduces the Scriptures as law: "Is it not written in your law?" He demands. The passage of Scripture which He adduces is not written in that portion of Scripture which was more specifically called "the Law," that is to say, the Pent; nor in any portion of Scripture of formally legal contents. It is written in the Book of Pss; and in a particular psalm which is as far as possible from presenting the external characteristics of legal enactment (Ps **82** 6). When Jesus adduces this passage, then, as written in the "law" of the Jews, He does it, not because it stands in this psalm, but because it is a part of Scripture at large. In other words, He here ascribes legal authority to the entirety of Scripture, in accordance with a conception common enough among the Jews (cf Jn **12** 34), and finding expression in the NT occasionally, both on the lips of Jesus Himself, and in the writings of the apostles. Thus, on a later occasion (Jn **15** 25), Jesus declares that it is written in the "law" of the Jews, "They hated me without a cause," a clause found in Ps **35** 19. And Paul assigns passages both from the Pss and from Isa to "the Law" (1 Cor **14** 21; Rom **3** 19), and can write such a sentence as this (Gal **4** 21 f): "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written . . . ." quoting from the narrative of Gen. We have seen that the entirety of Scripture was conceived as "prophecy"; we now see that the entirety of Scripture was also conceived as "law": these three terms, the law, prophecy, Scripture, were indeed, materially, strict synonyms, as our present passage itself advises us, by varying the formula of adduction in contiguous verses from "law" to "scripture." And what is thus implied in the manner in which Scripture is adduced, is immediately afterward spoken out in the most explicit language, because it forms an essential element in Our Lord's defence. It might have been enough to say simply, "Is it not written in your law?" But Our Lord, determined to drive His appeal to Scripture home, sharpens the point to the utmost by adding with the highest emphasis: "and the scripture cannot be broken." This is the reason why it is worth while to appeal to what is "written in the law," because "the scripture cannot be broken." The word "broken" here is the common one for breaking the law, or the Sabbath, or the like (Jn **5** 18; **7** 23; Mt **5** 19), and the meaning of the declaration is that it is impossible for the Scripture to be annulled, its authority to be withstood, or denied. The movement of thought is to the effect that, because it is impossible for the Scripture—the term is perfectly general and witnesses to the unitary character of Scripture (it is all, for the purpose in hand, of a piece)—to be withstood, therefore this particular Scripture which is cited must be taken as of irrefragable authority. What we have here is, therefore, the strongest possible assertion of the indefectible authority of Scripture; precisely what is true of Scripture is that it "cannot be broken." Now, what is the particular thing in Scripture, for the confirmation of which the indefectible authority of Scripture is thus invoked? It is one of its most casual clauses—more than that,

the very form of its expression in one of its most casual clauses. This means, of course, that in the Saviour's view the indefectible authority of Scripture attaches to the very form of expression of its most casual clauses. It belongs to Scripture through and through, down to its most minute particulars, that it is of indefectible authority.

It is sometimes suggested, it is true, that Our Lord's argument here is an *argumentum ad hominem*, and that His words, therefore, express not His own view of the authority of Scripture, but that of His Jewish opponents. It will scarcely be denied that there is a vein of satire running through Our Lord's defence: that the Jews so readily allowed that corrupt judges might properly be called "gods," but could not endure that He whom the Father had consecrated and sent into the world should call Himself Son of God, was a somewhat pungent fact to throw up into such a high light. But the argument from Scripture is not *ad hominem* but *e concessu;* Scripture was common ground with Jesus and His opponents. If proof were needed for so obvious a fact, it would be supplied by the circumstance that this is not an isolated but a representative passage. The conception of Scripture thrown up into such clear view here supplies the ground of all Jesus' appeals to Scripture, and of all the appeals of the NT writers as well. Everywhere, to Him and to them alike, an appeal to Scripture is an appeal to an indefectible authority whose determination is final; both He and they make their appeal indifferently to every part of Scripture, to every element in Scripture, to its most incidental clauses as well as to its most fundamental principles, and to the very form of its expression. This attitude toward Scripture as an authoritative document is, indeed, already intimated by their constant designation of it by the name of Scripture, the Scriptures, that is "the Document," by way of eminence; and by their customary citation of it with the simple formula, "It is written." What is written in this document admits so little of questioning that its authoritativeness required no asserting, but might safely be taken for granted. Both modes of expression belong to the constantly illustrated habitudes of Our Lord's speech. The first words He is recorded as uttering after His manifestation to Israel were an appeal to the unquestionable authority of Scripture; to Satan's temptations He opposed no other weapon than the final "It is written"! (Mt **4** 4.7.10; Lk **4** 4.8). And among the last words which He spoke to His disciples before He was received up was a rebuke to them for not understanding that all things "which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and psalms" concerning Him—that is (ver 45) in the entire "Scriptures"—"must needs be" (very emphatic) "fulfilled" (Lk **24** 44). "Thus it is written," says He (ver 46), as rendering all doubt absurd. For, as He had explained earlier upon the same day (Lk **24** 25 ff), it argues only that one is "foolish and slow of heart" if he does not "believe in" (if his faith does not rest securely on, as on a firm foundation) "all" (without limit of subject-matter here) "that the prophets" (explained in ver 27 as equivalent to "all the scriptures") "have spoken."

4. Necessary Fulfilment of Scripture

The necessity of the fulfilment of all that is written in Scripture, which is so strongly asserted in these last instructions to His disciples, is frequently adverted to by Our Lord. He repeatedly explains of occurrences occasionally happening that they have come to pass "that the scripture might be fulfilled" (Mk **14** 49; Jn **13** 18; **17** 12; cf **12** 14; Mk **9** 12.13). On the basis of Scriptural declarations, therefore, He announces with confidence that given events will certainly occur: "All ye shall be offended [lit. "scandalized"] in me this night: *for* it is written . . . ." (Mt **26** 31; Mk **14** 27; cf Lk **20** 17). Although holding at His command ample means of escape, He bows before on-coming calamities, for, He asks, how otherwise "should the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?" (Mt **26** 54). It is not merely the two disciples with whom He talked on the way to Emmaus (Lk **24** 25) whom He rebukes for not trusting themselves more perfectly to the teaching of Scripture. "Ye search the scriptures," he says to the Jews, in the classical passage (Jn **5** 39), "because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and these are they which bear witness of me; and ye will not come to me, that ye may have life!" These words surely were spoken more in sorrow than in scorn: there is no blame implied either for searching the Scriptures or for thinking that eternal life is to be found in Scripture; approval rather. What the Jews are blamed for is that they read with a veil lying upon their hearts which He would fain take away (2 Cor **3** 15 f). "Ye search the scriptures"—that is right: and "even you" (emphatic) "think to have eternal life in them"—that is right, too. But "it is these very Scriptures" (very emphatic) "which are bearing witness" (continuous process) "of me; and" (here is the marvel!) "ye will not come to me and have life!"—that you may, that is, reach the very end you have so properly in view in searching the Scriptures. Their failure is due, not to the Scriptures but to themselves, who read the Scriptures to such little purpose.

5. Christ's Testimony That God Is Author

Quite similarly Our Lord often finds occasion to express wonder at the little effect to which Scripture had been read, not because it had been looked into too curiously, but because it had not been looked into earnestly enough, with sufficiently simple and robust trust in its every declaration. "Have ye not read even this scripture?" He demands, as He adduces Ps **118** to show that the rejection of the Messiah was already intimated in Scripture (Mk **12** 10; Mt **21** 42 varies the expression to the equivalent: "Did ye never read in the scriptures?"). And when the indignant Jews came to Him complaining of the Hosannas with which the children in the Temple were acclaiming Him, and demanding, "Hearest thou what these are saying?" He met them (Mt **21** 16) merely with, "Yea: did ye never read, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou has perfected praise?" The underlying thought of these passages is spoken out when He intimates that the source of all error in Divine things is just ignorance of the Scriptures: "Ye do err," He declares to His questioners, on an important occasion, "not knowing the scriptures" (Mt **22** 29); or, as it is put, perhaps more forcibly, in interrogative form, in its ‖ in another Gospel: "Is it not for this cause that ye err, that ye know not the scriptures?" (Mk **12** 24). Clearly, he who rightly knows the Scriptures does not err. The confidence with which Jesus rested on Scripture, in its every declaration, is further illustrated in a passage like Mt **19** 4. Certain Pharisees had come to Him with a question on divorce and He met them thus: "Have ye not read, that he who made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the two shall become one flesh? . . . . What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." The point to be noted is the explicit reference of Gen **2** 24 to God as its author: "*He who made them* . . . . said"; "what therefore *God* hath joined together." Yet this passage does not give us a saying of God's recorded in Scripture, but just the word of Scripture itself, and can be treated as a declaration of God's only on the hypothesis that all Scripture is a declaration of God's. The ‖ in Mk (**10** 5 ff) just as truly, though not as explicitly, assigns the passage to God as its author, citing it as authoritative law and speaking of its enactment as an act of God's. And it is interesting to observe in passing that Paul, having occasion to quote the same passage (1 Cor **6** 16), also explicitly quotes it as a Divine word: "For, The twain, saith he, shall become one flesh"—the "he" here, in accordance with a usage to be noted later, meaning just "God."

Thus clear is it that Jesus' occasional adduction of Scripture as an authoritative document rests on an ascription of it to God as its author. His testimony is that whatever stands written in Scripture is a word of God. Nor can we evacuate this testimony of its force on the plea that it represents Jesus only in the days of His flesh, when He may be supposed to have reflected merely the opinions of His day and generation. The view of Scripture He announces was, no doubt, the view of His day and generation as well as His own view. But there is no reason to doubt that it was held by Him, not because it was the current view, but because, in His Divine-human knowledge, He knew it to be true; for, even in His humiliation, He is the faithful and true witness. And in any event we should bear in mind that this was the view of the resurrected as well as of the humiliated Christ. It was after He had suffered and had risen again in the power of His Divine life that He pronounced those foolish and slow of heart who do not believe all that stands written in all the Scriptures (Lk **24** 25); and that He laid down the simple "Thus it is written" as the sufficient ground of confident belief (Lk **24** 46). Nor can we explain away Jesus' testimony to the Divine trustworthiness of Scripture by interpreting it as not His own, but that of His followers, placed on His lips in their reports of His words. Not only is it too constant, minute, intimate and in part incidental, and therefore, as it were, hidden, to admit of this interpretation; but it so pervades all our channels of information concerning Jesus' teaching as to make it certain that it comes actually from Him. It belongs not only to the Jesus of our evangelical records but as well to the Jesus of the earlier sources which underlie our evangelical records, as anyone may assure himself by observing the instances in which Jesus adduces the Scriptures as Divinely authoritative that are recorded in more than one of the Gospels (e.g. "It is written," Mt **4** 4.7.10 [Lk **4** 4.8.10]; Mt **11** 10; [Lk **7** 27]; Mt **21** 13 [Lk **19** 46; Mk **11** 17]; Mt **26** 31 [Mk **14** 21]; "the scripture" or "the scriptures," Mt **19** 4 [Mk **10** 9]; Mt **21** 42 [Mk **12** 10; Lk **20** 17]; Mt **22** 29 [Mk **12** 24; Lk **20** 37]; Mt **26** 56 [Mk **14** 49; Lk **24** 44]). These passages alone would suffice to make clear to us the testimony of Jesus to Scripture as in all its parts and declarations Divinely authoritative.

6. Similar Witness of Apostles

The attempt to attribute the testimony of Jesus to His followers has in its favor only the undeniable fact that the testimony of the writers of the NT is to precisely the same effect as His. They, too, cursorily speak of Scripture by that pregnant name and adduce it with the simple "It is written," with the implication that whatever stands written in it is Divinely authoritative. As Jesus' official life begins with this "It is written" (Mt **4** 4), so the evangelical proclamation begins with an "Even as it is written" (Mk **1** 2); and as Jesus sought the justification of His work in a solemn "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day" (Lk **24** 46 ff), so the apostles solemnly justified the Gospel which they preached, detail after detail, by appeal to the Scriptures, "That Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures" and "That he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures" (1 Cor **15** 3.4; cf Acts **8** 35; **17** 3; **26** 22, and also Rom **1** 17; **3** 4.10; **4** 17; **11** 26; **14** 11; 1 Cor **1** 19; **2** 9; **3** 19; **15** 45; Gal **3** 10.13; **4** 22.27). Wherever they carried the gospel it was as a gospel resting on Scripture that they proclaimed it (Acts **17** 2; **18** 24.28); and they encouraged themselves to test its truth by the Scriptures (Acts **17** 11). The holiness of life they inculcated, they based on Scriptural requirement (1 Pet **1** 16), and they commended the royal law of love which they taught by Scriptural sanction (Jas **2** 8). Every detail of duty was supported by them by an appeal to Scripture (Acts **23** 5; Rom **12** 19). The circumstances of their lives and the events occasionally occurring about them are referred to Scripture for their significance (Rom **2** 26; **8** 36; **9** 33; **11** 8; **15** 9.21; 2 Cor **4** 13). As Our Lord declared that whatever was written in Scripture must needs be fulfilled (Mt **26** 54; Lk **22** 37; **24** 44), so His followers explained one of the most startling facts which had occurred in their experience by pointing out that "it was needful that the scripture should be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit spake before by the mouth of David" (Acts **1** 16). Here the ground of this constant appeal to Scripture, so that it is enough that a thing "is contained in scripture" (1 Pet **2** 6) for it to be of indefectible authority, is plainly enough declared: Scripture must needs be fulfilled, for what is contained in it is the declaration of the Holy Ghost through the human author. What Scripture says, God says; and accordingly we read such remarkable declarations as these: "For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, For this very purpose did I raise thee up" (Rom **9** 17); "And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand unto Abraham, ... In thee shall all the nations be blessed" (Gal **3** 8). These are not instances of simple personification of Scripture, which is itself a sufficiently remarkable usage (Mk **15** 28; Jn **7** 38.42; **19** 37; Rom **4** 3; **10** 11; **11** 2; Gal **4** 30; 1 Tim **5** 18; Jas **2** 23; **4** 5 f), vocal with the conviction expressed by James (**4** 5) that Scripture cannot speak in vain. They indicate a certain confusion in current speech between "Scripture" and "God," the outgrowth of a deep-seated conviction that the word of Scripture is the word of God. It was not "Scripture" that spoke to Pharaoh, or gave his great promise to Abraham, but God. But "Scripture" and "God" lay so close together in the minds of the writers of the NT that they could naturally speak of "Scripture" doing what Scripture records God as doing. It was, however, even more natural to them to speak casually of God saying what the Scriptures say; and accordingly we meet with forms of speech such as these: "Wherefore, even as the Holy Spirit saith, To-day if ye shall hear His voice," etc (He **3** 7, quoting Ps **95** 7); "Thou art God . . . . who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage," etc (Acts **4** 25 AV, quoting Ps **2** 1); "He that raised him from the dead . . . . hath spoken on this wise, I will give you . . . . because he saith also in another [place] . . . ." (Acts **13** 34, quoting Isa **55** 3 and Ps **16** 10), and the like. The words put into God's mouth in each case are not words of God recorded in the Scriptures, but just Scripture words in themselves. When we take the two classes of passages together, in the one of which the Scriptures are spoken of as God, while in the other God is spoken of as if He were the Scriptures, we may perceive how close the identification of the two was in the minds of the writers of the NT.

7. Identification of God and Scriptures

This identification is strikingly observable in certain catenae of quotations, in which there are brought together a number of passages of Scripture closely connected with one another. The first chapter of the Ep. to the He supplies an example. We may begin with ver 5: "For unto which of the angels said he"—the subject being necessarily "God"—"at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?"—the citation being from Ps **2** 7 and very appropriate in the mouth of God—"and again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son?"—from 2 S **7** 14, again a declaration of God's own—"And when he again bringeth in the firstborn into the world he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him"—from Dt **32** 43, LXX, or Ps **97** 7, in neither of which is God the speaker—"And of the angels he saith, Who maketh his angels winds, and his ministers a flame of fire"—from Ps **104** 4, where again God is not the speaker but is spoken of in the third person—"but of the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, etc"—from Ps **45** 6.7 where again God is not the speaker, but is addressed—"And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning," etc—from Ps **102** 25–27, where again God is not the speaker but is addressed—"But of which of the angels hath he said at any time, Sit thou on my right hand?" etc—from Ps **110** 1, in which God is the speaker. Here we have passages in which God is the speaker and passages in which God is not the speaker, but is addressed or spoken of, indiscriminately assigned to God, because they all have it in common that they are words of Scripture, and as words of Scripture are words of God. Similarly in Rom **15** 9 ff we have a series of citations the first of which is introduced by "as it is written," and the next two by "again he saith," and "again," and the last by "and again, Isaiah saith," the first being from Ps **18** 49; the second from Dt **32** 43; the third from Ps **117** 1; and the last from Isa **11** 10. Only the last (the only one here assigned to the human author) is a word of God in the text of the OT.

8. "Oracles of God"

This view of the Scriptures as a compact mass of words of God occasioned the formation of a designation for them by which this their character was explicitly expressed. This designation is "the sacred oracles," "the oracles of God." It occurs with extraordinary frequency in Philo, who very commonly refers to Scripture as "the sacred oracles" and cites its several passages as each an "oracle." Sharing, as they do, Philo's conception of the Scriptures as, in all their parts, a word of God, the NT writers naturally also speak of them under this designation. The classical passage is Rom **3** 2 (cf He **5** 12; Acts **7** 38). Here Paul begins an enumeration of the advantages which belonged to the chosen people above other nations; and, after declaring these advantages to have been great and numerous, he places first among them all their possession of the Scriptures: "What advantage then hath the Jew? or what is the profit of circumcision? Much every way: first of all, that they were intrusted with the oracles of God." That by "the oracles of God" here are meant just the Holy Scriptures in their entirety, conceived as a direct Divine revelation, and not any portions of them, or elements in them more esp. thought of as revelatory, is perfectly clear from the wide contemporary use of this designation in this sense by Philo, and is put beyond question by the presence in the NT of habitudes of speech which rest on and grow out of the conception of Scripture embodied in this term. From the point of view of this designation, Scripture is thought of as the living voice of God speaking in all its parts directly to the reader; and, accordingly, it is cited by some such formula as "it is said," and this mode of citing Scripture duly occurs as an alternative to "it is written" (Lk **4** 12, replacing "it is written" in Mt; He **3** 15; cf Rom **4** 18). It is due also to this point of view that Scripture is cited, not as what God or the Holy Spirit "said," but what He "says," the present tense emphasizing the living voice of God speaking in Scriptures to the individual soul (He **3** 7; Acts **13** 35; He **1** 7.8.10; Rom **15** 10). And esp. there is due to it the peculiar usage by which Scripture is cited by the simple "saith," without expressed subject, the subject being too well understood, when Scripture is adduced, to require stating; for who could be the speaker of the words of Scripture but God only (Rom **15** 10; 1 Cor **6** 16; 2 Cor **6** 2; Gal **3** 16; Eph **4** 8; **5** 14)? The analogies of this pregnant subjectless "saith" are very widespread. It was with it that the ancient Pythagoreans and Platonists and the mediaeval Aristotelians adduced each their master's teaching; it was with it that, in certain circles, the judgments of Hadrian's great jurist Salvius Julianus were cited; African stylists were even accustomed to refer by it to Sallust, their great model. There is a tendency, cropping out occasionally, in the OT, to omit the name of God as superfluous, when He, as the great logical subject always in mind, would be easily understood (cf Job **20** 23; **21** 17; Ps **114** 2; Lam **4** 22). So, too, when the NT writers quoted Scripture there was no need to say whose word it was: that lay beyond question in every mind. This usage, accordingly, is a specially striking intimation of the vivid sense which the NT writers had of the Divine origin of the Scriptures, and means that in citing them they were acutely conscious that they were citing immediate words of God. How completely the Scriptures were to them just the word of God may be illustrated by a passage like Gal **3** 16: "He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." We have seen Our Lord hanging an argument on the very words of Scripture (Jn **10** 34); elsewhere His reasoning depends on the particular tense (Mt **22** 32) or word (Mt **22** 43) used in Scripture. Here Paul's argument rests similarly on a grammatical form. No doubt it is the grammatical form of the word which God is recorded as having spoken to Abraham that is in question. But Paul knows what grammatical form God employed in speaking to Abraham only as the Scriptures have transmitted it to him; and, as we have seen, in citing the words of God and the words of Scripture he was not accustomed to make any distinction between them. It is probably the Scriptural word as a Scriptural word, therefore, which he has here in mind: though, of course, it is possible that what he here witnesses to is rather the detailed trustworthiness of the Scriptural record than its direct divinity—if we can separate two things which apparently were not separated in Paul's mind. This much we can at least say without straining, that the designation of Scripture as "scripture" and its citation by the formula, "It is written," attest primarily its indefectible authority; the designation of it as "oracles" and the adduction of it by the formula, "It says," attest primarily its immediate divinity. Its authority rests on its divinity and its divinity expresses itself in its trustworthiness; and the NT writers in all their use of it treat it as what they declare it to be—a God-breathed document, which, because God-breathed, is through and through trustworthy in all its assertions, authoritative in all its declarations, and down to its last particular, the very word of God, His "oracles."

9. Human Element in Scripture

That the Scriptures are throughout a Divine book, created by the Divine energy and speaking in their every part with Divine authority directly to the heart of the readers, is the fundamental fact concerning them which is witnessed by Christ and the sacred writers to whom we owe the NT. But the strength and constancy with which they bear witness to this primary fact do not prevent their recognizing by the side of it that the Scriptures have come into being by the agency of men. It would be inexact to say that they recognize a human element in Scripture: they do not parcel Scripture out, assigning portions of it, or elements in it, respectively to God and man. In their view the whole of Scripture in all its parts and in all its elements, down to the least minutiae, in form of expression as well as in substance of teaching, is from God; but the whole of it has been given by God through the instrumentality of men. There is, therefore, in their view, not, indeed, a human element or ingredient in Scripture, and much less human divisions or sections of Scripture, but a human side or aspect to Scripture; and they do not fail to give full recognition to this human side or aspect. In one of the primary passages which has already been before us, their conception is given, if somewhat broad and very succinct, yet clear expression. No 'prophecy,' Peter tells us (2 Pet **1** 21), 'ever came by the will of man; *but as borne by the Holy Ghost,* men spake from God.' Here the whole initiative is assigned to God, and such complete control of the human agents that the product is truly God's work. The men who speak in this "prophecy of scripture" speak not of themselves or out of themselves, but from "God": they speak only as they are "borne by the Holy Ghost." But it is they, after all, who speak. Scripture is the product of man, but only of man speaking from God and under such a control of the Holy Spirit as that in their speaking they are "borne" by Him. The conception obviously is that the Scriptures have been given by the instrumentality of men; and this conception finds repeated incidental expression throughout the NT.

It is this conception, for example, which is expressed when Our Lord, quoting Ps **110,** declares of its words that "David himself said in the Holy Spirit" (Mk **12** 36). There is a certain emphasis here on the words being David's own words, which is due to the requirements of the argument Our Lord was conducting, but which none the less sincerely represents Our Lord's conception of their origin. They are David's own words which we find in Ps **110,** therefore; but they are David's own words, spoken not of his own motion merely, but "in the Holy Spirit," that is to say—we could not better paraphrase it—"as borne by the Holy Spirit." In other words, they are "God-breathed" words and therefore authoritative in a sense above what any words of David, not spoken in the Holy Spirit, could possibly be. Generalizing the matter, we may say that the words of Scripture are conceived by Our Lord and the NT writers as the words of their human authors when speaking "in the Holy Spirit," that is to say, by His initiative and under His controlling direction. The conception finds even more precise expression, perhaps, in such a statement as we find—it is Peter who is speaking and it is again a psalm which is cited—in Acts **1** 16, "The Holy Spirit spake by the mouth of David." Here the Holy Spirit is adduced, of course, as the real author of what is said (and hence Peter's certainty that what is said will be fulfilled); but David's mouth is expressly designated as the instrument (it is the instrumental preposition that is used) by means of which the Holy Spirit speaks the Scripture in question. He does not speak save through David's mouth. Accordingly, in Acts **4** 25, 'the Lord that made the heaven and earth,' acting by His Holy Spirit, is declared to have spoken another psalm 'through the mouth of . . . . David,' His "servant"; and in Mt **13** 35 still another psalm is adduced as "spoken through the prophet" (cf Mt **2** 5). In the very act of energetically asserting the Divine origin of Scripture the human instrumentality through which it is given is constantly recognized. The NT writers have, therefore, no difficulty in assigning Scripture to its human authors, or in discovering in Scripture traits due to its human authorship. They freely quote it by such simple formulae as these: "Moses saith" (Rom **10** 19); "Moses said" (Mt **22** 24; Mk **7** 10; Acts **3** 22); "Moses writeth" (Rom **10** 5); "Moses wrote" (Mk **12** 19; Lk **20** 28); "Isaiah . . . . saith" (Rom **10** 20); "Isaiah said" (Jn **12** 39); "Isaiah crieth" (Rom **9** 27); "Isaiah hath said before" (Rom **9** 29); "said Isaiah the prophet" (Jn **1** 23); "did Isaiah prophesy" (Mk **7** 6; Mt **15** 7); "David saith" (Lk **20** 42; Acts **2** 25; Rom **11** 9); "David said" (Mk **12** 36). It is to be noted that when thus Scripture is adduced by the names of its human authors, it is a matter of complete indifference whether the words adduced are comments of these authors or direct words of God recorded by them. As the plainest words of the human authors are assigned to God as their real author, so the most express words of God, repeated by the Scriptural writers, are cited by the names of these human writers (Mt **15** 7; Mk **7** 6; Rom **10** 5 19.20; cf Mk **7** 10 from the Decalogue). To say that "Moses" or "David says," is evidently thus only a way of saying that "Scripture says," which is the same as to say that "God says." Such modes of citing Scripture, accordingly, carry us little beyond merely connecting the name, or perhaps we may say the individuality, of the several writers with the portions of Scripture given through each. How it was given through them is left meanwhile, if not without suggestion, yet without specific explanation. We seem safe only in inferring this much: that the gift of Scripture through its human authors took place by a process much more intimate than can be expressed by the term "dictation," and that it took place in a process in which the control of the Holy Spirit was too complete and pervasive to permit the human qualities of the secondary authors in any way to condition the purity of the product as the word of God. The Scriptures, in other words, are conceived by the writers of the NT as through and through God's book, in every part expressive of His mind, given through men after a fashion which does no violence to their nature as men, and constitutes the book also men's book as well as God's, in every part expressive of the mind of its human authors.

10. Activities of God in Giving Scripture

If we attempt to get behind this broad statement and to obtain a more detailed conception of the activities by which God has given the Scriptures, we are thrown back upon somewhat general representations, supported by the analogy of the modes of God's working in other spheres of His operation. It is very desirable that we should free ourselves at the outset from influences arising from the current employment of the term "inspiration" to designate this process. This term is not a Bib. term and its etymological implications are not perfectly accordant with the Bib. conception of the modes of the Divine operation in giving the Scriptures. The Bib. writers do not conceive of the Scriptures as a human product breathed into by the Divine Spirit, and thus heightened in its qualities or endowed with new qualities; but as a

Divine product produced through the instrumentality of men. They do not conceive of these men, by whose instrumentality Scripture is produced, as working upon their own initiative, though energized by God to greater effort and higher achievement, but as moved by the Divine initiative and borne by the irresistible power of the Spirit of God along ways of His choosing to ends of His appointment. The difference between the two conceptions may not appear great when the mind is fixed exclusively upon the nature of the resulting product. But they are differing conceptions, and look at the production of Scripture from distinct points of view—the human and the Divine; and the involved mental attitudes toward the origin of Scripture are very diverse. The term "inspiration" is too firmly fixed, in both theological and popular usage, as the technical designation of the action of God in giving the Scriptures, to be replaced; and we may be thankful that its native implications lie as close as they do to the Bib. conceptions. Meanwhile, however, it may be justly insisted that it shall receive its definition from the representations of Scripture, and not be permitted to impose upon our thought ideas of the origin of Scripture derived from an analysis of its own implications, etymological or historical. The Scriptural conception of the relation of the Divine Spirit to the human authors in the production of Scripture is better expressed by the figure of "bearing" than by the figure of "inbreathing"; and when our Bib. writers speak of the action of the Spirit of God in this relation as a breathing, they represent it as a "breathing out" of the Scriptures by the Spirit, and not a "breathing into" the Scriptures by Him.

11. General Problem of Origin: God's Part

So soon, however, as we seriously endeavor to form for ourselves a clear conception of the precise nature of the Divine action in this "breathing out" of the Scriptures—this "bearing" of the writers of the Scriptures to their appointed goal of the production of a book of Divine trustworthiness and indefectible authority—we become acutely aware of a more deeply lying and much wider problem, apart from which this one of inspiration, technically so called, cannot be profitably considered. This is the general problem of the origin of the Scriptures and the part of God in all that complex of processes by the interaction of which these books, which we call the sacred Scriptures, with all their peculiarities, and all their qualities of whatever sort, have been brought into being. For, of course, these books were not produced suddenly, by some miraculous act—handed down complete out of heaven, as the phrase goes; but, like all other products of time, are the ultimate effect of many processes coöperating through long periods. There is to be considered, for instance, the preparation of the material which forms the subject-matter of these books: in a sacred history, say, for example, to be narrated; or in a religious experience which may serve as a norm for record; or in a logical elaboration of the contents of revelation which may be placed at the service of God's people; or in the progressive revelation of Divine truth itself, supplying their culminating contents. And there is the preparation of the men to write these books to be considered, a preparation physical, intellectual, spiritual, which must have attended them throughout their whole lives, and, indeed, must have had its beginning in their remote ancestors, and the effect of which was to bring the right men to the right places at the right times, with the right endowments, impulses, acquirements, to write just the books which were designed for them. When "inspiration," technically so called, is superinduced on lines of preparation like these, it takes on quite a different aspect from that which it bears when it is thought of as an isolated action of the Divine Spirit operating out of all relation to historical processes. Representations are sometimes made as if, when God wished to produce sacred books which would incorporate His will—a series of letters like those of Paul, for example—He was reduced to the necessity of going down to earth and painfully scrutinizing the men He found there, seeking anxiously for the one who, on the whole, promised best for His purpose; and then violently forcing the material He wished expressed through him, against his natural bent, and with as little loss from his recalcitrant characteristics as possible. Of course, nothing of the sort took place. If God wished to give His people a series of letters like Paul's, He prepared a Paul to write them, and the Paul He brought to the task was a Paul who spontaneously would write just such letters.

12. Effect of Human Qualities: Providential Preparation

If we bear this in mind, we shall know what estimate to place upon the common representation to the effect that the human characteristics of the writers must, and in point of fact do, condition and qualify the writings produced by them, the implication being that, therefore, we cannot get from man a pure word of God. As light that passes through the colored glass of a cathedral window, we are told, is light from heaven, but is stained by the tints of the glass through which it passes; so any word of God which is passed through the mind and soul of a man must come out discolored by the personality through which it is given, and just to that degree ceases to be the pure word of God. But what if this personality has itself been formed by God into precisely the personality it is, for the express purpose of communicating to the word given through it just the coloring which it gives it? What if the colors of the stained-glass window have been designed by the architect for the express purpose of giving to the light that floods the cathedral precisely the tone and quality it receives from them? What if the word of God that comes to His people is framed by God into the word of God it is, precisely by means of the qualities of the men formed by Him for the purpose, through which it is given? When we think of God the Lord giving by His Spirit a body of authoritative Scriptures to His people, we must remember that He is the God of providence and of grace as well as of revelation and inspiration, and that He holds all the lines of preparation as fully under His direction as He does the specific operation which we call technically, in the narrow sense, by the name of "inspiration." The production of the Scriptures is, in point of fact, a long process, in the course of which numerous and very varied Divine activities are involved, providential, gracious, miraculous, all of which must be taken into account in any attempt to explain the relation of God to the production of Scripture. When they are all taken into account we can no longer wonder that the resultant Scriptures are constantly spoken of as the pure word of God. We wonder, rather, that an additional operation of God—what we call specifically "inspiration," in its technical sense—was thought necessary. Consider, for example, how a piece of sacred history—say the Book of Ch, or the great historical work, Gospel and Acts, of Luke—is brought to the writing. There is first of all the preparation of the history to be written: God the Lord leads the sequence of occurrences through the development He has designed for them that they may convey their lessons to His people: a "teleological" or "aetiological" character is inherent in the very course of events. Then He prepares a man, by birth, training, experience, gifts of grace, and, if need be, of revelation, capable of appreciating this historical development and eager to search it out, thrilling in all his being with its lessons and bent upon making them clear and effective to others. When, then, by His providence, God sets this man to work on the writing of this history, will there not be spontaneously written by him the history which it was Divinely intended should be written? Or consider how a psalmist would be prepared to put into moving verse a piece of normative religious experience: how he would be born with just the right quality of religious sensibility, of parents through whom he should receive just the right hereditary bent, and from whom he should get precisely the right religious example and training, in circumstances of life in which his religious tendencies should be developed precisely on right lines; how he would be brought through just the right experiences to quicken in him the precise emotions he would be called upon to express, and finally would be placed in precisely the exigencies which would call out their expression. Or consider the providential preparation of a writer of a didactic epistle—by means of which he should be given the intellectual breadth and acuteness, and be trained in habitudes of reasoning, and placed in the situations which would call out precisely the argumentative presentation of Christian truth which was required of him. When we give due place in our thoughts to the universality of the providential government of God, to the minuteness and completeness of its sway, and to its invariable efficacy, we may be inclined to ask what is needed beyond this mere providential government to secure the production of sacred books which should be in every detail absolutely accordant with the Divine will.

13. "Inspiration" More than "Providence"

The answer is, Nothing is needed beyond mere providence to secure such books—provided only that it does not lie in the Divine purpose that these books should possess qualities which rise above the powers of men to produce, even under the most complete Divine guidance. For providence is guidance; and guidance can bring one only so far as his own power can carry him. If heights are to be scaled above man's native power to achieve, then something more than guidance, however effective, is necessary. This is the reason for the superinduction, at the end of the long process of the production of Scripture, of the additional Divine operation which we call technically "inspiration." By it, the Spirit of God, flowing confluently in with the providentially and graciously determined work of men, spontaneously producing under the Divine directions the writings appointed to them, gives the product a Divine quality unattainable by human powers alone. Thus these books become not merely the word of godly men, but the immediate word of God Himself, speaking directly as such to the minds and hearts of every reader. The value of "inspiration" emerges, thus, as twofold. It gives to the books written under its "bearing" a quality which is truly superhuman; a trustworthiness, an authority, a searchingness, a profundity, a profitableness which is altogether Divine. And it speaks this Divine word immediately to each reader's heart and conscience; so that he does not require to make his way to God, painfully, perhaps even uncertainly, through the words of His servants, the human instruments in writing the Scriptures, but can listen directly to the Divine voice itself speaking immediately in the Scriptural word to him.

14. Witness of NT Writers to This

That the writers of the NT themselves conceive the Scriptures to have been produced thus by Divine operations extending through the increasing ages and involving a multitude of varied activities, can be made clear by simply attending to the occasional references they make to this or that step in the process. It lies, for example, on the face of their expositions, that they looked upon the Bib. history as teleological. Not only do they tell us that "whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that through patience and through comfort of the scriptures we might have hope" (Rom **15** 4; cf Rom **4** 23.24); they speak also of the course of the historical events themselves as guided for our benefit: "Now these things happened unto them by way of example"—in a typical fashion, in such a way that, as they occurred, a typical character, or predictive reference impressed itself upon them; that is to say, briefly, the history occurred as it did in order to bear a message to us—"and they were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come" (1 Cor **10** 11; cf ver 6). Accordingly, it has become a commonplace of Bib. exposition that "the history of redemption itself is a typically progressive one" (Küper), and is "in a manner impregnated with the prophetic element," so as to form a "part of a great plan which stretches from the fall of man to the first consummation of all things in glory; and, in so far as it reveals the mind of God toward man, carries a respect to the future not less than to the present" (P. Fairbairn). It lies equally on the face of the NT allusions to the subject that its writers understood that the preparation of men to become vehicles of God's message to man was not of yesterday, but had its beginnings in the very origin of their being. The call by which Paul, for example, was made an apostle of Jesus Christ was sudden and apparently without antecedents; but it is precisely this Paul who reckons this call as only one step in a long process, the beginnings of which antedated his own existence: "But when it was the good pleasure of God, who separated me, even from my mother's womb, and called me through his grace, to reveal his Son in me" (Gal **1** 15.16; cf Jer **1** 5; Isa **49** 1.5). The recognition by the writers of the NT of the experiences of God's grace, which had been vouchsafed to them as an integral element in their fitting to be the bearers of His gospel to others, finds such pervasive expression that the only difficulty is to select from the mass the most illustrative passages. Such a statement as Paul gives in the opening verses of 2 Cor is thoroughly typical. There he represents that he has been afflicted and comforted to the end that he might "be able to comfort them that are in any affliction, through the comfort wherewith" he had himself been "comforted of God." For, he explains, "Whether we are afflicted, it is for your comfort and salvation; or whether we are comforted, it is for your comfort, which worketh in the patient enduring of the same sufferings which we also suffer" (2 Cor **1** 4–6). It is beyond question, therefore, that the NT writers, when they declare the Scriptures to be the product of the Divine breath, and explain this as meaning that the writers of these Scriptures wrote them only as borne by the Holy Spirit in such a fashion that they spoke, not out of themselves, but "from God," are thinking of this operation of the Spirit only as the final act of God in the production of the Scriptures, superinduced upon a long series of processes, providential, gracious, miraculous, by which the matter of Scripture had been prepared for writing, and the men for writing it, and the writing of it had been actually brought to pass. It is this final act in the production of Scripture which is technically called "inspiration"; and inspiration is thus brought before us as, in the minds of the writers of the NT, that particular operation of God in the production of Scripture which takes effect at the very point of the writing of Scripture—understanding the term "writing" here as inclusive of all the processes of the actual composition of Scripture, the investigation of documents, the collection of facts, the excogitation of conclusions, the adaptation of exhortations as means to ends and the like—with the effect of giving to the resultant Scripture a specifically supernatural character, and constituting it a Divine, as well as human, book. Obviously the mode of operation of this Divine activity moving to this result is conceived, in full accord with the analogy of the Divine operations in other spheres of its activity, in providence and in grace alike, as confluent with the human activities operative in the case; as, in a word, of the nature of what has come to be known as "immanent action."

15. "Inspiration" and "Revelation"

It will not escape observation that thus "inspiration" is made a mode of "revelation." We are often exhorted, to be sure, to distinguish sharply between "inspiration" and "revelation"; and the exhortation is just when "revelation" is taken in one of its narrower senses, of, say, an external manifestation of God, or of an immediate communication from God in words. But "inspiration" does not differ from "revelation" in these narrowed senses as genus from genus, but as a species of one genus differs from another. That operation of God which we call "inspiration," that is to say, that operation of the Spirit of God by which He "bears" men in the process of composing Scripture, so that they write, not of themselves, but "from God," is one of the modes in which God makes known to men His being, His will, His operations, His purposes. It is as distinctly a mode of revelation as any mode of revelation can be, and therefore it performs the same office which all revelation performs, that is to say, in the express words of Paul, it makes men wise, and makes them wise unto salvation. All "special" or "supernatural" revelation (which is redemptive in its very idea, and occupies a place as a substantial element in God's redemptive processes) has precisely this for its end; and Scripture, as a mode of the redemptive revelation of God, finds its fundamental purpose just in this: if the "inspiration" by which Scripture is produced renders it trustworthy and authoritative, it renders it trustworthy and authoritative only that it may the better serve to make men wise unto salvation. Scripture is conceived, from the point of view of the writers of the NT, not merely as the record of revelations, but as itself a part of the redemptive revelation of God; not merely as the record of the redemptive acts by which God is saving the world, but as itself one of these redemptive acts, having its own part to play in the great work of establishing and building up the kingdom of God. What gives it a place among the redemptive acts of God is its Divine origination, taken in its widest sense, as inclusive of all the Divine operations, providential, gracious and expressly supernatural, by which it has been made just what it is—a body of writings able to make wise unto salvation, and profitable for making the man of God perfect. What gives it its place among the modes of revelation is, however, specifically the culminating one of these Divine operations, which we call "inspiration"; that is to say, the action of the Spirit of God in so "bearing" its human authors in their work of producing Scripture, as that in these Scriptures they speak, not out of themselves, but "from God." It is this act by virtue of which the Scriptures may properly be called "God-breathed."

16. Scriptures a Divine-Human Book?

It has been customary among a certain school of writers to speak of the Scriptures, because thus "inspired," as a Divine-human book, and to appeal to the analogy of Our Lord's Divine-human personality to explain their peculiar qualities as such. The expression calls attention to an important fact, and the analogy holds good a certain distance. There are human and Divine sides to Scripture, and, as we cursorily examine it, we may perceive in it, alternately, traits which suggest now the one, now the other factor in its origin. But the analogy with Our Lord's Divine-human personality may easily be pressed beyond reason. There is no hypostatic union between the Divine and the human in Scripture; we cannot parallel the "inscripturation" of the Holy Spirit and the incarnation of the Son of God. The Scriptures are merely the product of Divine and human forces working together to produce a product in the production of which the human forces work under the initiation and prevalent direction of the Divine: the person of Our Lord unites in itself Divine and human natures, each of which retains its distinctness while operating only in relation to the other. Between such diverse things there can exist only a remote analogy; and, in point of fact, the analogy in the present instance amounts to no more than that in both cases Divine and human factors are involved, though very differently. In the one they unite to constitute a Divine-human person, in the other they coöperate to perform a Divine-human work. Even so distant an analogy may enable us, however, to recognize that as, in the case of Our Lord's person, the human nature remains truly human while yet it can never fall into sin or error because it can never act out of relation with the Divine nature into conjunction with which it has been brought; so in the case of the production of Scripture by the conjoint action of human and Divine factors, the human factors have acted as human factors and have left their mark on the product as such, and yet cannot have fallen into that error which we say it is human to fall into, because they have not acted apart from the Divine factors, by themselves, but only under their unerring guidance.

17. Scripture of NT Writers Was the OT

The NT testimony is to the Divine origin and qualities of "Scripture"; and "Scripture" to the writers of the NT was fundamentally, of course, the OT. In the primary passage, in which we are told that "every" or "all Scripture" is "God-breathed," the direct reference is to the "sacred writings" which Timothy had had in knowledge since his infancy, and these were, of course, just the sacred books of the Jews (2 Tim **3** 16). What is explicit here is implicit in all the allusions to inspired Scriptures in the NT. Accordingly, it is frequently said that our entire testimony to the inspiration of Scripture concerns the OT alone. In many ways, however, this is overstated. Our present concern is not with the extent of "Scripture" but with the nature of "Scripture"; and we cannot present here the considerations which justify extending to the NT the inspiration which the NT writers attribute to the OT. It will not be out of place, however, to point out simply that the NT writers obviously themselves made this extension. They do not for an instant imagine themselves, as ministers of a new covenant, less in possession of the Spirit of God than the ministers of the old covenant: they freely recognize, indeed, that they have no sufficiency of themselves, but they know that God has made them sufficient (2 Cor **3** 5.6). They prosecute their work of proclaiming the gospel, therefore, in full confidence that they speak "by the Holy Spirit" (1 Pet **1** 12), to whom they attribute both the matter and form of their teaching (1 Cor **2** 13). They, therefore, speak with the utmost assurance of their teaching (Gal **1** 7.8); and they issue commands with the completest authority (1 Thess **4** 2.14; 2 Thess **3** 6.12), making it, indeed, the test of whether one has the Spirit that he should recognize what they demand as commandments of God (1 Cor **14** 37). It would be strange, indeed, if these high claims were made for their oral teaching and commandments exclusively. In point of fact, they are made explicitly also for their written injunctions. It was "the things" which Paul was "writing," the recognition of which as commands of the Lord, he makes the test of a Spirit-led man (1 Cor **14** 37). It is his "word by this epistle," obedience to which he makes the condition of Christian communion (2 Thess **3** 14). There seems involved in such an attitude toward their own teaching, oral and written, a claim on the part of the NT writers to something very much like the "inspiration" which they attribute to the writers of the OT.

18. Inclusion of NT

And all doubt is dispelled when we observe the NT writers placing the writings of one another in the same category of "Scripture" with the books of the OT. The same Paul who, in 2 Tim **3** 16, declared that 'every' or 'all scripture is God-breathed' had already written in 1 Tim **5** 18: "For the scripture saith, Thou shall not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn. And, The laborer is worthy of his hire." The first clause here is derived from Dt and the second from the Gospel of Lk, though both are cited as together constituting, or better, forming part of the "Scripture" which Paul adduces as so authoritative as by its mere citation to end all strife. Who shall say that, in the declaration of the later ep. that "all" or "every" Scripture is God-breathed, Paul did not have Lk, and, along with Lk, whatever other new books he classed with the old under the name of Scripture, in the back of his mind, along with those old books which Timothy had had in his hands from infancy? And the same Peter who declared that every "prophecy of scripture" was the product of men who spoke "from God," being 'borne' by the Holy Ghost (2 Pet **1** 21), in this same ep. (**3** 16), places Paul's Epp. in the category of Scripture along with whatever other books deserve that name. For Paul, says he, wrote these epp., not out of his own wisdom, but "according to the wisdom given to him," and though there are some things in them hard to be understood, yet it is only "the ignorant and unstedfast" who wrest these difficult passages—as what else could be expected of men who wrest "also the other Scriptures" (obviously the OT is meant)—"unto their own destruction"? Is it possible to say that Peter could not have had these epp. of Paul also lurking somewhere in the back of his mind, along with "the other scriptures," when he told his readers that every "prophecy of scripture" owes its origin to the prevailing operation of the Holy Ghost? What must be understood in estimating the testimony of the NT writers to the inspiration of Scripture is that "Scripture" stood in their minds as the title of a unitary body of books, throughout the gift of God through His Spirit to His people; but that this body of writings was at the same time understood to be a growing aggregate, so that what is said of it applies to the new books which were being added to it as the Spirit gave them, as fully as to the old books which had come down to them from their hoary past. It is a mere matter of detail to determine precisely what new books were thus included by them in the category "Scripture." They tell us some of them themselves. Those who received them from their hands tell us of others. And when we put the two bodies of testimony together we find that they constitute just our NT. It is no pressure of the witness of the writers of the NT to the inspiration of the Scripture, therefore, to look upon it as covering the entire body of "Scriptures," the new books which they were themselves adding to this aggregate, as well as the old books which they had received as Scripture from the fathers. Whatever can lay claim by just right to the appellation of "Scripture," as employed in its eminent sense by those writers, can by the same just right lay claim to the "inspiration" which they ascribe to this "Scripture."

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INSTANT, in′stant, **INSTANTLY**, in′stant-li: Derivative from Lat *instare*. Found in Eng. with various meanings from the 15th cent. to the present time.

Instant is used once in Isa **29** 5 in the sense of immediate time; elsewhere in the sense of urgent, pressing; Lk **23** 23, where "were instant" is the AV tr of the vb. ἐπέκειντο, *epékeinto;* Rom **12** 12, where it is involved in the vb. προσκαρτερέω, *proskarteréō;* cf Acts **6** 4. In 2 Tim **4** 2 it stands for the expressive vb. ἐπίστηθι, *epístēthi*, "stand to."

Instantly (urgently, stedfastly) is the AV rendering of two different Gr phrases, σπουδαίως, *spoudaíōs*, found in Lk **7** 4; and ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ, *en ekteneía*, in Acts **26** 7. In both cases ARV renders "earnestly." RUSSELL BENJAMIN MILLER

INSTRUCTION, in-struk′shun. See CATECHIST; EDUCATION; SCHOOL.

INSTRUMENT, in′strōō-ment (כְּלִי, *kelī;* in Gr pl. **ὅπλα**, *hópla*, Rom **6** 13): The word in the OT is used for utensils for service, chiefly in connection with the sanctuary (cf Ex **25** 9; Nu **4** 12.26.32; 1 K **19** 21; 1 Ch **9** 29; 2 Ch **4** 16, AV); for weapons of war (1 S **8** 12; 1 Ch **12** 33.37, etc); notably for musical instruments. See MUSIC. The members of the body are described by Paul (Rom **6** 13) as "instruments" to be used in the service of righteousness, as before they were in the service of unrighteousness.

INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC (שָׁלִשִׁים, *shālīshīm*): Thus RV and AV (1 S **18** 6), RVm "triangles" or "three-stringed instruments." See Music.

INSURRECTION, in-su-rek′shun: The word in Ps **64** 2 AV is changed in RV into "tumult"; in Ezr **4** 19 (vb.) it represents the Aram. נְשָׂא, *n*ᵉ*sā'*, to "lift up oneself." In the NT *στάσις*, *stásis*, is rendered "insurrection" in Mk **15** 7 AV (where cf the vb. "made insurrection"), but in Lk **23** 19.25 "sedition." RV correctly renders "insurrection" throughout; also in Acts **24** 5 "insurrections" for AV "sedition."

INTEGRITY, in-teg′ri-ti (תֹּם, *tōm*, תֻּמָּה, *tummāh*): The tr of *tōm*, "simplicity," "soundness," "completeness," rendered also "upright," "perfection." Its original sense appears in the phrase *l*ᵉ*tōm* (1 K **22** 34; 2 Ch **18** 33), "A certain man drew his bow at a venture," m "Heb, in his simplicity" (cf 2 S **15** 11, "in their simplicity"). It is trᵈ "integrity" (Gen **20** 5.6; 1 K **9** 4; Ps **7** 8; **25** 21; **26** 1.11; **41** 12; **78** 72; Prov **19** 1; **20** 7), in all which places it seems to carry the meaning of simplicity, or sincerity of heart and intention, truthfulness, uprightness. In the pl. (*tummīm*) it is one of the words on the breastplate of the high priest (Ex **28** 30; Dt **33** 8; Ezr **2** 63; Neh **7** 65), one of the sacred lots, indicating, perhaps, "innocence" or "integrity" (LXX *alḗtheia*). See Urim and Thummim. Another word trᵈ "integrity" is *tummāh*, from *tāmam*, "to complete," "be upright," "perfect," only in Job **2** 3.9; **27** 5; **31** 6; Prov **11** 3.

The word "integrity" does not occur in the NT, but its equivalents may be seen in "sincerity," "truth," the "pure heart," the "single eye," etc. In the above sense of *simplicity of intention* it is equivalent to being honest, sincere, genuine, and is fundamental to true character.

W. L. Walker

INTELLIGENCE, in-tel′i-gens (בִּין, *bīn*): Occurs only once in AV as the tr of *bīn*, "to discriminate" (frequently trᵈ "to understand"), in Dnl **11** 30 AV, "[he shall] have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant," RV renders "have regard unto them." "Intelligence" occurs in 2 Macc **3** 9 AV, in the sense of *information* (so RV).

INTEND, in-tend′, **INTENT**, in-tent′: Early Eng. words derived from Lat and used in AV, sometimes in RV, to translate a number of different expressions of the original.

Intend is sometimes used in Eng. in the literal sense of Lat *intendere*, "to stretch," but in the Eng. Bible it is used only of the direction of the mind toward an object. Sometimes it is used of mere design (*μέλλω*, *méllō*), Acts **5** 35 AV; **20** 13; or of desired action (*θέλω*, *thélō*), Lk **14** 28 AV; again of a fixed purpose (*βούλομαι*, *boúlomai*), Acts **5** 28; **12** 4; or, finally, of a declared intention (*'āmar*), Josh **22** 33 AV; 2 Ch **28** 13 AV.

Intent is used only of purpose, and is the tr sometimes of a conjunction (*l*ᵉ*bha'ăbhūr*), 2 S **17** 14; (*l*ᵉ*ma'an*), 2 K **10** 19; (*ἵνα*, *hína*), Eph **3** 10; sometimes of an infinitive of purpose, 1 Cor **10** 6; or of a preposition with pronoun (*εἰς τοῦτο*, *eis toúto*), Acts **9** 21, and sometimes of a subst. (*λόγῳ*, *lógō*), Acts **10** 29. This variety of original expressions represented in the Eng. by single terms is an interesting illustration of the extent of interpretation embodied in our Eng. Bible.

Russell Benjamin Miller

INTERCESSION, in-ter-sesh′un (פָּגַע, *pāgha'*, "to make intercession"; originally "to strike upon," or "against"; then in a good sense, "to assail anyone with petitions," "to urge," and when on behalf of another, "to intercede" [Ruth **1** 16; Jer **7** 16; **27** 18; Job **21** 15; Gen **23** 8; Isa **53** 12; Jer **36** 25]. A similar idea is found in **ἔντευξις**, *énteuxis*, used as "petition," and in the NT "intercession." The Eng. word is derived from Lat *intercedo*, "to come between," which strangely has the somewhat opposed meanings of "obstruct" and "to interpose on behalf of" a person, and finally "to intercede." The growth of meaning in this word in the various languages is highly suggestive. In the Gr NT we find the word in 1 Tim **2** 1; **4** 5; **ἐντυγχάνω**, *entugchánō*, is also found in Rom **8** 26–34):

Etymology and Meaning of Term in the OT and NT
I. Man's Intercession for His Fellow-Man
    1. Patriarchal Examples
    2. Intercessions of Moses
    3. The Progress of Religion, Seen in Moses' Intercessions
    4. Intercessory Prayer in Israel's Later History
    5. The Rise of Official Intercession
    6. Samuel as an Intercessor as Judge, Priest and Prophet
    7. Intercession in the Poetic Books
    8. The Books of Wisdom
    9. The Prophets' Succession to Moses and Samuel
    10. The Priest and Intercession
    11. Intercession in the Gospels
    12. Intercessory Prayers of the Church
    13. Intercession Found in the Epistles
II. Intercession Perfected in Christ's Office and in the Church
III. Intercession of the Holy Spirit

Etymology and Meaning of Term

The meaning of the word is determined by its use in 1 Tim **2** 1, "I exhort, therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings, be made for all men"; where the different kinds of prayers appear to be distinguished. Considerable discussion has arisen on the exact meaning of these words. Augustine refers them to the liturgy of the Eucharist. This seems to be importing the significance of the various parts of the ceremony as observed at a time much later than the date of the passage in question. "Supplications" and "prayers" refer to general and specific petitions; "intercessions" will then have the meaning of a request concerning others.

Intercession is prayer on behalf of another, and naturally arises from the instinct of the human heart—not merely prompted by affection and interest, but recognizing that God's relation to man is not merely individual, but social. Religion thus involves man's relations to his fellow-man, just as in man's social position intercession with one on behalf of another is a common incident, becoming, in the development of society, the function of appointed officials; as in legal and courtly procedure, so in religion, the spontaneous and affectionate prayer to God on behalf of another grows into the regular and orderly service of a duly appointed priesthood. Intercession is thus to be regarded: (1) as the spontaneous act of man for his fellow-man; (2) the official act of developed sacerdotalism; (3) the perfecting of the natural movement of humanity, and the typified function of priesthood in the intercession of Christ and the Holy Spirit.

I. Man's Intercession for His Fellow-Man.—Many such prayers are recorded in Scripture.

1. Patriarchal Examples

The sacrificial act of Noah may have been partly of this nature, for it is followed by a promise of God on behalf of the race and the earth at large (Gen **8** 20–22). Such also is Abraham's prayer for Ishmael (Gen **17** 18); Abraham's prayer for Sodom (Gen **18** 23–33); Abraham for Abimelech (Gen **20** 17). Jacob's blessing of Joseph's sons is of the nature of intercession (Gen **48** 8–23). His dying blessing of his sons is hardly to be regarded as intercessory; it is, rather, declarative, although in the case of Joseph it approaches intercession. The absence of distinct intercessory prayer from Abraham to Moses is to be observed, and shows how intensely personal and individual the religious consciousness was still in its undeveloped quality. In Moses, however, the social element finds a further development, and is interesting as taking up the spirit of the Father of the Faithful. Moses is the creator of the national spirit. He lifts religion from its somewhat selfish character in the patriarchal life to the higher and wider plane of a national and racial fellowship.

2. Intercessions of Moses

The progressive character of the Divine leading of man is found thus in the development of the intercessory spirit, e.g. Moses' prayer for the removal of plagues (Ex **15** 25 f); for water at Rephidim (**17** 4); for victory over Amalek (**17** 8–16); prayer for the people after the golden calf (Ex **32** 11–14.21–34; **33** 12 f); after the renewal of the tables of stone (**34** 9); at the setting forth and stopping of the Ark (Nu **10** 35 f); after the burning at Taberah (Nu **11** 2); for the healing of Miriam's leprosy (**12** 13); after the return of the spies (**14** 13–19); after the destruction by serpents (Nu **21** 7); for direction in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad (**27** 5); for a successor (**27** 15); recital of his prayer for the people for their entrance into Canaan (Dt **3** 23 f); recital of his prayer for the people after the worship of the golden calf (**9** 18 ff); recital of prayers for the rebellious people (Dt **9** 25–29); a command to him who pays his third-year tithes to offer prayer for the nation (**26** 15); Moses' final blessing of the tribes (Dt **33**).

3. The Progress of Religion Seen in the Intercessions of Moses

This extensive series of the intercessory prayers of Moses forms a striking illustration of the growth of religion, represented by the founder of the national life of Israel. It is the history of an official, but it is also the history of a leader whose heart was filled with the intensest patriotism and regard for his fellows. None of these prayers are perfunctory. They are the vivid and passionate utterances of a man full of Divine enthusiasm and human affection. They are real prayers wrung from a great and devout soul on occasions of deep and critical importance. Apart from their importance in the history of Israel, they are a noble record of a great leader of men and servant of God.

4. Intercessory Prayer in Later History of Israel

5. The Rise of Official Intercession

In the history of Joshua we find only the prayer for the people after the sin of Achan (Josh **7** 6–9), although the communications from God to Joshua are numerous. A faint intercessory note may be heard in Deborah's song (Jgs **5** 31), though it is almost silenced by the stern and warlike tone of the poem. Gideon's prayer seems to reëcho something of the words of Moses (Jgs **6** 13), and accords with the national and religious spirit of the great leader who helped in the formation of the religious life of his people (see Jgs **6** 24), notwithstanding the evident lower plane on which he stood (Jgs **8** 27), which may account partially for the apostasy after his death (Jgs **8** 33 f). Manoah's prayers (Jgs **13**) may be noted. (The satisfaction of Micah at securing a priest for his house, and the subsequent story, belong rather to the history of official intercession [Jgs **18**; see below], as also the inquiry of the people through Phinehas at Shiloh [Jgs **20** 27 f], and the people's mourning and prayer [Jgs **21** 2 f].)

6. Samuel as an Intercessor in His Functions as Judge, Priest and Prophet

Samuel is the real successor of Moses, and in connection with his life intercession again appears more distinct and effective. Hannah's song, though chiefly of thankfulness, is not without the intercessory spirit (1 S **2** 1–11). So also of Samuel's prayer at Mizpeh (1 S **7** 5), and the recognition by the people of Samuel's place (1 S **7** 8 f; see also **8** 6.21; **10** 17–25; **12** 19) (for the custom of inquiring of the Lord through a seer see 1 S **9** 6–10); Samuel's prayer for Saul (1 S **15** 11); Saul's failure to secure inquiry of God, even through intercession (1 S **28** 6); Saul's final appeal through the witch of Endor (1 S **28** 7–20); David's prayer to God (2 S **7** 18); David's prayer for deliverance of the people from pestilence (2 S **24** 17); Solomon's prayer for wisdom to govern the people (1 K **3** 5–15); Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K **8** 12–61); Jeroboam's appeal to the man of God to pray for the healing of his hand (1 K **13** 6); Elijah's prayer for the widow's son (1 K **17** 20); Elijah's prayer for rain (1 K **18** 42); Elisha's prayer for the widow's son (2 K **4** 33); Elisha's prayer for the opening of the young man's eyes (2 K **6** 17); Hezekiah's appeal to Isaiah (2 K **19** 4); Hezekiah's prayer (2 K **19** 14–19); Josiah's command for prayer concerning the "book that is found" (2 K **22** 13). In Ch we find David's prayer for his house (1 Ch **17** 16–27); David's prayer for deliverance from the plague (**21** 17); David's prayer for the people and for Solomon at the offering of gifts for the temple (**29** 10–19); Solomon's prayer at the consecration of the temple (2 Ch **6** 1–42); Asa's prayer (**14** 11); Jehoshaphat's prayer (2 Ch **20** 5–13); Hezekiah's prayer for the people who had not prepared to eat the Passover (2 Ch **30** 18); Josiah's command for prayer concerning the book (**34** 21). In the Prophets we note Ezra's prayer (Ezr **9** 5–15); Nehemiah's prayer (Neh **1** 5–11); the prayer of the Levites for the nation (Neh **9** 4–38).

7. Intercession in the Poetic Books

The poetic books furnish a few examples of intercessory prayer: Job's intercession for his children (Job **1** 5); Job's regret at the absence of intercession (Job **16** 21); the Lord's command that Job should pray for his friends (Job **42** 8). It is remarkable that the references to intercession in the Pss are few; but it must not be forgotten that the psalm is generally a lyrical expression of an intense subjective condition. This does not seem in the consciousness of Israel to have reached an altruistic development. The Pss express very powerfully the sense of obligation to God, consciousness of sin, indignation against the sin of others. Occasionally the patriotic spirit leads to prayer for Israel; but only rarely does any deep sense of interest in the welfare of others appear to possess the hearts of Israel's singers. In Ps **2** 12 there is a hint of the intercessory office of the Son, which reflects, perhaps, the growth of the Messianic spirit in the mind of Israel; Ps **20** is intercessional; it is the prayer of a people for their king. In Ps **25** 22 we find a prayer for the redemption of Israel, as in Ps **28** 9. In Ps **35** 13 the Psalmist refers to his intercession for others. But the "prayer returned into mine own bosom," and the final issue of the prayer becomes rather denunciatory than intercessional. The penitence of Ps **51** rises into a note of prayer for the city (ver 18). Sometimes (Ps **60**, and perhaps Ps **67**), the prayer is not individual but for the community, though even there it is hardly intercession. A common necessity makes a common prayer. In Ps **69** there is the recognition of the injury that folly and sin may do to others, and a kind of compensatory note of intercession is heard. Ps **72** is regarded by some as the royal father's prayer for his son and successor, but the reading of the title adopted by RV takes even this psalm from the category of intercession. In Asaph's Maschil (Ps **74**), intercession is more distinct; it is a prayer for the sanctuary and the people in their desolation and calamity. Asaph appears to have caught something of the spirit of Moses, as in Ps **79** he again prays for the deliverance of Jerus; while a faint echo of the intercessory plea for the nation is heard in Ethan's psalm (Ps **89**). It sounds faintly in Ps **106**. In Ps **122** we seem to breathe a larger and more liberal spirit. It contains the appeal to pray for the peace of Jerus (ver 6), as if the later thought of Israel had begun to expand beyond the mere limits of personal penitence, or desire for deliverance, or denunciation of the enemy. In one of the Songs of Degrees (Ps **125**), there is the somewhat severely ethical prayer: "Do good, O Jeh, unto those that are good." The yearning for the salvation of man as man has not yet been born. The Christ must come before the fulness of Divine love is shed abroad in the hearts even of the pious. This comparative absence of intercessory prayer from the service-book of Israel, and its collected expressions of spiritual experience, is instructive. We find continued references to those who needed prayer; but for the most part these references are descriptive of their wickedness, or denunciatory of their hostility to the Psalmist. The Book of Pss is thus a striking commentary on the growth of Israel's spiritual life. Intense as it is in its perception of God and His claim on human righteousness, it is only when the supreme revelation of Divine love and the regard for universal man has appeared in the person of Our Lord that the large and loving spirit which intercession signifies is found in the experience and expressions of the pious.

8. The Wisdom Books

In the Wisdom books there is little, if any, reference to intercession. But they deal rather with ethical character, and often on a merely providential and utilitarian basis. It is noticeable that the only reference to pleading a cause is said to be by the Lord Himself as against the injustice of man (Prov **22** 23): "Jeh will plead their [the poor's] cause." Action on behalf of others does not appear to have been very highly regarded by the current ethics of the Israelite. A kind of negative helpfulness is indicated in Prov **24** 28: "Be not a witness against thy neighbor without cause"; and it is significant that the office of advocate was not known among the Jews until they had come under the authority of Rome, when, not knowing the forms of Rom law, they were obliged to secure the aid of a Rom lawyer before the courts. Such practitioners were found in the provinces (Cic. *pro Coelio* c. 30); Tertullus (Acts **24** 1) was such an advocate.

9. The Prophets' Succession to Moses and Samuel

In the prophetical books the note of intercession reappears. The prophet, though primarily a messenger from God to man, has also something of the character of the intercessor (see Isaiah's call, Isa **6**). Isa **25, 26** exhibit the intercessory characteristics. The request of Hezekiah for the prayers of Isaiah (Isa **37** 4), and the answer of the Lord implied in ver 6, recall the constantly recurring service of Moses to the people. Hezekiah himself becomes an intercessor (vs 14–21). In Jer **4** 10 intercession is mingled with the words of the messenger. The sin of the people hinders such prayers as were offered on their behalf (Jer **7** 16; cf **11** 14; **14** 11). Intercessory prayers are found in Jer **10** 23 ff; **14** 7 ff.19–22. The message of Zedekiah requesting Jeremiah's help is perhaps an instance of seer-inquiry as much as intercession (Jer **21** 1 f; cf 1 S **9** 19). In Jer **42** 4, the prophet consents to the request of Johanan to seek the Lord on behalf of the people. The Book of Lam is naturally conceived in a more constantly recurring spirit of intercession. In the prophecies Jeremiah has been the messenger of God to the people. But, after the catastrophe, in his sorrow he appeals to God for mercy upon them (Lam **2** 20; **5** 1.19). Ezekiel in the same way is rather the seer of visions and the prophetic representative of God. Yet at times he appeals to God for the people (Ezk **9** 8; **11** 13). In Dnl we find the intercession of his three friends sought for in order to secure the revelation of the king's dream (Dnl **2** 17); and Daniel's prayer for Jerus and her people (Dnl **9** 16–19).

In the Minor Prophets intercession rarely appears; even in the graphic pictures of Jonah, though the work itself shows the enlarging of the conception of God's relation to humanity outside of Israel, the prophet himself exhibits no tenderness and utters no pleas for the city against which he had been sent to prophesy, and receives the implied rebuke from the Lord for his want of sympathy, caring more for the perished gourd than for the vast population of Nineveh, whom the Lord, however, pitied and spared (Jon **4**). Even the sublime prayer of Hab **3** has only a suggestion of intercession. Zec **6** 13 relieves the general severity of the prophetic message, consisting of the threatenings of judgment, by the gleam of the promise of a royal priest whose office was partially that of an intercessor, though the picture is darkened by the character of the priesthood and the people, whose services had been selfish, without mercy and compassion (Zec **7** 4.7). Now the spirit of tenderness, the larger nature, the loving heart, are to be restored to Israel (Zec **8** 16–23). Other nations than Israel will share in the mercy of God. In Mal **2** 7 we find the priest rebuked for the loss of his intercessory character.

10. The Priest and Intercession

How far intercession was regarded as a special duty of the priesthood it is not very easy to determine. The priestly office itself was undoubtedly intercessory. In the offering of the sacrifice even for the individual, and certainly in the national functions, both of the regular and the occasional ceremonies, the priest represented the individual or the community. In Joel **2** 17 the priests are distinctly bidden to "weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O Jeh." Mal **1** 9 appeals to them for intercession to God, and the graphic scene in 1 Macc **7** 33–38 shows the priests interceding on behalf of the people against Nicanor.

11. Intercession in the Gospels

In the NT, all prayer necessarily takes a new form from its relation to Our Lord, and in this intercessory prayer shares. At the outset, Christ teaches prayer on behalf of those "which despitefully use you" (Mt **5** 44 AV). How completely does this change the entire spirit of prayer! We breathe a new atmosphere of the higher revelation of love. The Lord's Prayer (Mt **6** 9–13) is of this character. Its initial word is social, domestic; prayer is the address of children to the Father. Even though some of the petitions are not original, yet their place in the prayer, and the general tone of the Master's teaching, exhibit the social and altruistic spirit, not so pervasive of the older dispensation. "Thy kingdom come" leads the order of petitions, with its essentially intercessory character. The forgiveness of others, which is the measure and plea of our own forgiveness, brings even those who have wronged us upon the same plane as ourselves, and if the plea be genuine, how can we refuse to pray for them? And if for our enemies, then surely for our friends. In Mt **7** 11 f, the good things sought of the Father are to be interpreted as among those that if we desire from others we should do to them. And from this spirit the intercessory prayer cannot be absent. We find the spirit of intercession in the pleas of those who sought Christ's help for their friends, which He was always so quick to recognize: the centurion for his servant (Mt **8** 13); the friends of the paralytic (Mt **9** 2–6), where the miracle was wrought on the ground of the friends' faith. Of a similar character are the requests of the woman for her child and the Lord's response (Mt **15** 28); of the man for his lunatic son (**17** 14–21). There is the suggestion of the intercessory spirit in the law of trespass, specifically followed by the promise of the answer to the prayer of the two or three, agreed and in fellowship (Mt **18** 15–20), with the immediately attached precepts of forgiveness (vs 21–35). A remarkable instance of intercession is recorded in Mt **20** 20–23, where the mother of Zebedee's sons makes a request on behalf of her children; the added expression, "worshipping him," raises the occasion into one of intercessory prayer. Our Lord's rebuke is not to the prayer, but to its unwisdom.

It is needless to review the cases in the other Gospels. But the statement of Mk **6** 5 f, that Christ could not perform mighty works because of unbelief, sheds a flood of light upon one of the important conditions of successful intercession, when contrasted with the healing conditioned by the faith of others than the healed. One of the most distinct examples of intercessory prayer is that of the Lord's intercession for Peter (Lk **22** 31 f), and for those who crucified Him (Lk **23** 34). The place of intercession in the work of Christ is seen clearly in Our Lord's intercessory prayer (see INTERCESSION OF CHRIST), where it is commanded by definite precept and promise of acceptance. The promise of the answer to prayer in the name of Christ is very definite (Jn **16** 24). Christ's high-priestly prayer is the sublimest height of prayer to God and is intercessory throughout (Jn **17**); Jn **16** 26 does not, as some have held, deny His intercession for His disciples; it only throws open the approach to God Himself.

12. Intercessory Prayers of the Church

Acts introduces us to the working of the fresh elements which Christ gave to life. Hence the prayers of the church becomeChristian prayers, involving the wider outlook on others and on the world at large which Christianity has bestowed on men. The prayer of the assembled believers upon the liberation of the apostles breathes this spirit (Acts **4** 24–30). The consecrating prayer for the seven was probably intercessory (Acts **6** 6; cf Acts **1** 24). How pathetic is the plea of Stephen for his murderers (Acts **7** 60)! How natural is intercession (Acts **8** 24)! Peter at Joppa (Acts **9** 40); the church making prayer without ceasing for Peter (Acts **12** 5.12); the prayer for Barnabas and Saul at Antioch (Acts **13** 3); Paul and Barnabas praying for the churches (Acts **14** 23); the church at Antioch commending Paul and Silas to the grace of God (Acts **15** 40); Paul and the elders of Ephesus (Acts **20** 36), are all examples, more or less defined, of intercessory prayer.

13. Intercession Found in the Epistles

In the Epp. we may expect to find intercession more distinctly filled with the relation of prayer through Christ. Paul gives us many examples in his Epp.: for the Romans (Rom **1** 9); the Spirit's interceding (**8** 27); Paul's prayer for his race (**10** 1); his request for prayers (**15** 30); the help that he found from the prayer of his friends (2 Cor **1** 11); prayer for the Corinthian church (2 Cor **13** 7); for the Ephesians (Eph **1** 16–23; **3** 14–21; see also Eph **6** 18; Phil **1** 3–11.19; Col **1** 3.9; **4** 3; 1 Thess **1** 2; **5** 23.25; 2 Thess **1** 2); a definite command that intercession be made for all men and for kings and those in authority (1 Tim **2** 1.2); his prayer for Timothy (2 Tim **1** 3); for Philemon (ver 4); and prayer to be offered for the sick by the elders of the church (Jas **5** 14–18; see also He **13** 18–21; 1 Jn **5** 14 ff).

II. Intercession Perfected in Christ's Office and in the Church.—This review of the intercession of the Scriptures prepares us for the development of a specific office of intercession, perfectly realized in Christ. We have seen Moses complying with the people's request to represent them before God. In a large and generous spirit the leader of Israel intercedes with God for his nation. It was natural that this striking example of intercessory prayer should be followed by other leaders, and that the gradually developed system of religious worship should furnish the conception of the priest, and esp. the high priest, as the intercessor for those who came to the sacrifice. This was particularly the significance of the great Day of Atonement, when after offering for himself, the high priest offered the sacrifice for the whole people. This official act, however, does not do away with the intercessory character of prayer as offered by men. We have seen how it runs through the whole history of Israel. But it is found much more distinctly in the Christian life and apparently in the practice of the Christian assembly itself. Paul continually refers to his own intercessory prayers, and seeks for a similar service on his own behalf from those to whom he writes. Intercession is thus based upon the natural tendency of the heart filled by love and a deep sympathetic sense of relation to others. Christ's intercessory prayer is the highest example and pattern of this form of prayer. His intercessions for His disciples, for His crucifiers, are recorded, and the sacred record rises to the supreme height in the prayer of Jn **17**. In this prayer the following characteristics are to be found: (1) It is based upon the intimate relation of Jesus to the Father. This gives to such prayer its justification; may it be said, its right. (2) It follows the completest fulfilment of duty. It is not the mere expression of desire, even for others. It is the crown of effort on their behalf. He has revealed God to His disciples. He has given to them God's words; therefore He prays for them (Jn **17** 6.7–9). (3) It recognizes the Divine, unbroken relation to the object of the prayer: "I am no more in the world, and these are in the world, and I come to Thee. Holy Father, keep," etc (ver 11). (4) The supreme end of the prayer is salvation from the evil of the world (ver 15). (5) The wide sweep of the prayer and its chief objects—unity with God, and the presence with Christ, and the indwelling of the Divine love. The prayer is a model for all intercessory prayer. See, further, INTERCESSION OF CHRIST; PRAYERS OF CHRIST; OFFICES OF CHRIST.

III. Intercession of the Holy Spirit.—In connection with the subject of intercession, there arises a most interesting question as to whether the Holy Spirit is not presented in Scriptures as an intercessor. The text in which the doctrine seems to be taught is that of Rom **8** 26 f: "In like manner the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity: for we know not how to pray as we ought; but the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered; and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." By far the larger number of expositors have understood by the Spirit, the Holy Spirit. The older commentators, in general, refer to the Holy Spirit. Tholuck, Ewald, Philippi, Meyer, most of the Amer. theologians and Eng. commentators, as Shedd, Alford, Jowett, Wordsworth, interpret it in the same way. Lange and Olshausen refer it to the human spirit. Undoubtedly the "groanings" have led to the denial of the reference to the Holy Spirit. But the very form of the word tr^{d} "helpeth" indicates coöperation, and this must be of something other than the spirit of man himself. The undoubted difficulties of the passage, which are strongly urged by Lange (see Lange's *Comm.* on Rom **8** 26), must be acknowledged. At the same time the statement seems to be very clear and definite. An explanation has been given that the Holy Spirit is here referred to as dwelling in us, and thus making intercession. The Divine Spirit is said to be a Spirit of supplication (Zec **12** 10). The distinction which is made between the intercession of Christ in heaven in His priestly office and that of the Holy Spirit interceding within the souls of believers, referred to by Shedd (see *Comm. on Rom*), must be carefully used, for if pressed to its extreme it would lead to the materialization and localization of the Divine nature. Moreover, may not the intercession of Our Lord be regarded as being partially exemplified in that of the Spirit whom He has declared to be His agent and representative? If Christ dwells in believers by His Spirit, His intercession, esp. if subjective in and with their spirits, may properly be described as the intercession of the Holy Ghost.

LL. D. BEVAN

INTERCESSION OF CHRIST: The general conception of Our Lord's mediatorial office is specially summed up in His intercession in which He appears in His high-priestly office, and also as interceding with the Father on behalf of that humanity whose cause He had espoused.

1. Christ's Intercession Viewed in Its Priestly Aspect

The function of priesthood as developed under Judaism involved the position of mediation between man and God. The priest represented man, and on man's behalf approached God; thus he offered sacrifice, interceded and gave to the offerer whom he represented the benediction and expression of the Divine acceptance. (For the various forms of these offerings, see special articles.) As in sacrifice, so in the work of Christ, we find the proprietary rights of the offerer in the sacrifice. For man, Christ as one with man, and yet in His own personal right, offers Himself (see Rom **5**; and cf Gal **4** 5 with He **2** 11). There was also the transfer of guilt and its conditions, typically by laying the hand on the head of the animal, which then bore the sins of the offerer and was presented to God by the priest. The acknowledgment of sin and the surrender to God is completely fulfilled in Christ's offering of Himself, and His death (cf Lev **3** 2.8.13; **16** 21; with Isa **53** 6; 2 Cor **5** 21). Our Lord's intercessory quality in the sacrifice of Himself is not only indicated by the imputation of guilt to Him as representing the sinner, but also in the victory of His life over death, which is then given to man in God's acceptance of His representative and substitute.

In the Ep. to the He, the intercessory character of Our Lord's high-priestly office is transferred to the heavenly condition and work of Christ, where the relation of Christ's work to man's condition is regarded as being still continued in the heavenly place (see He **9** 11–28). This entrance into heaven is once for all, and in the person of the high priest the way is open to the very presence of God. From one point of view (He **10** 12) the priestly service of the Lord was concluded and gathered up into His kingly office (vs 13.14–18). But from another point of view, we ourselves are bidden to enter into the Holiest Place; as if in union with Christ we too become a kingly priesthood (He **10** 19–22; and cf 1 Pet **2** 9).

It must not be forgotten, however, that this right of entrance into the most Holy Place is one that depends entirely upon our vital union with Christ, He appears in heaven for us and we with Him, and in this sense He fulfils the second duty of His high-priestly office as intercessor, with the added conception drawn from the legal advocacy of the Rom court. The term tr^d "Advocate" in 1 Jn **2** 2 is παράκλητος, *paráklētos*, which in Jn **14** 16 is tr^d "Comforter." The word is of familiar use in Gr for the legal advocate or *patronus* who appeared on behalf of his client. Thus, in the double sense of priestly and legal representative, Our Lord is our intercessor in Heaven.

Of the modes in which Christ carries out His intercessory office, we can have no knowledge except so far as we may fairly deduce them from the phraseology and suggested ideas of Scripture. As high priest, it may surely be right for us to aid our weak faith by assuring ourselves that Our Lord pleads for us, while at the same time we must be careful not to deprave our thought concerning the glorified Lord by the metaphors and analogies of earthly relationship.

The intercessory work of Christ may thus be represented: He represents man before God in His perfect nature, His exalted office and His completed work. The Scripture word for this is (He **9** 24) "to appear before the face of God for us." There is also an active intercession. This is the office of Our Lord as advocate or *paraklētos*. That this conveys some relation to the aid which one who has broken the law receives from an advocate cannot be overlooked, and we find Christ's intercession in this aspect brought into connection with the texts which refer to justification and its allied ideas (see Rom **8** 34; 1 Jn **2** 1).

2. Christ's Intercessory Work from the Standpoint of Prayer

In PRAYERS OF CHRIST (q.v.), the intercessory character of many of Our Lord's prayers, and esp. that of Jn **17**, is considered. And it has been impossible for Christian thought to divest itself of the idea that the heavenly intercession of Christ is of the order of prayer. It is impossible for us to know; and even if Christ now prays to the Father, it can be in no way analogous to earthly prayers. The thought of some portion of Christendom distinctly combined prayer in the heavenly work of the Lord. There is danger in extreme views. Scriptural expressions must not be driven too far, and, on the other hand, they must not be emptied of all their contents. Modern Protestant teaching has, in its protest against a merely physical conception of Our Lord's state and occupation in heaven, almost sublimed reality from His intercessory work. In Lutheran teaching the intercession of Our Lord was said to be "vocal," "verbal" and "oral." It has been well remarked that such forms of prayer require flesh and blood, and naturally the teachers of the Reformed churches, for the most part, have contented themselves (as for example Hodge, *Syst. Theol.*, II, 593) with the declaration that "the intercession of Christ includes: (1) His appearing before God in our behalf, as the sacrifice for our sins, as our high priest, on the ground of whose work we receive the remission of our sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and all needed good; (2) defence against the sentence of the law and the charges of Satan, who is the great accuser; (3) His offering Himself as our surety, not only that the demands of justice shall be shown to be satisfied, but that His people shall be obedient and faithful; (4) the oblation of the persons of the redeemed, sanctifying their prayers, and all their services, rendering them acceptable to God, through the savor of his own merits."

Even this expression of the elements which constitute the intercession of the Lord, cautious and spiritual as it is in its application to Christian thought and worship, must be carefully guarded from a too complete and materialistic use. Without this care, worship and devout thought may become degraded and fall into the mechanical forms by which Our Lord's position of intercessor has been reduced to very little more than an imaginative and spectacular process which goes on in some heavenly place. It must not be forgotten that the metaphorical and symbolic origin of the ideas which constitute Christ's intercession is always in danger of dominating and materializing the spiritual reality of His intercessional office. LL. D. BEVAN

INTEREST, in′tẽr-est (נֶשֶׁךְ, *neshekh*, מַשָּׁא, *mashshā′*; τόκος, *tókos*): The Heb word *neshekh* is from a root which means "to bite"; thus interest is "something bitten off." The other word, *mashshā′*, means "lending on interest." The Gr term is from the root *tiktō*, "to produce" or "beget," hence interest is something begotten or produced by money. The Heb words are usually tr^d "usury," but this meant the same as interest, all interest being reckoned as usury.

Long before Abraham's time money had been loaned at a fixed rate of interest in Babylonia and almost certainly in Egypt. The CH gives regulations regarding the lending and borrowing of money, the usual interest being 20 per cent. Sometimes it was only 11⅔ and 13⅓, as shown by contract tablets. In one case, if the loan was not paid in two months, 18 per cent interest would be charged.

Corn, dates, onions, etc, were loaned at interest. Thus Moses and Israel would be familiar with commercial loans and interest. In Israel there was no system of credit or commercial loans in Moses' time and after. A poor man borrowed because he was poor. The law of Moses (Ex **22** 25) forbade loaning at interest. There was to be no creditor and no taker of interest among them (Lev **25** 36.37). Dt permits them to lend on interest to a foreigner (Dt **23** 19.20), but not to a brother Israelite. That this was considered the proper thing in Israel for centuries is seen in Ps **15** 5, while Prov **28** 8 implies that it was an unusual thing, interest being generally exacted and profit made. Ezekiel condemns it as a heinous sin (Ezk **18** 8.13.17) and holds up the ideal of righteousness as not taking interest (**22** 12). Isa **24** 2 implies that it was a business in that age, the lender and borrower being social types. Jeremiah implies that there was not always the best feeling between lenders and borrowers (**15** 10). According to Neh **5** 7.10, rich Jews were lending to others and exacting heavy interest. Nehemiah condemns such conduct and forbids its continuance, citing himself as an example of lending without interest. The lenders restored 1 per cent of that exacted.

In the NT, references to interest occur in the parable of the Pounds (Lk **19** 23) and of the Talents (Mt **25** 27). Here the men were expected to put their master's money out at interest, and condemnation followed the failure to do so. Thus the principle of receiving interest is not condemned in the OT, only it was not to be taken from a brother Israelite. In the NT it is distinctly encouraged. See also USURY. J. J. REEVE

INTERMEDDLE, in-tẽr-med′′l (עָרַב, *'ārabh,* "to mix up [self] with something," "mingle in," "share," "take interest in"): The word occurs only once (Prov **14** 10) in a passage descriptive of "the ultimate solitude of each man's soul at all times." "The heart knoweth its own bitterness."

> "Nor even the tenderest heart, and next our own,
> Knows half the reasons why we smile and sigh."

(Cf 1 K **8** 38.) Something there is in every sorrow which no one else can share. "And a stranger doth not intermeddle with its joy," not necessarily in an interfering or any offensive way, but simply does not share or take any interest in the other's joy.

For "intermeddleth with" (Prov **18** 1 AV), RV gives "rageth against" (m "quarrelleth with").
M. O. EVANS

INTERMEDIATE, in-tẽr-mē′di-āt, **STATE.** See ESCHATOLOGY OF THE NT.

1. General Principles

INTERPRETATION, in-tûr-prē-tā′shun: Is a generic term and may refer to any work of literature. Referred specifically to the sacred Scriptures, the science of interpretation is generally known as hermeneutics, while the practical application of the principles of this science is exegesis. In nearly all cases, interpretation has in mind the thoughts of another, and then, further, these thoughts expressed in another language than that of the interpreter. In this sense it is used in Bib. research. A person has interpreted the thoughts of another when he has in his own mind a correct reproduction or photograph of the thought as it was conceived in the mind of the original writer or speaker. It is accordingly a purely reproductive process, involving no originality of thought on the part of the interpreter. If the latter adds anything of his own it is *eisegesis* and not *exegesis.* The moment the Bible student has in his own mind what was in the mind of the author or authors of the Bib. books when these were written, he has interpreted the thought of the Scriptures.

The interpretation of any specimen of literature will depend on the character of the work under consideration. A piece of poetry and a chapter of history will not be interpreted according to the same principles or rules. Particular rules that are legitimate in the explanation of a work of fiction would be entirely out of place in dealing with a record of facts. Accordingly, the rules of the correct interpretation of the Scriptures will depend upon the character of these writings themselves, and the principles which an interpreter will employ in his interpretation of the Scriptures will be in harmony with his ideas of what the Scriptures are as to origin, character, history, etc. In the nature of the case the dogmatical stand of the interpreter will materially influence his hermeneutics and exegesis. In the legitimate sense of the term, every interpreter of the Bible is "prejudiced," i.e. is guided by certain principles which he holds antecedently to his work of interpretation. If the modern advanced critic is right in maintaining that the Bib. books do not differ in kind or character from the religious books of other ancient peoples, such as the Indians or the Persians, then the same principles that he applies in the case of the Rig Veda or the Zend Avesta he will employ also in his exposition of the Scriptures. If, on the other hand, the Bible is for him a unique collection of writings, Divinely inspired and a revelation from the source of all truth, the Bible student will hesitate long before accepting contradictions, errors, mistakes, etc, in the Scriptures.

2. Special Principles

The Scriptures are a Divine and human product combined. That the holy men of God wrote as they were moved by the Spirit is the claim of the Scriptures themselves. Just where the line of demarkation is to be drawn between the human and the Divine factors in the production of the sacred Scriptures materially affects the principles of interpreting these writings (see INSPIRATION). That the human factor was sufficiently potent to shape the form of thought in the Scriptures is evident on all hands. Paul does not write as Peter does, nor John as James; the individuality of the writer of the different books appears not only in the style, choice of words, etc, but in the whole form of thought also. There are such things as a Pauline, a Johannine and a Petrine type of Christian thought, although there is only one body of Christian truth underlying all types. In so far as the Bible is exactly like other books, it must be interpreted as we do other works of literature. The Scriptures are written in Heb and in Gr, and the principles of forms and of syntax that would apply to the explanation of other works written in these languages and under these circumstances must be applied to the OT and NT also. Again, the Bible is written for men, and its thoughts are those of mankind and not of angels or creatures of a different or higher spiritual or intellectual character; and accordingly there is no specifically Bib. logic, or rhetoric, or grammar. The laws of thought and of the interpretation of thought in these matters pertain to the Bible as they do to other writings.

But in regard to the material contents of the Scriptures, matters are different and the principles of interpretation must be different. God is the author of the Scriptures which He has given through human agencies. Hence the contents of the Scriptures, to a great extent, must be far above the ordinary concepts of the human mind. When John declares that God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son to redeem it, the interpreter does not do justice to the writer if he finds in the word "God" only the general philosophical conception of the Deity and not that God who is our Father through Christ; for it was the latter thought that was in the mind of the writer when he penned these words. Thus, too, it is a false interpretation to find in "Our Father" anything but this specifically Bib. conception of God, nor is it possible for anybody but a believing Christian to utter this prayer (Mt **6** 9) in the sense which Christ, who taught it to His disciples, intended.

Again, the example of Christ and His disciples in their treatment of the OT teaches the principle that the *ipse dixit* of a Scriptural passage is to be interpreted as decisive as to its meaning. In the about 400 citations from the OT found in the NT, there is not one in which the mere "It is written" is not regarded as settling its meaning. Whatever may be a Bible student's theory of inspiration, the teachings and the examples of interpretation found in the Scriptures are in perfect harmony in this matter.

These latter facts, too, show that in the interpretation of the Scriptures principles must be applied that are not applicable in the explanation of other books. As God is the author of the Scriptures He may have had, and, as a matter of fact, in certain cases did have in mind more than the human agents through whom He spoke did themselves understand. The fact that, in the NT, persons like Aaron and David, institutions like the law, the sacrificial system, the priesthood and the like, are interpreted as typical of persons and things under the New Covenant shows that the true significance, e.g. of the Levitical system, can be found only when studied in the light of the NT fulfilment.

Again, the principle of parallelism, not for illustrative but for argumentative purposes, is a rule that can, in the nature of the case, be applied to the interpretation of the Scriptures alone and not elsewhere. As the Scriptures represent one body of truth, though in a kaleidoscopic variety of forms, a statement on a particular subject in one place can be accepted as in harmony with a statement on the same subject elsewhere. In short, in all of those characteristics in which the Scriptures are unlike other literary productions, the principles of interpretation of the Scriptures must also be unlike those employed in other cases.

3. Historical Data

Owing chiefly to the dogmatical basis of hermeneutics as a science, there has been a great divergence of views in the history of the church as to the proper methods of interpretation. It is one of the characteristic and instructive features of the NT writers that they absolutely refrain from the allegorical method of interpretation current in those times, particularly in the writings of Philo. Not even Gal **4** 22, correctly understood, is an exception, since this, if an allegorical interpretation at all, is an *argumentum ad hominem*. The sober and grammatical method of interpretation in the NT writers stands out, too, in bold and creditable contrast to that of the early Christian exegetes, even of Origen. Only the Syrian fathers seemed to be an exception to the fantasies of the allegorical methods. The Middle Ages produced nothing new in this sphere; but the Reformation, with its formal principle that the Bible and the Bible alone is the rule of faith and life, made the correct grammatical interpretation of the Scriptures practically a matter of necessity. In modern times, not at all prolific in scientific discussions of hermeneutical principles and practices, the exegetical methods of different interpreters are chiefly controlled by their views as to the origin and character of the Scriptural books, particularly in regard to their inspiration.

LITERATURE.—Terry, *Bib. Hermeneutics*, New York, 1884. Here the literature is fully given, as also in Weidner's *Theol. Enc*, I, 266 ff.

G. H. SCHODDE

INTERPRETATION OF TONGUES. See TONGUES, INTERPRETATION OF.

INTERROGATION, in-tĕr-ō-gā′shun (**ἐπερώτημα**, *eperōtēma*): This word is not found at all in AV, and once only in ARV (1 Pet **3** 21), where it replaces the word "answer" of AV. This change according to Alford and Bengel is correct. "The interrogation of a good conscience" may refer to the question asked of a convert before baptism (cf Acts **8** 37), or the appeal of the convert to God (cf 1 Jn **3** 20–21). The opportunity to do this was given in baptism.

INTER-TESTAMENTAL, in-tĕr-tes-ta-men′tal, **HISTORY AND LITERATURE.** See BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS.

INTREAT, in-trēt′, **INTREATY,** in-trēt′i (**ENTREAT**): The two forms are derived from the same vb. In 1611 the spelling was indifferently "intreat" or "entreat." In editions of AV since 1760 "intreat" is used in the sense of "to beg"; "entreat" in the sense of "deal with." As examples of "intreat" see Ex **8** 8, "Intreat the Lord" (*çā‘aḳ*); Ruth **1** 16, "Intreat me not to leave thee" (*pāgha‘*); 2 Cor **8** 4, "praying us with much **intreaty**" (παράκλησις, *paráklēsis*). In Gen **25** 21 "intreat" is used to indicate the success of a petition. For **entreat** see Gen **12** 16, "He entreated Abraham well"; Acts **27** 3, "And Julius courteously entreated Paul" (φιλανθρώπως χρησάμενος, *philanthrōpōs chrēsámenos*, lit. "to use in a philanthropic way"); cf also Jas **3** 17, where εὐπειθής, *eupeithḗs*, lit. "easily persuaded," is trd "easy to be entreated."

RV changes all passages of AV where "intreat" is found to "entreat," with the exception of those mentioned below. The meaning of "entreat" is "to ask," "to beseech," "to supplicate": Job **19** 17 reads "and my supplication to the children" (*ḥannōthī*, AV "though I intreated for the children," RVm "I make supplication"). Jer **15** 11 reads, "I will cause the enemy to make supplication" (*hiphga‘tī*), instead, AV "I will cause the enemy to entreat" (RVm "I will intercede for thee with the enemy"). 1 Tim **5** 1 changes AV "intreat" to "exhort." Phil **4** 3 renders AV "entreat" by "beseech."

RUSSELL BENJAMIN MILLER

INWARD, in′wĕrd, **MAN:** A Pauline term, nearly identical with the "hidden man of the heart" (1 Pet **3** 4). The Gr original, ὁ ἔσω (also ἔσωθεν) ἄνθρωπος, *ho ésō* (*ésōthen*) *ánthrōpos* (Rom **7** 22) is lexigraphically defined "the internal man," i.e. "soul," "conscience." It is the immaterial part of man—mind, spirit—in distinction from the "outward man" which "perishes" (2 Cor **4** 16 AV). As the seat of spiritual influences it is the sphere in which the Holy Spirit does His renewing and saving work (Eph **3** 16). The term "inward man" cannot be used interchangeably with "the new man," for it may still be "corrupt," and subject to "vanity" and "alienated from the life of God." Briefly stated, it is mind, soul, spirit—God's image in man—man's higher nature, intellectual, moral, and spiritual.

DWIGHT M. PRATT

INWARD PART: A symbolic expression in the OT represented by three Heb words: חֶדֶר, *ḥedher*, "chamber," hence inmost bowels or breast; טֻחוֹת, *ṭuḥōth*, "the reins"; קֶרֶב, *ḳerebh*, "midst," "middle," hence *heart*. Once in the NT (ἔσωθεν, *ésōthen*, "from within," Lk **11** 39). The *viscera* (heart, liver, kidneys) were supposed by the ancients to be the seat of the mind, feelings, affections: the highest organs of the *psyche*, "the soul." The term includes *the intellect* ("wisdom in the inward parts," Job **38** 36); *the moral nature* ("inward part is very wickedness," Ps **5** 9); *the spiritual* ("my law in their inward parts," Jer **31** 33). Its adverbial equivalent in Bib. use is "inwardly." Inward Man (q.v.) is identical in meaning.

Dwight M. Pratt

IOB, yōb (יוֹב, *yōbh;* AV **Job**): Third son of Issachar (Gen **46** 13). In ‖ passages (Nu **26** 24; 1 Ch **7** 1) the name is Jashub (יָשׁוּב, *yāshūbh*), which the VSS in Gen also support as the correct form.

IPHDEIAH, if-dē′ya (יִפְדְּיָה, *yiphdᵉyāh,* "Jeh redeems"; AV **Iphedeiah**): A descendant of Benjamin (1 Ch **8** 25).

IPHTAH, if′ta (יִפְתָּח, *yiphtāḥ;* AV **Jiphtah**): An unidentified town in the Shephelah of Judah, named with Libnah, Ether and Ashan (Josh **15** 43).

IPHTAH-EL, if′ta-el (יִפְתַּח־אֵל, *yiphtaḥ-'ēl;* AV **Jiphtah-el**): The valley of Iphtah-el lay on the N. border of Zebulun (Josh **19** 14.27). N.W. of the plain of *el-Battauf* stands a steep hill, connected only by a low saddle with the hills on the N. The name *Tell Jĕfāt* suggests the Jotapata of Jos (*BJ*, III, vi, i; vii, i, etc), and the place answers well to his description. It probably corresponds to the ancient Iphtah-el. In that case the valley is most probably that which begins at *Tell Jĕfāt*, passes round the S. of *Jebel Kaukab*, and, as *Wādy 'Abellīn,* opens on the plain of Acre. W. Ewing

IR, ir (עִיר, *'īr*): A descendant of Benjamin (1 Ch **7** 12), called Iri in ver 7.

IRA, ī′ra (עִירָא, *'īrā';* **Εἴρας,** *Eíras*):

(1) A person referred to in 2 S **20** 26 as "priest" (so RV correctly; AV "a chief ruler," ARV "chief minister") unto David. The tr of RV is the only possible one; but, according to the text, Ira was "a Jairite," and thus of the tribe of Manasseh (Nu **32** 41) and not eligible to the priesthood. On the basis of the Pesh some would correct "Jairite" of 2 S **20** 26 into "Jattirite," referring to Jattir, a priestly city within the territory of Judah (Josh **21** 14). Others point to 2 S **8** 18 m, "David's sons were priests," as an indication that in David's time some non-Levites were permitted to serve—in some sense—as priests.

(2) An "Ithrite," or (with a different pointing of the text) a "Jattirite," one of David's "thirty" (2 S **23** 38‖1 Ch **11** 40); possibly identical with (1).

(3) Another of David's "thirty," son of Ikkesh of Tekoa (2 S **23** 26; 1 Ch **11** 28) and a captain of the temple guard (1 Ch **27** 9). F. K. Farr

IRAD, ī′rad (עִירָד, *'īrādh;* LXX **Γαιδάδ,** *Gaidád*): Grandson of Cain and son of Enoch (Gen **4** 18).

IRAM, ī′ram (עִירָם, *'īrām;* LXX variously in Gen): A "chief" of Edom (Gen **36** 43‖1 Ch **1** 54).

IR-HA-HERES, ir-ha-hē′rez (עִיר הַהֶרֶס, *'īr ha-hereṣ,* according to the MT, Aq, Theodotion, LXX, AV and RV; according to some Heb MSS, Symmachus, and the Vulg, עִיר הַחֶרֶס, *'īr ha-ḥereṣ*): A city of Egypt referred to in Isa **19** 18. Jewish quarrels concerning the temple which Onias built in Egypt have most probably been responsible for the altering of the texts of some of the early MSS, and it is not now possible to determine absolutely which have been altered and which accord with the original. This difference in MSS gives rise to different opinions among authorities here to be noted. Most of the discussion of this name arises from this uncertainty and is hence rather profitless.

The starting-point of any proper discussion of Ir-ha-h is that the words are by Isaiah and that they are prophecy, predictive prophecy. They belong to that portion of the prophecies of Isa which by nearly all critics is allowed to the great prophet. Nothing but unfounded speculation or an unwillingness to admit that there is any predictive prophecy can call in question Isaiah's authorship of these words. Then the sense of the passage in which these words occur imperatively demands that they be accounted predictive prophecy. Isaiah plainly refers to the future, "shall be called"; and makes a definite statement concerning what shall take place in the future (**19** 18–24). The reality of predictive prophecy may be discussed by those so inclined, but that the intention of the author here was to utter predictive prophecy does not seem to be open to question. For the verification of this prediction by its fulfilment in history we shall inquire concerning: (1) the times intended: "that day"; (2) the "five cities"; (3) "Ir-ha-heres."

1. The Times Intended: "That Day"

The prophet gives a fairly specific description of "that day." It was at least to begin when "there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to Jeh of hosts" (ver 18), and "In that day shall there be an altar to Jeh in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to Jeh" (ver 19). There was to be also some inroad made upon the heathenism of Egypt by the message of the Lord (vs 21 f), and about that time a deliverer should arise in Egypt (ver 20), and all this should take place before the power of the land of Assyria should pass away (vs 23 f).

2. The "Five Cities"

The first historical fulfilment of these words is found at the period when Onias built his imitation of the Temple of Jerusalem at the place called by the Greeks Leontopolis (*Tell el-Yehudiyeh*), and the worship of Jeh was set up at Elephantine, and the Jews were a great power at Alexandria and at Tahpanhes. While any of these latter three might have contained the "pillar," the "altar" would thus be either at Leontopolis or the other one of the "five cities" which cannot be named with much probability. The great deliverer would seem to be Alexander. Some think that the conversion of the Egyptians indicated in vs 21.22 is furthered, though still not completed, in the Christian invasion of the 1st cent., and again in the success of modern Christian missions in Egypt.

3. "Ir-ha-heres"

It will be seen that it does not follow from what has been said that Leontopolis was Ir-ha-h as some seem to think. It is not said by the prophet that the place where was the "altar" was called Ir-ha-h, even if it were certain that the altar was at Leontopolis. Nevertheless, Leontopolis may be Ir-ha-h. The problem is not in the first place the identification of the name, but the determination of which one of the "five cities" was destroyed. The expression "shall be called the city of destruction" seems clearly to indicate that Ir-ha-h is not a name at all, but merely a descriptive appellation of that city which should "be destroyed." It still remains to inquire whether or not this was an independent appellation, or whether, more probably, it bore some relation to the name of that city at the time at which the prophet wrote, a play upon the sound, or the significance of the name or both of these, either through resemblance or contrast. If Gesenius is right, as he seems to be, in the opinion that "in the idiom of Isa Ir-ha-h means simply 'the city that shall be destroyed,' " then the original problem of finding which one of the cities was destroyed seems to be the whole problem. Still, in the highly-wrought language of Isaiah and according to the genius of the Heb tongue, there is probably a play upon words. It is here that the consideration of the name itself properly comes in and probably guides us rightly. Speculation, by Gesenius, Duhm, Cheyne and others, has proposed various different readings of this name, some of them requiring two or three changes in the text to bring it to its present state. Speculation can always propose readings. On was sometimes called "Heres" and meant "house of the sun," which would be both tr^d and transliterated into Heb *ha-hereṣ* and might have *‛īr* ("city") prefixed. Naville, through his study of the great Harris papyrus, believed that the old Egyp city which later was called Leontopolis (*Tell el-Yehudiyeh*) was immediately connected with On and called "House of Ra," also "House of the Sun." Thus this name might be both transliterated and tr^d into the Heb *ha-hereṣ* and have *‛īr* prefixed. The difference between this expression and "Ir-ha-h" which Isaiah used is only the difference between *h* and *ḥ*. So that Ir-ha-h is most probably a predictive prophecy concerning the disaster that was to overtake one of the "five cities," with a play upon the name of the city, and that city is either On, the later Heliopolis, or the ancient sacred city about 4 miles to the N. of On, where Onias was to build his temple and which later became Leontopolis (*Tell-el-Yehudiyeh*). No more positive identification of Ir-ha-h is yet possible. M. G. Kyle

IRI, ī′rī (עִירִי, *‛īrī*). See Ir; Urias.

IRIJAH, i-rī′ja (יִרְאִיָּיה, *yir'īyāyh*, "Jeh sees"): A captain at the gate of Benjamin in Jerus, who arrested Jeremiah the prophet on suspicion of intending to desert to the Chaldaeans (Jer **37** 13.14).

IR-NAHASH, ûr-nā′hash, ir-nā′hash (עִיר נָחָשׁ, *‛īr nāḥāsh*): A town of Judah of which Tehinnah is called the "father," probably meaning "founder" (1 Ch **4** 12). EVm suggests the tr "city of Nahash."

IRON, ī′urn (בַּרְזֶל, *barzel;* σίδηρος, *sídēros*): It is generally believed that the art of separating iron from its ores and making it into useful forms was not known much earlier than 1300 BC, and that the making of brass (bronze) antedates it by many centuries, in spite of the frequent Bib. references where brass and iron occur together. This conjecture is based upon the fact that no specimen of worked iron has been found whose antiquity can be vouched for. The want of such instruments, however, can be attributed to the ease with which iron corrodes. Evidence that iron was used is found, for example, in the hieroglyphics of the tomb of Rameses III, where the blades of some of the weapons are painted blue while others are painted red, a distinction believed to be due to the fact that some were made of iron or steel and some of brass. No satisfactory proof has yet been presented that the marvelous sculpturing on the hard Egyp granite was done with tempered bronze. It seems more likely that steel tools were used. After the discovery of iron, it was evidently a long time in replacing bronze. This was probably due to the difficulties in smelting it. An old mountaineer once described to the writer the process of iron smelting as it was carried on in Mt. Lebanon in past centuries. As a boy he had watched his father, who was a smelter, operate one of the last furnaces to be fired. For each firing, many cords of wood, esp. green oak branches, were used, and several days of strenuous pumping at the eight bellows was necessary to supply the air blast. As a result a small lump of wrought iron was removed from the bottom of the furnace after cooling. The iron thus won was carried to Damascus where it was made into steel by workers who kept their methods secret. This process, which has not been worked now for years, was undoubtedly the same as was used by the ancients. It is not at all unlikely that the Lebanon iron, transformed into steel, was what was referred to as "northern iron" in Jer **15** 12 (AV). In many districts the piles of slag from the ancient furnaces are still evident.

Aside from the limited supply of iron ore in Mt. Lebanon (cf Dt **8** 9), probably no iron was found in Syria and Pal. It was brought from Tarshish (Ezk **27** 12) and Vedan and Javan (Ezk **27** 19), and probably Egypt (Dt **4** 20).

The first mention of iron made in the Bible is in Gen **4** 22, where Tubal-Cain is mentioned as "the forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron." It is likely that the Jews learned the art of metallurgy from the Phoenicians (2 Ch **2** 14) (see Crafts). Iron was used in Bib. times much as it is today. For a description of a smith at work see Ecclus **38** 28. Huge city gates, overlaid with strips of iron (Ps **107** 16; Isa **45** 2), held in place by crude square-headed nails (1 Ch **22** 3), are still a familiar sight in the larger cities of Pal and Syria (Acts **12** 10). Threshing instruments were made of iron (Am **1** 3); so also harrows (2 S **12** 31), axes (ib; 2 K **6** 6; see Ax), branding irons (1 Tim **4** 2), and other tools (1 K **6** 7). There were iron weapons (Nu **35** 16; Job **20** 24), armor (2 S **23** 7), horns (1 K **22** 11), fetters (Ps **105** 18), chariots (Josh **17** 16), yokes (Jer **28** 14), breastplates (Rev **9** 9), pens (chisels) (Job **19** 24; Jer **17** 1), sheets or plates (Ezk **4** 3), gods (Dnl **5** 4), weights (1 S **17** 7), bedsteads (Dt **3** 11). Iron was used extensively in building the temple. See Metals.

Figurative: "The iron furnace" is used metaphorically for affliction, chastisement (Dt **4** 20; Ezk **22** 18–22). Iron is also employed fig. to represent barrenness (Dt **28** 23), slavery ("yoke of iron," Dt **28** 48), strength ("bars of iron," Job **40** 18), severity ("rod of iron," Ps **2** 9), captivity (Ps **107** 10), obstinacy ("iron sinew," Isa **48** 4), fortitude ("iron pillar," Jer **1** 18), moral deterioration (Jer **6** 28), political strength (Dnl **2** 33), destructive power ("iron teeth," Dnl **7** 7); the certainty with which a real enemy will ever show his hatred is as the rust returning upon iron (Ecclus **12** 10 AV, RV "brass"); great obstacles ("walls of iron," 2 Macc **11** 9). James A. Patch

IRON, ī′ron (יִרְאוֹן, *yir'ōn*): One of the fenced cities in the territory of Naphtali, named with Migdal-el and En-hazor (Josh **19** 38). It is represented by the modern *Yārūn*, a village with the ruins of a synagogue, at one time used as a monastery, fully 6 miles W. of *Ḳedes*.

IRPEEL, ûr′pē-el, ir′pē-el (יִרְפְּאֵל, *yirpe'ēl*): An unidentified city in Benjamin (Josh **18** 27). It may possibly be represented by *Rafāt*, a ruin to the N. of *el-Jīb*, the ancient Gibeon.

IRREVERENCE, i-rev′ẽr-ens. See Crime, Crimes.

IRRIGATION, ir-i-gā′shun: No equivalent for this word is found in Bib. writings, although the use of irrigation for maintaining vegetable life is frequently implied (Eccl **2** 5.6; Isa **58** 11). To one familiar with the methods of irrigation practised in Pal, Syria and Egypt, the passage, "where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs" (Dt **11** 10), is easily explained. The water is brought in channels to the gardens, where it is distributed in turn to the different square plots bounded by banks of earth, or along the rows of growing vegetables planted on the sides of the trenches. In stony soil the breach in the canal leading to a particular plot is opened and closed with a hoe. Any obstruction in the trench is similarly removed, while in the soft, loamy soil of the coastal plain or in the Nile valley these operations can be done with the foot, a practice still commonly seen.

Egyptian Water Wheel.

The remains of the great irrigation works of the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians leave no doubt as to the extent to which they used water to redeem the deserts. In Pal and Syria there was less need (Dt **10** 7; **11** 11) for irrigation. Here there is an annual fall of from 30 to 40 in., coming principally during the winter. This is sufficient for the main crops. The summer supply of vegetables, as well as the fruit and mulberry trees, requires irrigation. Hardly a drop of many mountain streams is allowed to reach the sea, but is used to water the gardens of the mountain terraces and plains. This supply is now being supplemented by the introduction of thousands of pumps and oil engines for raising the water of the wells sufficiently to run it through the irrigation canals. Where a spring is small, its supply is gathered into a *birket*, or cistern, and then drawn off through a large outlet into the trenches, sometimes several days being required to fill the cistern. In Eccl **2** 6, Solomon is made to say, "I made me pools of water, to water therefrom the forest." This passage helps to explain the uses of the so-called Pools of Solomon, S. of Jerus. In this same district are traces of the ancient terraces which were probably watered from these pools. See AGRICULTURE; GARDEN. JAMES A. PATCH

IR-SHEMESH, ûr-shē′mesh, ir-shē′mesh (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ, *ʽīr shemesh*, "city of the sun"). See BETH-SHEMESH; HERES.

IRU, ī′rōō (עִירוּ, *ʽīrū*): Eldest son of Caleb (1 Ch **4** 15); probably to be read Ir, the syllable *-u* being the conjunction "and" belonging to the following word.

ISAAC, ī′zak:

I. NAME
    1. Root, Forms, Analogues
    2. Implication
II. FAMILY AND KINDRED
    1. Birth and Place in the Family
    2. Relation to the Religious Birthright
    3. Significance of Marriage
III. STORY OF LIFE
    1. Previous to Marriage
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IV. BIBLICAL REFERENCES
    1. In the OT
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V. VIEWS OTHER THAN THE HISTORICAL

1. Root, Forms and Analogues

I. Name.—This name has the double spelling, יִצְחָק, *yiçḥāḳ*, and יִשְׂחָק, *yisḥāḳ* (Ἰσαάκ, *Isaák*), corresponding to the two forms in which appears the root meaning "to laugh"—a root that runs through nearly all the Sem languages. In Heb both *çāḥaḳ* and *sāḥaḳ* have their cognate nouns, and signify, in the simple stem, "to laugh," in the intensive stem, "to jest, play, dance, fondle," and the like. The noun *yiçhār*, meaning "fresh oil," from a root *çāhar* ("to be bright, conspicuous"), proves that nouns can be built on precisely the model of *yiçḥāḳ*, which would in that case signify "the laughing one," or something similar. Yet Barth (*Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, § 154, *b* and *c*) maintains that all proper names beginning with *yōdh* prefixed to the root are really pure imperfects, i.e. verbal forms with some subject to be understood if not actually present. Hence Isaac would mean "laughs": either indefinite, "one laughs," or "he laughs," viz. the one understood as the subject. There are some 50 Heb names that have a similar form with no accompanying subject. Of these sometimes the meaning of the root is quite obscure; sometimes it is appropriate to any supposable subject. Each is a problem by itself; for the interpretation of any one of them there is little help to be gained from a comparison with the others.

2. Implication

What subject, then, is to be understood with this imperfect vb. *yiçḥāḳ?* Or is no definite subject to be supplied? (1) *'Ēl*, God, may be supplied: "God laughs." Such an expression might be understood of the Divine benevolence, or of the fearful laughter of scorn for His enemies (Ps **2** 4), or, euphemistically, of the Divine wrath, the "terrible glance," as of Moloch, etc (so Meyer, *Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 255). (2) Some human person: "he laughs." So, for example, he himself, viz. the child who receives the name; or, the father; or, the brother (not the mother, which would require *tiçḥāḳ*). In the light now of these possibilities we turn to the narratives of Isaac's birth and career and find the following subjects suggested: (*a*) father, Gen **17** 17; (*b*) indefinite, "one laughs" (not "she laughs," see above), Gen **18** 12–15; **21** 6; (*c*) brother, Gen **21** 9; (*d*) himself, Gen **26** 8. Of these passages the last two show the vb. in the intensive stem in the signification of (*c*) "mock" (?), and (*d*) "dally." We find this same vb. in these senses in Gen **19** 14 and **39** 14.17, in the stories of Lot and of Joseph, and it is possible that here also in the story of Isaac it has no more connection with the name Isaac than it has there with the names Lot and Joseph. However this may be, there is obviously one interpretation of the name Isaac, which, required in two of the passages, is equally appropriate in them all, viz. that with the indefinite subject, "one laughs." Consideration of the sources to which these passages are respectively assigned by the documentary hypothesis tends only to confirm this result.

II. Family and Kindred.—The two things in Isaac's life that are deemed worthy of extensive treatment in the sacred narrative are his birth and his marriage. His significance, in fact, centers in his transmission of what went before him to what came after him. Hence, his position in his father's family, his relation to its greatest treasure, the religious birthright, and his marriage with Rebekah are the subjects that require special notice in this connection.

1. Birth and Place in the Family

The birth of Isaac is represented as peculiar in these respects: the age of his parents, the purity of his lineage, the special Divine promises accompanying. What in Abraham's life is signalized by the Divine "call" from his father's house, and what in Jacob's life is brought about by a series of providential interpositions, seems in Isaac's case to become his by his birth. His mother, who is not merely of the same stock as Abraham but actually his half-sister, is the legal wife. As her issue Isaac is qualified by the laws of inheritance recognized in their native land to become his father's heir. But Ishmael, according to those laws, has a similarly valid claim (see Abraham, IV, 2), and it is only by express command that Abraham is led to abandon what was apparently both custom and personal preference, to "cast out the bondwoman and her son," and to acquiesce in the arrangement that "in Isaac shall thy seed be called."

2. Relation to the Religious Birthright

But the birthright of Isaac was of infinitely more importance than the birthright in the family of any other wealthy man of that day. All that limitless blessing with which Abraham set forth under God's leadership was promised not only to him but to his "seed"; it was limitless in time as well as in scope. To inherit it was of more consequence to Isaac than to inherit any number of servants, flocks or wells of his father's acquisition. A sense of these relative values seems to have been a part of Isaac's spiritual endowment, and this, more than anything else related of him, makes him an attractive figure on the pages of Gen.

3. Significance of Marriage

The raising up of a "seed" to be the bearers of these promises was the prime concern of Isaac's life. Not by intermarriage with the Canaanites among whom he lived, but by marriage with one of his own people, in whom as much as in himself should be visibly embodied the separateness of the chosen family of God—thus primarily was Isaac to pass on to a generation as pure as his own the heritage of the Divine blessing. Rebekah enters the tent of Isaac as truly the chosen of God as was Abraham himself.

III. Story of Life.—Previous to his marriage Isaac's life is a part of the story of Abraham; after his marriage it merges into that of his children. It is convenient, therefore, to make his marriage the dividing-line in the narrative of his career.

1. Previous to Marriage

A child whose coming was heralded by such signal marks of Divine favor as was Isaac's would be, even apart from other special considerations, a welcome and honored member of the patriarchal household. The covenant-sign of circumcision (which Isaac was the first to receive at the prescribed age of 8 days), the great feast at his weaning, and the disinheritance of Ishmael in his favor, are all of them indications of the unique position that this child held, and prepare the reader to appreciate the depth of feeling involved in the sacrifice of Isaac, the story of which follows thereupon. The age of Isaac at the time of this event is not stated, but the fact that he is able to carry the wood of the offering shows that he had probably attained his full growth. The single question he asks his father and his otherwise unbroken silence combine to exhibit him in a favorable light, as thoughtful, docile and trustful. The Divine interposition to save the lad thus devoted to God constitutes him afresh the bearer of the covenant-promise and justifies its explicit renewal on this occasion. From this point onward the biographer of Isaac evidently has his marriage in view, for the two items that preceded the long 24th ch, in which Rebekah's choice and coming are rehearsed, are, first, the brief genealogical paragraph that informs the reader of the development of Nahor's family just as far as to Rebekah, and second, the ch that tells of Sarah's death and burial —an event clearly associated in the minds of all with the marriage of Isaac (see **24** 3.36.67). Divine interest in the choice of her who should be the mother of the promised seed is evident in every line of the ch that dramatizes the betrothal of Isaac and Rebekah. Their first meeting is described at its close with the tender interest in such a scene natural to every descendant of the pair, and Isaac is sketched as a man of a meditative turn (ver 63) and an affectionate heart (ver 67).

2. Subsequent to Marriage

The dismissal of the sons of Abraham's concubines to the "East-country" is associated with the statement that Isaac inherited all that Abraham had; yet it has been remarked that, besides supplying them with gifts, Abraham was doing them a further kindness in thus emancipating them from continued subjection to Isaac, the future head of the clan. After Abraham's death we are expressly informed that God "blessed Isaac his son" in fulfilment of previous promise. The section entitled "the *tōlᵉdhōth* [generations] of Isaac" extends from **25** 19 to **35** 29. At the opening of it Isaac is dwelling at Beer-lahai-roi (**25** 11), then at Gerar (**26** 1.6) and "the valley of Gerar" (**26** 17), then at Beer-sheba (**26** 23; **28** 10), all localities in the Negeb or "South-country." But after the long narrative of the fortunes of Jacob and his family, occupying many years, we find Isaac at its close living where his father Abraham had lived, at Hebron.

For 20 years Isaac and Rebekah remained childless; it was only upon the entreaty of Isaac that God granted them their twin sons. A famine was the usual signal for emigration to Egypt (cf Gen **12** 10; **42** 2); and Isaac also appears to have been on his way thither for the same cause, when, at Gerar, he is forbidden by God to proceed, and occasion is found therein to renew to him the covenant-promise of his inheritance: land, posterity, honor and the Divine presence (**26** 1–4).

But Isaac had also received from his father traditions of another sort; he too did not hesitate to say to the men of Gerar that his wife was his sister, with the same intent to save his own life, but without the same justification in fact, as in the case of Abraham's earlier stratagem. Yet even the discovery by the king of Gerar of this duplicity, and repeated quarrels about water in that dry country, did not suffice to endanger Isaac's status with the settled inhabitants, for his large household and great resources made him a valuable friend and a dangerous enemy.

The favoritism which Isaac showed for one son and Rebekah for the other culminated in the painful scene when the paternal blessing was by guile obtained for Jacob, and in the subsequent enforced absence of Jacob from his parental home. Esau, too, afforded no comfort to his father and mother, and ere long he also withdrew from his father's clan. The subsequent reconciliation of the brothers permitted them to unite at length in paying the last honors to Isaac on his decease. Isaac was buried at Hebron where his parents had been buried (Gen **49** 31), and where his place of sepulture is still honored.

IV. Biblical References.—There is a great contrast between Abraham and Jacob on the one hand, and Isaac on the other, with respect to their prominence in the lit. of the nation that traced to them its descent. To be sure, when the patriarchs as a group are to be named, Isaac takes his place in the stereotyped formula of "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," or "Israel" (so 23 t in the OT, 7 t in the NT).

But apart from this formula Isaac is referred to in the OT only as follows.

1. In the OT During the lifetime of Jacob the names of Abraham and Isaac are repeatedly linked in the same way as are all three subsequently: they form for that age the dynasty of the covenant. But several times Jacob calls Jeh the God (or, the Fear; see infra) of Isaac, because Isaac is his own immediate predecessor in this chain of the faithful. Isaac is called the "gift" of God to Abraham, in the farewell address of Joshua, just as Jacob and Esau are called God's "gifts" to Isaac (Josh **24** 3 f; cf Koran, *Sura* **6** 84). The "house of Isaac" is used by Amos as a ‖ expression for "Israel," and "the high places of Isaac" for "the sanctuaries of Israel" (Am **7** 16.9), in the same way as "Jacob" is often used elsewhere (LXX in ver 16 reads "Jacob"). Other references to Isaac are simply as to his father's son or his children's father.

He fares better in the NT. For, besides the genealogical references, Isaac's significance as the first to

2. In the NT receive circumcision on the 8th day is remembered (Acts **7** 8); his position as first of the elect seed is set forth (Rom **9** 7); his begetting of two sons so unlike in their relation to the promise as were Esau and Jacob is remarked (Rom **9** 10); the facts of his being heir to the promise, a child of old age, and, though but one, the father of an innumerable progeny, are emphasized in He **11** (vs 9–12), which also discovers the deeper significance of his sacrifice and restoration to his father (vs 17–19; cf Jas **2** 21); and in the same context is noticed the faith in God implied in Isaac's blessing of his sons. But Isaac receives more attention than anywhere else in that famous passage in Gal (**4** 21–31), in which Paul uses Isaac and his mother as allegorical representations of Christians who are justified by faith in the promise of God, and are the free-born heirs of all the spiritual inheritance implied in that promise. Even Isaac's persecution by Ishmael has its counterpart in the attitude of the enemies of Paul's gospel toward him and his doctrines and converts.

V. Views Other than the Historical.—Philo, the chief allegorizer of Scriptural narratives, has little to say of Isaac, whom he calls "the self-instructed nature." But modern critics have dissolved his personality by representing him as the personification of an ethnic group. "All Israel," writes Wellhausen (*Prol.*, 6th ed, 316), "is grouped with the people of Edom under the old name Isaac (Am **7** 9.16) . . . . the material here is not mythical [as in Gen **1–11**] but national." And just as Israel plus Edom had little or no significance in national customs or political events, when compared on the one hand with Israel alone (=Jacob), and with Israel plus Edom plus Moab and Ammon (=Abraham) on the other hand; so likewise the figure of Isaac is colorless and his story brief, as compared with the striking figures of Jacob on the one hand and of Abraham on the other hand, and the circumstantial stories of their lives.

Other scholars will have none of this national view, because they believe Isaac to be the name of an ancient deity, the local *numen* of Beersheba. Stärk, whom others have followed, proposes to interpret the phrase trd "the Fear of Isaac" in Gen **31** 42.53 as the name of this god used by his worshippers, the Terror Isaac, Isaac the terrible god. For the sense of Isaac in that case see above under I, 2, (1). Meyer (loc. cit.) defends the transfer of the name from a god to the hero of a myth, by comparing the sacrifice of Isaac ("the only story in which Isaac plays an independent rôle"!) with the Gr myth of Iphigenia's sacrifice (Hesiod, Euripides, etc), in which the by-name of a goddess (Iphigenia) identified with Artemis has passed to the intended victim rescued by Artemis from death.

The most recent critical utterances reject both the foregoing views of Isaac as in conflict with the data of Gen. Thus Gunkel (*Schriften des AT*, 5te Lieferung, 1910, 41) writes: "Quite clearly the names of Abraham, Isaac, and all the patriarchal women are not tribal names. . . . . The interpretation of the figures of Gen as nations furnishes by no means a general key." And again: "Against the entire assumption that the principal patriarchal figures are originally gods, is above all to be noted that the names Jacob and Abraham are proved by the Bab to be personal names in current use, and at the same time that the sagas about them can in no wise be understood as echoes of original myths. Even Winckler's more than bold attempt to explain these sagas as original calendar-myths must be pronounced a complete failure." Yet Gunkel and those who share his position are careful to distinguish their own view from that of the "apologetes," and to concede no more than the bare fact that there doubtless were once upon a time persons named Abraham, Isaac, etc. For these critics Isaac is simply a name about which have crystallized cycles of folk-stories, that have their parallels in other lands and languages, but have received with a Heb name also a local coloring and significance on the lips of successive Heb story-tellers, saga-builders and finally collectors and editors; "Everyone who knows the history of sagas is *sure* that the saga is not able to preserve through the course of so many centuries, a true picture" of the patriarchs. See also Abraham, end.

J. Oscar Boyd

ISAAC, TESTAMENT OF. See Apocalyptic Literature.

ISAIAH, ī-zā′ya, ī-zī′a:

1. Name
2. Personal History
3. Call
4. Literary Genius and Style
5. Traditions concerning His Martyrdom
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    (1) The History of Criticism
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Literature

Of all Israel's celebrated prophets, Isaiah is the king. The writings which bear his name are among the profoundest in all literature. One great theme—salvation by faith—stamps them all. Isaiah is the St. Paul of the OT.

1. Name In Heb יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, *yᵉshaʽyāhū*, and יְשַׁעְיָה, *yᵉshaʽyāh;* Gr Ἠσαΐας, *Ēsaïas;* Lat *Esaias* and *Isaias*. His name was symbolic of his message. Like "Joshua," it means "Jeh saves," or "Jeh is salvation," or "salvation of Jeh."

Isaiah was the son of Amoz (not Amos). He seems to have belonged to a family of some rank,

2. Personal History as may be inferred from his easy access to the king (Isa **7** 3), and his close intimacy with the priest (**8** 2). Tradition says he was the cousin of King Uzziah. He lived in Jerus and became court preacher. He was married and had two sons: Shear-jashub, his name signifying "a remnant shall return" (**7** 3), and Maher-shalal-hash-baz, "hasting to the spoil, hurrying to the prey," symbolic of Assyria's mad lust of conquest (**8** 3). Jewish tradition, based upon a false interpretation of **7** 14, declares he was twice married.

In the year that King Uzziah died, Isaiah, apparently while worshipping in the temple, received

3. Call a call to the prophetic office (ch **6**). He responded with noteworthy alacrity, and accepted his commission, though he knew from the outset that his task was to be one of fruitless warning and exhortation (**6** 9–13). Having been reared in Jerus, he was well fitted to become the political and religious counselor of the nation, but the experience which prepared him most for his important work was the vision of the majestic and thrice-holy God which he saw in the temple in the death-year of King Uzziah. There is no good reason for doubting that this was his inaugural vision, though some regard it as a vision which came to him after years of experience in preaching and as intended to deepen his spirituality. While this is the only explicit "vision" Isaiah saw, yet his entire book, from first to last, is, as the title (**1** 1) suggests, a "vision." His horizon, both political and spiritual, was practically unbounded. In a very true sense, as Delitzsch says, he was "the universal prophet of Israel."

4. Literary Genius and Style

For versatility of expression and brilliancy of imagery Isaiah had no superior, not even a rival. His style marks the climax of Hebrew literary art. Both his periods and descriptions are most finished and sublime. He is a perfect artist in words. Beauty and strength are characteristic of his entire book. Epigrams and metaphors, particularly of flood, storm and sound (**1** 13; **5** 18.22; **8** 8; **10** 22; **28** 17.20; **30** 28.30), interrogation and dialogue (**6** 8; **10** 8.9), antithesis and alliteration (**1** 18; **3** 24; **17** 10.12), hyperbole and parable (**2** 7; **5** 1–7; **28** 23–29), even paranomasia, or play upon words (**5** 7; **7** 9), characterize Isaiah's book as the great masterpiece of Hebrew literature. He is also famous for his richness of vocabulary and synonyms. For example, Ezekiel uses 1,535 words; Jeremiah, 1,653; the Psalmists 2,170; while Isaiah uses 2,186. Isaiah was also an orator: Jerome likened him to Demosthenes; and a poet: he frequently elaborates his messages in rhythmic or poetic style (**12** 1–6; **25** 1–5; **26** 1–12; **38** 10–20; **42** 1–4; **49** 1–9; **50** 4–9; **52** 13—**53** 12; **60–62**; **66** 5–24); and in several instances slips into elegiac rhythm, e.g. in **37** 22–29 there is a fine taunting poem on Sennacherib, and in **14** 4–23 another on the king of Babylon. As Driver observes, "Isaiah's poetical genius is superb."

5. Traditions concerning His Martyrdom

Nothing definite or historical is known concerning the prophet's end. Toward the close of the 2d cent. AD, however, there was a tradition to the effect that he suffered martyrdom in the heathen reaction which occurred under King Manasseh, because of certain speeches concerning God and the Holy City which his contemporaries alleged were contrary to the law. Indeed the Jewish Mishna explicitly states that Manasseh slew him. Justin Martyr also (150 AD), in his controversial dialogue with the Jew Trypho, reproaches the Jews with this accusation, "whom ye sawed asunder with a wooden saw"; this tradition is further confirmed by a Jewish Apocalypse of the 2d cent. AD, entitled, The Ascension of Isaiah, and by Epiphanius in his so-called *Lives of the Prophets*. It is barely possible that there is an allusion to his martyrdom in He **11** 37, which reads, "They were stoned, they were sawn asunder," but this is by no means certain. In any case Isaiah probably survived the great catastrophe of the siege of Jerus by Sennacherib in 701 BC, and possibly also the death of Hezekiah in 699 BC; for in 2 Ch **32** 32 it is stated that Isaiah wrote a biography of King Hezekiah. If so, his prophetic activity extended over a period of more than 40 years. Dr. G. A. Smith extends it to "more than 50" (*Jerusalem*, II, 180; cf Whitehouse, "Isaiah," *New Cent. Bible*, I, 72).

6. Period

According to the title of his book (**1** 1), Isaiah prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. He dates his inaugural vision (**6** 1) in Uzziah's death-year, which was approximately 740 BC. This marks, therefore, the beginning of his prophetic ministry. And we know that he was still active as late as the siege of Jerus by Sennacherib in 701 BC. Hence the minimum period of his activity as a prophet was from 740 to 701 BC. As a young man Isaiah witnessed the rapid development of Judah into a strong commercial and military state; for under Uzziah Judah attained a degree of prosperity and strength never before enjoyed since the days of Solomon. Walls, towers, fortifications, a large standing army, a port for commerce on the Red Sea, increased inland trade, tribute from the Ammonites, success in war with the Philis and the Arabians—all these became Judah's during Uzziah's long and prosperous reign of 52 years. But along with power and wealth came also avarice, oppression, religious formality and corruption. The temple revenues indeed were greatly increased, but religion and life were too frequently dissociated; the nation's progress was altogether material. During the reign of Jotham (740–736 BC), who for several years was probably associated with his father as co-regent, a new power began to appear over the eastern horizon. The Assyrians, with whom Ahab had come in contact at the battle of Karkar in 854 BC, and to whom Jehu had paid tribute in 842 BC, began to manifest anew their characteristic lust of conquest. Tiglath-pileser III, who is called "Pul" in 2 K **15** 19 and reigned over Assyria from 745 to 727 BC, turned his attention westward, and in 738 BC reduced Arpad, Calno, Carchemish, Hamath and Damascus, causing them to pay tribute. His presence in the West led Pekah, king of North Israel, and Rezin, king of Damascus, to form an alliance in order to resist further encroachment on the part of Assyria. When Ahaz refused to join their confederacy they resolved to dethrone him and set in his stead the son of Tabeel upon the throne of David (2 K **16** 5; Isa **7** 6). The struggle which ensued is commonly known as the Syro-Ephraimitic war (734 BC)—one of the great events in Isaiah's period. Ahaz in panic sent to Tiglath-pileser for help (2 K **16** 7), who of course responded with alacrity. The result was that the great Assyrian warrior sacked Gaza and carried all of Galilee and Gilead into captivity (734) and finally took Damascus (732 BC). Ahaz was forced to pay dearly for his protection and Judah was brought very low (2 K **15** 29; **16** 7–9; 2 Ch **28** 19; Isa **7** 1). The religious as well as the political effect of Ahaz' policy was decidedly baneful. To please Tiglath-pileser, Ahaz went to Damascus to join in the celebration of his victories, and while there saw a Syrian altar, a pattern of which he sent to Jerus and had a copy set up in the temple in place of the brazen altar of Solomon. Thus Ahaz, with all the influence of a king, introduced idolatry into Jerus, even causing his sons to pass through the fire (2 K **16** 10–16; 2 Ch **28** 3).

Hezekiah succeeded Ahaz, beginning to rule at the age of 25 and reigning 29 years (727–699 BC). Isaiah was at least 15 years his senior. The young king inherited from his father a heavy burden. The splendor of Uzziah's and Jotham's reigns was rapidly fading before the ever-menacing and avaricious Assyrians. Hezekiah began his reign with reformation. "He removed the high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherah" (2 K **18** 4.22). He even invited the surviving remnant of North Israel to join in celebrating the Passover (2 Ch **30** 1). But Israel's end was drawing near. Hoshea, the vacillating puppet-king of North Israel (730–722 BC), encouraged by Egypt, refused longer to pay Assyria his annual tribute (2 K **17** 4); whereupon Shalmaneser IV, who had succeeded Tiglath-pileser, promptly appeared before the gates of Samaria in 724 BC, and for 3 weary years besieged the city (2 K **17** 5). Finally, the city was captured by Sargon II, who succeeded Shalmaneser IV in 722 BC, and 27,292 of Israel's choicest people (according to Sargon's own description) were deported to Assyria, and colonists were brought from Babylon and other adjacent districts and placed in the cities of Samaria (2 K **17** 6.24). Thus the kingdom of North Israel passed into oblivion, and Judah was left ever after quite exposed to the direct ravages, political and religious, of her Assyrio-Bab neighbors. In fact Judah herself barely escaped destruction by promising heavy tribute. This was the second great political crisis during Isaiah's ministry. Other crises were soon to follow. One was the desperate illness of King Hezekiah, who faced assured death in 714 BC. Being childless, he was seriously concerned for the future of the Davidic dynasty. He resorted to prayer, however, and God graciously extended his life 15 years (2 K **20**; Isa **38**). His illness occurred during the period of Babylon's independence under Merodach-baladan, the ever-ambitious, irresistible and uncompromising enemy of Assyria, who for 12 years (721–709 BC) maintained independent supremacy over Babylon. Taking advantage of Hezekiah's wonderful cure, Merodach seized the opportunity of sending an embassy to Jerus to congratulate him on his recovery (712 BC), and at the same time probably sought to form an alliance with Judah to resist Assyr supremacy (2 K **20** 12 ff; Isa **39**). Nothing, however, came of the alliance, for the following year Sargon's army reappeared in Philistia in order to discipline Ashdod for conspiracy with the king of Egypt (711 BC). The greatest crisis was yet to come. Its story is as follows: Judah and her neighbors groaned more and more under the heavy exactions of Assyria. Accordingly, when Sargon was assassinated and Sennacherib came to the throne in 705 BC, rebellion broke out on all sides. Merodach-baladan, who had been expelled by Sargon in 709 BC, again took Babylon and held it for at least six months in 703 BC. Hezekiah, who was encouraged by Egypt and all Philistia, except Padi of Ekron, the puppet-king of Sargon, refused longer to pay Assyria tribute (2 K **18** 7). Meanwhile a strong pro-Egyp party had sprung up in Jerus. In view of all these circumstances, Sennacherib in 701 BC marched westward with a vast army, sweeping everything before him. Tyre was invested though not taken; on the other hand, Joppa, Eltekeh, Ekron, Ashkelon, Ammon, Moab, and Edom all promptly yielded to his demands. Hezekiah was panic stricken and hastened to bring rich tribute, stripping even the temple and the palace of their treasures to do so (2 K **18** 13–16). But Sennacherib was not satisfied. He overran Judah, capturing, as he tells us in his inscription, 46 walled towns and smaller villages without number, carrying 200,150 of Judah's population into captivity to Assyria, and demanding as tribute 800 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold, in all over $1,500,000; he took also, he claims, Hezekiah's daughters and palace women, seized his male and female singers, and carried away enormous spoil. But the end was not yet. Sennacherib himself, with the bulk of the army, halted in Philistia to reduce Lachish; thence he sent a strong detachment under his commander-in-chief, the Rabshakeh, to besiege Jerus (2 K **18** 17—**19** 8; Isa **36** 2—**37** 8). As he describes this blockade in his own inscription: "I shut up Hezekiah in Jerus like a bird in a cage." The Rabshakeh, however, failed to capture the city and returned to Sennacherib, who meanwhile had completely conquered Lachish, and was now warring against Libnah. A second expedition against Jerus was planned, but hearing that Tirhakah (at that time the commander-in-chief of Egypt's forces and only afterward "king of Ethiopia") was approaching, Sennacherib was forced to content himself with sending messengers with a letter to Hezekiah, demanding immediate surrender of the city (2 K **19** 9 ff; Isa **37** 9 ff). Hezekiah, however, through Isaiah's influence held out; and in due time, though Sennacherib disposed of Tirhakah's army without difficulty, his immense host in some mysterious way—by plague or otherwise—was suddenly smitten, and the great Assyr conqueror was forced to return to Nineveh; possibly because Merodach-baladan had again appeared in Babylonia. Sennacherib never again returned to Pal, so far as we know, during the subsequent 20 years of his reign, though he did make an independent expedition into North Arabia (691–689 BC). This invasion of Judah by Sennacherib in 701 BC was the great political event in Isaiah's ministry. Had it not been for the prophet's statesmanship, Jerus might have capitulated. As it was, only a small, insignificantly small, remnant of Judah's population escaped. Isaiah had at this time been preaching 40 years. How much longer he labored is not known.

7. Analysis and Contents

There are six general divisions of the book: (1) chs **1–12,** prophecies concerning Judah and Jerus, closing with promises of restoration and a psalm of thanksgiving; (2) chs **13–23,** oracles of judgment and salvation, for the most part concerning those foreign nations whose fortunes affected Judah and Jerus; (3) chs **24–27,** Jeh's world-judgment in the redemption of Israel; (4) chs **28–35,** a cycle of prophetic warnings against alliance with Egypt, closing with a prophecy concerning Edom and a promise of Israel's ransom; (5) chs **36–39,** history, prophecy and song intermingled; serving both as an appendix to chs **1–35,** and as an introduction to chs **40–66**; (6) chs **40–66,** prophecies of comfort and salvation, and also of the future glory awaiting Israel.

By examining in detail these several divisions we can trace better the prophet's thought. Thus, chs **1–12** unfold Judah's social sins (chs **1–6**), and her political entanglements (chs **7–12**); ch **1** is an introduction, in which the prophet strikes the chief notes of his entire book: viz. thoughtlessness (vs 2–9), formalism in worship (vs 10–17), pardon (vs 18–23) and judgment (vs 24–31). Chs **2–4** contain three distinct pictures of Zion: (*a*) her exaltation (**2** 2–4), (*b*) her present idolatry (**2** 5—**4** 1), and (*c*) her eventual purification (**4** 2–6). Ch **5** contains an arraignment of Judah and Jerus, composed of three parts: (*a*) a parable of Jeh's vineyard (vs 1–7); (*b*) a series of six woes pronounced against insatiable greed (vs 8–10), dissipation (vs 11–17), daring defiance against Jeh (vs 18.19), confusion of moral distinctions (ver 20), political self-conceit (ver 21), and misdirected heroism (vs 22.23); and (*c*) an announcement of imminent judgment. The Assyrian is on the way and there will be no escape (vs 24–30). Ch **6** recounts the prophet's inaugural vision and commission. It is really an apologetic, standing as it does after the prophet's denunciations of his contemporaries. When they tacitly object to his message of threatening and disaster, he is able to reply that, having pronounced "woe" upon himself in the year that King Uzziah died, he had the authority to pronounce woe upon them (**6** 5). Plainly Isaiah tells them that Judah's sins are well-nigh hopeless. They are becoming spiritually insensible. They have eyes but they cannot see. Only judgment can avail: "the righteous judgment of a forgotten God" awaits them. A "holy seed," however, still existed in Israel's stock (**6** 13).

Coming to chs **7–12,** Isaiah appears in the rôle of a practical statesman. He warns Ahaz against political entanglements with Assyria. The section **7** 1—**9** 7 is a prophecy of Immanuel, history and prediction being intermingled.

They describe the Syro-Ephraimitic uprising in 736 BC, when Pekah of North Israel and Rezin of Damascus, in attempting to defend themselves against the Assyrians, demanded that Ahaz of Jerus should become their ally. But Ahaz preferred the friendship of Assyria, and refused to enter into alliance with them. And in order to defend himself, he applied to Assyria for assistance, sending ambassadors with many precious treasures, both royal and sacred, to bribe Tiglath-pileser. It was at this juncture that Isaiah, at Jeh's bidding, expostulates with Ahaz concerning the fatal step he is about to take, and as a practical statesman warns Ahaz, "the king of No-Faith," that the only path of safety lies in loyalty to Jeh and keeping clear of foreign alliances; that "God is with us" for salvation; and that no "conspiracy" can possibly be successful unless God too is against us. When, however, the prophet's message of promise and salvation finds no welcome, he commits it to his disciples, bound up and sealed for future use; assuring his hearers that unto them a child is born and unto them a son is given, in whose day the empire of David will be established upon a basis of justice and righteousness. The Messianic scion is the ground of the prophet's hope; which hope, though unprecedented, he thus early in his ministry commits, written and sealed, to his inner circle of "disciples." See, further, IMMANUEL.

The section **9** 8—**10** 4 contains an announcement to North Israel of accumulated wrath and impending ruin, with a refrain (**9** 12.17.21; **10** 4). Here, in an artistic poem composed of four strophes, the prophet describes the great calamities which Jeh has sent down upon North Israel but which have gone unheeded: foreign invasion (**9** 8–12), defeat in battle (**9** 13–17), anarchy (**9** 18–21), and impending captivity (**10** 1–4). Yet Jeh's judgments have gone unheeded: "For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still." Divine discipline has failed; only judgment remains.

In **10** 5–34, Assyria is declared to be an instrument of Jeh, the rod of Jeh's anger. Chs **11–12** predict Israel's return from exile, including a vision of the Messiah's reign of ideal peace. For Isaiah's vision of the nation's future reached far beyond mere exile. To him the downfall of Assyria was the signal for the commencement of a new era in Israel's history. Assyria has no future, her downfall is fatal; Judah has a future, her calamities are only disciplinary. An Ideal Prince will be raised up in whose advent all Nature will rejoice, even dumb animals (**11** 1–10). A second great exodus will take place, for the Lord will set His hand again "the second time" to recover the remnant of His people "from the four corners of the earth" (**11** 11.12). In that day, "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim" (**11** 13). On the contrary, the reunited nation, redeemed and occupying their rightful territory (**11** 14–16), shall sing a hymn of thanksgiving, proclaiming the salvation of Jeh to all the earth (ch **12**).

Chs **13–23** contain oracles of judgment and salvation, for the most part concerning those foreign nations whose fortunes affected Judah and Jerus. They are grouped together by the editor, as similar foreign oracles are in Jer **46–51** and Ezk **25–32**. Isaiah's horizon was world-wide. First among the foreign prophecies stands the oracle concerning Babylon (**13** 1—**14** 23), in which he predicts the utter destruction of the city (**13** 2–22), and sings a dirge or taunt-song over her fallen king (**14** 4–23). The king alluded to is almost beyond doubt an Assyr (not a Bab) monarch of the 8th cent.; the brief prophecy immediately following in **14** 24–27 concerning Assyria tacitly confirms this interpretation. Another brief oracle concerning Babylon (**21** 1–10) describes the city's fall as imminent. Both oracles stand or fall together as genuine prophecies of Isaiah. Both seem to have been written in Jerus (**13** 2; **21** 9.10). It cannot be said that either is absolutely unrelated in thought and language to Isaiah's age (**14** 13; **21** 2); each foretells the doom to fall on Babylon (**13** 19; **21** 9) at the hands of the Medes (**13** 17; **21** 2); and each describes the Israelites as already in exile—but not necessarily *all* Israel.

The section **14** 24–27 tells of the certain destruction of the Assyrian.

The passage **14** 28–32 is an oracle concerning Philistia.

Chs **15–16** are ancient oracles against Moab, whose dirgelike meter resembles that of chs **13–14**. It is composed of two separate prophecies belonging to two different periods in Isaiah's ministry (**16** 13.14). The three points of particular interest in the oracle are: (1) the prophet's tender sympathy for Moab in her affliction (**15** 5; **16** 11). Isaiah mingles his own tears with those of the Moabites. As Delitzsch says, "There is no prophecy in the Book of Isa in which the heart of the prophet is so painfully moved by what his spirit beholds and his mouth must prophecy." (2) Moab's pathetic appeal for shelter from her foes; particularly the ground on which she urges it, namely, the Messianic hope that the Davidic dynasty shall always stand and be able to repulse its foes (**16** 5). The prophecy is an echo of **9** 5–7. (3) The promise that a remnant of Moab, though small, shall be saved (**16** 14). Wearied of prayer to Chemosh in his high places, the prophet predicts that Moab will seek the living God (**16** 12).

The passage **17** 1–11 is an oracle concerning Damascus and North Israel, in which Isaiah predicts the fate of the two allies—Syria and Ephraim—in the Syro-Ephraimitic war of 734 BC, with a promise that only a scanty remnant will survive (**17** 6). In **17** 12–14, the prophet boldly announces the complete annihilation of Judah's unnamed foes—the Assyrians.

Ch **18** describes Ethiopia as in great excitement, sending ambassadors hither and thither—possibly all the way to Jerus—ostensibly seeking aid in making preparations for war. Assyria had already taken Damascus (732 BC) and Samaria (722 BC), and consequently Egypt and Ethiopia were in fear of invasion. Isaiah bids the ambassadors to return home and quietly watch Jeh thwart Assyria's self-confident attempt to subjugate Judah; and he adds that when the Ethiopians have seen God's hand in the coming deliverance of Judah and Jerus (701 BC), they will bring a present to Jeh to His abode in Mount Zion.

Ch **19,** which is an oracle concerning Egypt, contains both a threat (vs 1–17) and a promise (vs 18–25), and is one of Isaiah's most remarkable foreign messages. Egypt is smitten and thereby led to abandon her idols for the worship of Jeh (vs 19–22). Still more remarkable, it is prophesied that in that day Egypt and Assyria will join with Judah in a triple alliance of common worship to Jeh and of blessing to others (vs 23–25). Isaiah's missionary outlook here is wonderful!

Ch **20** describes Sargon's march against Egypt and Ethiopia, containing a brief symbolic prediction of Assyria's victory over Egypt and Ethiopia. By donning a captive's garb for three years, Isaiah attempts to teach the citizens of Jerus that the siege of Ashdod was but a means to an end in Sargon's plan of campaign, and that it was sheer folly for the Egyp party in Jerus, who were ever urging reliance upon Egypt, to look in that direction for help. **21** 11.12 is a brief oracle concerning Seir or Edom, "the only gentle utterance in the OT upon Israel's hereditary foe." Edom is in great anxiety. The prophet's answer is disappointing, though its tone is sympathetic. **21** 13 ff is a brief oracle concerning Arabia. It contains a sympathetic appeal to the Temanites to give bread and water to the caravans of Dedan, who have been driven by war from their usual route of travel.

Ch **22** is concerning the foreign temper within the theocracy. It is composed of two parts: (1) an oracle "of the valley of vision," i.e. Jerus (vs 1–14); and (2) a philippic against Shebna, the comptroller of the palace. Isaiah pauses, as it were, in his series of warnings to foreign nations to rebuke the foreign temper of the frivolous inhabitants of Jerus, and in particular Shebna, a high official in the government. The reckless and God-ignoring citizens of the capital are pictured as indulging themselves in hilarious eating and drinking, when the enemy is at that very moment standing before the gates of the city. Shebna, on the other hand, seems to have been an ostentatious foreigner, perhaps a Syrian by birth, quite possibly one of the Egyp party, whose policy was antagonistic to that of Isaiah and the king. Isaiah's prediction of Shebna's fall was evidently fulfilled (**36** 3; **37** 2).

Ch **23** is concerning Tyre. In this oracle Isaiah predicts that Tyre shall be laid waste (ver 1), her commercial glory humbled (ver 9), her colonies become independent of her (ver 10), and she herself forgotten for "seventy years" (ver 15); but "after the end of seventy years," her trade will revive, her business prosperity will return, and she will dedicate her gains in merchandise as holy to Jeh (ver 18).

The third great section of the Book of Isa embraces chs **24–27**, which tell of Jeh's world-judgment, issuing in the redemption of Israel. These prophecies stand closely related to chs **13–23**. They express the same tender emotion as that already observed in **15** 5; **16** 11, and sum up as in one grand finale the prophet's oracles to Israel's neighbors. For religious importance they stand second to none in the Book of Isa, teaching the necessity of Divine discipline and the glorious redemption awaiting the faithful in Israel. They are a spiritual commentary on the great Assyr crisis of the 8th cent.; they are messages of salvation intended, not for declamation, but for meditation, and were probably addressed more particularly to the prophet's inner circle of "disciples" (**8** 16). These chapters partake of the nature of apocalypse. Strictly speaking, however, they are prophecy, not apocalypse. No one ascends into heaven or talks with an angel, as in Dnl **7** and Rev **4**. They are apocalypse only in the sense that certain things are predicted as sure to come to pass. Isaiah was fond of this kind of prophecy. He frequently lifts his reader out of the sphere of mere history to paint pictures of the far-off, distant future (**2** 2–4; **4** 2–6; **11** 6–16; **30** 27–33).

In ch **24** the prophet announces a general judgment of the earth (i.e. the land of Judah), and of "the city" (collective, for Judah's towns), after which will dawn a better day (vs 1–15). The prophet fancies he hears songs of deliverance, but alas! they are premature; more judgment must follow. In ch **25** the prophet transports himself to the period after the Assyr catastrophe and, identifying himself with the redeemed, puts into their mouths songs of praise and thanksgiving for their deliverance. Vs 6–8 describe Jeh's bountiful banquet on Mount Zion to all nations, who, in keeping with **2** 2–4, come up to Jerus, to celebrate "a feast of fat things," rich and marrowy. While the people are present at the banquet, Jeh graciously removes their spiritual blindness so that they behold Him as the true dispenser of life and grace. He also abolishes violent death, that is to say, war (cf **2** 4), and its sad accompaniment, "tears," so that "the earth" (i.e. the land of Judah) is no longer the battlefield of the nations, but the blessed abode of the redeemed, living in peace and happiness. The prophet's aim is not political but religious.

In **26** 1–19 Judah sings a song over Jerus, the impregnable city of God. The prophet, taking again his stand with the redeemed remnant of the nation, vividly portrays their thankful trust in Jeh, who has been unto them a veritable "Rock of Ages" (ver 4 m). With hope he joyfully exclaims, Let Jeh's dead ones live! Let Israel's dead bodies arise! Jeh will bring life from the dead! (ver 19). This is the first clear statement of the resurrection in the OT. But it is national and restricted to Israel (cf ver 14), and is merely Isaiah's method of expressing a hope of the return of Israel's faithful ones from captivity (cf Hos **6** 2; Ezk **37** 1–14; Dnl **12** 2).

In **26** 20—**27** 13 the prophet shows that Israel's chastisements are salutary. He begins by exhorting his own people, his disciples, to continue a little longer in the solitude of prayer, till God's wrath has shattered the world-powers (**26** 20—**27** 1). He next predicts that the true vineyard of Jeh will henceforth be safely guarded against the briars and thorns of foreign invasion (**27** 2–6). And then, after showing that Jeh's chastisements of Israel were light compared with His judgments upon other nations (**27** 7–11), he promises that if Israel will only repent, Jeh will spare no pains to gather "one by one" the remnant of His people from Assyria and Egypt (cf **11** 11); and together they shall once more worship Jeh in the holy mountain at Jerus (**27** 12.13).

The prophet's fundamental standpoint in chs **24–27** is the same as that of **2** 2–4 and chs **13–23**. Yet the prophet not infrequently throws himself forward into the remote future, oscillating backward and forward between his own times and those of Israel's restoration. It is esp. noteworthy how he sustains himself in a long and continued transportation of himself to the period of Israel's redemption. He even studies to identify himself with the new Israel which will emerge out of the present chaos of political events. His visions of Israel's redemption carry him in ecstasy far away into the remote future, to a time when the nation's sufferings are all over; so that when he writes down what he saw in vision he describes it as a discipline that is past. For example, in **25** 1–8 the prophet, transported to the end of time, celebrates in song what he saw, and describes how the fall of the world-empire is followed by the conversion of the heathen. In **26** 8.9 he looks back into the past from the standpoint of the redeemed in the last days, and tells how Israel longingly waited for the manifestation of God's righteousness which has now taken place, while in **27** 7–9 he places himself in the midst of the nation's sufferings, in full view of their glorious future, and portrays how Jeh's dealings with Israel have not been the punishment of wrath, but the discipline of love. This kind of apocalypse, or prophecy, indeed, was to be expected from the very beginning of the group of prophecies, which are introduced with the word "Behold!" Such a manner of introduction is peculiar to Isaiah, and of itself leads us to expect a message which is unique.

The practical religious value of these prophecies to Isaiah's own age would be very great. In a period of war and repeated foreign invasion, when but few men were left in the land (**24** 6.13; **26** 18), and Judah's cities were laid waste and desolate (**24** 10.12; **25** 2; **26** 5; **27** 10), and music and gladness were wanting (**24** 8), when the nation still clung to their idols (**27** 9) and the Assyrians' work of destruction was still incomplete, other calamities being sure to follow (**24** 16), it would certainly be comforting to know that forgiveness was still possible (**27** 9), that Jeh was still the keeper of His vineyard (**27** 3.4), that His judgments were to last but for a little moment (**26** 20), and that though His people should be scattered, He would soon carefully gather them "one by one" (**27** 12.13), and that in company with other nations they would feast together on Mt. Zion as Jeh's guests (**25** 6.7.10), and that Jerus should henceforth become the center of life and religion to all nations (**24** 23; **25** 6; **27** 13). Such faith in Jeh, such exhortations and such songs and confessions of the redeemed, seen in vision, would be a source of rich spiritual comfort to the few suffering saints in Judah and Jerus, and a guiding star to the faithful disciples of the prophet's most inner circle.

Chs **28–35** contain a cycle of prophetic warnings against alliance with Egypt, closing with a prophecy concerning Edom and a promise of Israel's ransom. As in **5** 8–23, the prophet indulges in a series of six woes:

(1) Woe to drunken, scoffing politicians (ch **28**). This is one of the great chapters of Isaiah's book. In the opening section (vs 1–6) the prophet points in warning to the proud drunkards of Ephraim whose crown (Samaria) is rapidly fading. He next turns to the scoffing politicians of Jerus, rebuking esp. the bibulous priests who stumble in judgment, and the staggering prophets who err in vision (vs 7–22); closing with a most instructive parable from agriculture, teaching that God's judgments are not arbitrary; that as the husbandman does not plow and harrow his fields the whole year round, so God will not punish His people forever; and as the husbandman does not thresh all kinds of grain with equal severity, no more will God discipline His people beyond their deserts (vs 23–29).

(2) Woe to formalists in religion (**29** 1–14). Isaiah's second woe is pronounced upon Ariel, the altar-hearth of God, i.e. Jerus, the sacrificial center of Israel's worship. David had first inaugurated the true worship of Jeh in Zion. But now Zion's worship has become wholly conventional, formal, and therefore insincere; it is learned by rote (ver 13; cf **1** 10–15; Mic **6** 6–8). Therefore, says Isaiah, Jeh is forced to do an extraordinary work among them, in order to bring them back to a true knowledge of Himself (ver 14).

(3) Woe to those who hide their plans from God (**29** 15–24). What their plans are, which they are devising in secret, the prophet does not yet disclose; but he doubtless alludes to their intrigues with the Egyptians and their purpose to break faith with the Assyrians, to whom they were bound by treaty to pay annual tribute. Isaiah bravely remonstrates with them for supposing that any policy will succeed which excludes the counsel and wisdom of the Holy One. They are but clay; He is the potter. At this point, though somewhat abruptly, Isaiah turns his face toward the Messianic future. In a very little while, he says, Lebanon, which is now overrun by Assyria's army, shall become a fruitful field, and the blind and deaf and spiritually weak shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.

(4) Woe to the pro-Egyp party (ch **30**). Isaiah's fourth woe is directed against the rebellious politicians who stubbornly, and now openly, advocate making a league with Egypt. They have at length succeeded apparently in winning over the king to their side, and an embassy is already on its way to Egypt, bearing across the desert of the exodus rich treasures with which to purchase the friendship of their former oppressors. Isaiah now condemns what he can no longer prevent. Egypt is a Rahab "sit-still," i.e. a mythological sea-monster, menacing in mien but laggard in action. When the crisis comes, she will sit still, causing Israel only shame and confusion.

(5) Woe to those who trust in horses and chariots (chs **31**–**32**). Isaiah's fifth woe is a still more vehement denunciation of those who trust in Egypt's horses and chariots, and disregard the Holy One of Israel. Those who do so forget that the Egyptians are but men and their horses flesh, and that mere flesh cannot avail in a conflict with spirit. Eventually Jeh means to deliver Jerus, if the children of Israel will but turn from their idolatries to Him; and in that day, Assyria will be vanquished. A new era will dawn upon Judah. Society will be regenerated. The renovation will begin at the top. Conscience also will be sharpened, and moral distinctions will no longer be confused (**32** 1–8). As Delitzsch puts it, "The aristocracy of birth and wealth will be replaced by an aristocracy of character." The careless and indifferent women, too, in that day will no longer menace the social welfare of the state (**32** 9–14); with the outpouring of Jeh's spirit an ideal commonwealth will emerge, in which social righteousness, peace, plenty and security will abound (**32** 15–20).

(6) Woe to the Assyr destroyer (ch **33**). Isaiah's last woe is directed against the treacherous spoiler himself, who has already laid waste the cities of Judah, and is now beginning to lay siege to Jerus (701 BC). The prophet prays, and while he prays, behold! the mighty hosts of the Assyrians are routed and the long-besieged but now triumphant inhabitants of Jerus rush out like locusts upon the spoil which the vanishing adversary has been forced to leave behind. The destroyer's plan to reduce Jerus has come to naught. The whole earth beholds the spectacle of Assyria's defeat and is filled with awe and amazement at the mighty work of Jeh. Only the righteous may henceforth dwell in Jerus. Their eyes shall behold the Messiah-king in his beauty, reigning no longer like Hezekiah over a limited and restricted territory, but over a land unbounded, whose inhabitants enjoy Jeh's peace and protection, and are free from all sin, and therefore from all sickness (vs 17–24). With this beautiful picture of the Messianic future, the prophet's woes find an appropriate conclusion. Isaiah never pronounced a woe without adding a corresponding promise.

In chs **34**–**35**, the prophet utters a fierce cry for justice against "all the nations," but against Edom in particular. His tone is that of judgment. Edom is guilty of high crimes against Zion (**34** 8 f), therefore she is doomed to destruction. On the other hand, the scattered ones of Israel shall return from exile and "obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away" (ch **35**).

Chs **36**–**39** contain history, prophecy and song intermingled. These chapters serve both as an appendix to chs **1**–**35** and as an introduction to chs **40**–**66**. In them three important historical events are narrated, in which Isaiah was a prominent factor: (1) the double attempt of Sennacherib to obtain possession of Jerus (chs **36**–**37**); (2) Hezekiah's sickness and recovery (ch **38**); (3) the embassy of Merodach-baladan (ch **39**). With certain important omissions and insertions these chapters are duplicated almost verbatim in 2 K **18** 13—**20** 19. They are introduced with the chronological note, "Now it came to pass in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah." Various attempts have been made to solve the mystery of this date; for, if the author is alluding to the siege of 701 BC, difficulty arises, because that event occurred not in Hezekiah's "14th" but 26th year, according to the Bib. chronology of his life; or, if with some we date Hezekiah's accession to the throne of Judah as 720 BC, then the siege of 701 BC occurred, as is evident, in Hezekiah's 19th year. It is barely possible of course that "the 14th year of king Hezekiah" was the 14th of the "15 years" which were *added* to his life, but more probably it alludes to the 14th of his reign. On the whole it is better to take the phrase as a general chronological caption for the entire section, with special reference to ch **38**, which tells of Hezekiah's sickness, which actually fell in his 14th year (714 BC), and which, coupled with Sargon's expected presence at Ashdod, was *the* great personal crisis of the king's life.

Sennacherib made two attempts in 701 BC to reduce Jerus: one from Lachish with an army headed by the Rabshakeh (**36** 2—**37** 8), and another from Libnah with a threat conveyed by messengers (**37** 9 ff). The brief section contained in 2 K **18** 14–16 is omitted from between vs 1 and 2 of Isa **36**, because it was not the prophet's aim at this time to recount the nation's humiliation.

Isaiah's last "word" concerning Assyria (**37** 21–35) is one of the prophet's grandest predictions. It is composed of three parts: (1) a taunt-song, in elegiac rhythm, on the inevitable humiliation of Sennacherib (vs 22–29); (2) a short poem in different rhythm, directed to Hezekiah, in order to encourage his faith (vs 30–32); (3) a definite prediction, in less elevated style, of the sure deliverance of Jerus (vs 33–35). Isaiah's prediction was literally fulfilled.

The section **38** 9–20 contains Hezekiah's Song of Thanksgiving, in which he celebrates his recovery from some mortal sickness. It is a beautiful plaintive "writing"; omitted altogether by the author of the Book of K (cf 2 K **20**). Hezekiah was sick in 714 BC. Two years later Merodach-baladan, the veteran arch-enemy of Assyria, having heard of his wonderful recovery, sent letters and a present to congratulate him. Doubtless, also, political motives prompted the recalcitrant Babylonian. But be that as it may, Hezekiah was greatly flattered by the visit of Merodach-baladan's envoys, and, in a moment of weakness, showed them all his royal treasures. This was an inexcusable blunder, as the sight of his many precious possessions would naturally excite Bab cupidity to possess Jerus. Isaiah not only solemnly condemned the king's conduct, but he announced with more than ordinary insight that the days were coming when all the accumulated resources of Jerus would be carried away to Babylon (**39** 3–6; cf Mic **4** 10). This final prediction of judgment is the most marvelous of all Isaiah's minatory utterances, because he distinctly asserts that, not the Assyrians, who were then at the height of their power, but the Babylonians, shall be the instruments of the Divine vengeance in consummating the destruction of Jerus. There is absolutely no reason for doubting the genuineness of this prediction. In it, indeed, we have a prophetic basis for chs **40–66**, which follow.

Coming now to chs **40–66**, we have prophecies of comfort, salvation, and of the future glory awaiting Israel. These chapters naturally fall into three sections: (1) chs **40–48**, announcing deliverance from captivity through Cyrus; (2) chs **49–57**, describing the sufferings of the "Servant" of Jeh, this section ending like the former with the refrain, "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked" (**57** 21; cf **48** 22); (3) chs **58–66**, announcing the final abolition of all national distinctions and the future glory of the people of God. Ch **60** is the characteristic chapter of this section, as ch **53** is of the second, and ch **40** of the first.

Entering into greater detail, the first section (chs **40–48**) demonstrates the deity of Jeh through His unique power to predict. The basis of the comfort which the prophet announces is Israel's incomparable God (ch **40**). Israel's all-powerful Jeh in comparison with other gods is incomparable. In the prologue (**40** 1–11) he hears the four voices: (1) of grace (vs 1.2); (2) of prophecy (vs 3–5); (3) of faith (vs 6–8), and (4) of evangelism (vs 9–11). Then, after exalting the unique character of Israel's all-but-forgotten God (vs 12–26), he exhorts them not to suppose that Jeh is ignorant of, or indifferent to, Israel's misery. Israel must wait for salvation. They are clamoring for deliverance prematurely. Only wait, he repeats; for with such a God, Israel has no reason to despond (vs 27–31).

In ch **41** he declares that the supreme proof of Jeh's sole deity is His power to predict. He inquires, "Who hath raised up one from the east?" Though the hero is left unnamed, Cyrus is doubtless in the prophet's mind (cf **44** 28; **45** 1). He is not, however, already appearing upon the horizon of history as some fancy, but rather *predicted* as sure to come. The verb tenses which express completed action are perfects of certainty, and are used in precisely the same manner as those in **3** 8; **5** 13; **21** 9. The answer to the inquiry is, "I, Jeh, the first, and with the last, I am he" (**41** 4). Israel is Jeh's servant. The dialogue continues; but it is no longer between Jeh and the nations, as in vs 1–7, but between Jeh and the idols (vs 21–29). Addressing the dumb idols, Jeh is represented as saying, Predict something, if you are real deities. As for myself, I am going to raise up a hero from the north who will subdue all who oppose him. And I announce my purpose now in advance "from the beginning," "beforetime," before there is the slightest ground for thinking that such a hero exists or ever will exist (ver 26), in order that the future may verify my prediction, and prove my sole deity. I, Jeh, alone know the future. In vs 25–29, the prophet even projects himself into the future and speaks from the standpoint of the fulfilment of his prediction. This, as we saw above, was a characteristic of Isaiah in chs **24–27**.

In **42** 1—**43** 13 the prophet announces also a spiritual agent of redemption, namely, Jeh's "Servant." Not only a temporal agent (Cyrus) shall be raised up to mediate Israel's redemption, which is the first step in the process of the universal salvation contemplated, but a spiritual factor. Jeh's "Servant" shall be employed in bringing the good tidings of salvation to the exiles and to the Gentiles also. In **42** 1–9 the prophet describes this ideal figure and the work he will execute. The glorious future evokes a brief hymn of thanksgiving for the redemption which the prophet beholds in prospect (**42** 10–17). Israel has long been blind and deaf to Jeh's instructions (**42** 18.19), but now Jeh is determined to redeem them even at the cost of the most opulent nations of the world, that they may publish His law to all peoples (**42** 18—**43** 13).

In **43** 14—**44** 23 forgiveness is made the pledge of deliverance. Jeh's determination to redeem Israel is all of grace. Salvation is a gift. Jeh has blotted out their transgressions for His own sake (**43** 25). "This passage," Dillmann observes, "marks the highest point of grace in the OT." Gods of wood and stone are nonentities. Those who manufacture idols are blind and dull of heart, and are "feeding on ashes." The section **44** 9–20 is a most remorseless exposure of the folly of idolatry.

In **44** 24—**45** 25 the prophet at length names the hero of Israel's salvation and describes his mission. He is Cyrus. He shall build Jerus and lay the foundations of the temple (**44** 28); he shall also subdue nations and let the exiles go free (**45** 1.13). He speaks of Cyrus in the most extraordinary, almost extravagant terms. He is Jeh's "shepherd" (**44** 28), he is also Jeh's "anointed," i.e. Messiah (**45** 1), "the man of my counsel" (**46** 11), whom Jeh has called by name, and surnamed without his ever knowing Him (**45** 3.4); the one "whom Jeh loveth" (**48** 14), whose right hand Jeh upholdeth (**45** 1), and who will perform all Jeh's pleasure (**44** 28); though but "a ravenous bird from the east" (**46** 11). The vividness with which the prophet speaks of Cyrus leads some to suppose that the latter is already upon the horizon. This, however, is a mistake. Scarcely would a contemporary have spoken in such terms of the real Cyrus of 538 BC. The prophet regards him (i.e. the Cyrus of his own prediction, not the Cyrus of history) as the fulfilment of predictions spoken long before. That is to say, in one and the same context, Cyrus is both predicted and treated as a proof that prediction is being fulfilled (**44** 24–28; **45** 21). Such a phenomenon in prophecy can best be explained by supposing that the prophet projected himself into the future from an earlier age. Most extraordinary of all, in **45** 14–17, the prophet soars in imagination until he sees, as a result of Cyrus' victories, the conquered nations renouncing their idols, and attracted to Jeh as the Saviour of all mankind (**45** 22). On any theory of origin, the predictive element in these prophecies is written large.

Chs **46–47** describe further the distinctive work of Cyrus, though Cyrus himself is but once referred to. Particular emphasis is laid on the complete collapse of the Bab religion; the prophet being apparently more concerned with the humiliation of Babylon's idols than with the fall of the city itself. Of course the destruction of the city would imply the defeat of her gods, as also the emancipation of Israel. But here again all is in the future; in fact Jeh's incomparable superiority and unique deity are proven by His power to predict "the end from the beginning" and bring His prediction to pass (**46** 10.11).

Ch **47** is a dirge over the downfall of the imperial city, strongly resembling the taunt-song over the king of Babylon in **14** 4–21.

Ch **48** is a hortatory summary and recapitulation of the argument contained in chs **40–47**, the prophet again emphasizing the following points: (1) Jeh's unique power to predict; (2) that salvation is of grace; (3) that Cyrus' advent will be the crowning proof of Jeh's abiding presence among His people; (4) that God's chastisements were only disciplinary; and (5) that even now there is hope, if they will but accept of Jeh's proffered salvation. Alas! that there is no peace or salvation for the godless (**48** 20–22). Thus ends the first division of Isaiah's remarkable "vision" of Israel's deliverance from captivity through Cyrus.

The second section (chs **49–57**) deals with the spiritual agent of salvation, Jeh's suffering "Servant." With ch **49** the prophet leaves off attempting further to prove the sole deity of Jeh by means of prediction, and drops entirely his description of Cyrus' victories and the overthrow of Babylon, in order to set forth in greater detail the character and mission of the suffering "Servant" of Jeh. Already, in chs **40–48**, he had alluded several times to this unique and somewhat enigmatical personage, speaking of him both collectively and as an individual (**41** 8–10; **42** 1–9.18–22; **43** 10; **44** 1–5. 21–28; **45** 4; **48** 20–22); but now he defines with greater precision both his prophetic and priestly functions, his equipment for his task, his sufferings and humiliation, and also his final exaltation. Altogether in these prophecies he mentions the "Servant" some 20 t. But there are four distinctively so-called "Servant-Songs" in which the prophet seems to rise above the collective masses of all Israel to at least a personification of the pious within Israel, or better, to a unique Person embodying within himself all that is best in the Israel within Israel. They are the following: (1) **42** 1–9, a poem descriptive of the Servant's gentle manner and world-wide mission; (2) **49** 1–13, describing the Servant's mission and spiritual success; (3) **50** 4–11, the Servant's soliloquy concerning His perfection through suffering; and (4) **52** 13—**53** 12, the Servant's vicarious suffering and ultimate exaltation. In this last of the four "Servant-Songs" we reach the climax of the prophet's inspired symphony, the acme of Heb Messianic hope. The profoundest thoughts in the OT revelation are to be found in this section. It is a vindication of the "Servant," so clear and so true, and wrought out with such pathos and potency, that it holds first place among Messianic predictions. Polycarp called it "the golden passional of the OT." It has been realized in Jesus Christ.

Chs **58–66** describe the future glory of the people of God. Having described in chs **40–48** the temporal agent of Israel's salvation, Cyrus, and in chs **49–57** the spiritual agent of their salvation, the "Servant" of Jeh, the prophet proceeds in this last section to define the conditions on which salvation may be enjoyed. He begins, as before, with a double imperative, "Cry aloud, spare not" (cf **40** 1; **49** 1).

In ch **58** he discusses true fasting and faithful Sabbath observance.

In ch **59** he beseeches Israel to forsake their sins. It is their sins, he urges, which have hidden Jeh's face and retarded the nation's salvation. In vs 9 ff the prophet identifies himself with the people and leads them in their devotions. Jeh is grieved over Israel's forlorn condition, and, seeing their helplessness, He arms himself like a warrior to interfere judicially (vs 15–19). Israel shall be redeemed. With them as the nucleus of a new nation, Jeh will enter anew into covenant relation, and put His Spirit upon them, which will abide with them henceforth and forever (vs 20–21).

Chs **60–61** describe the future blessedness of Zion. The long-looked-for "light" (cf **59** 9) begins to dawn: "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of Jeh is risen upon thee" (**60** 1). The prophet pauses at this point to paint a picture of the redeemed community. As in **2** 3.4, the Gentiles are seen flocking to Zion, which becomes the mistress of the nations. Foreigners build her walls, and her gates are kept open continually without fear of siege. The Gentiles acknowledge that Zion is the spiritual center of the world. Even Israel's oppressors regard her as "the city of Jeh," as "an eternal excellency," in which Jeh sits as its everlasting light (**60** 10–22).

In ch **61**, which Drummond has called "the program of Christianity," the "Servant" of Jeh is again introduced, though anonymously, as the herald of salvation (vs 1–3). The gospel monologue of the "Servant" is followed by a promise of the restoration and blessedness of Jerus (vs 4–11). Thus the prophecy moves steadily forward toward its goal in Jesus Christ (cf Lk **4** 18–21).

In **62** 1—**63** 6 Zion's salvation is described as drawing near. The nations will be spectators of the great event. A new name which will better symbolize her true character shall be given to Zion, namely, Hephzi-bah, "My delight is in her"; for Jerus shall no more be called desolate. On the other hand, Zion's enemies will all be vanquished. In a brief poem of peculiar dramatic beauty (**63** 1–6), the prophet portrays Jeh's vengeance, as a victorious warrior, upon all those who retard Israel's deliverance. Edom in particular was Israel's insatiate foe. Hence the prophet represents Jeh's judgment of the nations as taking place on Edom's unhallowed soil. Jeh, whose mighty arm has wrought salvation, returns as victor, having slain all of Israel's foes.

In **63** 7—**64** 12, Jeh's "servants" resort to prayer. They appeal to Jeh as the Begetter and Father of the nations (**63** 16; **64** 8). With this thought of the fatherhood of God imbedded in his language, Isaiah had opened his very first oracle to Judah and Jerus (cf **1** 2). As the prayer proceeds, the language becomes increasingly tumultuous. The people are thrown into despair because Jeh seems to have abandoned them altogether (**63** 19). They recognize that the condition of Jerus is desperate. "Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned with fire; and all our pleasant places are laid waste" (**64** 11). Such language, however, is the language of fervent prayer and must not be taken with rigid literalness, as **63** 18 and **3** 8 plainly show.

Finally, in chs **65–66**, Jeh answers His people's supplications, distinguishing sharply between His own "servants" and Israel's apostates. Only His chosen "seed" shall be delivered (**65** 9). Those who have obdurately provoked Jeh by sacrificing in gardens (**65** 3; **66** 17), offering libations to Fortune and Destiny (**65** 11), sitting among the graves to obtain oracles from the dead, and, like the Egyptians, eating swine's flesh and broth of abominable things which were supposed to possess magical properties, lodging in vaults or crypts in which heathen mysteries were celebrated (**65** 4), and at the same time fancying that by celebrating such heathen mysteries they are holier than others and thereby disqualified to discharge the ordinary duties of life (**65** 5)—such Jeh designs to punish, measuring their work into their bosom and destroying them utterly with the sword (**65** 7.12). On the other hand, the "servants" of Jeh shall inherit His holy mountains. They shall rejoice and sing for joy of heart, and bless themselves in the God of Amen, i.e. in the God of Truth (**65** 9.14.16). Jeh will create new heavens and a new earth, men will live and grow old like the patriarchs; they will possess houses and vineyards and enjoy them; for an era of idyllic peace will be ushered in with the coming of the Messianic age, in which even the natures of wild animals will be changed and the most rapacious of wild animals will live together in harmony (**65** 17–25). Religion will become spiritual and decentralized, mystic cults will disappear, incredulous scoffers will be silenced. Zion's population will be marvelously multiplied, and the people will be comforted and rejoice (**66** 1–14). Furthermore, all nations will flock to Zion to behold Jeh's glory, and from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, all flesh will come up to worship in Jerus (**66** 15–23).

It is evident that the Book of Isa closes, practically as it begins, with a polemic against false worship, and the alternate reward of the righteous and punishment of the wicked. The only essential difference between the prophet's earlier and later oracles is this: Isaiah, in his riper years, on the basis of nearly half a century's experience as a preacher, paints a much brighter eschatological picture than was possible in his early ministry. His picture of the Messianic age not only transcends those of his contemporaries in the 8th cent. BC, but he penetrates regions beyond the spiritual horizon of any and all OT seers. Such language as that contained in **66** 1.2, in particular, anticipates the great principle enunciated by Jesus in Jn **4** 24, namely, that "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth." To attempt to date such oracles as these on the basis of internal evidence is an absolute impossibility. Humanly speaking, one age could have produced such revelations quite as easily as another. But no age could have produced them apart from the Divine spirit.

8. Isaiah's Prophecies Chronologically Arranged

The editorial arrangement of Isaiah's prophecies is very suggestive. In the main they stand in chronological order. That is to say, all the *dates* mentioned are in strict historical sequence; e.g. **6** 1, "In the year that king Uzziah died" (740 BC); **7** 1, "In the days of Ahaz" (736 ff BC); **14** 28, "In the year that king Ahaz died" (727 BC); **20** 1, "In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him" (711 BC); **36** 1, "In the 14th year of king Hezekiah" (701 BC). These points are all in strict chronological order. Taken in groups, also, Isaiah's great individual messages are likewise arranged in true historical sequence; thus, chs **1–6** for the most part belong to the last years of Jotham's reign (740–736 BC); chs **7–12**, to the period of the Syro-Ephraimitic war (734 BC); ch **20**, to the year of Sargon's siege of Ashdod (711 BC); chs **28–32**, to the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib (701 BC); while the distinctively promissory portions (chs **40–66**), as is natural, conclude the collection. In several minor instances, however, there are notable departures from a rigid chronological order. For example, ch **6**, which describes the prophet's initial call to preach, follows the rebukes and denunciations of chs **1–5**; but this is probably due to its being used by the prophet as an apologetic. Again, the oracles against foreign nations in chs **13–23** belong to various dates, being grouped together, in part, at least, because of their subject-matter. Likewise, chs **38–39**, which give an account of Hezekiah's sickness and Merodach-baladan's embassy to him upon his recovery (714–712 BC), chronologically precede chs **36–37**, which describe Sennacherib's investment of Jerus (701 BC). This chiastic order, however, in the last instance, is due probably to the desire to make chs **36–37** (about Sennacherib, king of Assyria) an appropriate conclusion to chs **1–35** (which say much about Assyria), and, on the other hand, to make chs **38–39** (about Merodach-baladan of Babylon) a suitable introduction to chs **40–66** (which speak of Babylon).

The attempt to date Isaiah's individual messages on the basis of internal criteria alone, is a well-nigh impossible task; and yet no other kind of evidence is available. Often passages stand side by side which point in opposite directions; in fact, certain sections seem to be composed of various fragments dating from different periods, as though prophecies widely separated from each other in time had been fused together. In such cases much weight should be given to those features which point to an early origin, *because of the predominatingly predictive character of Isaiah's writings*.

Isaiah always had an eye upon the future. His semi-historical and biographical prophecies are naturally the easiest to date; on the other hand, the form of his Messianic and eschatological discourses is largely due to his own personal temper and psychology, rather than to the historical circumstances of the time. The following is a table of Isaiah's prophecies chronologically arranged:

Chs				BC
1–6	written	probably		c 740–736
7–12	"	"		c 734–732
15 1—**16** 12; **17**	"	"		c 734
13 1—**14** 23	"	"	between	732–722
14 24–27	"	"	"	732–722
14 28–32	"	"		c 727
23	"	"	shortly before	722
24–27	"	"	" "	722
28 1–6	"	"	" "	722
19	"	"		c 720
38	"	"		c 714
39	"	"		c 712
21 11.12.13–17	"	"		c 711
22 15–25	"	"		c 711
21 1–10	"	"		c 709
22 1–10	"	"		c 709
28 7—**33** 24	"	"	shortly before	701
18	"	"		c 701
34–35	"	"		c 701
36–37	"	"	soon after	701
40–66	"	"	" "	701

The prophet's standpoint in chs **40–66** is that of Isaiah himself. For if Isaiah, before 734 BC, in passages confessedly his own, could describe Judah's cities as already "burned with fire," Zion as deserted as "a booth in a vineyard" (**1** 7.8), Jerus as "ruined," Judah as "fallen" (**3** 8), and Jeh's people as already "gone into captivity" (**5** 13), surely after all the destruction and devastation wrought on Judah by Assyria in the years 722, 720, 711, and 701 BC, the same prophet with the same poetic license could declare that the temple had been "trodden down" (**63** 18) and "burned with fire," and all Judah's pleasant places "laid waste" (**64** 11); and, in perfect keeping with his former promises, could add that "they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations" (**61** 4; cf **44** 26; **58** 12).

Or again, if Isaiah the son of Amoz could comfort Jerus with promises of protection when the Assyrian (734 BC) should come like an overflowing river (**8** 9.10; **10** 24.25); and conceive a beautiful parable of comfort like that contained in **28** 23–29; and insert among his warnings and exhortations of the gloomy year 702 BC so many precious promises of a brighter future which was sure to follow Sennacherib's invasion (**29** 17–24; **30** 29–33; **31** 8.9); and, in the very midst of the siege of 701 BC, conceive of such marvelous Messianic visions as those in **33** 17–24 with which to dispel the dismay of his compatriots, surely the same prophet might be conceived of as seizing the opportunity to comfort those in Zion who survived the great catastrophe of 701 BC. The prophet who had done the one was prepared to do the other.

There was one circumstance of the prophet's position after 701 BC which was new, and which is too often overlooked, a circumstance which he could not have employed to anything like the same degree as an argument in enforcing his message prior to the Assyrian's overthrow and the deliverance of Jerus. It was this: *the fulfilment of former predictions as proof of Jeh's deity.* From such passages we obtain an idea of the prophet's true historical position (**42** 9; **44** 8; **45** 21; **46** 10; **48** 3). Old predictions have already been fulfilled (**6** 11–13; **29** 8; **30** 31; **31** 8; **37** 7.30), on the basis of which the prophet ventures to predict new and even more astounding things concerning the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus, and Israel's deliverance through him from their captors (**43** 6). Isaiah's book is signally full of predictions (**7** 8.10 ff; **8** 4.8; **9** 11.12; **10** 26 ff; **14** 24–27; **16** 14; **17** 9.12–14; **20** 4–6; **21** 16; **22** 19 ff; **23** 15; **38** 5), some of which, written down and sealed, were evidently committed by the prophet to his inner circle of disciples to be used and verified by them in subsequent crises (**8** 16). Failure to recognize this element in Isaiah's book is fatal to a true interpretation of the prophet's real message.

9. The Critical Problem

"For about twenty-five centuries," as A. B. Davidson observes (*OT Prophecy*, 1903, 244), "no one dreamt of doubting that Isaiah the son of Amoz was the author of every part of the book that goes under his name; and those who still maintain the unity of authorship are accustomed to point, with satisfaction, to the unanimity of the Christian church on the matter, till a few German scholars arose, about a century ago, and called in question the unity of this book." Tradition is unanimous in favor of the unity of the book.

(1) *The history of criticism.*—The critical disintegration of the book began with Koppe, who in 1780 first doubted the genuineness of ch **50**. Nine years later Doederlein suspected the whole of chs **40–66**. He was followed by Rosenmueller, who was the first to deny to Isaiah the prophecy against Babylon in **13** 1—**14** 23. Eichhorn, at the beginning of the last century, further eliminated the oracle against Tyre in ch **23**, and he, with Gesenius and Ewald, also denied the Isaianic origin of chs **24–27**. Gesenius also ascribed to some unknown prophet chs **15** and **16**. Rosenmueller then went farther, and pronounced against chs **34** and **35**, and not long afterward (1840) Ewald questioned chs **12** and **33**. Thus by the middle of the 19th cent. some 37 or 38 chapters were rejected as no part of Isaiah's actual writings. In 1879–80, the celebrated Leipzig professor, Franz Delitzsch, who for years previous had defended the genuineness of the entire book, finally yielded to the modern critical position, and in the new edition of his commentary published in 1889, interpreted chs **40–66**, though with considerable hesitation, as coming from the close of the period of Bab exile. About the same time (1888–90), Drs. Driver and G. A. Smith gave popular impetus to similar views in Great Britain. Since 1890, the criticism of Isa has been even more trenchant and microscopic than before. Duhm, Stade, Guthe, Hackmann, Cornill and Marti on the Continent, and Cheyne, Whitehouse, Box, Glazebrook, Kennett, Gray, Peake, and others in Great Britain and America have questioned portions which hitherto were supposed to be genuine.

(2) *The disintegration of "Deutero-Isaiah."*—Even the unity of chs **40–66**, which were supposed to be the work of the "Second" or "Deutero-Isaiah," is now given up. What prior to 1890 was supposed to be the unique product of some celebrated but anonymous seer who lived in Babylonia about 550 BC is today commonly divided and subdivided and in large part distributed among various writers from Cyrus to Simon (538–164 BC). At first it was thought sufficient to separate chs **63–66** as a later addition to "Deutero-Isaiah's" prophecies; but more recently it has become the fashion to distinguish between chs **40–55**, which are claimed to have been written by "Deutero–Isaiah" in Babylonia about 549–538 BC, and chs **56–66**, which are now alleged to have been composed by a "Trito-Isaiah" about 460–445 BC.

(3) *Recent views.*—Among the latest to investigate the problem is Professor R. H. Kennett of Cambridge, Eng., who, in his Schweich Lectures (*The Composition of the Book of Isa in the Light of Hist and Archaeology*, 1910, 84 ff), sums up the results of investigations as follows: (*a*) all of chs **3, 5, 6, 7, 20** and **31**, and large portions of chs **1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 14, 17, 22** and **23**, may be assigned to Isaiah, the son of Amoz; (*b*) all of chs **13, 40** and **47**, and large portions of chs **14, 21, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46** and **48**, may be assigned to the time of Cyrus; (*c*) all of chs **15, 36, 37** and **39**, and portions of chs **16** and **38**, may be assigned to the period between Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander the Great, but cannot be dated precisely; (*d*) the passage **23** 1–14 may be assigned to the time of Alexander the Great; (*e*) all of chs **11, 12, 19, 24–27, 29, 30, 32–35, 42, 49–66,** and portions of chs **1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 18, 23, 41, 44, 45, 48** may be assigned to the 2d cent. BC (167–140 BC).

Professor C. F. Kent, also (*Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets*, 1910, 27 ff), makes the following critical observations on chs **40–66**. He says: "The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah . . . . afford by far the best approach for the study of the difficult problems presented by Isa **40–66**. . . . . Chs **56–66** are generally recognized as post-exilic. . . . . In Isa **56** and the following chapters there are repeated references to the temple and its service, indicating that it had already been restored. Moreover, these references are not confined to the latter part of the book. . . . . The fact, on the one hand, that there are few, if any, allusions to contemporary events in these chapters, and on the other hand, that little or nothing is known of the condition and hopes of the Jews during this period (the closing years of the Bab exile) makes the dating of these prophecies possible, although far from certain. . . . . Also, the assumption that the author of these chapters lived in the Bab exile is not supported by a close examination of the prophecies themselves. Possibly their author was one of the few who, like Zerubbabel, had been born in Babylon and later returned to Pal. He was also dealing with such broad and universal problems that he gives few indications of his date and place of abode; but all the evidence that is found points to Jerus as the place where he lived and wrote. . . . . The prophet's interest and point of view center throughout in Jerus, and he shows himself far more familiar with conditions in Pal than in distant Babylon. Most of his illustrations are drawn from the agricultural life of Pal. His vocabulary is also that of a man dwelling in Pal, and in this respect is in marked contrast with the synonyms employed by Ezekiel, the prophet of the Bab exile."

That is to say, two of the most recent investigators of the Book of Isa reach conclusions quite at variance with the opinions advocated in 1890, when Delitzsch so reluctantly allowed that chs **40**–

66 may have sprung from the period of Bab exile. Now, it is found that these last 27 chs were written after the exile, most probably in Pal, rather than in Babylonia as originally claimed, and are no longer considered addressed primarily to the suffering exiles in captivity as was formerly urged.

(4) *The present state of the question.*—The present state of the Isa-question is, to say the least, confusing. Those who deny the integrity of the book may be divided into two groups, which we may call moderates and radicals. Among the moderates may be included Drs. Driver, G. A. Smith, Skinner, Kirkpatrick, Koenig, A. B. Davidson, Barnes and Whitehouse. These all practically agree that the following chs and vs are *not* Isaiah's: **11** 10–16; **12**; **13** 1—**14** 23; **15** 1—**16** 12; **21** 1–10; **24–27**; **34–35**; **36–39**; **40–66**. That is to say, some 44 chs out of the whole number, 66, were not written by Isaiah; or, approximately 800 out of 1,292 vs are not genuine. Among the radicals are Drs. Cheyne, Duhm, Hackmann, Guthe, Marti, Kennett and Gray. These all reject approximately 1,030 vs out of the total 1,292, retaining the following only as the genuine product of Isaiah and his age: **1** 2–26. 29–31; **2** 6–19; **3** 1.5.8.9.12–17; **4** 1; **5** 1–14.17–29; **6**; **7** 1–8.22; **9** 8—**10** 9; **10** 13.14.27–32; **17** 1–14; **18**; **20**; **22** 1–22; **28** 1–4.7–22; **29** 1–6.9.10.13–15; **30** 1–17; **31** 1–4. That is, only about 262 vs out of the total 1,292 are allowed to be genuine. This is, we believe, a fair statement of the Isa-question as it exists in the hands of divisive critics today.

On the other hand there have been those who have defended and who still defend the essential unity of Isaiah's entire book, e.g. Strachey (1874), Nägelsbach (1877), Bredenkamp (1887), Douglas (1895), W. H. Cobb (1883–1908), W. H. Green (1892), Vos (1898–99), Thirtle (1907), Margoliouth (1910) and O. T. Allis (1912).

(5) *Reasons for dissecting the book.*—The fundamental axiom of criticism is the dictum that a prophet always spoke out of a definite historical situation to the present needs of the people among whom he lived, and that a definite historical situation shall be pointed out for each prophecy. This fundamental postulate, which on the whole is reasonable and perfectly legitimate if not overworked, underlies all modern criticism of OT prophecy. It is not possible, however, always to trace a mere snatch of sermonic discourse to a definite historical situation apart from its context. Moreover, the prophets often spoke consciously, not only to their own generation, but also to the generations to come. Isaiah in particular commanded, "Bind thou up the testimony, *seal the law among my disciples*" (**8** 16); that is, preserve my teachings for the future. Again in **30** 8, he says, "Now go, ... inscribe it in a book, *that it may be for the time to come for ever and ever.*" And also in **42** 23, "Who is there among you that will give ear to this? that will hearken and hear *for the time to come?*"

Certain false presuppositions often govern critics in their disintegration of the book. Only a few examples need be given by way of illustration: (*a*) According to some, "the conversion of the heathen" lay quite beyond the horizon of any 8th-cent. prophet; consequently, Isa **2** 2–4 and all similar passages which foretell the conversion of those outside the chosen people are to be relegated to an age subsequent to Isaiah. (*b*) To others, "the picture of universal peace" in Isa **11** 1–9 is a symptom of late date, and therefore this section and all kindred ones must be deleted. (*c*) To others, the thought of "universal judgment" upon "the whole earth" in **14** 26 and elsewhere quite transcends Isaiah's range of thought. (*d*) To others still, the apocalyptic character of chs **24–27** represents a phase of Heb thought which prevailed in Israel only after Ezekiel. (*e*) Even to those who are considered moderates "the poetic character" of a passage like ch **12**, and the references to a "return" from captivity, as in **11** 11–16, and the promises and consolations such as are found in ch **33** are cited as grounds for assigning these and similar passages to a much later age. Radicals deny *in toto* the existence of all Messianic passages among Isaiah's own predictions, relegating all Messianic hope to a much later age.

But to deny to the Isaiah of the 8th cent. all catholicity of grace, all universalism of salvation or judgment, every highly developed Messianic ideal, every rich note of promise and comfort, all sublime faith in the sacrosanct character of Zion, as some do, is unwarrantably to create a new Isaiah of greatly reduced proportions, a mere preacher of righteousness, a statesman of not very optimistic vein, and the exponent of a cold ethical religion without the warmth and glow of the messages which are actually ascribed to the prophet of the 8th cent.

As a last resort, certain critics have appealed to 2 Ch **36** 22.23 as external evidence that chs **40–66** existed as a separate collection in the Chronicler's age. But the evidence obtained from this source is so doubtful that it is well-nigh valueless. For it is not the prediction of Isa concerning Cyrus to which the Chronicler points as Jeremiah's, but the "70 years" of Bab supremacy spoken of in ver 21, which Jeremiah actually did predict (cf Jer **25** 11; **29** 10). On the other hand, chs **40–66** were certainly ascribed to Isaiah as early as 180 BC, for Jesus Ben-Sirach, the author of Ecclus, speaks of Isaiah as the prophet who "saw by an excellent spirit that which should come to pass at the last, and comforted them that mourned in Zion" (Ecclus **48** 20 ff; cf Isa **40** 1 ff). Furthermore, there is absolutely no proof that chs **1–39**, or chs **40–66**, or any other section of Isaiah's prophecies ever existed by themselves as an independent collection; nor is there any substantial ground for supposing that the promissory and Messianic portions have been systematically interpolated by editors long subsequent to Isaiah's own time. The earlier prophets presumably did more than merely threaten.

(6) *Arguments for one Isaiah.*—It is as unreasonable to expect to be able to *prove* the unity of Isa as to suppose that it has been disproved. Internal evidence is indecisive in either case. There are arguments, however, which corroborate a belief that there was but one Isaiah. Here are some of those which might be introduced:

(*a*) The circle of ideas, which are strikingly the same throughout the entire book: For example, take the characteristic name for God, which is almost peculiar to Isaiah, "the Holy One of Israel." This title for Jeh occurs in the Book of Isa a total of 25 t, and only 6 t elsewhere in the OT, one of which is a ‖ passage in K. This unique epithet, "the Holy One of Israel," interlocks all the various portions with one another and stamps them with the personal imprimatur of him who saw the vision of the majestic God seated upon His throne, high and lifted up, and heard the angelic choirs singing: "Holy, holy, holy, is Jeh of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory" (**6** 3). The presence of this Divine title in all the different sections of the book is of more value in identifying Isaiah as the author of all these prophecies than though his name had been inserted at the beginning of every chapter, for the reason that his theology—his conception of God as the Holy One—is woven into the very fiber and texture of the whole book. It occurs 12 t in chs **1–39**, and 13 t in chs **40–66**; and it is simply unscientific to say that the various alleged authors of the disputed portions all employed the same title through imitation (cf **1** 4; **5** 19.24; **10** 20; **12** 6; **17** 7; **29** 19; **30** 11.12.15; **31** 1; **37** 23; also **41** 14.16.20; **43** 3.14; **45** 11; **47** 4; **48** 17; **49** 7; **54** 5; **55** 5; **60** 9.14; elsewhere, only in 2 K **19** 22; Ps **71** 22; **78** 41; **89** 18; Jer **50** 29; **51** 5).

Another unique idea which occurs with considerable repetition in the Book of Isa is the thought of a "highway" (cf **11** 16; **35** 8; **40** 3; **43** 19; **49** 11; **57** 14; **62** 10). Another characteristic idea is that of a "remnant" (cf **1** 9; **10** 20.21.22; **11** 11.16; **14** 22.30; **15** 9; **16** 14; **17** 3; **21** 17; **28** 5; **37** 31; **46** 3; cf **65** 8.9). Another striking trait of the book is the position occupied by "Zion" in the prophet's thoughts (cf **2** 3; **4** 5; **18** 7; **24** 23; **28** 16; **29** 8; **30** 19; **31** 9; **33** 5.20; **34** 8; **46** 13; **49** 14; **51** 3.16; **52** 1; **59** 20; **60** 14; **62** 1.11; **66** 8). Still another is the oft-repeated expression, "pangs of a woman in travail" (cf **13** 8; **21** 3; **26** 17.18; **42** 14; **54** 1; **66** 7). These, and many others less distinctive, psychologically stamp the book with an individuality which it is difficult to account for, if it be broken up into countless fragments and distributed, as some do, over the centuries.

(*b*) The literary style: As negative evidence, literary style is not a very safe argument; for, as Professor McCurdy says, "In the case of a writer of Isaiah's environments, style is not a sure criterion of authorship" (*History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, II, 317, n.). Yet it is certainly remarkable that the clause "for the mouth of Jeh hath spoken it" should be found 3 t in the Book of Isa, and *nowhere else in the OT* (cf **1** 20; **40** 5; **58** 14). And it is noteworthy that the phrase, "streams of water," should occur twice in Isa and *nowhere else* (cf **30** 25; **44** 4 in the Heb). And very peculiar is the tendency on the prophet's part to emphatic reduplication (cf **2** 7.8; **6** 3; **8** 9; **24** 16.23; **40** 1; **43** 11.25; **48** 15; **51** 12; **57** 19; **62** 10). In fact, it is not extravagant to say that Isaiah's style differs widely from that of every other OT prophet, and is as far removed as possible from that of Ezekiel and the post-exilic prophets.

(*c*) Historical references: Take, for example, first, the prophet's constant reference to Judah and Jerus, his country and its capital (**1** 7–9; **3** 8; **24** 19; **25** 2; **40** 2.9; **62** 4); likewise, to the temple and its ritual of worship and sacrifice. In **1** 11–15, when all was prosperous, the prophet complained that the people were profuse and formal in their ceremonies and sacrifices; in **43** 23.24, on the contrary, when the country had been overrun by the Assyrian and Sennacherib had besieged the city, the prophet reminds them that they had not brought to Jeh the sheep of their burnt offerings, nor honored Him with their sacrifices; while in **66** 1–3.6.20, not only is the existence of the Temple and the observance of the ritual presupposed, but those are sentenced who place their trust in the material temple, and the outward ceremonials of temple-worship. As for the "exile," the prophet's attitude to it throughout is that of both anticipation and realization. Thus, in **57** 1, judgment is only threatened, not yet inflicted: "The righteous is taken away *from the evil to come*." That is to say, the exile is described as still future. On the other hand, in **3** 8, "Jerus is ruined, and Judah is fallen," which seems to describe the exile as in the past; yet, as everybody admits, these are the words of Isaiah of the 8th cent. In **11** 11.12, the prophet says, "The Lord will set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people . . . . from the four corners of the earth." To interpret such a statement literally and mechanically without regard to 8th-cent. conditions, or to Isaiah's manifest attitude to the exile, leads to confusion. No prophet realized so keenly or described so vividly the destiny of the Hebrews.

(*d*) The predictive element: This is the strongest proof of the unity of the Book of Isa. Prediction is the very essence of prophecy (cf Dt **18** 22); Isaiah was preëminently a prophet of the future. With unparalleled suddenness, he repeatedly leaps from despair to hope, from threat to promise, and from the actual to the ideal. What Professor Kent says of "Deutero-Isaiah" may with equal justice be said of Isaiah himself: "While in touch with his own age, the great unknown prophet lives in the atmosphere of the past and the future" (*Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets*, 28). Isaiah spoke to his own age, but he also addressed himself to the ages to follow. His verb tenses are characteristically futures and prophetic perfects. Of his book A. B. Davidson's words are particularly true: "If any prophetic book be examined . . . . it will appear that the ethical and religious teaching is always secondary, and that the essential thing in the book or discourse is the prophet's outlook into the future" (*HDB*, art. "Prophecy and Prophets," IV, 119).

Isaiah was exceptionally given to predicting: thus (*α*) before the Syro-Ephraimitic war (734 BC), he predicted that within 65 years Ephraim should be broken to pieces (**7** 8); and that before the child Maher-shalal-hash-baz should have knowledge to cry, "My father," or "My mother," the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria should be carried away (**8** 4; cf **7** 16). These are, however, but two of numerous predictions, as shown above, among his earlier prophecies (cf **1** 27.28; **2** 2–4; **6** 13; **10** 20–23; **11** 6–16; **17** 14).

(*β*) Shortly before the downfall of Samaria in 722 BC, Isaiah predicted that Tyre should be forgotten 70 years, and that after the end of 70 years her merchandise should be holiness to Jeh (**23** 15.18).

(*γ*) In like manner prior to the siege of Ashdod in 711 BC, he proclaimed that within 3 years Moab should be brought into contempt (**16** 14), and that within a year all the glory of Kedar should fail (**21** 16).

(*δ*) And not long prior to the siege of Jerus by Sennacherib in 701 BC, he predicted that in an instant, suddenly, a multitude of Jerusalem's foes should be as dust (**29** 5); that yet a very little while and Lebanon should be turned into a fruitful field (**29** 17); and that Assyria should be dismayed and fall by the sword, but not of men (**30** 17.31; **31** 8). And more, that for days beyond a year, the careless women of Jerus should be troubled (**32** 10.16–20); and that the righteous in Zion should see Jerus a quiet habitation, and return and come with singing (**33** 17 ff; **35** 4.10); but that Sennacherib, on the contrary, should hear tidings and return without shooting an arrow into the city (**37** 7.26–29. 33–35).

In like manner, also, *after* the siege of Jerus by Sennacherib in 701 BC was over, the prophet seems to have continued to predict; and, in order to demonstrate to the suffering and unbelieving remnant about him the deity of Jeh and the folly of idolatry, pointed to the predictions which he had already made in the earlier years of his ministry, and to the fact that they had been fulfilled. Thus, he says, "Who hath declared it from the beginning, that we may know? and beforetime, that we may say, He is right?" (**41** 21–23.26); "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them" (**42** 9.23); "Who among them can declare this, and show us former things [i.e. things to come in the immediate future]? . . . . I have declared, and I have saved, and I have showed" (**43** 9.12); "Who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it . . . . ? And the things that are coming, and that shall come to pass, let them [the idols] declare. . . . . Have I not declared unto thee of old, and showed it? And ye are my witnesses. . . . . That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerus, She shall be built; and of the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid" (**44** 7.8.27.28); "It is I, Jeh, who call thee by thy name, even the God of Israel. . . . . I have called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me. . . . . Ask me of the things that are to come. . . . . I have raised him [Cyrus] up in righteousness, and . . . . he shall build my city, and he shall let my exiles go free" (**45** 3.4.11.13); "Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times things that are not yet done; . . . . calling a ravenous bird [Cyrus] from the east, the man of my counsel from a far country; yea, I have spoken, I will also bring it to pass" (**46** 10.11); "I have declared the former things from of old, ... and I showed them: suddenly I did them, and they came to pass. . . . . I have declared it . . . . from of old; before it came to pass I showed it thee; lest thou shouldest say, Mine idol hath done them" (**48** 3.5); "I have showed thee new things from this time, even hidden things. . . . . Yea, from of old thine ear was not opened. . . . . Who among them hath declared these things? . . . . I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have called him; . . . . from the beginning I have not spoken in secret" (**48** 6–8.14–16). Such predictions are explicit and emphatic.

(*e*) Cyrus a subject of prediction: From all the above-mentioned explicit and oft-repeated predictions one thing is obvious, namely, that great emphasis is laid by the prophet on prediction *throughout the entire Book of Isa*. And it must be further allowed that "Cyrus" is represented by the author as predicted, from any point of view. The only question is, Does the prophet emphasize the fact that he himself is predicting the coming of Cyrus? or that former predictions concerning Cyrus are now, as the prophet writes, coming to pass before his readers' eyes? Canon Cheyne's remark upon this point is instructive. He says: "The editor, who doubtless held the later Jewish theory of prophecy, may have inferred from a number of passages, esp. **41** 26; **48** 3.6.14, that the first appearance of Cyrus had been predicted by an ancient prophet, and observing certain Isaianic elements in the phraseology of these chapters, may have identified the prophet with Isaiah" (*Intro to the Book of Isa*, 238).

Dr. G. A. Smith likewise allows that Cyrus is the fulfilment of former predictions.

He says: "Nor is it possible to argue, as some have tried to do, that the prophet is predicting these things as if they had already happened. For as part of an argument for the unique divinity of the God of Israel, Cyrus, 'alive and irresistible,' and already accredited with success, is pointed out as the unmistakable proof that *former* prophecies of a deliverance for Israel are already coming to pass. Cyrus, in short, is not presented as a prediction, but as a proof that a prediction is being fulfilled" (*HDB*, art. "Isaiah," 493). And further he says: "The chief claim, therefore, which chs **40** ff make for the God of Israel is His power to direct the history of the world in conformity to a long-predicted and faithfully followed purpose. This claim starts from the proof that Jeh has long before predicted events now happening or about to happen, with Cyrus as their center. But this is much more than a proof of isolated predictions, though these imply omniscience. It is a declaration of the unity of history sweeping to the high ends which have been already revealed to Israel—an exposition, in short, of the Omnipotence, Consistence, and Faithfulness of the Providence of the one true God" (ib, 496).

It is obvious, therefore, in any case, whether these chapters are early or late, that *Cyrus is the subject of prediction*. It really makes little difference at which end of history one takes his stand, whether in the 8th cent. BC with Isaiah, or in the 6th cent. BC with "Deutero-Isaiah." Cyrus, to the author of these chs, is the subject of prediction. In other words, whether indeed the author is really predicting Cyrus in advance of all apparent fulfilment, or Cyrus is the fulfilment of some ancient prediction by another, does not alter the fact that Cyrus was the subject of prediction on the part of somebody. Accordingly, as was stated at the outset, the whole question is, which does the prophet emphasize, (*a*) the fact that he himself is predicting? or, (*b*) that former predictions by someone else are now before his eyes coming to pass? The truth is, the prophet seems to live in the atmosphere of the past and the future as well as in the present, all of which are equally vivid to his prophetic mind. This is a peculiar characteristic of Isaiah. It is seen in the account he gives of his inaugural vision (ch **6**), of which Delitzsch remarks that it is "like a prediction in the process of being fulfilled." The same is true of chs **24–27**. There the prophet repeatedly projects himself into the future, and speaks from the standpoint of the fulfilment of his predictions. It is esp. true of chs **40–48**. At one time the prophet emphasizes the fact that he is predicting, and a little later he describes his predictions as coming to pass. When, accordingly, a decision is made as to when the author predicted Cyrus, it is more natural to suppose that he was doing so long before Cyrus' actual appearance. This, in fact, is in keeping with the test of true prophecy contained in Dt **18** 22: "When a prophet speaketh in the name of Jeh, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Jeh hath not spoken; the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously, thou shalt not be afraid of him." Besides, there is a similar explicit prediction in the OT, namely, that of King Josiah, who was foretold by name two centuries before he came (1 K **13** 2; cf 2 K **23** 15.16).

Dr. W. H. Cobb in the *Journal of Bib. Literature and Exegesis*, 1901, 79, pleads for a "shrinkage of Cyrus," because Cyrus figures only in chs **40–48**, and is then dismissed. Dr. Thirtle, on the other hand, argues that the name "Cyrus" is a mere appellative, being originally not *Kōresh* (Cyrus), but *ḥōresh* ("workman," "artificer," "image-breaker"), and that **44** 27.28 is a gloss (cf *OT Problems*, 244–64). But in opposition to these views the present writer prefers to write Cyrus large, and to allow frankly that he is the subject of extraordinary prediction. For the very point of the author's argument is, that he is predicting events which Jeh alone is capable of foretelling or bringing to pass; in other words, that prescience is the proof of Jeh's deity. Isaiah lived in an age when Jeh's secrets were first revealed privately unto His servants the prophets (cf Am **3** 7). Political conditions were unsettled and kaleidoscopic, and there was every incentive to predict. That Isaiah actually uttered wonderful predictions is attested, furthermore, both by Jesus Ben-Sirach in Ecclus **48** 20–25 (written c 180 BC), and by Jos in his *Ant*, XI, i, 1, 2 (dating from c 100 AD); and these are ancient traditions worthy of credence.

Recently, Mr. Oswald T. Allis, after a thorough and exhaustive critical investigation of "the numerico-climactic structure" of the poem in Isa **44** 24–28, concludes that "the most striking and significant features of the poem favor the view that while the utterance was significant in and of itself, it was chiefly significant in view of the exceptional circumstance under which it was spoken, i.e. in view of its *early* date. The chronological arrangement of the poem assigns the Restoration and Cyrus to the future. The perspective of the poem, together with the abrupt change of person in the 2d strophe, argues that the future is a *remote* future. And finally the carefully constructed double climax attaches a significance to the definiteness of the utterance which is most easily accounted for if this future was so remote that a definite disclosure concerning it would be of extraordinary importance." And he further alleges that "it is impossible, if justice is done to the plain declarations of Scripture, to limit the prophetic horizon of the prophet Isaiah to the preëxilic period and that . . . . when the form of the poem is recognized, there is every reason to assign it to a preëxilic prophet, to Isaiah, since the form of the poem is admirably calculated to emphasize the fact that Cyrus and the Restoration belong to a *distant* future, and to make it clear that it is just because of this fact that the definiteness of the prophecy, the mention of Cyrus by name, is so remarkable and of such unique significance" (*Bib. and Theol. Studies*, by the members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary, Centennial vol, 1912, 628–29).

After all, why should men object to prediction on so large a scale? Unless there is definiteness about any given prediction, and unless it transcends ordinary prognostication, there is no especial value in it. Should it be objected, however, that prediction of so minute a character is "abhorrent to reason," the answer is already at hand; it may be abhorrent to reason, but it is a handmaid to *faith. Faith has to do with the future, even as prediction has to do with the future; and the OT is preëminently a book which encourages faith.* There is really no valid objection to the prediction of Cyrus. For the one outstanding differentiating characteristic of Israel's religion is predictive prophecy. The Hebrews certainly predicted the coming of a Messiah. Indeed, the Hebrews were the only people of antiquity whose "Golden Age" lay in the future rather than in the past. Accordingly, to predict the coming of a Cyrus as the *human* agent of Israel's salvation is but the reverse side of the same prophet's picture of the *Divine* agent, namely, the obedient, Suffering Servant of Jeh, who would redeem Israel from its sin. Deny to Isaiah the son of Amoz the prediction concerning Cyrus, and it is but logical to go farther and to deny to him the Messianic hope which is usually associated with his name. Deny to Isaiah the son of Amoz the predictions concerning a *return* from captivity, and the prophecies of his book are robbed of their essential character and unique perspective. Emasculate those portions of the Book of Isa which unveil the future, and they are reduced to a mere *vaticinium ex eventu,* and their religious value as Divine oracles is largely lost.

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ISAIAH, ASCENSION OF. See Apocalyptic Literature.

ISCAH, iz′ka, is′ka (יִסְכָּה, *yiṣkāh*): Daughter of Haran and sister of Milcah the wife of Nahor (Gen **11** 29). Tradition identifies her with Sarai, Abram's wife; but without sufficient reason.

ISCARIOT, is-kar′i-ot. See Judas Iscariot.

ISDAEL, is′dā̇-el (**Ἰσδαήλ,** *Isdaēl*): In 1 Esd **5** 33; called "Giddel" in Ezr **2** 56.

ISH (אִישׁ, *'īsh*): In the following Heb proper names, a prefix meaning "man of," or, collectively, "men of": Ish-bosheth, Ishhod, Ish-tob (but RV correctly "the men of Tob"). See also Eshbaal; Eshban; Iscariot.

ISHBAAL, ish′bā-al. See Ish-bosheth.

ISHBAH, ish′ba (יִשְׁבַּח, *yishbaḥ*): A member of the tribe of Judah, father of Eshtemoa (1 Ch **4** 17).

ISHBAK, ish′bak (יִשְׁבָּק, *yishbāḳ*): A name in the list of sons of Abraham by Keturah (Gen **25** 2 ‖ 1 Ch **1** 32). These names probably represent tribes; the tribe of Ishbak has not been certainly identified.

ISHBI-BENOB, ish-bī-bē′nob (יִשְׁבִּי בְּנֹב, *yishbī bhenōbh*): One of the four "born to the giant in Gath" who were slain by David and his men (2 S **21** 15–22). Ishbi-benob was slain by Abishai, and David's life saved by the act (vs 16.17).

ISH-BOSHETH, ish-bō′sheth (אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת, *'īsh-bōsheth,* "man of shame"; **Ἰεσβοσθέ,** *Iesbosthé*): Called אֶשְׁבַּעַל, *'eshba'al,* "man of Baal" (1 Ch **8** 33), and יִשְׁוִי, *yishwī,* "man of Jeh"(?), perhaps for אִישְׁיוֹ, *'īsheyō* (1 S **14** 49). Cf Eshbaal and Ishvi (AV "Ishui"). We probably have the right meaning of the name in Eshbaal and Ishvi, the words Baal and Jeh being frequently interchanged. The change to Ish-bosheth, "man of shame," in 2 S, where the story of his shameful murder is related, may be better explained as reference to this (see Mephibosheth, whose name was also changed from Merib-baal for similar reasons), than to find here a suggestion of Baal-worship, but see *HPN,* 121, where the change is explained as a correction of the scribes, in consequence of prophetic protests.

One of the sons of Saul (1 Ch **8** 33; **9** 39; 1 S **14** 49) who, when his father and brothers were slain in the battle of Gilboa (1 S **31** 1 ff), was proclaimed king over Israel by Abner, the captain of Saul's host, at Mahanaim (2 S **2** 8 ff). Ish-bosheth was 40 years old at this time and reigned over Israel 2 years (2 S **2** 10). Judah, however, proclaimed David its king. The consequence was war (2 S **2** 12 ff). The house of David prevailed against the house of Saul (2 S **3** 1), but the war did not come to a close until Abner, angry on account of the rebuke he suffered from I. for his unlawful intimacy with Rizpah, Saul's concubine, joined David (2 S **3** 6 ff). David's condition to return to him Michal, his wife, before peace could be made, was fulfilled by I. (2 S **3** 14 f), but it was not until after Abner's death that I. seems to have given up hopes of retaining his power (2 S **4** 1 ff). The shameful murder of I. by his own captains is recorded in 2 S **4** 5 ff. David punished the murderers who had expected reward and buried I. in the grave of Abner at Hebron (2 S **4** 12 f).

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ISHHOD, ish′hod (אִישְׁהוֹד, *'īshehōdh,* "man of majesty"): A man of the tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch **7** 18, AV "Ishod").

ISHI, ish′ī (יִשְׁעִי, *yish‘ī*, "salutary"):

(1) A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch **2** 31); the genealogy may denote his membership by blood, or only by adoption, in the tribe of Judah.

(2) A Judahite (1 Ch **4** 20).

(3) A Simeonite, whose sons led 500 of their tribe against the Amalekites in Mt. Seir (1 Ch **4** 42).

(4) One of the chiefs of Manasseh E. of the Jordan (1 Ch **5** 24).

ISHI, ish′ī, ī′shī (אִישִׁי, *’īshī*, "my husband"; LXX **ὁ ἀνήρ μου,** *ho anḗr mou*): The name symbolic of Jeh's relation to Israel which Hosea (**2** 16) declares shall be used when *Baali*, "my lord," has become hateful on account of its associations with the worship of the Baals.

ISHIAH, i-shī′ya. See Isshiah.

ISHIJAH, ī-shī′ja. See Isshijah.

ISHMA, ish′ma (יִשְׁמָא, *yishmā’*, from the root *yāsham*, "to lie waste," therefore meaning "desolate"): A brother of Jezreel and Idbash, "the sons of the father of Etam" (1 Ch **4** 3). They were brothers of Hazzelelponi.

ISHMAEL, ish′mā̇-el (יִשְׁמָעֵאל, *yishmā‘ē’l*, "God heareth," or "God may," "shall hear"; **Ἰσμαήλ,** *Ismaḗl*):

(1) The son of Abraham by Hagar, the Egyp slave of his wife Sarah. The circumstances connected with his birth reveal what seems to us to be a very strange practice. It was customary among ancient peoples to correct the natural defect of barrenness by substituting a slave woman. In our narrative, this is shown to be authorized and brought about by the legitimate wife with the understanding that the offspring of such a union should be regarded as her own: "It may be that I shall obtain children by her," lit. "that I shall be builded by her" (Gen **16** 2).

1. Birth

The hopes of Sarah were realized, for Hagar gave birth to a son, and yet the outcome was not fully pleasing to Abraham's wife; there was one serious drawback. As soon as Hagar "saw that she had conceived," her behavior toward her mistress underwent a radical change; she was "despised in her eyes." But for the intervention of the angel of Jeh, the boy might have been born in Egypt. For, being dealt with hardly (or humbled) by Sarah, the handmaid fled toward that country. On her way she was told by the angel to return to her mistress and submit herself "under her hands." She obeyed, and the child who was to be as "a wild ass among men" was born when his father was 86 years old (Gen **16** 7-16).

2. Circumcision

At the age of 13 years the boy was circumcised (Gen **17** 25) in accordance with the Divine command received by Abraham: "Every male among you shall be circumcised" (Gen **17** 10). Thus young Ishmael was made a party to the covenant into which God had entered with the lad's father. The fact that both Abraham and his son were circumcised the same day (Gen **17** 26) undoubtedly adds to the importance of Ishmael's partaking of the holy rite. He was certainly made to understand how much his father loved him and how deeply he was concerned about his spiritual welfare. We may even assume that there was a time when Abraham looked upon Ishmael as the promised seed. His error was made clear to him when God promised him the birth of a son by Sarah. At first this seemed to be incredible, Abraham being 100 years of age and Sarah 90. And yet, how could he disbelieve the word of God? His cherished, though mistaken, belief about Ishmael, his doubts regarding the possibility of Sarah's motherhood, and the first faint glimmer of the real meaning of God's promise, all these thoughts found their expression in the fervid wish: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" (Gen **17** 18). Gradually the truth dawned upon the patriarch that God's thoughts are not the thoughts of men, neither their ways His ways. But we have no reason to believe that this entire changing of the mental attitude of Abraham toward Ishmael reacted unfavorably on his future treatment of this son "born of the flesh" (cf Gen **21** 11). If there were troubles in store for the boy likened by the angel of Jeh to a wild ass, it was, in the main, the youngster's own fault.

3. Banishment

When Isaac was weaned, Ishmael was about 16 years of age. The weaning was made an occasion for great celebration. But it seems the pleasure of the day was marred by the objectionable behavior of Ishmael. "And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyp . . . . mocking" (Gen **21** 9). Her jealous motherly love had quickened her sense of observation and her faculty of reading the character of children. We do not know exactly what the word used in the Heb for "mocking" really means. The LXX and the Vulg render the passage: "When Sarah saw the son of Hagar . . . . playing with Isaac," and St. Paul followed a later tradition when he says: "He that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit" (Gal **4** 29). Lightfoot (in his notes to the Ep. to the Gal) says: "At all events the word seems to mean mocking, jeering." At any rate, the fact remains that Sarah objected to the bringing up of the son of promise together with the "mocker," and so both mother and son were banished from the tents of Abraham.

Now there came a most critical time in the life of young Ishmael. Only some bread and a bottle of water were "put on the shoulder" of Hagar by Abraham when he expelled her with her son. Aimlessly, as it seems, the two walked about in the wilderness of Beersheba. The water was soon spent, and with it went all hope and energy. The boy, being faint with thirst and tired out by his constant walking in the fierce heat of the sun, seemed to be dying. So his mother put him rapidly down in the shade of some plant. (We do not share the opinion of some writers that the narrative of Gen **21** 8 ff represented Ishmael as a little boy whom his mother had carried about and finally flung in the shade of some shrub. Even if this passage is taken from a different source, it is certainly not in conflict with the rest as to the age of Ishmael.) After this last act of motherly love—what else could she do to help the boy?—she retired to a place at some distance and resignedly expected the death of her son and perhaps her own.

For the 2d time in her life, she had a marvelous experience. "God heard the voice of the lad" and comforted the unhappy mother most wonderfully. Through His angel He renewed His former promise regarding her son, and then He showed her a well of water. The lad's life was saved and, growing up, he became in time an archer. He lived in the wilderness of Paran and was married by his mother to an Egyp wife (Gen **21** 21).

When Abraham died, his exiled son returned to assist his brother to bury their father (Gen **25** 9).

4. His Children

In the same chapter we find the names of Ishmael's 12 sons (vs 12 ff) and a brief report of his death at the age of 137 years (ver 17). According to Gen **28** 9 he also had a daughter, Mahalath, whom Esau took for his wife; in Gen **36** 3 her name is given as Basemath.

5. Descendants

The character of Ishmael and his descendants (Arabian nomads or Bedouins) is very accurately and vividly depicted by the angel of Jeh: "He shall be as a wild ass among men; his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him" (Gen **16** 12). These nomads are, indeed, roaming the wilds of the desert, jealous of their independence, quarrelsome and adventurous. We may well think of their progenitor as of a proud, undaunted and rugged son of the desert, the very counterpart of the poor boy lying half dead from fatigue and exposure under the shrub in the wilderness of Beersheba.

6. In the NT

The person and the history of Ishmael, the son of Abraham, "born after the flesh," is of special interest to the student of the NT because St. Paul uses him, in the Ep. to the Gal, as a type of those Jews who cling to the paternal religion in such a manner as to be unable to discern the transient character of the OT institutions, and esp. those of the Mosaic law. By doing so they could not be made to see the true meaning of the law, and instead of embracing the grace of God as the only means of fulfilling the law, they most bitterly fought the central doctrine of Christianity and even persecuted its advocates. Like Ishmael, they were born of Hagar, the handmaid or slave woman; like him, they were Abraham's sons only "after the flesh," and their ultimate fate is foreshadowed in the casting out of Hagar and her son. They could not expect to maintain the connection with the true Israel, and even in case they should acclaim Christ their Messiah they were not to be the leaders of the church or the expounders of its teachings (Gal **4** 21–28).

(2) The son of Nethaniah (Jer **40** 8—**41** 18; cf 2 K **25** 23–25). It is a dreary story of jealousy and treachery which Jeremiah has recorded in chs **40, 41** of his book. After the destruction of Jerus and the deportation of the better class of Jewish citizens, it was necessary to provide for some sort of a government in the depopulated country. Public order had to be restored and maintained; the crops of the fields were endangered and had to be taken care of. It was thus only common political prudence that dictated to the king of Babylon the setting up of a governor for the remnant of Judah. He chose Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, for the difficult position. The new officer selected for his place of residence the city of Mizpah, where he was soon joined by Jeremiah. All the captains of the Jewish country forces came to Mizpah with their men and put themselves under Gedaliah's orders (Jer **40** 13). Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama "of the seed royal" (2 K **25** 25) was among their number—all of which must have been rather gratifying to the new governor. But he was destined to be cruelly disappointed. A traitor was among the captains that had gathered around him. Yet the governor might have prevented his dastardly scheme. Johanan, the son of Kareah, and other loyal captains warned him of the treachery of Ishmael, telling him he was induced by Baalis, the Ammonite king, to assassinate the governor. But the governor's faith in Ishmael was not to be shaken; he even looked upon Johanan's report as false and calumnious (Jer **40** 16).

About 2 months after the destruction of Jerus, Ishmael was ready to strike the mortal blow. With 10 men he came to Mizpah, and there, at a banquet given in his honor, he killed Gedaliah and all the Jews and Chaldaeans that were with him. He succeeded in keeping the matter secret, for, 2 days after the horrible deed, he persuaded a party of 80 pious Jews to enter the city and killed all but 10 of them, throwing their bodies into a pit. These men were coming from the ruins of the Temple with the offerings which they had intended to leave at Jerus. Now they had found out, to their great distraction, that the city was laid waste and the Temple destroyed. So they passed by Mizpah, their beards shaven, their clothes rent, and with cuts about their persons (Jer **41** 5). We may, indeed, ask indignantly, Why this new atrocity? The answer may be found in the fact that Ishmael did not kill all of the men. He spared 10 of them because they promised him some hidden treasures. This shows his motive. He was a desperate man and just then carrying out a desperate undertaking. He killed those peaceful citizens because of their money, and money he needed to realize his plans. They were those of a traitor to his country, inasmuch as he intended to deport the inhabitants of Mizpah to the land of his high confederate, the king of the Ammonites. Among the captives were Jeremiah and the daughters of the Jewish king. But his efforts came to naught. When Johanan and the other captains were told of Ishmael's unheard-of actions, they immediately pursued the desperate adventurer and overtook him by the "great waters that are in Gibeon." Unfortunately, they failed to capture Ishmael; for he managed to escape with eight men to the Ammonites. See, further, GEDALIAH.

(3) A descendant of Benjamin and the son of Azel (1 Ch **8** 38; cf **9** 44).

(4) The father of Zebadiah who was "the ruler of the house of Judah, in all the king's [Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch **19** 8] matters" (2 Ch **19** 11).

(5) The son of Jehohanan, and a "captain of hundreds," who lived at the time of Jehoiada and Joash (2 Ch **23** 1).

(6) One of the sons of Pashhur the priest. He was one of those men who had married foreign women and were compelled to "put away their wives" (Ezr **10** 22).

WILLIAM BAUR

ISHMAEL (Ἰσμαήλ, *Ismaēl*):

(1) AV "Ismael" (Jth **2** 23), the son of Abraham by Hagar.

(2) 1 Esd **9** 22 (AV, RV "Ismael"), corresponding to Ishmael in Ezr **10** 22. See preceding art.

ISHMAELITES, ish′mā̇-el-īts (יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים, *yishmeʽēʼlīm*): The supposed descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, whom Abraham sent away from him after the birth of Isaac (Gen **21** 14–21). The sons of Ishmael are given in Gen **25** 13.14; they were twelve in number and gave rise to as many tribes, but the term Ishmaelite has a broader signification, as appears from Gen **37** 28.36, where it is identified with Midianite. From Gen **16** 12 it may be inferred that it was applied to the Bedawin of the desert region E. of the Jordan generally, for the character there assigned to Ishmael, "His hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him," fits the habits of Bedawin in all ages. Such was the character of the Midianites as described in Jgs **7**, who are again identified with the Ishmaelites (**8** 24). These references show that the Ishmaelites were not confined to the descendants of the son of Abraham and Hagar, but refer to the desert tribes in general, like "the children of the east" (Jgs **7** 12).

H. PORTER

ISHMAIAH, ish-mā′ya (יִשְׁמַעְיָה, *yishmaʽyāh*, "Jeh is hearing"):

(1) A man of Gibeon, chief of David's 30 great warriors, who came to him at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 4, AV "Ismaiah").

(2) Chief of the armed contingent of the tribe of Zebulun, which served David in the monthly order of the tribes (1 Ch **27** 19).

ISHMEELITES, ish′mē̇-el-īts (יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי, *yishmeʽēʼlī*). See ISHMAELITES.

ISHMERAI, ish′mē̇-rī (יִשְׁמְרַי, *yishmeray*, from *shāmar*, meaning "to hedge about," i.e. "to guard," and therefore a "guard," "protector"): A descendant of Benjamin, son of Epaal, resident of Jerus, one of the "heads of fathers' houses throughout their generations, chief men" (1 Ch **8** 18).

ISHOD, ī'shod, ish'od (אִישְׁהוֹד, *'īshᵉhōdh*): AV 1 Ch **7** 18 for Ishhod (q.v.).

ISHPAH, ish'pa (יִשְׁפָּה, *yishpāh,* "firm," "strong"): A man of the tribe of Benjamin, of the house of Beriah (1 Ch **8** 16).

ISHPAN, ish'pan (יִשְׁפָּן, *yishpān,* lit. "he will hide"): Descendant of Benjamin, son of Shashak, one of "the chief men, heads of fathers' houses"; lived at Jerus (1 Ch **8** 22).

ISH-SECHEL, ish'sḗ-kel (אִישׁ שֶׂכֶל, *'īsh sekhel,* "man of discretion"): Ezra, at one time in need of ministers for the house of God, sent "unto Iddo the chief at the place Casiphia." "And according to the good hand of our God upon us they brought us a man of discretion [m "Ish-sechel"], of the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi, the son of Israel" (Ezr **8** 18). This is the only reference to Ish-sechel.

ISH-TOB, ish'tob (אִישׁ טוֹב, *'īsh ṭōbh,* ARV "the men of Tob"): A place in Pal, probably a small kingdom, large enough, however, to supply at least 12,000 men of valor to the children of Ammon in their struggle against Joab, David's general (2 S **10** 6.8). See Ish.

ISHUAH, ish'ū-a, **ISUAH,** is'ū-a (יִשְׁוָה, *yishwāh,* lit. "he will level"). See Ishuai; Ishvah; Ishvi.

ISHUAI, ish'ū-ī, **ISHUI,** ish'ū-i (יִשְׁוִי, *yishwī,* "level"). See Ishvi.

ISHVAH, ish'va (יִשְׁוָה, *yishwāh,* "even," "level"; AV **Ishuah** and **Isuah**): Second son of Asher (Gen **46** 17; 1 Ch **7** 30). As only the families of his brothers Ishvi, etc, are mentioned in Nu **26** 44, the supposition is that he left no issue.

ISHVI, ish'vī (יִשְׁוִי, *yishwī,* "equal"):

(1) The third son of Asher (Gen **46** 17; 1 Ch **7** 30), and founder of the family of the Ishvites (Nu **26** 44, AV "Jesuites"), AV "Isui," "Jesui," and "Ishui."

(2) The name is also found among the sons of Saul (1 S **14** 49), AV "Ishui."

ISLAND, ī'land, **ISLE,** īl ([1] אִי, *'ī,* "island" or "isle"; ARV has "coast" or "coast-land" in Isa **20** 6; **23** 2.6; RVm has "coast-lands" in Gen **10** 5; Isa **11** 11; **24** 15; **59** 18; Jer **25** 22; Ezk **39** 6; Dnl **11** 18; Zeph **2** 11; RVm has "sea-coast" in Jer **47** 4. [2] pl. אִיִּים, *'īyīm,* AV "wild beasts of the islands," RV "wolves," RVm "howling creatures" [Isa **13** 22; **34** 14; Jer **50** 39]. [3] *νησίον, nēsíon,* "small island" [Acts **27** 16]. [4] *νῆσος, nḗsos,* "island" [Acts **13** 6; **27** 26; **28** 1.7.9.11; Rev **1** 9; **6** 14; **16** 20]): Except as noted above, *'ī* in RV is trᵈ "isle" or "island." Arvad (q.v.), a Phoen island-city N. of Tripoli, Syria, is mentioned in Gen **10** 18; 1 Ch **1** 16; Ezk **27** 8.11. This and Tyre were the only important islands on the coast, both of them very small. We find references to Kittim or Chittim, Cyprus (Gen **10** 4; Nu **24** 24; 1 Ch **1** 7; Isa **23** 1.12; Jer **2** 10; Ezk **27** 6; Dnl **11** 30); to Elishah, perhaps Carthage (Gen **10** 4; 1 Ch **1** 7; Ezk **27** 7); to "isles of the nations" (Gen **10** 5; Zeph **2** 11); to "isles of the sea" (Est **10** 1; Isa **11** 11; **24** 15; Ezk **26** 18); to "Tarshish and the isles" (Ps **72** 10; cf Isa **66** 19); to "isle [RVm "sea-coast"] of Caphtor" (Jer **47** 4). Communication with these islands or distant coasts is kept up by the Tyrians (Ezk **27** 3.15). The Jews were not a maritime people, and in early times their geographical knowledge was very limited. Of 32 OT passages referring to "island" or "isle," 25 are in Isa, Jer, and Ezk. In the NT, besides the passages noted above, and Patmos (Rev **1** 9), various islands are mentioned by name in connection with the voyages of St. Paul, e.g. Cyprus, Crete, Lesbos, Samos, Samothrace, Chios, Melita, Sicily (Syracuse, Acts **28** 12). "Jackals" is a perfectly possible tr of *'īyīm* (AV "wild beasts of the islands," RV "wolves," RVm "howling creatures"). See Coast; Geography; Jackal; Wolf.

Alfred Ely Day

ISLES OF THE GENTILES (Gen **10** 5): ARV "isles [m "coast-lands"] of the nations," said of the territories of the sons of Japheth. The reference is to the coasts of the Western Mediterranean, with their islands (cf "isles of the sea," Est **10** 1; Ezk **26** 18, etc). See Table of Nations.

ISMACHIAH, is-ma-kī'a (יִסְמַכְיָהוּ, *yiṣmakhyāhū,* "Jeh will sustain"): One of the "overseers under the hand of Conaniah and Shimei his brother, by the appointment of Hezekiah the king, and Azariah the ruler of the house of God" (2 Ch **31** 13).

ISMAEL, is'mȧ-el. See Ishmael.

ISMAERUS, is-ma-ē'rus (**'Ισμάηρος,** *Ismáēros*): AV "Omaerus" (1 Esd **9** 34), corresponding to Amram in Ezr **10** 34.

ISMAIAH, is-mā'ya. See Ishmaiah.

ISPAH, is'pa. See Ishpah.

ISRAEL, iz'rȧ-el. See Jacob.

ISRAEL, HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE:

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LITERATURE

Introductory.—The chief and best source from which we can learn who this people was and what was its history is the Bible itself, esp. the OT, which tells us the story of this people from its earliest beginnings.

1. Sources

(1) *In the OT.*—The origins of Israel are narrated in Gen; the establishment of the theocracy, in the other books of the Pent; the entrance into Canaan, in the Book of Josh; the period preceding the kings, in the Book of Jgs; the establishment of the monarchy and its development, in the Books of S, and the opening chapters of the Books of K, which latter report also the division into two kingdoms and the history of these down to their overthrow. The Books of Ch contain, ‖ with the books already mentioned, a survey of the historical development from Adam down to the Bab captivity, but confine this account to the theocratical center of this history and its sphere. Connected with Ch are found the small Books of Ezr and Neh, which probably originally constituted a part of Ch, but which pass over the Exile and begin at once with the story of the Return. Then, too, these two books contain only certain episodes in the history of the Return, which were of importance for the restoration of the Jewish theocracy, so that the story found in them is anything but complete. With the 5th cent. BC the Bib. narrative closes entirely. For the succeeding centuries we have nothing but some scattered data; but for the 2d pre-Christian cent. we have a new source in the Books of the Macc, which give a connected account of the struggles and the rule of the Asmoneans, which reach, however, only from 174 to 135 BC.

The historical value of the OT books is all the greater the nearer the narrator or his sources stand in point of time to the events that are recorded; e.g. the contents of the Books of K have in general greater value as historical sources than what is reported in the Books of Ch, written at a much later period. Yet it is possible that a later chronicler could have made use of old sources which earlier narrators had failed to employ. This is the actual state of affairs in connection with a considerable number of matters reported by the Bib. chroniclers, which supplement the exceedingly meager extracts furnished by the author of the Books of K. Then, further, the books of the prophets possess an extraordinary value as historical sources for the special reason that they furnish illustrations of the historical situation and events from the lips of contemporaries. As an example we can refer to the externally flourishing condition of the kingdom of Judah under King Uzziah, concerning which the Books of K report practically nothing, but of which Ch give details which are confirmed by the testimony of Isaiah.

(2) *Josephus.*—A connected account of the history of Israel has been furnished by Flavius Josephus. His work entitled *Jewish Antiquities*, however, as far as trustworthiness is concerned, is again considerably inferior to the Books of Ch, since the later traditions of the Jews to a still greater extent influenced his account. Only in those cases in which he could make use of foreign older sources, such as the Egyp Manetho or Phoen authors, does he furnish us with valuable material. Then for the last few centuries preceding his age, he fills out a certain want. Esp. is he the best authority for the events which he himself passed through and which he reports in his work on the *Jewish Wars*, even if he is not free from certain personal prejudices (see JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS). For the customs and usages of the later Jewish times the traditions deposited in the Talm are also to be considered. Much less than to Jos can any historical value be credited to the Alexandrian Jew, Philo. The foreign authors, e.g. the Gr and the Lat historians, contain data only for the story of the nations surrounding Israel, but not for the early history of Israel itself.

(3) *The Monuments.*—On the other hand, the early history of Israel has been wonderfully enriched in recent times through the testimonies of the monuments. In Pal itself the finds in historical data and monuments have been, up to the present time, rather meager. Yet the excavations on the sites of ancient Taanach, Megiddo, Jericho, Gezer and Samaria have brought important material to light, and we have reasons to look for further archaeological and literary finds, which may throw a clear light on many points that have remained dark and uncertain. Also in lands round about Pal, important documents (the Moabite Stone; Phoen inscriptions) have already been found. Esp. have the discovery and interpretation of the monuments found in Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia very materially advanced our knowledge of the history of Israel. Not only has the connection of the history of this people with universal history been clearly illuminated by these finds, but the history of Israel itself has gained in tangible reality. In some detail matters, traditional ideas have given way to clearer conceptions; e.g. the chronology of the OT, through Assyriological research, has been set on a safer foundation. But all in all, these archaeological discoveries have confirmed the confidence that has been placed in the Bib. historical sources.

It is true that the rules applied to profane history cannot, without modification, be applied to the historical writings of the Hebrews. The Bib. narrators are concerned about something more than the preservation of historical facts and data. Just as little is it their purpose to glorify their people or their rulers, as this is done on the memorial tablets of the Egyp, the Assyr, and the Bab kings. Looked at merely from the standpoint of profane history, there are many omissions in the OT historical books that are found objectionable. Sometimes whole periods are passed over or treated very briefly. Then, too, the political pragmatism, the secular connection in the movements of the nations and historical events, are often scarcely mentioned. The standpoint of the writer is the religious. This appears in the fact that this history begins with the creation of the world and reports primitive traditions concerning the origin of mankind and their earliest history in the light of the revelation of the God of Israel, and that it makes this national history a member in the general historical development of mankind. Nor was this first done by the author of the Pent in its present shape. Already the different documentary sources found combined in the Pent, namely E, J and P, depict the history of Israel according to the plan which the Creator of the world had with this people. Also, when they narrate the national vicissitudes of Israel, the writers are concerned chiefly to exhibit clearly the providential guidance of God. They give special prominence to those events in which

2. Religious Character of the History

the hand of God manifests itself, and describe with full detail the lives of those agents of whom Jeh made use in order to guide His people, such as Moses, Samuel, David, Solomon and others. But it is not the glory of these men themselves that the writers aim to describe, but rather their importance for the spiritual and religious greatness of Israel. Let us note in this connection only the extreme brevity with which the politically successful wars of David are reported in 2 S; and how fragmentary are the notices in which the author of the Books of K reports the reigns of the different kings; and how briefly he refers for all the other details of these kings to books that, unfortunately, have been lost for us. But, on the other hand, how full are the details when the Bible gives us its account of the early history of a Samuel or of a David, in which the providential guidance and protection of Jeh appear in such a tangible form; or when it describes the building of the temple by Solomon, so epoch-making for the religious history of Israel, or the activity of such leading prophets as Elijah and Elisha. Much less the deeds of man than the deeds of God in the midst of His people constitute the theme of the narrators. These facts explain, too, the phenomenal impartiality, otherwise unknown in ancient literatures, with which the weaknesses and the faults of the ancestors and kings of Israel are reported by the Bib. writers, even in the case of their most revered kings, or with which even the most disgraceful defeats of the people are narrated.

It cannot indeed be denied that this religious and fundamental characteristic is not found to the same degree in all the books and sources. The oldest narratives concerning Jacob, Joseph, the Judges, David and others reveal a naïve and childlike naturalness, while in the Books of Ch only those things have been admitted which are in harmony with the regular cultus. The stories of a Samson, Jephthah, Abimelech, Barak, and others impress us often as the myths or stories of old heroes, such as we find in the traditions of other nations. But the author of the Book of Jgs, who wrote the introduction to the work, describes the whole story from the standpoint of edification. And when closely examined, it is found that the religious element is not lacking, even in the primitive and naïve OT narrative. This factor was, from the outset, a unique characteristic of the people and its history. To this factor Israel owed its individuality and existence as a separate people among the nations. But in course of time it became more and more conscious of its mission of being the people of Jeh on earth, and it learned to understand its entire history from this viewpoint. Accordingly, any account of Israel's history must pay special attention to its religious development. For the significance of this history lies for us in this, that it constitutes the preparation for the highest revelation in Christ Jesus. In its innermost heart and kernel it is the history of the redemption of mankind. This it is that gives to this history its phenomenal character. The persons and the events that constitute this history must not be measured by the standards of everyday life. If in this history we find the providential activities of the living God operative in a unique way, this need not strike us as strange, since also the full fruit of this historical development, namely the appearance of Jesus Christ, transcends by far the ordinary course of human history. On the other hand, this history of Israel is not to be regarded as a purely isolated factor. Modern researches have shown how intimately this history was interwoven with that of other nations. Already, between the religious forms of the OT and those of other Sem peoples, there have been found many relations. Religious expressions and forms of worship among the Israelites often show in language and in cultus a similarity to those of the ancient Canaanites, the Phoenicians, the Syrians, the Babylonians, and the Egyptians. But it is a mistake to believe that the history and the religion of Israel are merely an offspring of the Bab. As the Israelites clung tenaciously to their national life, even when they were surrounded by powerful nations, or were even scattered among these nations, as in the Exile, thus too their religion, at least in its official representatives, has been able at all times to preserve a very high originality and independence under the influence of the Divine Spirit, who had filled it.

1. Original Home

I. Origins of Israel in Pre-Mosaic Times.—The Israelites knew at all times that Canaan was not their original home, but that their ancestors had immigrated into this land. What was their earlier and earliest home? Tradition states that they immigrated from Haran in the upper Euphrates valley. But it is claimed that they came to Haran from Ur of the Chaldees, i.e. from a city in Southern Babylonia, now called Mugheir. This city of Ur, now well known from Bab inscriptions, was certainly not the original home of the ancestors of Israel. They rather belonged to a purely Sem tribe, which had found its way from Northern Arabia into these districts. A striking confirmation of this view is found in a mural picture on the rock-tombs of Benihassan in Upper Egypt. The foreigners, of whom pictures are here given (from the time of the XIIth Dynasty), called Amu, namely Bedouins from Northern Arabia or from the Sinai peninsula, show such indisputable Jewish physiognomies that they must have been closely related to the stock of Abraham. Then, too, the leader of the caravan, Ebshaʿa (Abishua), has a name formed just like that of Abraham. When, in later times, Moses fled to the country of the Midianites, he doubtless was welcomed by such tribal relatives.

2. Ethnographical Origin

The Israelites at all times laid stress on their ethnographical connection with other nations. They knew that they were intimately related to a group of peoples who have the name of Hebrews. But they traced their origin still farther back to the tribal founder, Shem. Linguistics and ethnology confirm, in general, the closer connection between the Sem tribes mentioned in Gen **10** 21 ff. Undeniable is this connection in the cases of Assur, Aram, and the different Arabian tribes. A narrower group of Semites is called Hebrews. This term is used in Gen in a wider sense of the word than is the case in later times, when it was employed as a synonym for Israel. According to its etymology, the word signified "those beyond," those who live on the other side of the river or have come over from the other side. The river meant is not the Jordan, but the Euphrates. About the same time that the ancestors of Israel were immigrating into Canaan and Egypt, other tribes also emigrated westward and were called, by the Canaanites and by the Egyptians, *ʿibhrīm*. This term is identical with *Ḥabiri*, found in the Am Tab, in which complaint is made about the inroads of such tribes. The Israelites cannot have been meant here, but related tribes are. Possibly the Egyp *Apriu* is the same word.

3. Patriarchal Origins and History

The Israelites declared that they were descended from a particular family. On account of the patriarchal character of their old tribal life, it is not a matter of doubt that, as a fact, the tribe did grow out of a single family. The tribal father, Abraham, was without a doubt the head of the small tribe, which through its large family of children developed into different tribes. Only we must not forget that such a tribe could rapidly be enlarged by receiving into it also serfs and clients (cf Gen **14** 14). These last-mentioned also regarded the head of the tribe as their father and considered themselves as his "sons," without really being his descendants. Possibly the tribe that immigrated first to Haran and from there to Canaan was already more numerous than would seem to be the case according to tradition, which takes into consideration only the leading personalities. Secondly, we must remember that the Israelites, because of their patriarchal life, had become accustomed to clothe all the relations of nations to nations in the scheme of the family. In this way such genealogies of nations as are found in Gen **10** and **11** originated. Here peoples, cities and countries have also been placed in the genealogies, without the author himself thinking of individual persons in this connection, who had borne the names, e.g. of Mizraim (Egypt), Cush (Ethiopia), etc, and were actually sons of Ham. The purpose of the genealogy in this form is to express only the closer or more remote relationship or connection to a group of nations. Gen **25** 1 ff also is a telling example, showing how independently these groups are united. A new wife (Keturah) does not at this place fit into the family history of Abraham. But the writer still wants to make mention of an Arabian group, which was also related to Israel by blood, but in fact stood more distant from the Israelites than did the Ishmaelites. Out of this systematic further development of the living tradition, however, one difficulty arises. It is not in all places easy, indeed not always possible, to draw the line between what is reliable tradition and what is a freer continuation. But it is a misinterpretation of the historical situation, when the entire history of the patriarchs is declared to be incredible, and when in such sharply defined personalities as Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and others, only personifications of tribes are found, the later history of which tribes is said to be embodied in the lives of these men; e.g. the name Abraham cannot have been the impersonal name of a tribe or of a god. It is found as the name of a person on old Bab tablets (*Abu ramu*); but originally in the nomadic tribe was doubtless pronounced *'ābhī rām*, i.e. "My father [God] is exalted." The same is true of the name Jacob (really Jakob-el); cf Joseph (Joseph-el), Ishmael, and others, which find their analogies in old Arabian names.

(1) *Patriarchal conditions—Gen **14**.*—Further, the conditions of life which are presupposed in the history of the Patriarchs are in perfect agreement with those which from the Am Tab we learn existed in Canaan. While formerly it was maintained that it would have been impossible for a single tribe to force its way into Canaan at that time when the country was thickly populated, it is now known that at that very time when the ancestors of the Israelites entered, similar tribes also found their way into the land, sometimes in a peaceable way, sometimes by force. Egypt for the time being had control of the land, but its supremacy was at no place very strong. And the *ʽibhrīm*, as did others who forced their way into the country, caused the inhabitants much trouble. Esp. does Gen **14**, the only episode in which a piece of universal history finds its way into the story of the tribal ancestors, turn out to be a document of great value, which reflects beautifully the condition of affairs in Asia. Such expeditions for conquest in the direction of the Mediterranean lands were undertaken at an early period by Bab rulers, Sargon I of Akkad and his son Naram Sin. The latter undertook an expedition to the land of Magan along the exact way of the expedition described in Gen **14**, this taking place in the days of Amraphel, i.e. Hammurabi. The fact that the latter was himself under an Elamitic superior is in perfect agreement with the story of the inscriptions, according to which the famous Hammurabi of Babylon had first freed himself from the supremacy of Elam. The fact that Hammurabi, according to accepted chronology, ruled shortly after the year 2000 BC, is also in agreement with Bib. chronology, which places Abraham in this very time. These expeditions into the country Martu, as the Babylonians call Syria, had for their purpose chiefly to secure booty and to levy tribute. That the allied kings themselves took part in this expedition is not probable. These were punitive expeditions undertaken with a small force.

This ch **14** of Gen seems to be a translation of an old cuneiform tablet. As a rule the stories of the patriarchal age for a long time were handed down orally, and naturally were modified to a certain extent. Then, too, scholars have long since discovered different sources, out of which the story in its present form has been compiled. This fact explains some irregularities in the story; e.g. the chronological data of the document P, which arranges its contents systematically, do not always harmonize with the order of events as reported by the other two leading documents, E and J, the first of which is perhaps the Ephraimitic and the second the Judaic version of the story. But, under all circumstances, much greater than the difference are the agreements of the sources. They contain the same picture of this period, which certainly has not been modified to glorify the participants. It is easily seen that the situation of the fathers, when they were strangers in the land, was anything but comfortable. A poetical or perfectly fictitious popular account would have told altogether different deeds of heroism of the founder of the people. The weaknesses and the faults of the fathers and mothers in the patriarchal families are not passed over in silence. But the fact that Jeh, whom they trusted at all times, helped them through and did not suffer them to be destroyed, but in them laid the foundation for the future of His people, is the golden cord that runs through the whole history. And in this the difference between the individual characters finds a sharp expression; e.g. Abraham's magnanimity and tender feeling of honor in reference to his advantage in worldly matters find their expression in narratives which are ascribed to altogether different sources, as Gen **13** 8 ff (J); **14** 22 ff (special source); **23** 7 ff (P). In what an altogether different way Jacob insists upon his advantage! This consistency in the way in which the different characters are portrayed must awaken confidence in the historical character of the narratives. Then, too, the harmony with Egyp manners and customs in the story of Joseph, even in its minutest details, as these have been emphasized particularly by the Egyptologist Ebers, speaks for this historical trustworthiness.

(2) *Ideas of God.*—Further, the conception of God as held by these fathers was still of a primitive character, but it contains the elements of the later religious development (see ISRAEL, RELIGION OF).

(3) *Descent into Egypt.*—During a long period of famine the sons of Jacob, through Divine providence, which made use of Joseph as an instrument, found refuge in Egypt, in the marshes of which country along the lower Nile Sem tribes had not seldom had their temporary abodes. The land of Goshen in the N.E. part of the Delta, Ed. Naville (*The Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh and the Land of Goshen*, London, 1887) has shown to be the region about Phakusa (*Saft-el-Henneh*). These regions had at that time not yet been made a part of the strictly organized and governed country of Egypt, and could accordingly still be left to such nomadic tribes. For the sons of Jacob were still wandering shepherds, even if they did, here and there, after the manner of such tribes, change to agricultural pursuits (Gen **26** 12). If, as is probable, at that time a dynasty of Sem Hyksos was ruling in lower Egypt, it is all the more easily understood that kindred tribes of this character were fond of settling along these border districts. On account of the fertility of the amply watered districts, men and animals could increase rapidly, and the virile tribe could, in the course of a few centuries, grow into a powerful nation. One portion of the tribes pastured their flocks back and forth on the prairies; another builded houses for themselves among the Egyptians and engaged in agricultural pursuits and in gardening (Nu **11** 5). Egyp arts and trades also found their way among this people, as also doubtless the art of writing, at least in the case of certain individuals. In this way their sojourning in this country became a fruitful factor in the education of the people. This stay explains in part the fact that the Israelites at all times were more receptive of culture and were more capable than their kinsmen, the Edomites, Ammonites and Moabites, and others in this respect. Moses, like Joseph, had learned all the mysteries of Egyp wisdom. On the other hand, the sojourn in this old, civilized country was a danger to the religion of the people of Israel. According to the testimony of Josh **24** 14; Ezk **20** 7 ff; **23** 8.19, they adopted many

heathen customs from their neighbors. It was salutary for them, that the memory of this sojourn was embittered for them by hard oppression.

1. Israel in Egypt

II. Nationality under Moses.—It is reported in Ex **1** 8 that a new Pharaoh ascended the throne, who knew nothing of Joseph. This doubtless means that a new dynasty came into power, which adopted a new policy in the treatment of the Sem neighbors. The expulsion of the Hyksos had preceded this, and the opposition to the Semitics had become more acute. The new government developed a strong tendency to expansion in the direction of the N.E. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the laws of the empire were vigorously enforced in these border districts and that an end was made to the liberties of the unwelcome shepherd tribes. This led to constantly increasing measures of severity. In this way the people became more and more unhappy and finally were forced to emigrate.

(1) *Chronology.*—It is still the current conviction that the Pharaoh of the oppression was Rameses II, a king who was extraordinarily ambitious of building, whose long reign is by Eduard Meyer placed as late as 1310 to 1244 BC. His son Merenptah would then be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. But on this supposition, Bib. chronology not only becomes involved in serious difficulties, since then the time of the Judges must be cut down to unduly small proportions, but certain definite data also speak in favor of an earlier date for the Exodus of Israel. Merenptah boasts in an inscription that on an expedition to Syria he destroyed the men of Israel (which name occurs here for the first time on an Egyp monument). And even the father of Rameses II, namely Seti, mentions Asher among those whom he conquered in Northern Pal, that is, in the district afterward occupied by this tribe. These data justify the view that the Exodus already took place in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, a thing in itself probable, since the energetic rulers of this dynasty naturally have inaugurated a new method of treating this province. The oppression of Israel would then, perhaps, be the work of Thothmes III (according to Meyer, 1501–1447 BC), and the Exodus would take place under his successor, Amenophis II. In harmony with this is the claim of Manetho, who declares that the "Lepers," in whom we recognize the Israelites (see below), were expelled by King Amenophis.

The length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, according to Gen **15** 13 (P), was in round numbers 400 years; more exactly, according to Ex **12** 40 f (P), 430 years. But the last-mentioned passage in LXX reads, "the sojourn of the sons of Jacob, when they lived in Egypt and in the land of Canaan." (The same reading is found in the Sam text, only that the land of Canaan precedes that of Egypt.) Since, according to this source (P), the Patriarchs lived 215 years in Canaan, the sojourn in Egypt would be reduced also 215 years. This is the way in which the synagogue reckons (cf Gal **3** 17), as also Jos (*Ant*, II, xv, 2). In favor of this shorter period appeal is made to the genealogical lists, which, however, because they are incomplete, cannot decide the matter. In favor of a longer duration of this sojourn we can appeal, not only to Gen **15** 13 (LXX has the same!), but also to the large number of those who left Egypt according to Nu **1** and **26** (P), even if the number of 600,000 men there mentioned, which would presuppose a nation of about two million souls, is based on a later calculation and gives us an impossible conception of the Exodus.

(2) *Moses.*—While no account has been preserved concerning the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, the history of the Exodus itself, which signifies the birth of Israel as a nation, is fully reported. In this crisis Moses is the prophetical mediator through whom the wonderful deed of God is accomplished. All the deeds of God, when interpreted by this prophet, become revelations for the people. Moses himself had no other authority or power than that which was secured for him through his office as the organ of God. He was the human instrument to bring about the synthesis between Israel and Jeh for all times. He had, in doing this, indeed proclaimed the old God of the fathers, but under the new, or at any rate hitherto to the people unknown, name of Jeh, which is a characteristic mark of the Mosaic revelations to such an extent, that the more accurate narrators (E and P) begin to make use of this name only from this period of time on. In the name of this absolute sovereign, God, Moses claims liberty for Israel, since this people was Jeh's firstborn (Ex **4** 22). The contest which Moses carries on in the name of this God with Pharaoh becomes more and more a struggle between this God and the gods of Egypt, whose earthly representative Pharaoh is. The plagues which come over Egypt are all founded on the natural conditions of the country, but they occur in such extraordinary strength and rapidity at Moses' prediction, and even appear at his command, that they convince the people, and finally Pharaoh himself, of the omnipotence of this God on the soil of this country. In the same way the act of deliverance at the Red Sea can be explained as the coöperation of natural causes, namely wind and tide. But the fact that these elementary forces, just at this critical time, proved so serviceable to the people of God and destructive to their enemies, shows unmistakably the miraculous activity of God. This the Israelites experienced still further on the journey through the desert, when they were entirely dependent on Divine leadership and care. The outcome of these experiences, and at the same time its grandest demonstration, was the conclusion of the covenant at Mt. Sinai. From this time on Jeh was Israel's God and Israel was the people of Jeh. This God claimed to be the only and absolute ruler over the tribes that were now inwardly united into one nation. From this resulted as a matter of course, that Moses as the recognized organ of this God was not only the authority, who was to decide in all disputes concerning right, but also the one from whom a new and complete order of legal enactments proceeded. Moses became the lawgiver of Israel.

Even if the history of the origin of the OT covenant is unique in character, it is nevertheless profitable to take note of an analogy which is found in a related people and which is adapted to make much in Israel's history clearer. Mohammed also, after he had at the critical point of his career persuaded his followers to migrate from their homes, soon after, in Medina, concluded a covenant, according to which he, as the recognized speaker of Allah, claimed for himself the right to decide in all disputes. He, too, in his capacity as the prophet of God, was consulted as an infallible authority in all questions pertaining to the cultus, the civil and the criminal laws, as also in matters pertaining to politics and to war. And his decisions and judgments, uttered in the name of Allah, were written down and afterward collected. This Koran, too, became the basis of sacred law. And by causing the hitherto divided and antagonistic tribes to subject themselves to Allah, Mohammed united these his followers into a religious communion and in this way, too, into a national body. Mohammed has indeed copied the prophecy of earlier times, but the work of Moses was original in character and truly inspired by God.

2. Historical Character of the Exodus

The historical character of the exodus out of Egypt cannot be a matter of doubt, though some suspect that the entire nation did not take part in the march through the Red Sea, but that certain tribes had before this already migrated toward the East. We must not forget that the song of victory in Ex **15** does not mention a word about Pharaoh's being himself destroyed in going through the Sea. It is only the late Ps **136** 15 that presupposes this as a certainty. That an entire nation cannot emigrate in a single night cannot be maintained in view of the fact that the inhabitants of the same *Wādi-Tumilât*, through which Israel marched, so late as the last century, emigrated in a single night and for similar reasons (cf Sayce, *Monuments*, 249).

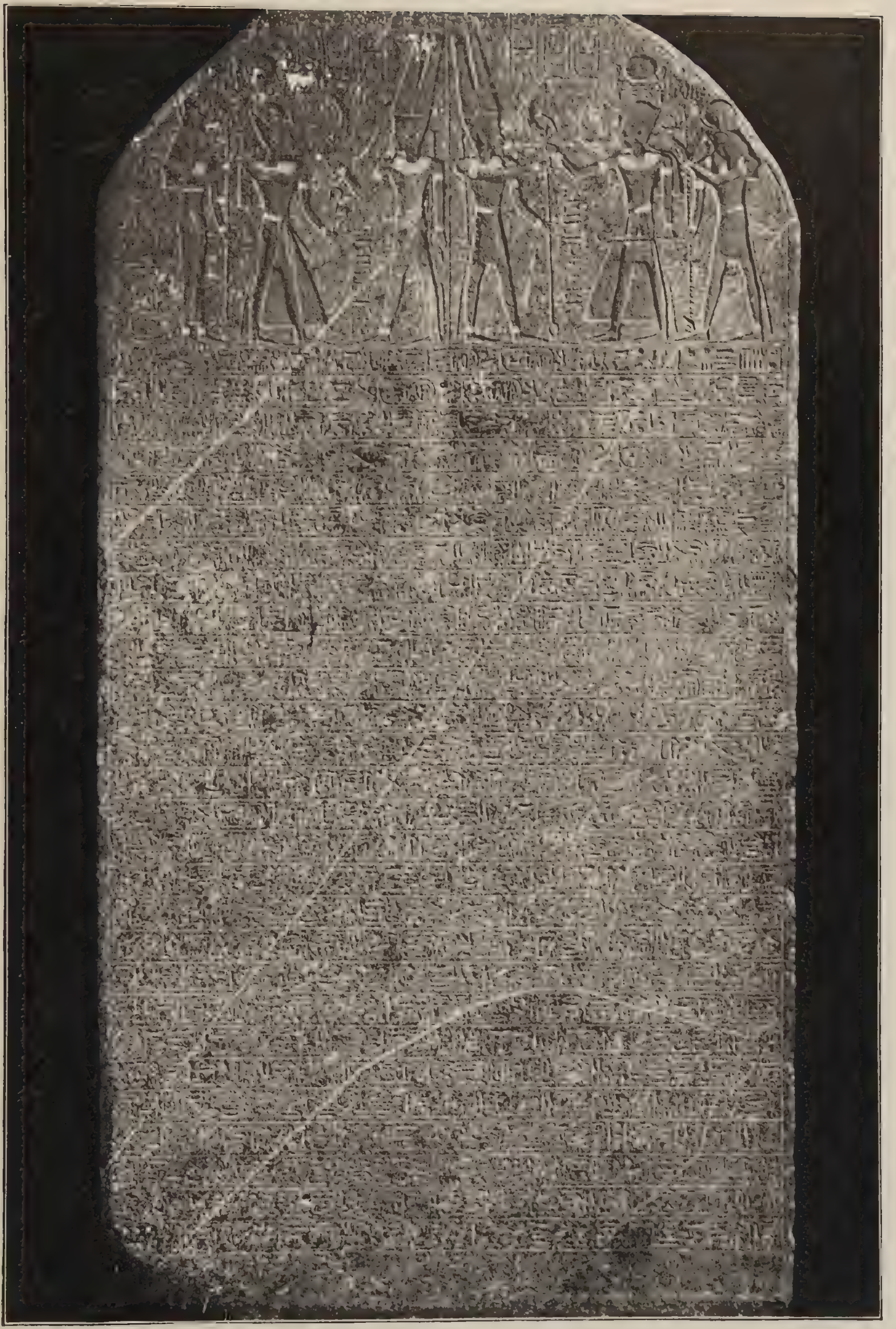
(1) *Egyptian version of the Exodus.*—The fact that the Egyp monuments report nothing of this episode, so disgraceful to that people, is a matter of course, in view of the official character of these accounts and of their policy of passing over in absolute silence all disagreeable facts. And yet in the popular tradition of the people, which Manetho has handed down, there has been preserved some evidence of this event. It is indeed true that what this author reports about the Hyksos (see above) does not belong here, as this people is not, as Jos thinks, identical with the Israelites. However (*CAp*, I, xxvi, 5 ff), he narrates a story which may easily be the tradition concerning the exodus of the children of Israel as changed by popular use. King Amenophis, we are told, wanted to see the gods. A seer, who bore the same name, promised that his wish would be gratified under the condition that the country would be cleansed of lepers and all others that were unclean; and it is said that he accordingly drove 80,000 such persons into the stone quarries E. of the Nile. As the seer was afraid that these measures would be displeasing to the gods and bring upon the land a subjection of 13 years to the supremacy of foreigners, he gave up to these lepers the former city of the Hyksos, Avaris by name. Here they appointed a priest by the name of Osarsiph, later called Moses, as their chief, who gave them a special body of laws and in these did not spare the sacred animals. He also carried on war against the Egyptians, the Hyksos helping him, and he even governed Egypt for 13 years, after which he and his followers were driven out into Syria. Similar stories are found in Chaeromon, Lysimachus, and others (*CAp*, I, xxxii, 36; cf Tacitus, *Hist.* v.3–5). When we remember that it is nonsense to permit lepers to work in stone quarries and that the Egyptians also otherwise call the Semites Aatu, i.e. "plague," then this story must be regarded as referring to such a non-Egyp nation. Hecataeus of Abdera has a report of this matter which is much more like the Bib. story, to the effect, namely, that a plague which had broken out in Egypt led the people to believe that the gods were angry at the Egyptians because they had neglected the religious cultus; for which reason they expelled all foreigners. A part of these is said to have migrated under the leadership of Moses to Judaea and there to have founded the city of Jerus (cf Diodorus Siculus xl.3; cf xxxvi.1).

(2) *Geographical matters.*—The Red Sea, through which the Israelites went under the leadership of Moses, is without a doubt the northern extension of this body of water, which in former times reached farther inland than the present Gulf of Suez; cf Edouard Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, 1885; and *The Route of the Exodus*, 1891. This savant is entitled to the credit of having identified the station Sukkoth on the basis of the monuments; it is the modern *Tell-Mashûta* and identical with Pithom, which was the name of the sanctuary at that place. Later the city was called Heroöpolis. The route accordingly went through the modern *Wādi-Tumilât* to the modern Bitter Sea, N. of Suez. It is a more difficult task to trace the route geographically on the other side of the Sea. For it is a question whether "the Mountain of Jeh," which formed the goal of the journey, is to be located on the Sinai peninsula, or in the land of the Edomites, or even on the western coast of Arabia. A. H. Sayce and others reject the traditional location of Sinai on the peninsula named after this mountain, and declare that the Israelites marched directly eastward toward the Gulf of Akaba. The reasons for this are found in the work of Sayce, *The Verdict of the Monuments*, 263 ff. But even if on this supposition a number of difficulties fall away, there nevertheless are many arguments in favor of the traditional location of Sinai, esp. the grandeur of the chain itself, for which a rival worth mentioning has not been discovered in the land of the Edomites or in Northwestern Arabia. The Sinai traveler, E. H. Palmer, has also shown how splendidly the surroundings of the Sinai chain, esp. the *Jebel Musa* with the *Ras Sufsafeh*, is adapted for the purpose of concluding a covenant.

(3) *The wilderness sojourn.*—The duration of the sojourn in the "desert" is everywhere (as in Am **5** 25) given as 40 years. In harmony with this is the fact that only a few of those who had come out of Egypt lived to enter Canaan. The greater part of these 40 years the Israelites seem to have spent at Kadesh. At any rate, there was a sanctuary at that place, at which Moses administered justice, while the different tribes probably were scattered over the prairies and over the tillable districts. The central sanctuary, which Moses established, was the Tabernacle, which contained the Ark of the Covenant, the *sanctissimum*. This sacred ark with the cherubim above it represents the throne of God, who is thought to be enthroned above the cherubim. The ark itself is, as it were, His footstool. As in Egyp sanctuaries not infrequently the most sacred laws are deposited beneath the feet of the statue of the gods, thus the sacred fundamental laws of God (the Decalogue), on two tablets, were deposited in this ark. This Ark of the Covenant presupposes an invisible God, who cannot be represented by any image. The other laws and ordinances of Moses covered the entire public and private legislation, given whenever the need for these made it necessary to determine such matters. In giving these laws Moses connected his system with the old traditional principles already current among the tribes. This fact is confirmed by the legal CH, which contains remarkable parallels, esp. to Ex **20**—**23** 19. But Moses has elevated the old traditional laws of the tribes and has given them a more humane character. By putting every enactment in the light of the religion of Jeh, and by eliminating everything not in harmony with this religion, he has raised the people spiritually and morally to a higher plane.

Among the people, the undercurrents of superstition and of immorality were indeed still strong. At the outset Moses had much to contend with in the opposition of the badly mixed mass of the people. And the fact that he was able for the period of 40 years to hold the leadership of this stubborn people without military force is a phenomenal work, which shows at all hands the wonderful cooperation of Jeh Himself. However, he did not indeed succeed in raising the entire people to the plane of his knowledge of God and of his faith in God. This generation had to die in the wilderness, because it lacked the sanctified courage to take possession of the land of promise. But the foundation had been laid for the theocracy, which must not in any way be identified with a hierarchy.

(4) *Entrance into Canaan.*—It was Joshua, the successor of Moses, who was enabled to finish the work and to take possession of the land. Not far from Jericho he led the people over the Jordan and captured this city, which had been considered impregnable. After that, with his national army, he conquered the Canaanitish inhabitants in several decisive battles, near Gibeon and at the waters of



"ISRAEL" STELE IN MUSEUM AT CAIRO

Merom, and then went back and encamped at Gilgal on the Jordan. After this he advanced with his tribe of Ephraim into the heart of the land, while the southern tribes on their part forced their way into the districts assigned to them. Without reasons this account has been attacked as unreliable, and critics have thought that originally the different tribes, at their own initiative, either peaceably or by force, had occupied their land. But it is entirely natural to suppose that the inhabitants of the country who had allied themselves to resist this occupation by Israel, had first to be made submissive through several decisive defeats, before they would permit the entrance of the tribes of Israel, which entrance accordingly often took place without a serious struggle. That the occupation of the land was not complete is shown in detail in Jgs **1**. Also in those districts in which Israel had gained the upper hand, they generally did not wage the war of annihilation that Moses had commanded, but were content with making the Canaanites, by the side of whom they settled, bondmen and subjects. This relation could, in later time, easily be reversed, esp. in those cases in which the original inhabitants of the country were in the majority. Then, too, it must be remembered that the latter enjoyed a higher state of civilization than the Israelites. It was accordingly an easy matter for the Israelites to adopt the customs and the ideas of the Canaanites. But if this were done, their religion was also endangered. Together with the sacred "holy places" (*bāmōth*) of the original inhabitants, the altars and the sanctuaries there found also came into possession of the Israelites. Among these there were some that had been sacred to the ancestors of Israel, and with which old memories were associated. As a consequence, it readily occurred that Israel appropriated also old symbols and religious ceremonies, and even the Baals and the Astartes themselves, however little this could be united in principle with the service of Jeh. But if the Israelites lost their unique religion, then their connection with the kindred tribes and their national independence were soon matters of history. They were readily absorbed by the Canaanites.

III. Period of the Judges.—In such a period of weakened national and religious life, it could easily happen that Israel would again lose the supremacy that it had won by the sword. It was possible that the Canaanites could again bring into their power larger parts of the land. Also energetic and pushing nomadic tribes, such as the Ammonites, the Moabites, or other warlike peoples, such as the Philis, could bring the country under subjection, as actually did occur in the period of the Judges. The Book of Jgs reports a number of such instances of the subjection of Israel, which did not extend over the whole land, and in part occurred in different sections of the country at the same time. Judah and Simeon, the two tribes in the south, as a rule took no part in these contests, and had their own battles to fight; and the same is true of the tribes E. of the Jordan, among whom Northern Manasseh and Ephraim were in closest alliance. After a longer or shorter period of oppression, there followed in each case a revival of the national spirit against such oppression. And in all these cases the popular hero who became the liberator appealed to the religious consciousness that formed a bond of union between all the Israelitish tribes and their common God Jeh. In however wild a manner the youthful vigor of the people may have found its expression on these occasions, they are nevertheless conscious of the fact that they are waging a holy war, which in every case also ended with the victory over the heathen spirit and false worship that had found their way into Israel. The most precious historical monument from these times is the song of Deborah (Jgs **5**), which, like a mirror, reflects faithfully the conditions of affairs, and the thoughts of that age.

1. General Character of Period

Jgs **17–21** belong to the beginning of this period. The first of these old stories narrates the emigration of a large portion of the tribe of Dan to the extreme north of the country and the origin of idolatry in that region (chs **17, 18**). But the second story, too, both in form and contents, is, at least in part, very old and its historical value is amply protected against the attacks of modern critics by Hos **9** 9; **10** 9. This story reports a holy war of revenge against the tribe of Benjamin, which was unwilling to render satisfaction for a nefarious crime that had been committed at Gibeah in its territory. In the feeling of close solidarity and of high responsibility which appears in connection with the punishment of this crime, we still see the influence of the periods of Moses and Joshua.

2. The Different Judges

First it is narrated of a king of Aram-naharaim that he had oppressed Israel for a period of 8 years (Jgs **3** 8). This probably means a king of the Mitanni (Sayce, *Monuments*, 297, 304), who at that time were trying to force their way through Canaan into Egypt. It was Othniel, the Kenazite, belonging to a tribe that was related to Judah, who delivered Israel. A second liberator was the Benjamite Ehud, who delivered the southeastern portion of the country from the servitude of Eglon, the king of the Moabites, by putting the latter to death (Jgs **3** 12 ff). On a greater scale was the decisive battle against the Canaanitish kings in the north, when these had formed an alliance and had subjected Israel for a period of 20 years. At the appeal of Deborah, Barak conquered Sisera, the hostile king and leader of a mighty army of chariots, in the plain of Kishon (Jgs **4, 5**). In the same region the battle of Gideon was fought with the plundering Bedouin swarms of the Midianites, who had repeatedly oppressed Israel (chs **6–8**). Abimelech, an unworthy son of the God-fearing hero, after the death of his father, had established a local kingdom in Shechem, which stood for only a short time and came to a disgraceful end. Little more than the names are known to us of Tola, of the tribe of Issachar, and of Jair, in Gilead (**10** 1 ff). More fully is the story of Jephthah told, who delivered the country from the Ammonites coming from the east (ch **11**), with which was also connected a struggle with the jealous Ephraimites (ch **12**); and still more fully are the details reported of the personal contests of the Nazirite Samson, belonging to the tribe of Dan, against the Philis making their inroads from the south, and who for many years proved to be the most dangerous enemies of Israel.

All these heroes, and a few others not so well known, are called judges, and it is regularly reported how long each of these "judged" Israel. They were not officials in the usual sense of the term, but were liberators of the people, who, at the inspiration of Jeh, gave the signal for a holy war. After the victory they, as men of Jeh, then enjoyed distinction, at least in their own tribes; and in so far as it was through their doing that the people had been freed, they were the highest authorities in political, legal, and probably, too, in religious questions. They are called judges in conscious contradistinction from the kingly power, which in Israel was recognized as the exclusive prerogative of Jeh, so that Gideon declined it as improper when the people wanted to make him king (**8** 22 f). The people recognized the Spirit of Jeh in the fierce energy which came over these men and impelled them to arouse their people out of their disgraceful lethargy. For this reason, too, they could afterward be trusted in making their judicial decisions in harmony with the mind and the Spirit of God, as this had been done already by the prophetess Deborah in the time of oppression. Yet, at least in the case of Samson (notwithstanding **16** 31), it is not probable that he ever was engaged in the administration of justice. It is not even reported of him that he fought at the head of the people, but he carried on his contests with the Philis in behalf of himself individually, even if, as one consecrated of God, he were a witness for the power of God.

3. Chronology of the Period

The chronology of the period of the Judges exhibits some peculiar difficulties. If we add together the data that are given in succession in the Book of Jgs, we get from Jgs **3** 8—**16** 31, 410 years altogether. But this number is too large to make it harmonize with the 480 years mentioned in 1 K **6** 1. Jewish tradition (e.g. *Ṣēdher ʽŌlām*) accordingly does not include the years of oppression in this sum, but makes them a part of the period of the individual judges. In this way about 111 years are eliminated. But evidently the redactor of the Book of Jgs did not share this view. Modern critics are of the opinion that the writer has dovetailed two chronological methods, one of which counted on the basis of periods of forty years each, while the other was more exact and contained odd numbers. In this way we can shorten this period as does the *Ṣēdher ʽŌlām*. At any rate, it is justifiable, and is suggested by **10** 7, to regard the oppression by the Ammonites (**10** 8 ff) and the oppression by the Philis (**13** 1 ff) as contemporaneous. And other events, too, which in the course of the narrative are related as following each other, may have taken place at the same time or in a somewhat different sequence, as the author used different sources for the different events. But for this very reason his story deserves to be credited as historical. Such characters as Deborah, Jephthah, Ehud, Gideon, Abimelech and Samson are described as tangible historical realities. Even if, in the case of the last-mentioned, oral tradition has added decorative details to the figure, yet Samson cannot possibly be a mere mythological character, but must have been a national hero characteristic of this period, in whom are represented the abundance of physical and mental peculiarities characteristic of the youthful nation, as also their good-natured indifference and carelessness over against their treacherous enemies.

4. Loose Organization of the People

The lack of a central political power made itself felt all the more in the period of the Judges, since, because of the scattered condition of the people in the country that had been so minutely parceled out, and because of the weakening of the religious enthusiasm of the preceding age, the deeper unity of heart and mind was absent. It is indeed incorrect to imagine that at this time there was a total lack of governmental authority. A patriarchal organization had been in force from the beginning. The father of the family was the lawful head of those belonging to him: and a larger clan was again subject to an "elder," with far-reaching rights in the administration of law, but also with the duty to protect his subordinates, and in case of want to support them. Unfortunately we are nowhere informed how these elders were chosen or whether their offices were hereditary. Only a very few passages, such as Isa **3** 6 f, throw a certain light on the subject. This institution of the elders Moses had already found established and had developed farther (Ex **18** 13 ff). It was retained in all the periods of Israel's history. When the people began to live together in larger centers, as a natural consequence bodies of such city elders were established. The tribes, too, had "elders" at their head. But for a united action of the whole nation this arrangement did not suffice; and esp. in the case of war the people of Israel felt that they were at a disadvantage compared with their enemies, who had kings to lead them. For this reason the desire for a king steadily grew in Israel. The dictators of the period of the Judges satisfied their needs only for the time being.

IV. The Kingdom: Israel–Judah.—In the time when the Israelites were oppressed by the Philis the need of a king was esp. felt. As Samson had come to his death in servitude, the people themselves thus, at the close of this period of glorious victories, were under the supremacy of a warlike race, which had only in recent times settled on the western coast of Pal, and from this base was forcing its conquests into the heart of the country.

1. Samuel

After the most disastrous defeats, during which even the Ark of the Covenant was lost, there arose for the people, indeed, a father and a deliverer in the person of Samuel, who saved them during the most critical period. What his activity meant for the uplift of the people cannot be estimated too highly. He was, above all, during peace the faithful watchman of the most sacred possessions of Israel, a prophet such as the people had not seen since the days of Moses; and he doubtless was the founder of those colonies of prophetical disciples who were in later times so influential in the development of a theocratical spirit in Israel. He guarded the whole nation also with all his power, by giving to them laws and cultivating piety in the land.

2. The Kingdom of Saul

But as Samuel, too, became old and the people concluded for good reasons that his rule would have no worthy successors, their voice could no longer be silenced, and they demanded a king. Samuel tried in vain to persuade the people to desist from their demand, which to him seemed to be an evidence of distrust in the providence of Jeh, but was himself compelled, by inspiration of God, to submit to their wishes and anoint the new king, whom Jeh pointed out to him. It is indeed maintained by the critics that there are several accounts extant in S concerning the selection of Saul to the kingdom, and that these accounts differ in this, that the one regards the kingdom as a blessing and the other as a curse. The first view, which is said to be the older, is claimed to be found in 1 S **9** 1–10.16, and **11**; while the second is said to be in **8**; **10** 17–27; **11** 12–14. Whatever may be the facts in regard to these sources, this is beyond any doubt, that Samuel, the last real theocratic leader, established the kingdom. But just as little can the fact be doubted, that he took this step with inner reluctance, since in his eyes this innovation meant the discarding of the ideals of the people to which he himself had remained true during his lifetime. The demand of the people was the outgrowth of worldly motives, but Jeh brought it about, that the "Anointed of Jeh" signified an advance in the history of the kingdom of God.

Saul himself, at first, in a vigorous and efficient manner, solved the immediate problems and overcame the enemies of his people. But he soon began to conceive of his kingdom after the manner of heathen kingdoms and did not subject himself to Jeh and His appointed representative. There soon arose an open conflict between him and Samuel; and the fact that the Spirit of God had departed from him appears in his melancholy state of mind, which urged him on to constantly increasing deeds of violence. That under these circumstances God's blessing also departed from him is proved by the collapse of his life's work in his final failures against the Philis.

3. David

In contrast with this, David, his successor, the greatest king that Israel ever had, had a correct conception of this royal office, and even in his most brilliant successes did not forget that he was called to rule only as "the servant of Jeh" (by which name he, next to Moses, is called oftenest in the Bible). As a gifted ruler, he strengthened his kingdom from within, which, considering the heterogeneous character of the people, was not an easy matter, and extended it without by overpowering jealous neighbors. In this way it was he who became the real founder of a powerful kingdom. The conquest of Jerus and its selection as the capital city also are an evidence of his political wisdom. It is indeed true that he, too, had his personal failings and that he made many mistakes, which caused him political troubles, even down to his old age. But his humility at all times made him strong enough again to subject himself to the hand of Jeh, and this humility was based on the attitude of his spirit toward Jeh, which shows itself in his Pss. In this way he really came to be a connecting link between God and his people, and upon this foundation the prophets built further, who prophesied a still closer union of the two under a son of David.

While Saul was a Benjamite, David was of the tribe of Judah, and was for a short time the king of this tribe in Hebron, before the other tribes, becoming tired of the misrule of a descendant of Saul, also voluntarily chose him as their king. He soon after this established as the center of his new kingdom the city of Jerus, which really was situated on the territory that had been assigned to Benjamin; and he also set this city apart as the religious center of the people by transferring the Ark of the Covenant to this place. In this way David, through his wisdom and his popular bravery, succeeded in uniting the tribes more firmly under his supremacy, and esp. did he bring the tribe of Judah, which down to this time had been more for itself, into closer connection with the others. Israel under David became a prominent kingdom. This position of power was, as a matter of fact, distasteful to their neighbors round about. The Philis tried to destroy the ambitious kingdom, but were themselves repeatedly and definitely overpowered. But other neighboring people, too, who, notwithstanding the fact that David did not assume an offensive attitude toward them, assumed a hostile attitude toward him, came to feel his superiority. Particularly severe and tedious was the war against the allied Ammonites and Syrians; and although the Edomites, too, regarded this as a favorable time for attacking Israel, this struggle also ended in a complete triumph for David. The surrounding countries became subject to him from the Mediterranean Sea to Hamath (2 S **8** 9), and from the territory of the Lebanon, the inhabitants of which assumed a friendly attitude, to the borders of Egypt, which also recognized the new rule.

4. Solomon

Solomon, the son of David, developed inwardly the powerful kingdom which he had inherited. To his father he seemed to be the right man for this because of his peaceful temperament and his high mental abilities. He justified the hopes placed in him. Out of love to Jeh he built the temple on Mt. Zion, regulated the affairs of state and the administration of justice, and by commercial treaties with the Phoenicians (King Hiram) brought about great prosperity in the land. His was the "golden" period in Israel. The culture and civilization, too, of the people were materially advanced by Solomon as he widened their horizon and introduced the literature of Proverbs, which had up to this time been more extensively cultivated by the neighboring people (Edom, Arabia, Egypt). He even developed this literature into a higher type. On the other hand, the brilliant reign of Solomon brought serious dangers to the new kingdom. His liberal-mindedness in the treatment of his foreign wives, in permitting them to retain their heathen worship, probably because he thought that in the end it was the same Divinity which these women worshipped under a different form, endangered the theocracy with its serious cultus and its strict morality. Through this conduct the king necessarily forfeited the sympathy of the most pious Israelites. At the same time, his love for magnificent structures surpassed the measure which was regarded as correct for the "Anointed of Jeh." Then, too, his efforts, in themselves justifiable, to establish a more perfect organization of the monarchy, produced a great deal of dissatisfaction. Solomon did not understand, as did his father, how to respect the inherited liberty-loving tendencies of his people. The heavy services and taxation, to which the people were compelled to submit, were deeply felt, most of all by the Ephraimites, who at times had exhibited a jealous spirit, and could not forget their lost hegemony.

5. Division of the Kingdom

So long, indeed, as the wise Solomon and his advisers were at the helm, the various rebellious tendencies could not make themselves felt. But after his death the catastrophe came. His son, Rehoboam, at the Diet in Shechem, at which the Ephraimites placed before him a kind of capitulation before his coronation, showed that he did not at all understand the situation. His domineering attitude brought things to a head, and he must have been glad that at least the tribe of Judah remained faithful to him. The northern tribes chose for their king Jeroboam (I), who before this had already taken part in rebellious agitations, as the kingdom had been predicted to him by the prophet Ahijah (1 K **11** 2 ff). Israel was torn into two parts.

6. Sources of the History of the Kingdom

With this rupture the powerful kingdom established by David had reached its end. In regard to this flourishing period in Israel's history we are, on the whole, well informed through the sources. Esp. in 2 S **9–20** and 1 K **2, 3,** we have a narrator who must have been a contemporary of the events recorded. Klostermann surmises that this may have been Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok (2 S **15** 27); while Duhm, Budde, Sellin and others believe it to have been the priest Abiathar. Less unity is in evidence in the first Book of S, containing the history of the youth of David, which evidently was often described. The Books of Ch have only secondary value for the life of David. These books narrate in full detail the story of the preparations made by David for the erection of the temple and of his organization of the Levites. In regard to the reign of Solomon, the Books of K report more fully. Concerning the later kings, they generally give only meager extracts from more complete sources, which excerpts, however, have been shown to be reliable. The interest which the narrator has in telling his story is the religious. Esp. does he carefully note the fact as to the relation of the different kings to the cultus. Special sources have been used in compiling the detailed stories of the great prophets Elijah and Elisha, which are inserted in the history of the two kingdoms. On the other hand, the Books of Ch pass over entirely all reference to the work of the prophets of the Northern Kingdom, as they ignore the entire history of the Ephraimitic kingdom since the interest of these books is centered on the sanctuary in Jerus. Also in the case of the Judaean history, the much older Books of K deserve the precedence. Yet we owe to the writer of Ch a number of contributions to this history, esp. where he has made a fuller use of the sources than has been done by the author of the Books of K. The suspicion that everything which Ch contains, beyond what is to be found in K, is unhistorical, has turned out to be groundless. Thus, e.g., it would be impossible to understand the earlier prophecies of Isaiah under Jotham at all, if it did not appear from Ch to what prosperity and influence the people of Jerus had by that time again attained. For it is only Ch that give us an account of the flourishing reign of his predecessor Uzziah, who is treated but briefly in K.

7. Chronological Matters

The chronology of the earlier portions of the period of the Kings is dependent on the date of the division of the kingdom. This date can be decided on the basis of the careful chronological data of the Books of K, which do not indeed agree in all particulars, but are to be adjusted by the Assyr chronology. If we, with Kamphausen, Oettli and Kittel, regard the year 937 BC as the time of the division of the kingdom, then Solomon ruled from 977 to 937; David, from 1017 to 977. The length of the reign of Saul is not known, as the text of 1 S **13** 1 is defective. It is very probable that we can credit him with about twenty years, according to Jos (*Ant*, X, viii, 4), i.e. from about 1037–1017. In this case David transferred the seat of government to Jerus about the year 1010, and the completion of the erection of the temple of Solomon took place in 966. But this basal date of 937 is not accepted as correct by all scholars. Klostermann places the date of the rupture of the kingdom in the year 978; Koehler, in 973. For later chronological data, Assyr sources are an important factor. The Assyrians were accustomed to call each year after the name of an official (*limu*), and eponym lists are extant for 228 years. In these reference is made to an eclipse of the sun, which astronomically has been settled as having taken place on July 15, 763. We have in this list then the period from 893 to 666. On this basis, it is made possible to determine the exact dates of the different military expeditions of the Assyr rulers and their conflicts with the kings of Judah and Israel, on the presupposition, however, that the Assyr inscriptions here used really speak of these kings, which in a number of cases is denied. Valuable help for determining the chronology of this period is the fall of Samaria in the year 722 and the expedition of Sennacherib against Jerus in 701, and then the fall of Jerus in 587 and 586. The distribution of the years between these dates to the individual kings is in places doubtful, as the numbers in the text are possibly corrupt, and in the synchronistic data of the Books of K mistakes may have been made.

1. Contrasts and Vicissitudes of the Kingdoms

V. Period of the Separated Kingdoms.—The two separated kingdoms differed materially. The kingdom of Ephraim was the more powerful of the two. It embraced, according to an inaccurate usage of the words, 10 tribes; and to this kingdom the vassals, such as Moab, as a rule remained subject, until they emancipated themselves. But, on the other hand, this Northern Kingdom was less firm spiritually. Even the resident city of the king changed frequently, until Omri founded the city of Samaria, which was well adapted for this purpose. The dynasties, too, were only of short duration. It occurred but rarely that one family was able to maintain its supremacy on the throne through several generations. A revolutionary character remained fixed in this kingdom and became its permanent weakness. On the other hand, the smaller and often overpowered kingdom of Judah, which faithfully adhered to the royal line of David, passed through dangerous crises and had many unworthy rulers. But the legitimate royal house, which had been selected by Jeh, constituted spiritually a firm bond, which kept the people united, as is seen, e.g., by a glance at the addresses of Isaiah, who is thoroughly filled with the conviction of the importance of the house of David, no matter how unworthy the king who happened to rule might appear to him. In a religious respect, also, the arbitrary break with Zion proved to be fatal for the Northern Kingdom.

2. The Successive Reigns

Jeroboam.—It is true that faithful prophets of Jeh, such as the Abijah of Shiloh mentioned above, and Shemaiah (1 K **12** 22 ff), proclaimed that the fateful division of the kingdom was a Divinely intended judgment from Jeh. But they soon were compelled to reach the conclusion that Jeroboam did not regard himself as a servant of Jeh, but as a sovereign who, through his own power and through the favor of the people, had secured the rule, and hence could arbitrarily decide all matters in reference to the cultus and the sacred sanctuaries of the people. According to his own will, and for political reasons, he established the new national sanctuary at Bethel, and another at Dan. At both shrines he caused Jeh to be worshipped under the image of a calf, which was to constitute a paganizing opposition to the Ark of the Covenant on Mt. Zion, even if it was the idea that Jeh, the God of the Covenant, was to be worshipped in these new images. In doing this, the king followed ancient national customs, which had broken with the purity of the Mosaic religion (concerning image-worship in Dan we have heard before. See Golden Calf). His sojourn in Egypt, too, where he had lived as a fugitive, had doubtless furnished the king incentives in this direction. He created a priesthood that was submissive to his wishes, and disregarded the opposition of the few prophets who protested against the policy of the king. His successors, too, walked "in the ways of Jeroboam." The independent prophets, however, did not die out, but, rather, prophecy developed its greatest activity in this very Northern Kingdom. As a rule, in its work it stood in opposition to the government, but at times it succeeded in gaining the recognition of the rulers.

Omri.—The earliest times of the divided kingdoms are, from a political point of view, characterized by the fact that the kingdoms on the Euphrates and the Tigris, namely Assyria and Babylon, still had enough to do with themselves, and did not yet make any inroads into the Mediterranean lands; but, rather, it was the Syrians who first caused a good deal of trouble to the Northern Kingdom. Jeroboam did not succeed in founding a dynasty. Already his son Nadab was eliminated by a usurper Baasha. The latter's son too, Elah, was murdered, after a reign of two years. It was not, however, his murderer Zimri, or Tibni, who strove to secure the kingdom for himself, but Omri who became king (1 K **16**), and who also attained to such prominence abroad that the cuneiform inscriptions for a long time after call Israel "the land of Omri." His ability as a ruler was seen in the fact that the establishment of Samaria as the capital city was his work. The inscription on the Mesha stone reports that he also established the sovereignty of Israel vigorously on the east side of the Jordan.

Ahab.—His son Ahab, too, was an energetic and brave ruler, who succeeded in gaining a number of victories over the Syrians, who were now beginning to assume the offensive in a determined manner. Then, too, he was politic enough to win over to his interests the kingdom of Judah, with which his predecessors had lived in almost constant warfare. In this policy he succeeded, because the noble and large-hearted king Jehoshaphat was more receptive to such fraternal relations than was good for him. An expedition jointly undertaken by these two kings against Syria brought Jehoshaphat into extreme danger and ended with the death of Ahab.

Ahab's fate was his wife Jezebel, the daughter of the Phoen king Ethbaal (Ithobal, according to Jos, *Ant*, VIII, xiii, 2 and *CAp*, I, 18), who had been a priest of Astarte. This intermarriage with a fanatical heathen family brought untold and endless misfortune over all Israel. This bold and scheming woman planned nothing less than the overthrow of the religion of Jeh, and the substitution for it of the Baal and the Astarte cultus. As a first step she succeeded in having the king tolerate this religion. The leading temple in the new resident city, Samaria, was dedicated to the Baal cultus. Already this introduction of a strange and lascivious ethnic religion was a great danger to the religion and the morals of the people. Hosts of Baal priests, ecstatic dervishes, traversed the country. Soon the queen undertook to persecute the faithful worshippers of Jeh. The fact that these men protested against the tolerance of this foreign false religion was interpreted as disobedience on their part to the king. Many faithful prophets were put to death. At this critical period, when the existence of the religion of Jeh was at stake, the prophet Elijah, the Tishbite, appeared on the stage, and through a bitter struggle reëstablished the worship of Jeh. However, the fateful influence that this woman exerted was thereby not yet destroyed. It extended to Judah also.

Rehoboam.—In the kingdom of Judah, apart from the apostasy of different tribes, which left him only the vigorous tribe of Judah and portions of Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, and Levi, Rehoboam experienced also other calamities, namely, a destructive invasion and tribute imposition by King Shishak of Egypt (Egyp Sheshonk, founder of the XXIId Dynasty; 1 K **14** 25 f; cf 2 Ch **12** 2 ff). While under Solomon the relations of Israel to the Egyp court had in the beginning been very friendly, this was changed when a new dynasty came to the throne. After Jeroboam had failed in his first revolutionary project, he had found refuge at the court of Shishak (1 K **11** 40). It is possible that Jeroboam made the Egyp king lustful for the treasures of Jerus. The Egyptians did not, as a matter of fact, stop at the Ephraimitic boundaries, but in part also invaded the territory of Jeroboam; but their chief objective was Jerus, from which they carried away the treasures that had been gathered by Solomon. On the temple wall of Karnak this Pharaoh has inscribed the story of this victory and booty. From the names of the cities found in this inscription, we learn that this expedition extended as far as Megiddo and Taanach.

Abijah.—Rehoboam was succeeded by his son Abijah, or Abijahu, according to Ch (the Abijam of K is hardly correct). He ruled only 3 years. But even during this short reign he was compelled to engage in a severe struggle with Jeroboam (1 K **15** 6; see details in 2 Ch **13**).

Asa.—In every respect the reign of the God-fearing Asa, who sought to destroy the heathenism that had found its way into the cultus, was more fortunate. He also experienced Jeh's wonderful help when the Cushite Zerah made an incursion into his land (2 Ch **14** 8 ff), i.e. probably Osorkon I, who, however, did not belong to an Ethiopian dynasty. Possibly he is called an Ethiopian because he came into the country with Nubian troops. Less honorable was his conduct in the conflict with Baasha. When he was sorely pressed by the latter he bought, through the payment of a large tribute, the assistance of the Syrian king, Ben-hadad I, who up to this time had been an ally of Baasha. This bribing of foreigners to fight against their own covenant people, which was afterward often repeated, was rebuked by a bold prophet in the presence of the pious king, but the prophet was compelled to suffer abuse for his open testimony (2 Ch **16** 7 ff).

Jehoshaphat.—A much more noble conduct characterized the dealings of Jehoshaphat in relation to the Northern Kingdom. His fault was that he entered too fully into the selfish offers of friendship made by Ahab. The worst step was that, in order to confirm his covenant, he took for his son Jehoram as wife, Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel. Jehoshaphat was a chivalrous ally, who also joined Ahab's son, Jehoram, in a dangerous war against the Moabites; as this people under their king Mesha had made themselves free from Israel and had taken the offensive against them. For the inner affairs of the kingdom his reign was more fortunate. He was a God-fearing and an energetic prince, who did much to elevate the people in a material and a religious way and perfected its political organization. Nor did he fail to secure some noteworthy successes. However, the fact that the warning words of the prophets who rebuked him because of his alliance with the half-heathenish house of Omri were not the fanatical exaggerations of pessimistic seers, appears at once after his death.

Jehoram.—His son Jehoram, after the manner of oriental despots, at once caused his brothers to be put to death, of which doubtless his wife Athaliah was the cause. This woman transplanted the policy of Jezebel to Judah, and was scheming for the downfall of the house of David and its sanctuary. Under Jehoram the power of Judah accordingly began to sink rapidly. Edom became independent. The Philis and the Arabians sacked Jerus. Even the royal princes, with the exception of *Ahaziah*, the youngest son of Athaliah, were expelled. When the latter ascended the throne she had the absolute power in her hands.

Jehu.—During this time the judgment over the house of Omri was fast approaching. The avenger came in the person of the impetuous Jehu, who had been anointed king by one of the disciples of Elisha in the camp of Ramoth in Gilead. According to 1 K **19** 16, the order had already been given to Elijah to raise this man to the throne; but the compliance with this command appears to have been delayed. As soon as Jehu became aware that he was entrusted with this mission, he hastened to Jezreel, where Ahaziah, king of Judah, was just paying a visit to Jehoram, and slew them both. With heartless severity he extended this slaughter, not only to all the members of the house of Omri, together with Jezebel, but also to those numerous members of the Davidic royal house who fell into his hands. He likewise destroyed the adherents of Baal, whom he had invited to their death in their sanctuary at Samaria. Deserved as this judgment upon the house of Jeroboam was (2 K **10** 30), which Jehu, according to higher command, carried out, he did this in an unholy mind and with hardness and ambitious purpose. The puritanical Rechabites had sanctioned his action; but as more and more the true character of Jehu began to reveal itself, he lost the sympathies of the pious, and Hosea announced to his house the vengeance for his bloody crimes at Jezreel (Hos **1** 4).

The Assyrians.—In Jehu's reign occurred the inroads toward the W. on the part of the Assyrians. This people already in the time of Ahab, under their king, Shalmaneser II, had forced their way as far as Karkar on the Orontes, and had there fought a battle in 854 with the Syrians and their allies, among whom Ahab is also mentioned, with 2,000 chariots and 10,000 soldiers. If this is really Ahab, the king of Israel, which is denied by some, then he, at that time, fought against Assyria in conjunction with the Syrians, who otherwise had been so bitterly attacked by him. The Assyrians boast of this victory, but seem to have won it at a heavy price, as they did not press on farther westward. When in 842 Shalmaneser came a second time, Jehu was certainly not among the allies of the Syrians. The Assyrians do not seem, on this occasion, to have been opposed by so powerful a league, and were able to attack the Syrians whom they conquered at Sanīru (Hermon, Anti-Lebanon) in a much more determined manner. They laid siege to Damascus and laid waste the surrounding country. The Hauran and Bashan were made a desert. In their march of victory they pressed forward as far as the Mediterranean. Phoenicia and other countries brought tribute. Among these nations Shalmaneser expressly mentions Jahua ("Jehu, the son of Omri" [!]), who was compelled to deliver up gold and silver bars and other valuable possessions. But this expensive homage on the part of Jehu did not help much. Shalmaneser came only once more (839) into this neighborhood. After this the Assyrians did not appear again for a period of 35 years. All the more vigorously did the Syrians and other neighboring people make onslaughts on Israel. How fearfully they devasted Israel appears from Am **1**.

Jehoahaz.—Under his son Jehoahaz the weakness of Israel became still greater. In his helplessness, the Lord finally sent him a deliverer (2 K **13** 3 ff). This deliverer was none other than the Assyr king, Adad-nirari III (812–783), who, through a military incursion, had secured anew his supremacy over Western Asia, and had besieged the king of Damascus and had forced him to pay an immense tribute. In this way Israel, which had voluntarily rendered submission to him, was relieved of its embarrassment by the weakening of Syria.

Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz, experienced more favorable conditions. He also conquered Amaziah, the king of Judah; and his son, *Jeroboam II,* even succeeded in restoring the old boundaries of the kingdom, as the prophet Jonah had predicted (2 K **14** 24 ff). His reign was the last flourishing period of the kingdom of Ephraim. See, further, Israel, Kingdom of.

Athaliah.—The kingdom of Judah, in the meanwhile, had passed through severe crises. The most severe was caused by that Athaliah, who, after the murder of her son Ahaziah by Jehu, had secured absolute control in Jerus, and had abused this power in order to root out the family of David. Only one son of the king, Joash, escaped with his life. He, a boy of one year, was hidden in the temple by a relative, where the high priest Jehoiada, who belonged to the party opposed to the heathen-minded queen, concealed him for a period of 6 years. When the boy was 7 years old Jehoiada, at a well-timed moment, proclaimed him king. His elevation to the throne, in connection with which event the terrible Athaliah was put to death, introduced at the same time an energetic reaction against the heathendom that had found its way even into Judah, and which the queen had in every way favored. Joash was predestined to be a theocratic king. And, in reality, in the beginning of his reign of 40 years, he went hand in hand with the priests and the prophets of Jeh. After Jehoiada's death, however, he tolerated idolatrous worship among the princes (2 Ch **24** 17 ff), and by doing so came into conflict with the faithful prophet Zechariah, the son of his benefactor Jehoiada, who rebuked him for his wrong, and was even stoned. A just punishment for this guilt was recognized in the misfortune which overtook the king and his country. The Syrian king, Hazael, when he was engaged in an expedition against Gath, also took possession of Jerus and made it pay tribute, after having apparently inflicted a severe defeat on the people of Judah, on which occasion many princes fell in the battle and Joash himself was severely wounded. Toward the end of his reign there was also much dissatisfaction among his subjects, and some of his courtiers finally murdered him (2 K **12** 20 f).

Amaziah.—However, his son Amaziah, who now ascended the throne, punished the murderers. The king was successful in war against the Edomites. This made him bold. He ventured to meet Joash, the king of Israel, in battle and was defeated and captured. The people of Judah suffered the deepest humiliation. A large portion of the walls of Jerus was torn down (2 K **14** 11 ff). Amaziah did not feel himself safe even in his own capital city, because of the dissatisfaction of his own subjects, and he fled to Lachish. Here he was murdered. So deep had Judah fallen, while Jeroboam II succeeded in raising his kingdom to an unthought-of power.

Uzziah.—But for Judah a turn for the better soon set in under Uzziah, the same as Azariah in K, the son of Amaziah, who enjoyed a long and prosperous reign.

3. The Literary Prophets

Prosperous as Israel outwardly appeared to be during the reigns of these two kings, Jeroboam II and Uzziah, the religious and moral conditions of the people were just as little satisfactory. This is the testimony of the prophets Amos and Hosea, as also of Isaiah and Micah, who not much later began their active ministry in Judah. It is indeed true that these were not the first prophets to put into written form some of their prophetic utterances. The prophecies of Obadiah and Joel are by many put at an earlier date, namely Obadiah under Jehoram in Judah, and Joel under Joash in Judah. At any rate, the discourses of the prophets from this time on constitute an important contemporaneous historical source. They illustrate esp. the spiritual condition of the nation. Throughout these writings complaints are made concerning the heathen superstitions and the godless cultus of the people, and esp. the corruption in the administration of the laws, oppression of the poor and the helpless by the rich and the powerful, and pride and luxury of all kinds. In all these things the prophets see a terrible apostasy on Israel's part. But also the foreign policy of the different kings, who sought help, now of the one and then of the other of the world-powers (Egypt, Assyria), and tried to buy the favor of these nations, the prophets regarded as adultery with foreign nations and as infidelity toward Jeh. As a punishment they announced, since all other misfortunes sent upon them had been of no avail, an invasion through a conqueror, whom Amos and Hosea always indicate shall be Assyria, and also deportations of the people into a heathen land, and an end of the Jewish state. Improbable as these threats may have seemed to the self-satisfied inhabitants of Samaria, they were speedily realized.

Successors of Jeroboam II.—After the death of Jeroboam, the strength of the Northern Kingdom collapsed. His son Zechariah was able to maintain the throne for only 6 months, and his murderer Shallum only one month. The general Menahem, who put him out of the way, maintained himself as king for 10 years, but only by paying a heavy tribute to the Assyr ruler Pul, i.e. Tiglath-pileser III, who ruled from 745–727 (cf 2 K **15** 19 f).

Pekah.—His son Pekahiah, on the other hand, soon fell by the hands of the murderer Pekah (2 K **15** 25), who allied himself with Syria against Judah. The latter, however, invited the Assyrians to come into the country; and these, entering in the year 734 BC, put an end to the reign of this usurper, although he was actually put to death as late as 730 BC.

Hoshea.—The last king of the Northern Kingdom, Hoshea (730–722 BC), had the Assyrians to thank for his throne; but he did not keep his fidelity as a vassal very long. As soon as Tiglath-pileser was dead, he tried to throw off the Assyr yoke. But his successor Shalmaneser IV (727–723 BC), who already in the first year of his reign had again subdued the rebellious king Elulaios of Syria, soon compelled Hoshea also to submit to his authority. Two years later Hoshea again joined a conspiracy with the Phoenicians against Assyria, in which they even counted on the help of the Egyp king, who in the Bible is called So or Seve (Egyp name is Shabaka). Now the Assyrians lost all patience. They at once came with their armies. Hoshea seems to have voluntarily submitted to the power of the Great King, who then made him a captive. The people, however, continued the struggle. Samaria, the capital city, was besieged, but did not fall until the 3d year (722 BC) into the hands of the enemy. Shalmaneser, in the meanwhile, had died and Sargon II had become his successor. The city was indeed not destroyed, but a large portion of the inhabitants, esp. the leaders, were deported and transplanted to Northern Mesopotamia and to Media. Sargon states that the number of deported Israelites was 27,290. Prominent persons from other cities were also doubtless to be included in those deported. On the other hand, the Assyr king settled Bab and Syrian prisoners of war in Samaria (721 BC), and in the year 715 BC, Arabs also. But the country, to a great extent, continued in a state of desolation, so that Esarhaddon (680–668 BC) and Ashurbanipal (667–626 BC) sent new colonists there, the last mentioned sending them from Babylonia, Persia and Media (cf 2 K **17** 24 ff). In these verses the Bab city of Cuthah is several times mentioned, on account of which city the Jews afterward called the Samaritans Cuthites. This report also makes mention of the religious syncretism, which of necessity resulted from the mixture of the people. But we must be careful not to place at too small figures the number of Israelites who remained in the country. It is a great exaggeration when it is claimed, as it is by Friedrich Delitzsch, that the great bulk of the inhabitants of the country of Samaria, or even of Galilee, was from this time on Babylonian.

Uzziah and Jotham.—The kingdom of Judah, however, outlived the danger from Assyria. As King Uzziah later in his life suffered from leprosy, he had Jotham as a co-regent during this period. The earliest discourses of Isaiah, which belong to this period (Isa **2–4, 5**), show that in Jerus the people were at that time still enjoying the fruits and prosperity of a long period of peace. But immediately after the death of Jotham, when the youthful Ahaz began to rule, the onslaught of the allied Syrians and Ephraimites took place under Rezin, or better Rezon, and Pekah. This alliance purposed to put an end to the Davidic reign in Jerus, probably for the purpose of making this people, too, a member of the league against the dangerous Assyrians. The good-sized army of Judah seems to have fallen a victim to the superior power of the allies before the situation described in Isa **7** could be realized, in which the siege of the city is described as already imminent. The Edomites also at that time advanced against Judah. Elath, the harbor city on the Red Sea, from which Uzziah, too, as had been done by Solomon long before, sent out trading vessels, at that time came into their power. For 2 K **16** 6 probably speaks of Edom and not of Aram (cf 2 Ch **28** 17). In his anxiety, Ahaz, notwithstanding the advice of Isaiah to the contrary, then appealed to the king of Assyria, and the latter actually put in his appearance in 734 BC and overcame the power of Syria and Ephraim, as we have seen above. However, the intervention of this world-power brought no benefit to Judah. Without this disgraceful appeal to a heathen ruler, Jeh, according to the promise of Isaiah, would have protected Jerus, if Ahaz had only believed. And the Assyrians did not prevent the Philis and the Edomites from falling upon Judah. The Assyrians themselves soon came to be the greatest danger threatening Judah. Ahaz, however, was an unstable character in religious affairs, and he copied heathen forms of worship, and even sacrificed his son to the angry sun-god, in order to gain his favor. The tribute that the people had to pay to Assyria was already a heavy burden on this little kingdom.

Hezekiah.—His noble and God-fearing son, Hezekiah (724–696 BC), was also compelled to suffer from the consequences of this misgovernment. The temptation was great to enter into an alliance with his neighbors and the Egyptians, so strong in cavalry, for the purpose of ridding Judah of the burdensome yoke of the Assyrians. In vain did Isaiah warn against such unworthy self-help. At the advice of the ministers of Hezekiah, and because of the trust put in Egypt, the tribute was finally refused to the Assyrians. Hezekiah also sought to establish closer connections with Merodach-baladan, the king of Babylon and the enemy of the Assyrians, when the latter, after a dangerous sickness of the king, had sent messengers to Jerus in order to congratulate him on the restoration of his health. This story, found in 2 K **20,** belongs chronologically before 2 K **18** 13 ff, and, more accurately, in the 14th year of Hezekiah mentioned in **18** 13. However, the expedition of Sennacherib which is mistakenly placed in that year, took place several years later: according to the Assyr monuments, in the year 701 BC.

Sennacherib.—In the year 702 BC Sennacherib, with a powerful army, marched over the Lebanon and subdued the rebellious Phoenicians, and marched along the seacoast to Philistia. The inhabitants of Ekron had sent their king, Padi, who sympathized with the Assyrians, to Hezekiah. Sennacherib came to punish Ekron and Ascalon. But he was particularly anxious to overpower Judah, which country his troops devastated and depopulated. Now Hezekiah recognized his danger, and offered to submit to Sennacherib. The latter accepted his submission conditionally on the payment of a burdensome tribute, which Hezekiah delivered faithfully (2 K **18** 14–16). Then Sennacherib was no longer satisfied with the tribute alone, but sent troops who were to despoil Jerus. Isaiah, who surely had not sanctioned the falling away from the Assyr supremacy and had prophesied that the inhabitants of Jerus would suffer a severe punishment, from that moment, when the conqueror had maliciously broken his word, spoke words of comfort and advised against giving up the city, no matter how desperate the situation seemed to be (Isa **37** 1 ff). The city was then not given up, and Sennacherib, on account of a number of things that occurred, and finally because of a pestilence which broke out in his army, was compelled to retreat. He did not return to Jerus, and later met his death by violent hands. This deliverance of Jerus through the miraculous providence of God was the greatest triumph of the prophet Isaiah. Within his kingdom Hezekiah ruled successfully. He also purified the cultus from the heathen influences that had forced their way into it, and was a predecessor of Josiah in the abolition of the sacrifices on the high places, which had been corrupted by these influences.

Manasseh.—Unfortunately, his son Manasseh was little worthy of succeeding him. He, in every way, favored the idolatry which all along had been growing secretly. He inaugurated bloody persecutions of the faithful prophets of Jeh. According to a tradition, which it must be confessed is not supported by undoubted testimony, Isaiah also, now an old man, became a victim of these persecutions. Images and altars were openly erected to Baal and Astarte. Even in the temple-house on Mt. Zion, an image of Astarte was standing. As a result of this ethnic cultus, immorality and sensuality found their way among the people. At the same time the terrible service of Moloch, in the valley of Hinnom, demanded the sacrifice of children, and even a son of the king was given over to this worship. The Book of Ch, indeed, tells the story of a terrible affliction that Manasseh suffered, namely that an Assyr general dragged him in chains to Babylon for having violated his promises to them, but that he was soon released. This is not at all incredible. He seems to have taken part in a rebellion, which the brother of the Assyr king, who was also vice-king in Babylon, had inaugurated. This sad experience may have forced Manasseh to a certain kind of repentance, at least, so that he desisted from his worst sacrileges. But his son Amon continued the old ways of his father, until after a brief reign he was put to death.

Josiah.—Much more promising was his young son Josiah, who now, only 8 years old, came to the throne. It is quite possible that, in view of such frequent changes in the disposition of the successors to the throne, his mother may have had great influence on his character. Concerning Josiah, see 2 K **22** 1 ff. With increasing clearness and consistency, he proceeded to the work of religious reformation. A special impetus to this was given by the finding of an old law book in the temple, the publication of which for the first time revealed the fearful apostasy of the times. The finding of this book in the temple, as narrated in 2 K **22** 3 ff, took place in connection with the restoration of that building on a larger scale, which at that time had been undertaken. And very probably Edouard Naville is right in believing, on the basis of Egyp analogies, that this document had been imbedded in the foundation walls of the building. Whether this had been done already in the days of Solomon is not determined by this fact. From the orders of Josiah we can conclude that the book which was found was Dt, which lays special stress on the fact that there shall be a central place for the cultus, and also contains such threats as those must have been which frightened Josiah. But under no circumstances was Dt a lawbook that had first been written at this time, or a fabrication of the priest Hilkiah and his helpers. It would rather have been possible that the discovered old law was rewritten in changed form after its discovery and had been adapted to the language of the times. The people were obliged to obey the newly discovered law and were instructed in it.

Jeremiah.—The prophet Jeremiah also, who a few years before this had been called to the prophetic office, according to certain data in the text, participated in this proclamation of the law of the covenant throughout the land. This change for the better did not change the tendency of his prophetic discourses, from what these had been from the beginning. He continued to be the accuser and the prophet of judgment, who declared that the destruction of the city and of the temple was near at hand. He looked too deeply into the inner corruption of his people to be misled by the external transformation that was the result of a command of the ruler. And only too soon did the course of events justify his prediction. With the person of the God-fearing Josiah, the devotion of the people to the law was also buried and the old curse everywhere broke out again.

The Chaldaeans.—In a formal way Jeremiah was probably influenced by the incursions of the Scythians, which occurred during his youth, and who about this time marched from the plain of Jezreel toward Egypt (cf Herodotus i.103 ff); which event also made a gloomy impression on his contemporary Ezekiel, as appears from his vision of Gog in the land of Magog. However, we are not to suppose that Jeremiah, when describing the enemy coming from the north, whom he saw from the time of his call to the prophetic office, meant merely this band of freebooters. The prophet had in mind a world-power after the type of the Assyrians, who always came from the north into Canaan. The Assyrians indeed were in process of disintegration, and Nineveh fell under the attacks of the Medes and the Persians in the year 607–606 BC. The heir of the Assyr power was not Egypt, which was also striving for universal supremacy, but was the Babylonian, or rather, more accurately, the Chaldaean dynasty of Nabopolassar, whose son Nebuchadnezzar had overpowered the Egyptians at Carchemish in 605 BC. From this time on Jeremiah had pointed out the Chaldaeans and Nebuchadnezzar, who soon afterward became their king, as the agents to carry out the judgment on Jerus.

Already a few years before this Judah's good star had gone down on the horizon. When Pharaoh-necho II came to Pal by the sea route, in order to march northeast through the plain of Jezreel, to give the final and fatal blow to the sinking kingdom of the Assyrians, King Josiah opposed him on the plain of Megiddo, probably because of his obligations as a vassal to the king of Assyria. In the battle of Megiddo (609 BC), Josiah was mortally wounded. No greater calamity could have befallen Judah than the death of this king, who was deeply mourned by all well-meaning people, and who was the last of the house of David that was a credit to it.

The successors of Josiah.—By popular election the choice now fell on Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, called by Jeremiah (**22** 11) Shallum. But he found no favor with Necho, who took him prisoner in his camp at Riblah and carried him to Egypt (2 K **23** 30 ff). The Egyp king himself selected Jehoiakim, hitherto called Eliakim, an older son of Josiah, who had been ignored by the people, to be king in Jerus, a prince untrue to Jeh, conceited, luxury-loving and hard-hearted, who, in addition, through his perfidious policy, brought calamity upon the land. He formed a conspiracy against Nebuchadnezzar, to whom he had begun to pay tribute in the 5th year of his reign, and in this way brought it about that the Syrians, the Moabites and the Ammonites, who had taken sides with the Assyrians, devastated the land of Judah, and that finally the king of Babylon himself came to Jerus to take revenge. It is not clear what was the end of this king. According to 2 Ch

36 6, compared with 2 K **24** 6, he seems to have died while yet in Jerus, and after he had already fallen into the hands of his enemies. His son Jehoiachin did not experience a much better fate. After ruling three months he was taken to Babylon, where he was a prisoner for 37 years, until he was pardoned (2K **24** 8 ff; **25** 27 ff). Together with Jehoiachin, the best portion of the inhabitants of Jerus, about 10,000 men, esp. the smiths and the builders, were deported.

Zedekiah, the last king of Judah.—Once more the Babylonians set up a king in Jerus in the person of Zedekiah, an uncle of Jehoiachin, and accordingly a son of Josiah, called Mattaniah, who afterward was called Zedekiah. He governed for twelve years (597–586 BC), and by his life, morally and religiously corrupt, sealed the fate of the house and of the kingdom of David. The better class among the leading and prominent people had been banished. As a result, the courtiers of the king urged him to try once again some treacherous schemes against the Bab rulers and to join Egypt in a conspiracy against them. However earnestly Jeremiah and Ezekiel warned against this policy, Zedekiah nevertheless constantly yielded to his evil advisers and to the warlike patriotic party, who were determined to win back in battle the independence of the country. While he at first, through an embassy, had assured the Great King of his loyalty (Jer **29** 3), and still in the 4th year of his reign had personally visited in Babylon as a mark of his fidelity (Jer **51** 59), he was induced in the 9th year of his reign to make an alliance with the Egyptians against the Babylonians and to refuse to render obedience to the latter. Nebuchadnezzar soon came and surrounded the city. At the announcement that an Egyp army was approaching, the siege was again raised for a short time. But the hope placed by Zedekiah on his ally failed him. The Babylonians began again to starve out the city. After a siege of 18 months, resistance proved futile. The king tried secretly to break through the circle of besiegers, but in doing so was taken prisoner, was blinded by the Bab king and taken to Babylon. The majority of the prominent men and state officials, who were taken to the encampment of the conqueror in Riblah, were put to death. The conquered city of Jerus, esp. its walls and towers, together with the temple, were totally destroyed. Nearly all the inhabitants who could be captured after the slaughter were dragged into captivity, and only people of the lower classes were left behind in order to cultivate the land (2 K **25** 11). Gedaliah, a noble-minded aristocrat, was appointed governor of the city, and took up his residence in Mizpah. At this place it seemed that a new kernel of the people was being gathered. Jeremiah also went there. However, after two months this good beginning came to an end. Gedaliah was slain by Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, an anti-Chaldaean, a fanatical and revengeful descendant of the house of David. The murderer acted in coöperation with certain Ammonitish associates and fled to the king of Ammon. The Jews in later times considered the murder of Gedaliah as an especially great national calamity, and fasted on the anniversary of this crime. And as the people also feared the revenge of the Babylonians, many migrated to Egypt, compelling Jeremiah, now an old man, to accompany them, although he prophesied to them that no good would come of this scheme. They first stayed at the border city Tahpanhes, near Pelusium, and then scattered over Upper and Lower Egypt.

VI. Time of the Babylonian Exile.—The inhabitants of Judah, who had been deported by Nebuchadnezzar at different times, were settled by him in Babylonia, e.g. at the river Chebar (Ezk **1** 1), near the city of Nippur.

1. Influence of the Exile

From Hilprecht's excavations of this city, it has been learned that this river, or branch of the Euphrates river, is to be found at this place, and is not to be confounded with the river Chaboras. In the same way, the many contract-tablets with Jewish names which have been found at Nippur, show that a large Jewish colony lived at that place. Of the fate of these banished Jews for a period of 50 years, we hear almost nothing. But it is possible to learn what their condition was in exile from the Book of Ezk and the 2d part of Isa. Land was assigned to them here, and they were permitted to build houses for themselves (Jer **29** 5 ff), and could travel around this district without restraint. They were not prisoners in the narrow sense of the word. They soon, through diligence and skill in trade, attained to considerable wealth, so that most of them, after the lapse of half a century, were perfectly satisfied and felt no desire to return home. For the spiritual development of the people the exile proved to be a period of great importance. In the first place, they were separated from their native soil, and in this way from many temptations of heathenism and idolatry, and the like. The terrible judgment that had come over Jerus had proved that the prophets had been right, who had for a long time, but in vain, preached genuine repentance. This did not prove to be without fruit (cf Zec **1** 6). While living in the heathen land, they naturally became acquainted with heathendom in a more crass form. But even if many of the Jews were defiled by it, in general the relations of the Israelites toward the idol-worshipping Babylonians were antagonistic, and they became all the more zealous in the observance of those religious rites which could be practised in a foreign land, such as rest on the Sabbath day, the use of meats, circumcision, and others. But with marked zeal the people turned to the spiritual storehouse of their traditions, namely their sacred literature. They collected the laws, the history, the hymns, and treasured them. It was also a noteworthy progress that such prophets as Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Daniel received prophetic visions while on heathen soil. The people also learned that the heathen, in the midst of whom they lived, became receptive of the higher truths of Israel's religion. Esp. does the 2d part of Isa, chs **40–66**, show that they began to understand the missionary calling of Israel among the nations of the world.

2. Daniel

The Book of Dnl reports how a God-fearing and law-abiding Jew, through his prophecies, attained to prominent positions of influence at the courts of different rulers. From the Book of Ezk we learn that the prophets and the elders cared for the spiritual wants of the people, and that they held meetings, at which indeed it was not permitted to offer sacrifices, but at which the word of Jeh was proclaimed. Here we find the beginnings of what afterward was the synagogue-system.

3. Elephantine Papyri

A remarkable picture of the Jewish diaspora in Upper Egypt is furnished by recently discovered papyri at Elephantine. From these it appears that in the 6th cent. BC, not only a large and flourishing Jewish colony was to be found at this place, but also that they had erected here a fine temple to Jeh where they brought their sacrifices to which they had been accustomed at home. In an Aram. letter, still preserved and dating from the year 411 BC, and which is addressed to the governor Bagohi, in Judaea, these Jews complain that their temple in Yēb (Elephantine, near Syene) had been destroyed in the same year. It also states that this temple had been spared on one occasion by Cambyses, who was in Egypt from 525 to 521 BC. The answer of Bagohi also has been preserved, and he directs that the temple is to be built again and that meal offerings and incense are again to be introduced. Probably intentionally, mention in this letter is made only of the unbloody sacrifices, while in the first letter burnt sacrifices also are named. The sacrifices of animals by the Jews would probably have aroused too much the anger of the devotees of the divine ram, which was worshipped at Syene. Up to the present time we knew only of the much later temple of the high priest Onias IV at Leontopolis (160 BC). Cf Jos, *Ant*, XII, iii, 1–3; *BJ*, VII, x, 2, 3.

VII. Return from the Exile and the Restoration.

1. Career of Cyrus

—In the meanwhile there was a new readjustment of political supremacy among the world-powers. The Pers king, Koresh (Cyrus), first made himself free from the supremacy of Media which, after the capture of the city Ecbatana, became a part of his own kingdom (549 BC). At that time Nabonidus was the king in Babylon (555–538 BC), who was not displeased at the collapse of the kingdom of the Medes, but soon learned that the new ruler turned out to be a greater danger to himself, as Cyrus subjugated, one after the other, the smaller kingdoms in the north. But Nabonidus was too unwarlike to meet Cyrus. He confined himself to sending his son with an army to the northern boundaries of his kingdom. On the other hand, the king of the Lydians, Croesus, who was related by marriage to King Astyages, who had been subdued by Cyrus, began a war with Cyrus, after he had formed an alliance with Egypt and Sparta. In the year 546 BC, he crossed the river Halys. Cyrus approached from the Tigris, and in doing so already entered Bab territory, conquered Croesus, took his capital city Sardis, and put an end to the kingdom of Lydia. The pious Israelites in captivity, under the tutelage of Deutero-Isaiah, watched these events with the greatest of interest. For the prophet taught them from the beginning to see in this king "the deliverer," who was the instrument of Jeh for the return of the Israelites out of captivity, and of whom the prophets had predicted. And this expectation was fulfilled with remarkable rapidity. The victorious and aggressive king of Persia could now no longer be permanently checked, even by the Babylonians. It was in vain that King Nabonidus had caused the images of the gods from many of his cities to be taken to Babylon, in order to make the capital city invincible. This city opened its doors to the Pers commander Ugbaru (Gobryas) in 538 BC, and a few months later Cyrus himself entered the city. This king, however, was mild and conciliatory in his treatment of the people and the city. He did not destroy the city, but commanded only that a portion of the walls should be razed. However, the city gradually, in the course of time, became ruins.

Cyrus also won the good will and favor of the subjugated nations by respecting their religions. He returned to their shrines the idols of Nabonidus, that had been taken away. But he was particularly considerate of the Jews, who doubtless had complained to him of their fate and had made known to him their prophecies regarding him as the coming deliverer.

2. First Return under Zerubbabel

In the very first year of his reign over Babylon he issued an edict (2 Ch **36** 22 f; Ezr **1** 1 ff) that permitted the Jews to return home, with the command that they should again erect their temple. For this purpose he directed that the temple-vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away with him, should be returned to them, and commanded that those Israelites who voluntarily remained in Babylon should contribute money for the restoration of the temple. At the head of those to be returned stood Sheshbazzar, who is probably identical with Zerubbabel, although this is denied by some scholars; and also the high priest, Joshua, a grandson of the high priest, Seraiah, who had been put to death by Nebuchadnezzar. They were accompanied by only a small part of those in exile, that is by 42,360 men and women and children, male and female servants, esp. from the tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Levi, but of the last-mentioned tribes more priests than other Levites. After several months they safely arrived in Pal, probably 537 BC. Some of them settled down in Jerus, and others in surrounding cities and villages. They erected the altar for burnt sacrifices, so that they were again able in the 7th month to sacrifice on it.

Building the temple.—The cornerstone of the temple was also solemnly laid at that time in the 2d year of the Return (Ezr **3** 8 ff). But the erection of the temple must have been interrupted in a short time, since it was not until the 2d year of Darius (520 BC), at the urgent appeal of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, that the work of building was energetically prosecuted. For this reason many scholars deny this cornerstone-laying in the year 536 BC. However, it still remains thinkable that several attempts were made at this work, since the young colony had many difficulties to contend with. Then, too, the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, which have been worked over by the author of Ch, report the history of these times only in parts. The historical value of these literary sources has been confirmed by those Aram. papyri found in Upper Egypt.

3. Ezra and Nehemiah

In the year 516 BC, after 4 years of building, the temple was completed and dedicated. After this we have no information for a period of 58 years. Then we learn that Ezra, the scribe, in the 7th year of Artaxerxes I (458 BC), came with a new caravan of about 1,500 men with women and children from Babylon to the Holy Land. He had secured from the king the command to establish again in the land of the Jews the law, in which he was a prominent expert, and he tried to do this by earnest admonitions and instructive discourses addressed to the people. The acme of the activity of Ezra was the meeting of the people described in Neh **8**–**10** on the Feast of the Tabernacles, on which occasion the entire nation solemnly came under obligation to observe the law. According to the present position of these chapters this act took place in 444 BC; but it is probable that it happened before the arrival of Nehemiah, whose name would accordingly have to be eliminated in **8** 9. This pericope would then belong to the memoirs of Ezra and not to those of Nehemiah. After some years there came to help Ezra in his work, Nehemiah, a pious Jew, who was a cupbearer to the king, and at his own request was granted leave of absence in order to help the city of Jerus, which he had heard was in dire straits. Its walls were in ruins, as the neighboring nations had been able to hinder their rebuilding, and even those walls of the city that had been hastily restored, had again been pulled down. Nehemiah came in the year 445–444 BC from Shushan to Jerus and at once went energetically to work at rebuilding the walls. Notwithstanding all oppositions and intrigues of malicious neighbors, the work was successfully brought to a close.

The hostile agitations, in so far as they were not caused by widespread envy and hatred of the Jews among the neighboring peoples, had a religious ground. Those who returned, as the people of Jeh, held themselves aloof from the peoples living round about them, esp. from the mixed peoples of Samaria. Samaria was the breeding-place for this hostility against Jerus. The governor at that place, Sanballat, was the head of this hostile league. The Jews had declined to permit the Samaritans to coöperate in the erection of the temple and would have no religious communion with them. The Samaritans had taken serious offence at this, and they accordingly did all they could to prevent the building of the walls in Jerus, which would be a hindrance to their having access to the temple. But Nehemiah's trust in God and his energy overcame this obstacle. The policy of exclusiveness, which Ezra and Nehemiah on this occasion and at other times followed out, evinces a more narrow mind than the preëxilic prophets had shown. In the refusal of intermarriage with the people living around them they went beyond the Mosaic law, for they even demanded that those marriages, which the Israelites had already contracted with foreign women, should be dissolved. But this exclusiveness was the outcome of legal conscientiousness, and at this period it was probably necessary for the self-preservation of the people of Jeh.

Malachi.—From the prophecies of Malachi, who was almost a contemporary of the two mentioned, it can be seen that the marriages with the foreign women had also brought with them a loosening of even the most sacred family ties (Mal **2** 14 f). After an absence of 12 years, Nehemiah again returned to Shushan to the court; and when he later returned to Jerus he was compelled once more to inaugurate a stringent policy against the lawlessness which was violating the sanctity of the temple and of the Sabbath commandment. He also expelled a certain Manasseh, a grandson of the high priest, who had married a daughter of Sanballat. This Manasseh, according to Jos (*Ant*, XI, viii, 2), erected the sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim, and established the priesthood at that place. This is no doubt correct. These accounts of Jos are often combined without cause with the times of Alexander the Great, although they transpired about 110 years earlier.

The history of the Jews in the last decades of the Pers rule is little known. Under Artaxerxes III (Ochus), they were compelled to suffer much, when they took part in a rebellion of the Phoenicians and Cyprians. Many Jews were at that time banished to Hyrcania on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. The Pers general, Bagoses, came to Jerus and forced his way even into the temple (Jos, *Ant*, XI, vii, 1). He undertook to install as high priest, in the place of John (Jochanan), his brother Joshua (Jesus). The latter, however, was slain by the former in the temple. For the first time the office of the high priest appears as more of a political position, something that it never was in the preëxilic times, and according to the law was not to be.

VIII. The Jews under Alexander and His Successors.—As the Jews were then tired of the rule of the priests, they were not dissatisfied with the victorious career of Alexander the Great. He appears to have assumed a friendly attitude toward them, even if the story reported by Jos (*Ant*, XI, viii, 4) is scarcely historical. The successors of Alexander were also, as a rule, tolerant in religious matters. But for political and geographical reasons, Pal suffered severely in these times, as it lay between Syria and Egypt, and was an object of attack on the part of both the leading ruling families in this period, the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Seleucidae in Syria. At the same time Hellenism, which had been so powerfully advanced by Alexander as a factor of civilization and culture, penetrated the land of Israel also. Gr culture and language spread soon in Pal and in many places was supreme. The more strict adherents of Judaism recognized in this a danger to the Mosaic order of life and religion, and all the more zealously they now adhered to the traditional ordinances. These were called the *ḥăṣīdhīm*, or the Pious (Ἀσιδαῖοι, *Hasidaíoi*, 1 Macc **2** 42; **7** 13; 2 Macc **14** 6). The world-transforming Hellenistic type of thought spread esp. among the aristocrats and the politically prominent, and even found adherents among the priests, while the *ḥăṣīdhīm* belonged to the less conspicuous ranks of the people.

1. Spread of Hellenism

A struggle for life and death was caused between these two tendencies by the Syrian king, Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), into whose hands the sovereignty of Pal had fallen. He undertook nothing less than to root out the hated Jewish religion. In the year 168 BC he commanded that the temple of Jeh in Jerus should be dedicated to the Olympian Jupiter and forbade most stringently the observance of the Sabbath and circumcision. A large portion of the people did not resist his oppression, but adapted themselves to this tyrannical heathendom. Others suffered and died as martyrs. Finally in the year 167 BC a priest, Mattathias, gave the signal for a determined resistance, at the head of which stood his brave sons, the Hasmoneans, or Maccabees. First his son Judas undertook the leadership of the faithful. He succeeded in freeing Jerus from the Syrians. He restored the temple on Mt. Zion. The temple was dedicated anew and was given over to the old cultus. After a number of victorious campaigns, Judas Maccabaeus died the death of a hero in 161 BC. His brother, Jonathan, who took his place at the head of the movement, tried to secure the independence of the land rather through deliberate planning than through military power. He assumed, in addition to his secular power, also the high-priestly dignity. After his death by violence in 143 BC, he was succeeded by his brother Simon as the bearer of this double honor. The Hasmoneans, however, rapidly became worldly minded and lost the sympathies of the *ḥăṣīdhīm*. The son of Simon, John Hyrcanus (135–106 BC), broke entirely with the Pious, and his family, after his death, came to an end in disgraceful struggles for power. The rule of the land fell into the hands of Herod, a tyrant of Idumaean origin, who was supported by the Romans. From 37 BC he was the recognized king of Judah. See ASMONEANS; MACCABEES.

2. The Hasmoneans

IX. The Romans.—After the death of Herod (4 BC), the kingdom, according to his last will, was to be divided among his three sons. Archelaus received Judaea; Antipas, Galilee and Peraea; Philip, the border lands in the north. However, Archelaus was soon deposed by the Romans (6 AD), and Judaea was made a part of the province of Syria, but was put under a special Roman procurator, who resided in Caesarea. These procurators (of whom the best known was Pontius Pilate, 26–36 AD), had no other object than to plunder the land and the people.

1. Division of Territory

In this way a conflict was gradually generated between the people and their oppressors, which ended with the destruction of Jerus by the Romans in 70 AD. As early as 40 AD this rupture almost took place, when the Syrian legate Petronius, at the command of Caligula, undertook to place a statue of the emperor in the temple of Jerus. On this occasion King Agrippa I, who was again ruling the whole territory of Herod, succeeded in adjusting the conflict. His son Agrippa II was given a much smaller kingdom (40–100 AD). He, too, sought to prevent the people from undertaking a struggle with the Romans, but in vain. By his unscrupulous treatment of the people, the procurator Gessius Florus drove the Jews into an insurrection. The party of the Zealots gained the upper hand. Florus was compelled to leave Jerus (66 AD). Even the good-sized army which Cestius Gallus commanded could not get control of the city, but was completely overpowered by the Jews on its retreat at Beth-horon. Now the entire country rose in rebellion. The Romans, under the leadership of Vespasian,

2. Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans

advanced with considerable power and first conquered Galilee, then under Jos (67 AD). In Jerus, in the meanwhile, different parties of the Jews were still fighting each other. Titus, the son of Vespasian, took the chief command after Vespasian had already conquered the E. Jordan country and the western coast, but had hastened to Rome in order to become emperor. Titus completely surrounded the city a few days before the Passover festival in the year 70. On the northern side the Romans first broke through the first and newest city wall, and after that the second. The third offered a longer resistance, and at the same time famine wrought havoc in Jerus. At last the battle raged about the temple, during which this structure went up in flames. According to the full description by Jos (*BJ*, VI, iv, 3 ff), Titus tried to prevent the destruction of the temple; according to Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* II, 20), however, this destruction was just what he wanted. A few fortified places yet maintained themselves after the fall of Jerus, e.g. Machaerus in the E. Jordan country, but they could not hold out very long.

Later insurrection of Bar-Cochba.—Once again the natural ambition for independence burst out in the insurrection of Bar-Cochba (132–35 AD). Pious teachers of the law, esp. Rabbi Akiba, had enkindled this fire, in order to rid the country of the rule of the Gentiles. However, notwithstanding some temporary successes, this insurrection was hopeless. Both the city and the country were desolated by the enraged Romans still more fearfully, and were depopulated still more than in 70. From that time Jerus was lost to the Jews. They lived on without a country of their own, without any political organization, without a sanctuary, in the Diaspora among the nations.

3. Spiritual Life of the Period

The spiritual and religious life of the Jews during the period preceding the dissolution of the state was determined particularly by the legalistic character of their ideals and their opposition to Hellenism. Their religion had become formalistic to a great extent since their return from the exile. The greatest emphasis was laid on obedience to the traditional ordinances, and these latter were chiefly expositions of ceremonial usurpers.

Appearance of Jesus Christ.—The crown of the history of Israel-Judah was the appearance of Jesus Christ. Looked at superficially, it may indeed appear as though His person and His life had but little affected the development of the national history of Israel. However, more closely viewed, we shall see that this entire history has its goal in Him and finds its realization in Him. After full fruit had developed out of this stock, the latter withered and died. He was to be the bearer of salvation for all mankind.

Literature.—The earliest historian of Israel was the Jew, Flavius Josephus, in the 1st Christian cent. His example found few followers in the early church, and we mention only the *Chronicle* of Sulpicius Severus. The subject is handled theologically by Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei.* It was only in the 17th cent. that a keen interest was awakened in this subject. Cf esp. James Usher, *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, London, 1605; J. B. Bousset, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, Paris, 1681; Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and the New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighboring Nations*, 2 vols, London, 1716; S. Shukford, *The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected*, London, 1727, this work treating the subject apologetically against the Deists. Cf also J. Saurin, *Discours historiques*, Amsterdam, 1720. Cocceius and his school systematized this history on the basis of their theological tenets, e.g. Gurtler, *Systema theol. prophetica*, Frankfurt, 1724. More systematic is the work of Vitringa, *Hypothesis historiae et chronologiae sacrae*, Frankfurt, 1708. The Lutheran church furnished the excellent work of Franz Budde, *Historia Eccles. Veteris Testamenti*, Jena, 1715. In the 18th cent., Bengel's school furnished some good histories of Israel, such as M. F. Roos's *Einleitung in die bibl. Geschichte*, 1700. More popular is the work of J. J. Hess. The best Catholic work from this time is J. Jahn's *Archaeologie*, 1802; while the Rationalistic period furnished Lorenz Bauer's *Geschichte der hebr. Nation*, 1800. In the 19th cent. the rationalistic and the conservative tendencies run parallel, and a new impulse was given to the study of this history by the phenomenal archaeological finds in Egypt and in Assyria and Babylon. Critical reconstruction of Israel's history characterizes the works of Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen. Other works of prominence are the *Geschichte des Volkes Gottes*, by Ewald; Kurtz, *Geschichte des alten Bundes* (these are tr^{d}); Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, with critical tendency. The work of August Koehler, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Geschichte, AT*, is positive, while Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels* is a classic of the advanced school. Other works mostly critical are the histories of Renan, Kuenen, Stade, Winckler, Piepenbring, Cornill, Guthe, Cheyne, and others. Kittel's *Geschichte der Hebräer* (tr^{d}) is more moderate in tone. For the NT the richest storehouse is Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (tr^{d}); Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* is also good. From the Jewish standpoint this history has been treated by S. Friedländer, *Geschichte des Israel-Volkes;* and J. M. Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten;* Moritz Raphall, *Post-biblical History of the Jews from the Close of the OT till the Destruction of the Second Temple, in the Year 70.*

Among English works may be especially mentioned Milman's *History of the Jews* and Stanley's, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, with smaller works by Ottley and others.

American works on the subject from the critical point of view are a *History of the Heb People*, by Kent, and a *History of the Jewish People* by Kent and Riggs in the "Historical Series for Bible Students," published by Messrs. Scribner. Cf also McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments;* Toy, *Judaism and Christianity;* H. P. Smith, *OT History.*

C. von Orelli

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF:

I. The First Period
    1. The Two Kingdoms
    2. The Ist Dynasty
    3. The IId Dynasty
    4. Civil War
II. Period of the Syrian Wars
    1. The IIId Dynasty
    2. World-Politics
    3. Battle of Karkar
    4. Loss of Territory
    5. Reform of Religion
    6. Revolution
    7. The IVth Dynasty
    8. Renewed Prosperity
    9. Anarchy
III. Decline and Fall
    1. Loss of Independence
    2. Decline
    3. Extinction
    4. Summary
Literature

I. The First Period.—The circumstances leading up to the foundation of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, or the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes, have been detailed under the heading Kingdom of Judah. From a secular point of view it would be more natural to regard the latter as an offshoot from the former, rather than the converse. But not only is the kingdom of Judah of paramount importance in respect of both religion and literature, but its government also was in the hands of a single dynasty, whereas that of the Northern Kingdom changed hands no less than 8 t, during the two and a half cents. of its existence. Moreover, the Southern Kingdom lasted about twice as long as the other.

1. The Two Kingdoms

No sooner had Jeroboam I been elected the first ruler of the newly founded state than he set about managing its affairs with the energy for which he was distinguished (1 K **11** 28). To complete the disruption he established a sanctuary in opposition to that of Jerus (Hos **8** 14), with its own order of priests (2 Ch **11** 14; **13** 9), and founded two capital cities, Shechem on the W. and Penuel on the E. of the Jordan (1 K **12** 25). Peace seems to have been maintained between the rival governments during the 17 years' reign of Rehoboam, but on the accession of his son Abijah war broke out (1 K **15** 6.7; 2 Ch **13** 3 ff). Shortly afterward Jeroboam died and was succeeded by his son Nadab,

2. The Ist Dynasty

who was a year later assassinated, and the Ist Dynasty came to an end, after an existence of 23 years, being limited, in fact, to a single reign.

3. The IId Dynasty

The turn of the tribe of Issachar came next. They had not yet given a ruler to Israel; they could claim none of the judges, but they had taken their part at the assembling of the tribes under Deborah and Barak of Naphtali. Baasha began his reign of 24 years by extirpating the house of his predecessor (1 K **15** 29), just as the ‘Abbâsids annihilated the Umeiyads. The capital was now Tirzah (1 K **14** 17; Cant **6** 4), a site not yet identified. His Judaean contemporary was Asa (q.v.), who, like his father Abijah, called in the aid of the Syrians against the Northern Kingdom. Baasha was unequal to the double contest and was forced to evacuate the ground he had gained. His son Elah was assassinated after a reign of a year, as he himself had assassinated the son of the founder of the preceding dynasty, and his entire family and adherents were massacred (1 K **16** 11).

4. Civil War

The name of the assassin was Zimri, an officer of the charioteers, of unknown origin and tribe. But the kingship was always elective, and the army chose Omri, the commander-in-chief, who besieged and took Tirzah, Zimri setting the palace on fire by his own hand and perishing in the flames. A second pretender, Tibni, a name found in Phoenician and Assyrian, of unknown origin, sprang up. He was quickly disposed of, and security of government was reëstablished.

II. Period of the Syrian Wars.—

1. The IIId Dynasty

The founder of the new dynasty was Omri. By this time the Northern Kingdom was so much united whole that the distinctions of tribe were forgotten. We do not know to what tribe Omri and his successors belonged. With Omri the political sphere of action of Israel became wider than it had been before, and its internal affairs more settled. His civil code was in force long after his dynasty was extinct, and was adopted in the Southern Kingdom (Mic **6** 16). The capital city, the site of which he chose, has remained a place of human habitation till the present day. Within the last few years, remains of his building have been recovered, showing a great advance in that art from those believed to go back to Rehoboam and Solomon. He was, however, unfortunate in his relations with Syria, having lost some towns and been forced to grant certain trading concessions to his northern neighbors (1 K **20** 34). But he was so great a king that long after his death the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes was known to the Assyrians as "the house of Omri."

2. World-Politics

Contemporarily with this dynasty, there occurred a revival of the Phoen power, which exerted a powerful influence upon the Israelite kings and people, and at the same time the Assyrians once more began to interfere with Syrian politics. The Northern Kingdom now began to play a part in the game of world-politics. There was peace with Judah, and alliance with Phoenicia was cemented by the marriage of Ahab, it seems after his father's death, with Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal (1 K **16** 31). This led to the erection of a temple in Samaria in which the Tyrian Baal was worshipped, while side by side with it the worship of Jeh was carried on as before. It seems as if the people had fallen back from the pure monotheism of Moses and David into what is known as henotheism. Against this relapse Elijah protested with final success. Ahab was a wise and skilful soldier, without rashness, but also without decision. He defeated a Syrian coalition in two campaigns (1 K **20**) and imposed on Ben-hadad the same conditions which the latter had imposed on Omri. With the close of the reign of Asa in Judah, war ceased between the two Israelite kingdoms and the two kings for the first time became friends and fought side by side (1 K **22**). In the reign of Ahab we note the beginning of decay in the state in regard to personal liberty and equal justice. The tragedy of Naboth's vineyard would not have happened but for the influence of Tyrian ideas, any more than in the case of the famous windmill which stands by the palace of Sans Souci at Potsdam. A further improvement in the art of building took place in this reign. The palace of Ahab, which has recently been recovered by the excavations carried on by the Harvard University Expedition under Dr. G. A. Reisner, shows a marked advance in fineness of workmanship upon that of Omri.

3. Battle of Karkar

The object of Ben-hadad's attack upon Ahab seems to have been to compel him to join a league founded to resist the encroachments of Assyria upon the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean. The confederates, who were led by Ben-hadad, and of whom Ahab was one, were defeated by Shalmaneser II in the battle of Karkar. The date is known from the inscriptions to have been the year 854–853. It is the first quite certain date in Heb history, and from it the earlier dates must be reckoned by working backward. Ahab seems to have seized the moment of Syria's weakness to exact by force the fulfilment of their agreement on the part of Ben-hadad (1 K **22**).

4. Loss of Territory

On the other hand, the king of Moab, Mesha, appears to have turned the same disaster to account by throwing off his allegiance to Israel, which dated from the time of David, but had apparently lapsed until it was enforced anew by Omri (MS, ll. 4 ff, but l. 8 makes Omri's reign + half Ahab's = 40 years). Ahab's son and successor Jehoram (omitting Ahaziah, who is chiefly notable as a devotee of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron), with the aid of Jehoshaphat and his vassal, the king of Edom, attempted to recover his rights, but in vain (2 K **3**). It may have been in consequence of the failure of this expedition that the Syrians again besieged Samaria and reduced it to great straits (2 K **6** 24; **7**), but the date is uncertain. Jehoram replied with a counter-attack upon the E. of the Jordan.

5. Reform of Religion

It was no doubt owing to his connection with the king of Judah that Jehoram so far modified the worship and ritual as to remove the worst innovations which had come to prevail in the Northern Kingdom (2 K **3** 1–3). But these half-measures did not satisfy the demands of the time, and in the revolution which followed both he and his dynasty were swept away. The dynasty had lasted, according to the Bib. account, less than half a century.

6. Revolution

The religious reformation, or rather revolution, which swept away almost entirely both royal houses, bears a good deal of resemblance to the Wahhâbî rising in Arabia at the beginning of the 18th cent. It took its origin from prophetism (1 K **19** 16), and was supported by the Rechabite Jonadab. The object of the movement headed by Jehu was nominally to revenge the prophets of Jeh put to death by order of Jezebel, but in reality it was much wider and aimed at nothing less than rooting out the Baal-worship altogether, and enforcing a return to the primitive faith and worship. Just as the Wahhâbîs went back to Mohammed's doctrine, as contained in the Kor'ân and the Tradition, and as the Rechabites preserved the simplicity of the early desert life, so Jehu went back to the state of things as they were at the foundation of the Northern Kingdom under Jeroboam I.

7. IVth Dynasty

Jehu's reforms were carried out to the letter, and the whole dynasty of Omri, which was responsible for the innovations, was annihilated like its predecessors. The religious fervor, however, soon subsided, and Jehu's reign ended in disaster. Hazael, whose armies had been exterminated by the forces of Assyria, turned his attention to the eastern territory of Israel. In the turbulent land of Gilead, the home of Elijah, disappointed in its hopes of Jehu, he quickly established his supremacy (2 K **10** 32 ff). Jehu also appreciated the significance of the victories of Assyria, and was wise enough to send tribute to Shalmaneser II. This was in the year 842. Under his son and successor Jehoahaz the fortunes of Israel continued to decline, until Hazael imposed upon it the most humiliating conditions (Am **1** 3–5; 2 K **13** 1 ff).

8. Renewed Prosperity

Toward the end of the reign of Jehoahaz, however, the tide began to turn, under the leadership of a military genius whose name has not been recorded (2 K **13** 5); and the improvement continued, after the death of Hazael, under his son Jehoash (Joash), who even besieged and plundered Jerus (2 K **14** 8 ff). But it was not until the long reign of Jeroboam II, son of Jehoash, that the frontiers of Israel, were, for the first time since the beginning of the kingdom, restored to their ideal limits. Even Damascus and Hamath were subdued (2 K **14** 28). But the prosperity was superficial. Jeroboam II stood at the head of a military oligarchy, who crushed the great mass of the people under them. The tribune of the plebs at this time was Amos of Tekoa. His Cassandra-like utterances soon fulfilled themselves. The dynasty, which had been founded in blood and had lasted some 90 years, on the accesssion of Jeroboam's son Zachariah gave place to 12 years of anarchy.

9. Anarchy

Zachariah was almost immediately assassinated by Shallum, who within a month was in turn assassinated by Menahem, a soldier of the tribe of Gad, stationed in Tirzah, to avenge the death of his master. The low social condition of Israel at this time is depicted in the pages of Hos. The atrocities perpetrated by the soldiers of Menahem are mentioned by Jos (*Ant*, IX, xi, 1).

III. Decline and Fall.—Meantime Pul or Pulu had founded the second Assyr empire under the name of Tiglath-pileser III. Before conquering Babylonia, he broke the power of the Hittites in the W., and made himself master of the routes leading to the Phoen seaports. As the eclipse of the Assyr power had allowed the expansion of Israel under Jeroboam II, so its revival now crushed the independence of the nation forever. Menahem bought stability for his throne by the payment of an immense bribe of 1,000 talents of silver, or $2,000,000, reckoning the silver talent at $2,000. The money was raised by means of an assessment of 50 talents each upon all the men of known wealth. The payment of this tribute is mentioned on the Assyr monuments, the date being 738.

1. Loss of Independence

2. Decline

Menahem reigned 10 years. His son Pekahiah was, soon after his accession, assassinated by one of his own captains, Pekah, son of Remaliah, who established himself, with the help of some Gileadites, as king. He formed an alliance with Rezin of Damascus against Israel, defeating Ahaz in two pitched battles, taking numerous captives, and even reaching the walls of Jerus. The result was disastrous to both allies. Ahaz called in the aid of the Assyrians. Tiglath-pileser put an end to the kingdom of Damascus, and deported the inhabitants of Northern and Eastern Pal. The kingdom of Israel was reduced to the dimensions of the later province of Samaria. Pekah himself was assassinated by Hoshea, who became king under the tutelage of the Assyr overlord. The depopulated provinces were filled with colonists from the conquered countries of the East. The year is 734.

3. Extinction

Hoshea was never an independent king, but the mere vassal of Assyria. He was foolish enough to withhold the annual tribute, and to turn to Egypt for succor. Meanwhile, Tiglath-pileser III had been succeeded by Shalmaneser IV. This king laid siege to Samaria, but died during the siege. The city was taken by his successor Sargon, who had seized the throne, toward the end of the year 722.

4. Summary

The Northern Kingdom had lasted 240 years, which fall into three periods of about 80 years each, the middle period being the period of the Syrian wars. As it was fully formed when it broke off from the Southern Kingdom, its history shows no development or evolution, but is made up of undulations of prosperity and of decline. It was at its best immediately after its foundation, and again under Jeroboam II. It was strong under Baasha, Omri and Ahab, but generally weak under the other kings. Every change of dynasty meant a period of anarchy, when the country was at the mercy of every invader. The fortunes of Israel depended entirely on those of Assyria. When Assyria was weak, Israel was strong. Given the advance of Assyria, the destruction of Israel was certain. This was necessary and was clearly foreseen by Hosea (**9** 3, etc). The wonder is that the little state, surrounded by such powerful neighbors, lasted as long as it did. See, further, ISRAEL, HISTORY OF, V.

LITERATURE.—The most important works are Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (ET by Martineau and Glover); Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels;* Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire . . . . de la Palestine;* and there are many more. Ewald is best known to Eng. readers through the medium of Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church.* See further under CHRONOLOGY; ISRAEL, and arts. on individual kings.

THOMAS HUNTER WEIR

ISRAEL, RELIGION OF:

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  - (3) Pharisees and Sadducees
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  - (5) Positive Connections between Judaism and Hellenism
  - (6) Apocalyptic Literature

III. Conclusion: Characteristic Features of the Religion of Israel
- 1. The Living God
- 2. The Relation of Man to This God

Literature

I. Introduction.—In former times it was the rule to draw out of the OT its religious contents only for dogmatic purposes, without making any distinction between the different books. These writings were all regarded as the documents of the Divine revelation which had been given to this people alone and not to others. At the present time the first inquiry in the study of these books deals historically with the religious development of the Israelites. This religion was not of a strictly uniform nature, but is characterized by a development and a growth, and in the centuries which are covered by the OT books it has passed through many changes. Then, too, in the different periods of this development there were various religious trends among the people and very different degrees in the extent of their religious knowledge. The common people were at times still entangled in crude heathen ideas, while the bearers of a higher Divine light ranked vastly above them. And even in those times, when these enlightened teachers secured full recognition, there occurred relapses into lower forms of religion on the part of the masses, esp. because the influence of the nations surrounding Israel at all times made itself felt in the religious life and thoughts of the latter. And even when the correct teachings were accepted by the people, a malformation of the entire religion could readily occur through a petrifaction of the religious life. It is the business of the science of the history of religion to furnish a correct picture of this development, which in this article can be done only in the form of a sketch.

One of the recent results of the science of the history of religion is the knowledge that the religion of Israel itself, and not merely the corruptions of this religion, stood in a much closer connection with other religions than had in former times been supposed. The wealth of new data from the history of oriental nations lately secured has shown that it is not correct to regard the religion of Israel as an isolated phenomenon, but that considerable light is thrown upon it from analogous facts from surrounding regions. Of especial importance in this respect is the study of Assyr and Bab antiquities, with their rich and illustrative monuments, and, by the side of these, also those of Egypt; and, further, although these are indeed much smaller in number, the inscriptions and monuments of a number of peoples situated much nearer to Israel and ethnologically more closely connected with them, such as the Moabites, Aramaeans, Arabians, Canaanites, Phoenicians, and others. For later times, Parsiism is an esp. important factor.

These antiquities have shown that between the religion of Israel and the religions of these nations there existed such close connections that a relationship between them cannot be denied. It is indeed true that these similarities are mostly of a formal nature, but they nevertheless point to similar conceptions of the Divine Being and of the relation of man to this Being. We find such connecting links in the cultus, in the traditions concerning the creation of the world, concerning the earliest history of mankind, etc; further, in the conception of what is legally right and of the customs of life; in the ideas concerning death and the world beyond; concerning the souls of men and the supernatural spiritual world, and elsewhere. These analogies and related connections have appeared so pronounced to some savants, especially Assyriologists, that they are willing to find in the religion of the Israelites and Jews only a reflection of the Bab, or of what they call the "religion of the ancient Orient." But over against this claim, a closer and deeper investigation shows that a higher world of thought and ideals at all times permeates the Israelitish religion and gives to it a unique character and a Divine truth, which is lacking in all other religions and which made Israel's religion capable of becoming the basis of that highest Divine revelation which through Christ came forth from it. We will here briefly sketch the progress of the development of this religion, and then formulate a summary of those characteristics which distinguish it from the other religions.

1. Pre-Mosaic Religion of the Ancestors of Israel

II. Historical Outline.—(1) *The traditional view.*—The sources for this period are meager. Yet what has been reported concerning the religion of the period of the Patriarchs is enough to give us a picture of their conception of the Deity. And this picture is more deserving of acceptance than is the representation of the matter by the traditional dogmatics of the church and also that of those modern scholars who are under the spell of the evolutionary idea, and who undertake to prove in the Bib. history of Israel the complete development from the lowest type of fetishism and animism to the heights of ethical monotheism. The views of the old church teachers were to the effect that the doctrine concerning the one true God had been communicated by God to Adam in its purity and perfection, and by him had been handed through an unbroken chain of true confessors of the faith (Seth, Noah, etc), down to Abraham. But this view does not find confirmation in the Bib. record. On the contrary, in Josh **24** 2.15, it is even expressly stated of the ancestors of Abraham that they had worshipped strange gods in Chaldaea. And the ancestors of the people, Abraham, Jacob, and others, do not appear on the stage of history with a teachable creed, but themselves first learn to know gradually, in the school of life, the God whom they serve, after He has made Himself known to them in extraordinary manifestations. Abraham does not yet know that Jeh does not demand any human sacrifices. Jacob still has the narrow view, that the place where he has slept is the entrance portal to heaven (Gen **28** 16.17). Omnipresence and omniscience are not yet attributes which they associate with their idea of the Divinity. They still stand on a simple-minded and primitive stage, as far as their knowledge of the living God is concerned.

(2) *The modern view.*—Over against this, modern scholars describe pre-Mosaic Israel as yet entirely entangled in Sem heathen ideas, and even regard the religion of the people in general, in the post-Mosaic period down to the 8th cent. BC, as little better than this, since in their opinion the Jeh-religion had not thoroughly permeated the ranks of the common people, and had practically remained the possession of the men, while the women had continued to cultivate the ancient customs and views. W. R. Smith and Wellhausen have pointed to customs and ideas of the pre-Islamic Arabs, and S.I. Curtiss to such in the modern life of oriental tribes, which are claimed to have been the property of the most ancient Sem heathen tribes, and these scholars use these as the key for the ancient Israelitic rites

and customs. But even if much light is thrown from these sources on the forms of life and cultus as depicted by the Scriptures, much caution must be exercised in the use made of this material. In the first place, neither those Arabs of the 6th cent. AD, nor their successors of today, can be regarded as "primitive Semites." In the second place, it is a question, even if in the earliest period of Israel such customs are actually found, what they really signified for the tribe of Abraham. We are here not speaking of a prehistoric religion, but of the religion of that tribe that came originally from Ur of the Chaldees, and migrated first by way of Haran to Canaan, and then to Egypt. In this tribe such primitive customs, perhaps, had long been spiritualized. For these Hebrews cannot be regarded as being as uncivilized as are the New Zealanders, or the Indians of North America, or those Bedouins who have never left the desert; for they had lived in Babylonia for a long period, even if, while there, they had withdrawn themselves as much as possible from the more cultured life of the cities. The patriarchs were in touch with the civilization of the Babylonians. We do not, indeed, want to lay special stress on the fact that they lived in Ur and in Haran, two cities of the moon-god, the worship of which divinity shows monotheistic tendencies. But the history of the family of Abraham, e.g. his relation to Sarah and Hagar, shows indisputable influence of Bab legal ideas. Probably, too, the traditions concerning the beginnings of history, such as the Creation, the Deluge, and the like, were brought from Babylon to Canaan by the tribe of Abraham.

(3) *A higher conception of the Deity; 'ilu, 'ēl.*—But this tribe had come to Babylonia from Northern Arabia. It is a very important fact that the oldest Arabian inscriptions, namely the Minaean and the Sabaean, lead us to conclude that these tribes entertained a relatively high conception of the Deity, as has been shown by Professor Fritz Hommel. The oldest Arabian proper names are not found combined with names of all kinds of gods, but with the simple *'ilu*, *'ēl*, or God, or with *'ilī*, "my God." Then, too, God is often circumscribed by the nouns expressing relationship, such as *'ābhī*, "my father," or *'āḥī*, "my brother," or *'ammī*, "my uncle," and others, which express an intimate relationship between man and his God. Corresponding to these are also the old Sem proper names in Canaan, as also the name Abraham, i.e. *'Ābhīrām*, "my father is exalted," or Ishmael, and many others. We accordingly must believe that the ancestors of Abraham immigrated into Babylon with a comparatively highly developed religion and with a uniform conception of God. Here their faith may have been unfavorably influenced, and it is not impossible that the religious disagreement between the patriarch and his neighbors may have been a reason for his migration. Abraham himself is regarded by the Canaanites as a "friend of God," who stands in an intimate relationship with his God, and he is accordingly to be regarded, not merely as a secular, but also as a religious tribal head, an *Imâm*, a prophetical personality.

(4) *Totemism; animism, etc.*—Still less is it correct to ascribe to this tribe the lowest religious stage possible, namely that of fetishism or of totemism (worship of demons or worship of animals) and the like. Some think they find evidences of the worship of animals in Israel. The fact that some Israelites were regarded as descendants of Leah ("wild cow"[?]), others of Rachel ("mother sheep"), is claimed to refer to the fact that these animals were totems of the tribe, i.e. were worshipped as ancestors. But for this claim there is no scintilla of proof. These names of women, esp. in the case of a nomadic tribe, can be explained in a much more simple way. The calves that appear in later times as images of Jeh are just as little a proof for the claim that calves were worshipped by the ancestors of Israel as divinities. We read nothing of such an image before the sojourn in Egypt, and after that time this image was always regarded symbolically. The fact, again, that from the days of Moses, and without a doubt earlier than this, certain animals were not allowed to be eaten, does not justify the conclusion which Professor B. Stade and others have drawn from it, viz. that these animals were in olden times regarded as divine (*tabu*), and for that reason were not permitted to be eaten, and only afterward were avoided as "unclean." The list of unclean animals in Lev **11** and Dt **14** speaks for an altogether different reason for regarding them as unclean. It is not at all thinkable that these many, and as a rule unclean and low class of animals, were at one time accorded divine honor, while the higher and cleaner class had been excluded from this distinction. We have accordingly no reason for finding animal worship here. On the other hand, it is self-evident, in the case of such an old nomadic tribe, that man stood in a more familiar relationship to his animals, and for this reason the slaughter of these was a more significant matter than was afterward the case. This was done only on extraordinary occasions, and it readily was accorded a religious consecration. See also TOTEMISM.

The idea is also emphatically to be rejected, that in the pre-Mosaic period mere animism prevailed in Israel—the worship of spirits and of demons. It has been tried in vain to show that in the most primitive period of Israel's religion the worship of ancestors occupied a prominent place. As Professor Emil Kautzsch has emphasized, the arguments which have been drawn from the mourning customs of the Israelites in favor of this claim (as this is done by F. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode, nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel und des Judentums*, Giessen, 1892) are altogether inadequate, as is also the appeal to the marriage with a deceased wife's sister, as though the purpose of the institution was to secure for the deceased who had died without issue somebody who would attend to his worship. Because of the strongly developed mundane character of the religious life in Israel, it is natural that it was regarded as a calamity if there was no issue who kept alive the memory of the departed in the tribe. But even if the argument from the mourning customs of Israel were more convincing than is actually the case, and that gifts, such as food, oil, and the like, were placed in the tomb of the departed, as was often done by the Canaanites, yet this would be in the ancient Israelitish religion a matter of subordinate importance, which could readily be explained on the ground of natural feelings. It could never be made to appear plausible that all religions had grown out of such a cultus. If the teraphim are to be regarded as having been originally images of ancestors, which is quite plausible, then they would indeed represent a continuous ancestral cultus, as the people evidently kept these images in their houses in order to attract to themselves blessings, to avert misfortunes and to secure oracles. But these dolls, modeled after the form of human beings, already in the period of the Patriarchs were regarded as a foreign element and in contradiction to the more earnest religious sentiments (cf Gen **31** 19; **35** 2.4).

That Israel, like all ancient peoples, did at one time pass through an "animistic" stage of religious development could best be proved, if at all, from their conception of the soul. Among the purifications those are esp. necessary which are demanded by the presence of a dead body in the same room with the living, as the living are defiled by the soul of the deceased in leaving the body (Nu **19** 14). Even the uncovered vessels are defiled by his soul-substance (**19** 15). This, however, is a biological conception, which has nothing to do with the conception of the Deity.

Or are those perhaps right, who think that the primitive Israelites had accepted animism in this sense, that they did not as yet worship any actual divinities, but only a multitude of spirits or demons, be these ghosts of departed human beings or the spirits of Nature, local *numina?* In favor of this last-mentioned view, appeal is made to this fact, that in the ancient Sem world local divinities with very circumscribed spheres of power are very often to be met with, esp. at springs, trees, oases, at which a demon or divinity is regarded as having his abode, who is described as the *baʽal* or master in this place; cf such local names as Baal-tamar, Baal-hermon, and others. Such local spirits would then be the *'ĕlōhīm*, out of which would grow more mighty divinities of whole cities and countries. To these it would be necessary yet to add those spirits which were worshipped by individual tribes, partly spirits of ancestors, who also could have grown into higher divinities, while the rest of the mass of deities, good and bad, had to content themselves with a lower rank.

As against this, we must above all consider the fact that in ancient Israel the demons played a very subordinate rôle. The contrast in this regard with Babylonia is phenomenal. It is probably the case that at all periods in Israel there existed a belief in unclean spirits, who perhaps lived in the desert (cf the שְׂעִירִים, s^{e}ʽīrīm), or in the demoniacs, and could otherwise, too, do much harm. But they are not described as having much influence on man's life. How few indications of such a view can be found and how little most of these indications prove we can see in the work of H. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im AT*, Tübingen, 1906. After the Bab exile, and still more after the longer sojourn of the Israelites in Babylon, their imagination was to a much greater degree than before saturated by the faith in spirits. Then the closer study of such Sem *b^{e}ʽālīm* teaches us that they were not originally conceived in such a narrow sense. They are very often of a solar nature, celestial powers who have their abode at a particular place, and there produce fertility, but in this special function represent a general power of Nature. The same is the case with the tribal divinities. These are by no means merely the personifications of the small power of a particular tribe, but claim to be absolute beings, which shows that they are regarded as higher divinities which the tribe has appropriated and adapted to its own political ideas. We accordingly have no right to think that such a divinity was to be regarded as really confined to a particular hill, or even to a certain stone or tree where it was worshipped. The rock or stone or tree divinities of the ancient Arabs are celestial powers, who have only taken their abode at these places, even if popular superstition did actually identify them with such stones or trees.

It is therefore a misconception of the actual state of affairs when the conclusion is drawn that stone-worship is meant when Jacob erects a stone monument, the *maççēbhāh* at Bethel, and anoints it with oil, and when this is understood to be a low type of fetishism. Stones are to the present day, for the wandering tribes, the signs by which important localities, esp. sacred places, are designated. The symbolical significance of such stones may be quite different, as also the relation which a divinity is thought to sustain to such a stone monument. For this reason, too, the judgment of the Bible concerning such objects is quite different. Only then, when they are symbols of idolatry, as the *hammānīm*, i.e. representations of the sun-god, *baʽal ḥammān*, are they everywhere rejected in the OT. In the same way a mighty tree, esp. if it is found near a spring of water, is in the Orient, by its very nature, a proof of the life-producing God. Such a tree naturally suggests that it is a place where divine life can be felt. Trees that have been made sacred by manifestations of the divinities or have been consecrated by the memory of a great personality, esp. the oak, the terebinth, the palm, were regarded as favorite places beneath which the divinity was sought. Only in that case, as was indeed common in Canaan, when the unhallowed powers of Nature were here adored, was this custom reprehensible in the eyes of the prophets. The *'ăshērīm*, too, are of a decidedly heathen character, as these trunks of trees were symbols of the goddess Ashera. Further, it was a favorite custom to worship the divinities on the high places, for the reason that they were regarded as in or attached to the heavens. Only because of the heathen worship which was practised on these *bāmōth* were they, in later times, so hateful to the prophets.

(5) *Conception of God.*—In answer to the question, what ideas the patriarchs, the pre-Mosaic leaders of the people of Israel, entertained concerning God, attention must first of all be drawn to the fact that God spoke to some of these personally, be this in one form of manifestation or in another. These men heard the word of God with their own ears, and that, too, in the most important moments of their lives. In the case of Abraham, these revelations are fundamental for him and for his people. The prophetic factor, which goes through the entire history of Israel and constitutes the life-principle that fills its religion and causes its further development, is at the very first beginnings the source whence the knowledge of God is taken. This presupposes a personal God; and, as a matter of fact, a fixed personality is demanded by the character of such a God. His "I" impresses itself upon man with absolute power and demands his service entirely. This "I" constantly remains the same, and everywhere evinces the same power, be this in Haran or in Canaan or in Egypt, and whether it manifests itself to Abraham or to Isaac or to Jacob. This oneness is not formulated as a didactic proposition, but as a living reality: only this God existed for His adherents. These appeal to Him at all times with equal success. The manifestations of this God may be of a different kind at different times. He is even entertained, on one occasion, as a personal guest by His friend Abraham, together with two companions (Gen **18** 1 ff). On another occasion (Gen **15** 17) Abraham beholds Him in symbolical form as a burning and fiery furnace (probably to be regarded as similar to the movable altar discovered by Sellin in Taanach). But these are to be regarded as special favors shown by God. In general it was the rule that God could not be seen without the beholder suffering death. Then, too, the conviction is very old, that what man sees in the case of such theophanies cannot have been God Himself, but that He had manifested Himself through a subordinate agent, an angel (this is particularly the case in the document E in Gen). This angel, however, has no significance in himself, but is only the creature-veil, out of which God Himself speaks in the first person. In the most elementary manner this formal limitation of God appears in Gen **11** 5, where He goes to the trouble of descending from heaven in order to look at something on earth; and in **18** 21, when He desires to go to Sodom personally, in order to convince Himself that what He has intended to send upon this city

is also the right thing. It is indeed possible to find in the first instance some traits of irony, and possibly in the second case the epic details may have added something. However, God is no longer spoken of in such a human way in the post-Mosaic times. This shows that the document J at this place contains material that is very old. All the more is it to be noted what exalted conceptions of God prevail already in these narratives. He dwells in heaven (**11** 5; **19** 24), something that has without reason been claimed not to have been the idea entertained in the older period. He is the God of the world, who exercises supremacy over all the nations. He rules with justice, checks pride, avenges injustice, and that, too, not only in a summary manner on whole countries, but also in such a way that He takes into consideration every individual and saves the one just man out of the midst of the mass of sinners (**18** 25; **19**). In short, He is already the true God, although yet incompletely and primitively grasped in His attributes.

This God, ruling with omnipotent power in Nature and history, has entered into a special relationship with the tribe of Abraham. He has become the Covenant-God of the patriarch, according to the testimony of the old document J in Gen **15**. We accordingly find here already the consciousness that that God who rules over the world has entered into a special relationship with one small nation or tribe. This fact appears also in this, that Abram (Gen **14**) acknowledges the highest God of the priest-king Melchizedek (Gen **14** 20 ff) as his God, as the founder of heaven and of earth, and identifies Him with his own Covenant-God Jeh.

(6) *Cultus.*—As far as the cultus is concerned, it can be stated that at this period it was still of a simple, but solemn and dignified character. The people preferred to worship their God at such places where He had manifested Himself, usually on a high place, on which an altar had been erected. There were no images of the Divinity extant. As the word מִזְבֵּחַ, *mizbē^aḥ*, "altar," shows, the sacrifices were usually bloody. Human sacrifice had already in the days of Abraham been overcome by the substitution of an animal, although in olden times it may have been practised, perhaps, as the sacrifice of the firstborn; and in later times, too, through the influence of the example of heathen nations, it may have found its way into Israel now and then. Both larger and smaller animals were sacrificed, as also fowls. The idea that prevailed in this connection was that God, too, enjoyed the food which served man as his sustenance, although God, in a finer way, experienced as a pleasure only the scent of the sacrifices, as this ascended in the flame and the smoke (Gen **8** 21). But the main thing was the blood as the substratum of the soul. The fruits of the field, esp. the first-fruits, were also offered. Of liquid offerings, it is probable that in primitive times water was often brought, as this was often a costly possession; and in Canaan, oil, which the inhabitants of this country employed extensively in their sacrifices (Jgs **9** 9, something that is confirmed also by recent excavations); also wine (Jgs **9** 13). As the ancient burnt or whole sacrifices (Gen **8** 20) give expression to reverence, thankfulness, the prayer for protection or the granting of certain favors, the people from the very beginning also instituted sacrificial feasts, which gave expression to the covenant with God, the communion with the Covenant-God. In this act the sacrifice was divided between God and those who sacrificed. The latter ate and drank joyously before God after the parts dedicated to Him had been sacrificed, and esp. after the blood had been poured around the altar. The idea that this was the original form of the sacrifice and that gift-sacrifices were introduced only at a later period when agriculture had been introduced is not confirmed by historical evidences. That man felt himself impelled, by bringing to his God gifts of the best things he possessed, to express his dependence and gratitude, is too natural not to have been from the beginning a favorite expression of religious feeling. In connection with the sacrifices the name of God was solemnly called upon. J even says that this was the name Jeh (Gen **4** 25), while E and P tell us that this name came into use only through Moses.

According to P (Gen **17** 10 ff), circumcision was already introduced by Abraham in his tribe as the sign of the covenant. There are good reasons why the introduction of this custom is not like that of so many other ceremonies attributed to Moses. The custom was without doubt of an older origin. From whatever source it may have been derived in its earlier ethnological stage, for the Israelites circumcision is an act of purification and of consecration for connection with the congregation of Jeh. A special priesthood, however, did not yet exist in this period, as the head of the family and of the tribe exercised the priestly functions and rights (cf Gen **35** 1 ff), although the peoples inhabiting Canaan at that time had priests (Gen **14** 18).

2. The Mosaic Covenant with Jehovah

(1) *The covenant-idea.*—Israel claims that its existence as a nation and its special relation to Jeh begins with its exodus from Egypt and with the conclusion of the covenant at Mt. Sinai (cf Am **3** 2; **9** 7). As the preparation for this relation goes back to one individual, viz. Abraham, thus it is Moses through whom God delivered His people from bondage and received them into His covenant (see concerning Moses as a prophet and mediator of the covenant, ISRAEL, HISTORY OF). It is a matter of the highest significance for the religion of Israel that the relation of this people to Jeh was not one which existed by the nature of things, as was the case with the other oriental tribal and national religions, but that it was the outgrowth of a historical event, in which their God had united Himself with them. The conception of a covenant, upon which Jeh entered as a matter of free choice and will, and to which the people voluntarily gave their assent, is not an idea of later date in the religious history of Israel, which grew out of the prophetic thoughts of the 8th and 7th cents. BC, as has been claimed, but is found, as has been made prominent by Professor Fr. Giesebrecht (*Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes*, 1900), already in the oldest accounts of the conclusion of the covenant (E, J), and must be ascribed to the Mosaic age. This includes the fact, too, that this covenant, which unites Jeh with Israel, could not be of an indissoluble character, but that the covenant was based on certain conditions. The superficial opinion of the people might often cause them to forget this. But the prophets could, in later times, base their proclamations on this fact. Further, the thought is made very prominent that this covenant imposed ethical duties. While the divinities of other nations, Egyp, Bab, Phoen, demanded primarily that their devotees should erect temples in their honor and should bring them an abundance of sacrifices, in Israel the exalted and ethical commandment is found in the forefront. The covenant relation to the God of Israel can legitimately be found only where the relation to one's fellow-man is normal and God-pleasing (Decalogue).

(2) *The Covenant-God, Jehovah.*—The special revelation which Moses received is characterized

by the word Jehovah (*Yahweh*) as a name for God. This name, according to the well-authenticated report of Ex **6** 3 (P), which is supported also by E, had not been "known" to the fathers. This does not necessarily mean that nothing had been known of this name. Bab prayers often speak of an "unknown god," and in doing this refer to a god with whom those who prayed had not stood in personal relation. The God of the fathers appeared to Moses, but under a name which was not familiar to the fathers nor was recognized by them. In agreement with this is the fact that only from the time of Moses proper names compounded with some abbreviation of Jeh, such as Jah, Jahu, Jeho, are found, but soon after this they became very common. Accordingly, it would be possible that such names were in scattered cases found also before the days of Moses among the tribes of Israel, and it is not impossible that this name was familiar to other nations. The Midianites esp., who lived originally at Mt. Sinai, have been mentioned in this connection, and also the Kenites (Stade, Budde), some scholars appealing for this claim to the influence which, according to Ex **18**, Jethro had on the institutions of Moses. However, the matters mentioned here refer only to legal procedure (cf vs 14 ff). We nowhere hear that Moses took over the Jeh-worship from this tribe. On the contrary, Jethro begins only at this time (Ex **18** 11) to worship Jeh, the God of Moses, and the common sacrificial meal, according to ver 12, did not take place in the presence of Jeh, but, accommodating it to the guest, in the presence of Elohim. Then we nowhere hear that the Kenites, who lived together with the Israelites, ever had any special prominence in the service of Jeh, as was the case, e.g., with the Median Magi, who had charge of the priesthood among the Persians, or with the Etruscans among the Romans, who examined the entrails. Yet the Kenites would necessarily have enjoyed special authority in the Jeh-cultus, if their tribal God had become the national God of Israel. The only thing that can be cited in favor of an Arabian origin of the name of Jeh is the Arab. word-form, הָוָה, *ḥāwāh*, for הָיָה, *hāyāh*. On the other hand, a number of facts indicate that Ja or Jau as a name for God was common in Syria, Philistia and Babylonia; cf Joram, son of the king of Hamath (2 S **8** 10), and Jaubidi, the king of this city, who was removed by Sargon. In these cases, however, Israelitish influences may have been felt. Friedrich Delitzsch claims to have discovered the names Jahve-ilu and Jahum-ilu on inscriptions as early as the times of Hammurabi. But his readings are sharply attacked. However this may be, the name God as proclaimed by Moses was not only something new for Israel, but was also announced by him (possibly also with a new pronunciation, *Yahweh* instead of *Yahu*) with a new signification. At any rate, the explanation in Ex **3** 14 (E), "I Am That I Am," for doubting which we have no valid reasons, indicates a depth in the conception of God which far surpasses the current conceptions of the Syrian and the Bab pantheon. It would, perhaps, be easier to find analogous thoughts in Egyp speculations. But this absolute God of Moses is not the idea of speculative priests, but is a popular God who claims to control all public as well as private life.

(3) *Monotheism of Moses.*—Attempts have been made to deny the monotheistic character of this God, and some have thought that the term "monolatry" would suffice to express this stage in man's knowledge of God, since the existence of other gods was not denied, but rather was presupposed (cf passages like Ex **15** 11), and it was only forbidden to worship any god in addition to Jeh (**20** 3). However, this distinction is fundamental, and separates, in kind, the religion of Moses from that of the surrounding nations. For among these latter, the worship of more than one divine being at the same time was the rule. The gods of the Phoenicians, the Aramaeans, and the Babylonians are, like those of the Egyptians, beings that spontaneously increase in number. They are divided into male and female groups of two, while in Heb there is not even a word extant for goddess, and the idea of a female companion-being to Jeh is an impossibility. Then, too, it is characteristic of the ethnic god that he is multiplied into many *b^{e}ʿālīm*, and does not feel it as a limitation or restriction when kindred divinities are associated with him. However, the Jeh of Moses does not suffer another being at His side, for the very reason that He claims to be the absolute God. Passages like Ex **15** 11, too, purpose chiefly only to express His unique character; but if He is without any equals among the gods, then He is the only one who can claim to be God; and it is in the end only the logical dogmatic formulation of the facts in the case when we are told in Dt, "Jeh he is God; there is none else besides him" (**4** 35.39; **6** 4; cf Ps **18** 32). This does not exclude the fact that also in later times, when monotheism had been intelligently accepted, mention is still made of the gods of the heathen as of real powers (cf, e.g. Jer **49** 1). This was rather the empirical method of expression, which found its objective basis in the fact that the heathen world was still in possession of some real spiritual power. Most of all, the popular faith or the superstition of the people could often regard the gods of the other nations as ruling in the same way as Jeh did in Israel (cf, e.g. 2 Ch **28** 23). But the idea that the faithful worshippers of Jeh after the days of Moses ever recognized as equal and of the same rank with their own God the gods of the heathen must be most emphatically denied, as also the claim that these Israelites assigned to Jeh only restricted powers over a small territory. This surely would have been in flat contradiction to the well-known history of the Mosaic period, in which Jeh had demonstrated His superiority over the famous gods of Egypt in so glorious a manner. Cf on this point James Robertson, *Early Religion*, 4th ed, 297 ff (against Stade).

(4) *Impossibility of representing Jeh by an image.*—The 2d principle which the Mosaic Decalogue establishes is that Jeh cannot be represented by any image. In this doctrine, too, there is a conscious contrast to the nations round about Israel (in addition to Ex **20** 4, cf Dt **5** 8; also Ex **24** 17). That in the last-mentioned passage only molten images are forbidden, while those hewn of stone or made of wood might be permitted, is an arbitrary claim, which is already refuted by the fact that the Mosaic sanctuary did not contain any image of Jeh. The Ark of the Covenant was indeed a visible symbol of the presence of God, but it is a kind of throne of Him who sits enthroned invisibly above the cherubim, as has been shown above, and accordingly does not admit of any representation of God by means of an image. This continued to be the case in connection with the central sanctuary, with the exception of such aberrations as are already found in Ex **32** and which are regarded as a violation of the Covenant, also at the time when the sanctuary was stationed at Shiloh. The fact that at certain local cults Jeh-images were worshipped is to be attributed to the influence of heathen surroundings (cf on this point J. Robertson, loc. cit., 215 ff).

(5) *Ethical character of the God of Moses.*—A further attribute of the God of Moses, which exalts Him far above the ethnic divinities of the surrounding peoples, is His ethical character. This appears

in the fact that His principles inculcate fundamental ethical duties and His agents are chiefly occupied with the administration of legal justice. Moses himself became the lawgiver of Israel. The spirit of this legislation is deeply ethical. Only we must not forget that Moses did not originate their ordinances and laws (judgings), but rather under divine guidance selected from the "judgings" of judges suitable material. But he purified these legal usages, which he found in use among the people, through the spirit of his knowledge of God, protected as much as possible the poor, the weak, the enslaved, and elevated the female sex, as is shown by a comparison with related Bab laws (CH). Then, too, we must not forget that the people were comparatively uneducated, and esp. that a number of crude classes had joined themselves to the people at that time, who had to be stringently handled if their corrupt customs were not to infect the whole nation. The humane and philanthropic spirit of the Mosaic legislation appears particularly pronounced in Dt, which, however, represents a later reproduction of the Mosaic system, but is entirely the outcome of Mosaic principles. Most embarrassing for our Christian feeling is the hardness of the Mosaic ordinances in reference to the heathen Canaanites, who were mercilessly to be rooted out (Dt **7** 2; **20** 16 f). Here there prevails a conception of God, which is found also among the Moabites, whose King Mesha, on his famous monument, boasts that he had slain all the inhabitants of the city of Kiriath-jearim as "a spectacle to Chemosh, the god of Moab." According to Dt **7** 2 ff, the explanation of this hardness is to be found in the fact that such a treatment was regarded as a Divine judgment upon the worshippers of idols, and served at the same time as a preventive against the infection of idolatry. The discovery of serpent worship among Canaanites gives emphasis to this judgment.

(6) *The theocracy.*—The vital principle of the organization given through Moses to his people, Jos (*CAp*, II, 16) has aptly called a theocracy, because the lawgiver has subordinated all relations of life to the government of his God. It is entirely incorrect when Wellhausen denies that there is a difference between theocracy and hierarchy. Not the priesthood, but Jeh alone, is to rule all things in Israel, and Jeh had many other organs or agents besides the priests, esp. the prophets, who not rarely, as the representatives of the sovereign God, sharply opposed themselves to the priests. The theocratical principle, however, finds its expression in this, that public and private life, civil and criminal law, military and political matters were all controlled by religious principles.

(7) *The Mosaic cultus.*—As a matter of course, Moses also arranged the cultus. He created a holy shrine, the tabernacle, which contained the Ark of the Covenant, and in its general arrangements became the model of the sanctuary or temple built in later times. He appointed sacred seasons, in doing which he connected these with previously customary festival days, but he gave sharper directions concerning the Sabbath and gave to the old festival of spring a new historical significance as the Passover. Moses further appointed for this sanctuary a priestly family, and at the same time ordained that the tribe to which this family belonged should assume the guardianship of the sanctuary. The lines separating the rights of the priests and of the Levites have often been changed since his time, but the fundamental distinctions in this respect go back to Moses. In the same way Moses has also, as a matter of course, put the sacred rites, the celebrations of the sacrifices, the religious institutions and ceremonies, into forms suitable to that God whom he proclaimed. This does not mean that all the priestly laws, as they are now found recorded in the Pent, were word for word dictated by him. The priests were empowered to pronounce *Tōrāh,* i.e. Divine instruction, on this subject, and did this in accordance with the directions received through Moses. Most of these instructions were at first handed down orally, until they were put into written form in a large collection. But in the priestly ordinances, too, there is no lack of traces to show that these date from the period of Moses and must at an early time have been put into written form.

3. The Religion of Israel before the 8th Cent. BC

(1) *Decay of religion in Canaan.*—Upon the intense religious feeling produced by the exodus from Egypt and the events at Mt. Sinai, there followed a relapse, in connection with which it appears that in this Mosaic generation the cruder tendencies were still too pronounced to endure the great trial of faith demanded by the conquest of the land of Canaan. In the same way, the heroic struggles of Joshua, carried on under the directions of Jeh and resulting in the conquest of the country, were followed by a reaction. The zeal for battle weakened; the work of conquest was left unfinished; the people arranged to make themselves at home in the land before it had really been won; peace was concluded with the inhabitants. This decay of theocratic zeal and the occupation of the land by the side of and among the Canaanites had a direful influence on the Jeh-religion as it had been taught the people by Moses. The people adopted the sanctuaries of the country as their own, instead of rooting them out entirely. They took part in the festivals of their neighbors and adopted their customs of worship, including those that were baneful. The local Baals, in whose honor harvest and autumn festivals were celebrated as thanksgiving for their having given the products of the earth, were in many places worshipped by the Israelites. The possibility of interpreting the name Baal in both a good and bad sense favored the excuse that in doing this the people were honoring Jeh, whom in olden times they also unhesitatingly called their Baal, as their Lord and the master of the land and of the people. By the side of the Jeh-altars they placed the Asherah, the sacred tree, really as a symbol of the goddess of this name; and the stone pillars (*ḥammānīm*), which the original inhabitants had erected near their sanctuaries, were also held in honor, while the heathen ideas associated with them thereby found their way into the religious consciousness of the people. Sorcery, necromancy, and similar superstitions crept in. And since, even as it was, a good deal of superstition had continued to survive among the people, there came into existence, in the period of the Judges, a type of popular religion that was tinged by a pronounced heathenism and had but little in common with the theocratical principles of Moses, although the people had no intention of discarding the God of Moses. Characteristic of this religious syncretism during the time of the Judges was the rise of the worship of images dedicated to Jeh in Dan (Jgs **17** and **18**) and probably also at Ophrah (**8** 27), as also human sacrifices (ch **11**).

(2) *The theocratic kingdom.*—But during this period pronounced reactions to the true worship of Jeh were not lacking. The heroes who appeared on the arena as liberators from the yoke of the oppressors recalled the people to Jeh, as was done likewise by the prophets and prophetesses. Samuel, the greatest among this class, was at the same time a prophet and reformer. He again brought the people together and tried to free them from the contamination of heathenism, in accordance with the

Mosaic ordinances, and at the same time prepared for a new future by the establishment of colonies of prophets and by the establishment of the kingdom. This latter innovation seemed to be at variance with the principles of a strict theocracy. It is the merit of Samuel that he created the theocratic kingdom, by which the anointed of Jeh himself was to become an important agent of the supreme rule of Jeh. It is indeed true that the first king, Saul, did not realize this ideal, but his successor, David, appreciated it all the more. And even if David was far from realizing the ideal of a theocratic king, he nevertheless continued to be the model which prophecy tried to attain, viz. a king who was personally and most intimately connected with Jeh, and who, as the servant of Jeh, was to realize entirely in his own person the mission of the people to become the servants of Jeh, and was thus to furnish the guaranty for the harmony between Israel and their God, and bring rich and unalloyed blessings upon the land.

(3) *Religious ideals of the Psalms since David.*—In this way the covenant-relation became a personal one through "the anointed one of Jeh." In general, religion in Israel became more personal in character in the days of the earlier kings. Before this time the collective relation to God prevailed. Only as a member of the tribe or of the nation was the individual connected with Jeh, which fact does not exclude the idea that this God, for the very reason that He rules according to ethical principles, also regards the individual and grants him His special protection and requites to him good or evil according to his deeds. The Heb hymns or "psalms," which David originated, give evidence of a more intimate association of the individual with his God.

The very oldest of these psalms, a number of which point to David as their author, are not liturgical congregational hymns, but were originally individual prayer-songs, which emanated from personal experiences, but were, in later times, employed for congregational use. The prejudice, that only in later times such expressions of personal piety could be expected, is refuted by analogous cases among other nations, esp. by the much more ancient penitential and petitionary prayers of the Babylonians, in which, as a rule, the wants of the individual and not those of the nation constitute the contents. These Bab penitential prayers show that among this people, too, the feeling of guilt as the cause of misfortune was very vivid, and that they regarded repentance and confession as necessary in order to secure the forgiveness of the gods. However, the more exalted character of the Israelitish conception of God appears in a most pronounced way in this comparison, since the Babylonian feels his way in an uncertain manner in order to discover what god or goddess he may have offended, and not rarely tries to draw out the sympathy of the one divinity over against the wrath of another. But much more can this difference be seen in this, that the heathen singer is concerned only to get rid of the evil or the misfortune that oppresses him. The communion with his god whose favor he seeks to regain is in itself of no value for him. In David's case the matter is altogether different, as he knows that he is bound to Jeh by a covenant of love (Ps **18** 2), and his heart delights in this communion, more than it does in all earthly possessions (Ps **4** 8); and this is even more so in the case of the author of Ps **73** 25–26. Such words would, for good reasons, be unthinkable in the case of a Bab psalmist.

In the times of those earliest kings of Israel, which, externally, constituted the most flourishing period in their history, unless tradition is entirely at fault, the spiritual world of thought also was enriched by the Wisdom literature of the Proverbs, the earliest examples of which date back to Solomon.

(4) *Wisdom literature since Solomon.*—This *ḥokhmāh*, or Wisdom literature, is marked by the peculiarity that it ignores the special providential guidance of Israel and their extraordinary relation to their God, and confines itself more to the general revelation of God in Nature and in the history of mankind, but in doing this regards the fear of God as the beginning of wisdom, and at all times has the practical purpose of exhorting to a moral and God-pleasing life. The idea that this cosmopolitan tendency is to be attributed to Gr influences, and accordingly betrays a later period as the time of its origin, is to be rejected, as far as Prov and Job are concerned. The many passages in Prov that speak of conduct over against the king show a preëxilic origin. The universalistic character of this literature must be explained on other grounds. It resulted from this, that this proverb-wisdom is not the sole, exclusive property of Israel and was not first cultivated among them, but was derived from abroad. The Edomites were esp. conspicuous in this respect, as the Book of Job shows, in which the Israelitish author introduces as speakers masters of this art from this tribe and others adjoining it. We can also compare the superscriptions in Prov **30** 1; **31** 1, in which groups of proverbs from Arabian principalities are introduced. Accordingly, this wisdom was regarded as a common possession of Israel and of their neighbors. This is probably the reason why the authors of this class of literature refrain from national reference and reminiscences. That the liberal-minded Solomon was the one to introduce this proverb-wisdom, or at any rate cultivated it with special favor, is in itself probable, and is confirmed by the fact that the Queen of Sheba (South Arabia) came to Jerus in order to listen to his wisdom. But this also presupposes that in her country a similar class of wisdom was cultivated. This was also the case in Egypt in very early antiquity, and in Egyp literature we have collections of proverbs that remind us of the proverbs of Solomon (cf *Transactions of the Third International Congress of the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, I, 284 ff; see WISDOM).

(5) *The sanctuary on Mt. Zion.*—The kingdom of David and of Solomon not only externally marks the highest development of the history of Israel, but intellectually, too, prepared the soil out of which henceforth the religious life of the nation drew its sustenance. It was esp. under David a significant matter, that at this time the higher spiritual powers were in harmony with the political. This found its expression in the Divine election of David and his seed, which was confirmed by prophetical testament (2 S **7**). Hand in hand with this went the selection of Mt. Zion as the dwelling-place of Jeh. David, from the beginning, was desirous of establishing here the theocratical center of the people, as he had shown by transferring the Ark of the Covenant to Jerus. In the same way Solomon, by the erection of the Temple, sought to strengthen and suitably equip this central seat. As a matter of course, the sacred shrines throughout the land did not thereby at once lose their significance. But the erection of the sanctuary in Jerus was not at all intended to establish a "royal chapel" for the king, as Wellhausen has termed this structure, but it claimed the inheritance of the tabernacle in Shiloh, and the prophets sanctioned this claim.

(6) *Religion in the Kingdom of Ephraim.*—The division of the kingdom after the death of Solomon which, as it was, had not been too large, proved politically disastrous. It also entailed a retrogression in religious matters. The centralizing tendencies of the preceding reigns were thwarted. Jeroboam erected other sacred shrines; esp. did he make Bethel a "king's sanctuary" (Am **7** 13). At the same time he encouraged religious syncretism. It is true that the gold-covered images of heifers (by the prophets, in derision, called "calves") were intended only to represent the Covenant-God Jeh. However, this representation in the form of images, an idea which the king no doubt had brought back with him from his sojourn in Egypt, was a concession to the corrupt religious instincts in the nation, and gave to the Ephraimitic worship an inferior character in comparison with the service in the Temple in Jerus,where no images were to be found. But in other respects, too, the arbitrary conduct of the king in the arrangement of the cultus proved to be a potent factor in the Northern Kingdom from the beginning. The opposition of independent prophets was suppressed with all power. Nevertheless, the prophetic agitation continued to be a potent spiritual factor, which the kings themselves could not afford to ignore.

This proved to be the case particularly when the dynasty of Omri, who established a new capital city, Samaria, openly favored the introduction of Phoen idolatry. Ahab's wife, Jezebel, even succeeded in having a magnificent temple erected in the new capital to her native Baal, and in crushing the opposition of the prophets who were faithful to Jeh. It now became a question of life and death, so far as the religion of Jeh was concerned. The struggle involved not only certain old heathen customs in the religion of the masses, dating back to the occupation of Canaan, but it was the case of an invasion of a foreign and heathen god, with a clearly defined purpose. His voluptuous worship was not at all in harmony with the serious character of the Mosaic religion, and it seriously menaced, in a people naturally inclined to sensuality, the rule of the stringent and holy God of Mt. Sinai. The tricky and energetic queen was already certain that she had attained her purpose, when an opponent arose in the person of Elijah, who put all her efforts to naught.

(7) *Elijah and Elisha.*—In his struggle with the priests of Baal, who deported themselves after the manner of modern dervishes, we notice particularly the exalted and dignified conception of God in 1 K **18**. When in this chapter Jeh and Baal are contrasted, the idea of Elijah is by no means that these gods have in their own territory the same rights as Jeh in Canaan and Israel. Elijah mocks this Baal because he is no God at all (**18** 21), and the whole worship of the priests convinces him that they are not serving a real and true God, but only the product of their imagination (**18** 27). This is monotheism, and certainly not of a kind that has only recently been acquired and been first set up by Elijah, but one that came down from the days of Moses. Elijah proves himself to be a witness and an advocate of the God of Sinai, who has been betrayed in a treacherous manner. The fact that he inflicts a dire and fateful punishment on the idolatrous priests of Baal is also in perfect agreement with the old, stringent, Mosaic, legal code. Only such severity could atone for the fearful crime against the God of the country and of the covenant, and could save the people from apostasy. However, the theophany at Mt. Sinai (1 K **19** 11 ff) shows clearly that not His external and fearful power, but His calm and deep character was felt by Elijah to be the distinguishing mark of his God. His successor, Elisha, after the storm had cleared the religious atmosphere in the country, in the performance of his prophetic duties was able again to show forth more emphatically the fatherly care and the helpful, healing love of his God.

In general, the political retrogression of the nation and the opposition of those in power, which the prophets and the faithful worshippers of Jeh in later times were compelled to experience often enough, served greatly to intensify and to spiritualize their religion. The unfortunate situation of the present, and the weaknesses and failures in the actual state of the theocracy, directed their eyes to the future. The people began to study the wonderful ways of God in dealing with His people, and they began to look to the end of these dealings. A proof of this is found in the comprehensive accounts contained in the old history of the covenant-people as recorded in the Pentateuchal documents E and J, which were composed during this period. Whether these extend beyond and later than the period of Joshua or not, can remain an open question. In any case, there existed written accounts also concerning the times of the Judges, and concerning the history of Samuel, David and Solomon, which in part were written down soon after the events they record, and which, because of their phenomenal impartiality, point to an exceptionally high prophetic watchtower from which the ways of God with His people were observed.

4. Development of Israel's Religion from the 8th Cent. BC to the Exile

(1) *The writing prophets.*—The spiritual development of the deeper Israelitish religion was the business of the prophets. At the latest, from the 8th cent. BC, and probably from the middle of the 9th, we have in written form their utterances and discourses. Larger collections of such prophecies were certainly left by Amos and Hosea. These prophets stood entirely on the basis of the revelations which by Moses had been made the foundation of Israel's religion. But in contrast to the superficial and mistaken idea of the covenant of Jeh entertained by their contemporaries, these prophets make clear the true intentions of this covenant, and at the same time, through their new inspiration, advance the religious knowledge of the people.

(2) *Their opposition to the cultus.*—This appears particularly in their rejection of the external and unspiritual cultus of their age. Over against the false worship of God, which thinks to satisfy God by the offering of sacrifices, they proclaim the true worship, which consists above all things in the fulfilment of the duties of the law and of love toward their fellow-men. They denounce as a violation of the covenant not only idolatry, the worship of strange gods, and the heathen symbols and customs which, in the course of time, had crept into the service of Jeh, but they declare also that the religion which is based solely on the offering of sacrifices is worthless, since God, who is in no way dependent on any services rendered by men, does not care for such sacrifices, but is concerned about this, that His commands be observed, and that these consist above all things in righteousness, uprightness in the dealings of man with man, and in mercy on the poor, the weak, the defenceless, who cannot secure justice for themselves. (Cf, e.g., 1 S **15** 22; Hos **6** 6; Isa **1** 11 ff; Jer **7** 21 ff, and other passages equally pointed. See on this subject, J. Robertson, *Early Religion*, etc, 440 ff.) Such a transfer of the center of religion from the cultus to practical ethical life has no analogy whatever in other Sem and ancient religions. Yet it is not something absolutely new, but is a principle that has developed out of the foundation laid by Moses, while it is in most pronounced contrast to the common religious sentiments of mankind. The prophetic utterances that condemn the unthinking and the unconsecrated cultus must not be misunderstood, as though Isaiah, Jeremiah and others had been modern spiritualists, who rejected all external forms of worship. In this case they would have ceased to be members of their own people and children of their own times. What they absolutely reject is only the false trust put in an *opus operatum*, i.e. a mechanical performance of religious rites, which had been substituted for the real and heartfelt exercise of religion. Then, too, we are not justified in drawing from passages such as Jer **7** 22 the conclusion that at this time there did not yet exist in written form a Mosaic sacrificial code. Such a code is found even in the Book of the Covenant, recognized by critics as an older Pent document (Ex **20–23, 34**), and the fact that the Sabbath commandment is found in the Decalogue does not prevent Isaiah from writing what he has penned in **1** 13.14. That at this period, already, there were extant many written ordinances is demanded by Hos **8** 12, and the connection shows that cultus-ordinances are meant. We must accordingly take the prophet's method of expression into consideration, which delights in absolute contrasts in cases where we would speak relatively. But this is not

intended to weaken the boldness of the prophetic thoughts, which purpose to express sharp opposition to the religious ideas current at that time.

(3) *Their preaching of the judgment.*—The conception of God and Divine things on the part of the prophets was the logical development of the revelations in the days of Moses, and after that time, concerning the nature and the activity of God. The God of the prophets is entirely a personal and living God, i.e. He enters into the life of man. His holiness is exaltation above Nature and the most pronounced antagonism to all things unclean, to sin. Sin is severely dealt with by God, esp., as has already been mentioned, the sin of showing no love and no mercy to one's neighbor. Because they are saturated with this conviction of the absolute holiness of God, the preëxilic prophets proclaim to their people more than anything else the judgment which shall bring with it the dissolution of both kingdoms and the destruction of Samaria and of Jerus, together with its temple. First, its destruction is proclaimed to the Northern Kingdom; later on to the Southern. In doing this, these inspired men testify that Jeh is not inseparably bound to His people. Rather He Himself calls the destroyer to come, since all the nations of the world are at His command.

(4) *Their Messianic promises.*—However, the prophets never conclude purely negatively, but they always see on the horizon some rays of hope, which promise to a "remnant" of the people better times. A "day of Jeh" is coming, when He will make His final settlement with the nations, after they have carried out His judgment on His people. Then, after the destruction of the gentile world, He will establish His rule over the world. This fundamental thought, which appears again and again with constantly increasing clearness, often takes the form that a future king out of the house of David, in whom the idea of the "anointed of Jeh" has been perfectly realized, will first establish in Judah-Israel a pure rule of God, and then also gain the supremacy of the world. Some critics have claimed that all of these Messianic and eschatological predictions date from the post-exilic period. In recent years a reaction against this view has set in, based on the belief that in Egypt and Babylonia also similar expectations are found at an early period. These promises, when they are more clearly examined, are found to be so intimately connected with the other prophecies of Isaiah, Hosea, and others, that to separate them would be an act of violence. In their most magnificent character, these pictures of the future are found in Isa, while in Jer their realization and spiritualization have progressed farther.

(5) *Reformations.*—While the prophets are characterized by higher religious ideas and ideals, the religion of the masses was still strongly honeycombed with cruder and even heathen elements. Yet there were not totally wanting among the common people those who listened to these prophetic teachers. And esp. in Judaea there were times when, favored by pious kings, this stricter and purer party obtained the upper hand. This was particularly the case under the kings Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. During the reigns of these kings the cultus was reformed. Hezekiah and Josiah attacked particularly the local sanctuaries and their heathen worship (called *bāmōth*), and concentrated the sacrificial cultus in Jerus. In doing this they were guided by the faithful priests and prophets and by the ancient Mosaic directions. Josiah, who, more thoroughly than others, fought against the disintegration of the Jeh-cultus, found his best help in the newly discovered Book of the Law (Dt). That the sacrifices should be made at one place had been, as we saw, an old Mosaic arrangement. However, Moses had foreseen that local altars would be erected at places where special revelations had been received from Jeh (Ex **20** 24–25). In this way the numerous altars at Bethel, on Carmel, and elsewhere could claim a certain justification, only they were not entitled to the same rank as the central sanctuary, where the Ark of the Covenant stood and where the sons of Aaron performed their priestly functions. Dt demands more stringently that all real sacrificial acts shall be transferred to this central point. This rule Josiah carried out strictly. The suppression of the current sacrifices on high places by the fall of the Northern Kingdom aided in effecting the collapse of such shrines, while the sanctuary in Jerus, because it was delivered from the attack of the Assyrians, won a still greater recognition.

(6) *Destruction of Jerusalem.*—However, immediately after the death of Josiah, the apostasy from Jeh again set in. The people thought that they had been deserted by Him, and they now more than before sought refuge in an appeal to a mixture of gods derived from Babylonia, Egypt, Persia and elsewhere. Ezk **8** and **9** describe this syncretism which made itself felt even in the temple-house in Jerus. The people were incapable of being made better and were ripe for destruction. The temple, too, which it was thought by many could not be taken, was doomed to be destroyed from its very foundations.

5. The Babylonian Exile

(1) *Spiritual purification through the Exile.*—A mighty change in the religion of Israel was occasioned by the deportation of the wealthier and better educated Jews to Babylon and their sojourn there for a period of about 50 years, and by the still longer stay of a large portion of the exiles in this country. The nation was thus cut off from the roots of the native heathendom in Pal and also from the external organization of the theocracy. This brought about a purification and a spiritualization, which proved to be a great benefit for later times, when the political manifestation of their religious life had ceased, and the personal element came more into the foreground. Jeremiah and Ezekiel emphasize, each in his own way, the value of this religion for the individual. A spiritual communion came into being during the Exile, which found its bond of union in the word of Jeh, and which insisted on serving God without a temple and external sacrificial cultus (which, however, was still found among the exiles in Egypt). Separated from their homes, they collected all the more diligently the sacred memories and traditions, to which Ezekiel's plans for the temple belong. Their sacred literature, the *Tōrāh* or Law, the prophetical books, the historical writings, the Pss, and other literature were collected, and in this way preparations were made for the following period.

(2) *Relations to the gentile world.*—The most earnest classes of Jews, at least, absolutely declined to have anything to do with the Bab religion and worship. They saw here the worship of images in its most repulsive and sensual form, and they also learned its absolute impotency when the haughty Chaldaean empire was overthrown. Deutero-Isaiah (Isa **40**–**66**) shows that the Israelites now become more conscious than ever of the great value of their own religion with its Creator of heaven and earth over against this variegated Pantheon of changeable gods in forms of wood and metal images. From this time on, the glory of the Creator of the universe and His revelation in the works of Nature were lauded and magnified with a new zeal and more emphatically than ever before. This same prophet, however, proclaims also the new fact of the

mission-call of Israel among the nations of the world. This people, he declares, is to become the instrument of Jeh to make the Gentiles His spiritual subjects. But as this people in its present condition is little fit for this great service, he sees with his prophetic eye a perfect "Servant of Jeh," who carries out this mission, a personal, visible "Servant of Jeh," who establishes the rule of God upon earth, by becoming, in the first place, for Israel a second Moses and Joshua, but who then, too, wins over the heathen nations by this message. He accordingly takes the place of the prophesied future Son of David. However, He is not a personal ruler, but carries out His work through mere spiritual power and in lowliness and weakness. Indeed, His suffering and death become the atonement to wipe out the guilt of His people (Isa **53**). We can see in this further development of the deepening and spiritualization of the eschatological hopes how strongly the unaccustomed misfortunes and surroundings of the exiles had influenced them. Notwithstanding all their antagonism to the aberrations of the heathen world, the Israelites yet learned that among the Gentiles there was also some receptivity for the higher truths. The worshippers of Jeh felt themselves more akin to the Persians than to the Babylonians, as the former served without images a god which was conceived as one and as an exalted divine being. Thoughts taken from Parsiism are also found in the later literature of Israel, although it is not the case that the idea of Satan was first taken from this source. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead for the judgment also can be gained from OT premises. However, the religion of the Babylonians was not without influence on that of the Jews. It is indeed out of the question that it was only during the Exile that the Jews took over the accounts of the Creation and the Deluge and others similar to the Bab, as these are found in Gen **1-11**. But the development of the angelology shows the evidences of later Bab and Pers influences. And esp. does demonology play a more important rôle in post-exilic times than ever before, particularly about the beginnings of the Christian era. Magic art, too, entered largely into the faith of later Judaism, and it can be shown that both of these came from Bab sources.

6. The Post-exilic Religion

(1) *Life under the law.*—The people which returned from the Exile was a purified congregation of Jeh, willing to serve Him. They aimed to reëstablish the theocracy. This latter had not, indeed, because of the loss of the political independence of the people, the same importance as formerly, but the religious cultus and the religious life of the people were all the more stringently observed. The post-exilic period is characterized by religious legalism. The people were exceedingly zealous in observing the old ordinances, and tried to find righteousness in the correctness with which the Mosaic law was observed, as this was now demanded by the teachers of this law. The prophet of the Exile, Ezekiel, had taken the lead in this particular, and had laid great emphasis on the formal ordinances, although in connection with this he also insisted upon real moral earnestness. But it was an easy matter that in the course of time an external work-righteousness and petrifaction of true religion should arise. Yet the later prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, even if they do ascribe a greater importance to external matters than the preëxilic prophets did, show that they are the spiritual heirs of these earlier seers. They teach a healthy ethical and sanctifying type of practical religion and continue to proclaim the hopes for an expansion and spiritualization of the Kingdom of God. The leaders of these times, Zerubbabel, Ezra, Nehemiah, show a pronouncedly antagonistic attitude toward the neighboring nations and also toward those inhabitants of the country who did not live under the law. However, their intolerance, esp. toward the Samaritans, can be readily understood from the principle of the self-preservation of the people of Jeh.

The law came to be the subject of the most careful study, and the teachers of the law collected, even to the minutest details, the oral traditions with reference to its meaning and to the proper observance of the different demands, so that already before the time of Christ they were in possession of an extensive tradition, which was afterward put down in written form in the Mish. The writing of history was also carefully cultivated. The Books of Ch show from what viewpoint they described the past; the temple and the cultus were the center of interest. In the same way the psalm-poetry, esp. the temple-song, flourished again. These later hymns are pretty and regular, but no longer show the bold spirit of the older pss. In many cases, older songs are made use of in these later hymns in a new way. Of the proverb-literature of the later post-exilic times, the Wisd of Jesus Sirach, or Ecclus, is an instructive example. Notwithstanding its great similarity to the old Prov, the prevailing and leading points of view have become different in character. The conception of Wisd has assumed a specifically Jewish and theocratic character.

(2) *Hellenism.*—But the Jewish exclusiveness found a dangerous opponent, esp. from the days of Alexander the Great, in the new Hellenism. Hellenistic language, culture, customs and world-ideas overwhelmed Pal also. While the Pious (*ḥăṣīdhīm*) all the more anxiously fortified themselves behind their ordinances, the worldly-minded gave themselves up fully to the influence that came from without. In the first half of the 2d cent. BC there arose, as a consequence, a bloody struggle against the inroads of this heathendom, when Antiochus Epiphanes undertook to suppress the religion of the Jews, and when the Asmoneans began their holy war against him.

(3) *Pharisees and Sadducees.*—But within the people of Israel itself there were found two parties, one strict and the other lax in the observance of the law. The leaders of the former were the highly popular Pharisees, who, according to their name, were the "Separatists," separated from the common and lawless masses. They tried to surpass each other in their zeal for the traditional ordinances and pious observances. However, among them it was also possible to find real piety, although in the NT records, where they are described as taking a hostile attitude toward the higher and the highest form of Divine revelation, they appear at their worst. Their rivals, the Sadducees, were less fanatical in their observance of the demands of the law and more willing to compromise with the spirit of the times. To this party belonged many of the more prominent priests. But this party evinced less real religious life than did the Pharisees.

(4) *Essenes.*—Then, too, in the time of Jesus, there were not lacking indications of the influence of foreign religions, as is apparent in the case of the Essenes. This party advocated dualistic ideas, as these are later found among the Mandaeans.

(5) *Positive connections between Judaism and Hellenism.*—In Alexandria a friendly exchange of ideas between Hellenism and Judaism was brought about. Here the OT was tr^d^ into the Gr. This tr, known as the Septuagint (LXX), shows as yet but few signs of the Gr spirit; rather, a pronounced influence of legal and ritualistic Judaism. On the other hand, apologetical opposition to Hellenism appears to a more marked degree, among others,

in the apocryphal work known as "Wisd of Solomon," in which we find a positive defence of wisdom as the principle of revelation over against the Epicurean world-wisdom of Hellenism. In doing this, the book leans on Platonism and Stoicism. The *ḥokhmāh*, or wisdom of the old Jewish lit., has been Hellenized. Philo goes still farther in adapting Judaism to Gr taste and to humanism. A more liberal conception of inspiration also appears in the reception of contemporaneous literary products into the OT Canon, even of some books which had originally been written in the Gr language. The means observed in adapting national Hebraism to Hellenistic universalism was the allegorical method of interpretation, which Philo practised extensively and which then passed over to the Christian church Fathers of the Alexandrian school. This school constitutes the opposite extreme to the rabbinical, which clung most tenaciously to the letter of the sacred texts.

(6) *Apocalyptic literature.*—A unique phenomenon at the close of the Bib. and in the earliest post-Bib. period is, finally, the APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (q.v.). Since the days of the Maccabees we find the custom in certain Jewish circles, by using the old prophecies and adapting them to the events of the times, of drawing up a systematic picture of the future. The authorship of these writings was usually ascribed to one of the ancient saints, e.g. to Enoch, or Abraham, or Moses, or Elijah, or Solomon, or Baruch, or Ezra, or others. The model of these Apocalypses is the Book of Dnl, which, on the basis of older visions, in the times of the oppression by Antiochus Epiphanes, pictures, in grand simplicity, the development of the history of the world down to the final triumph of the Kingdom of God over the kingdoms of the world.

III. Conclusion.—When we consider this whole development, it cannot be denied that the religion of Israel passed through many changes. It grew and purified and spiritualized itself out of its own inherent strength; but it also suffered many relapses, when hindering and corrupting influence gained the upper hand. But it received from without not only degenerating influences, but also much that inspired and developed its growth. Its original and native strength also shows itself in this, that without losing its real character it was able to appropriate to itself elements of truth from without and assimilate these.

1. The Living and Holy God

If we ask what the specific and unique character of this religion was, by which it was distinguished from all other religions of antiquity, and by reason of which it alone was capable of producing from itself the highest revelation in Christ, it must be answered that its uniqueness lies, most of all, in its conception of God and of Divine things, and of God's relation to the world. The term "monotheism" but inadequately expresses this peculiarity; for monotheistic tendencies are found also in other nations, and in Israel monotheism often shows itself in a strongly corrupted form. The advantage of Israel lies in its close contact with the living God. From the beginning of Israel's history a strictly personal God gave testimony of Himself to different personalities with a decision which demanded absolute submission; and, in addition, this was a holy God, who elevated mankind above Nature and above themselves, a God who stood in the most absolute contrast to all that was impure or sinful, but at the same time was wonderful in His grace and His mercy to the sinner. This direct revelation of God to specially chosen bearers of the Divine truth goes through the entire history of Israel. Through this factor this religion was being constantly purified and unfolded further. The Israelites learned to conceive God in a more spiritual, correct, and universal manner, the more they advanced in experience and culture. But this God did not thereby become a mere abstract being, separated from mankind, as was the case with so many nations. He always continued to be a living God who takes an active part in the lives of men. We need notice only those prophets who describe the greatness of God in the grandest way, such as Hosea, Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, who depict also the personal life of God in the boldest way through anthropomorphisms.

2. Relation of Man to This God

In agreement with this, too, we find that this religion demands the personal subjection of men to God. As was the case with all the religions of antiquity, that of the OT, too, was originally rather a tribal and a national religion than one of the individual. This brought with it the demand for the external observance of the tribal customs in the name of religion. However, the traditional customs and legal ordinances had already been sifted and purified by Moses. And, as a matter of necessity, in a religion of such a pronounced personal nature, the personal relation of the individual to God must become more and more a matter of importance. This idea became deeper and more spiritual in the course of time and developed into a pure love for God. It did not prevent this religion from becoming petrified, even during the Exile, when the doctrines and the cultus were most correctly observed. But the vital kernels found embedded in the revelation of God constantly proved their power of rejuvenation. And at that very time when the petrified legalism of Pharisaism attained its most pronounced development, the most perfect fruit of this religion came forth from the old stem of the history of Israel, namely Christ, who unfolded Judaism and converted it into the religion of salvation for the entire world.

LITERATURE.—Of the lit. on the religion of Israel we may yet make particular mention of the following: The textbooks on OT Theology by Oehler, 1891 (also ET), of Dillmann, 1895. The Kuenen-Wellhausen school is represented by Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israel*, 1869 (also ET); Stade, *Biblische Theologie des AT*, 1905; Marti, *Theologie des AT*, 1903; Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgeschichte*, 1899; cf also the works of Robertson Smith, esp. his lectures on *The Religion of the Semites*. Against this radical school, see, in addition to the work of Dillmann, James Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, 1893. On the subject of Semitism in general, S. I. Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*, 1903 (also ET); Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1880; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 1905. The relation of Israel to the Assyr and Bab religions is discussed by Hugo Winckler in several works; cf also Fritz Hommel, *Alttestamentliche Ueberlieferungen*, 1897 (also ET); Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 1895; Alfred Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*, 1906; a good brief summary is found in Sellin, *Die AT Religion im Rahmen der andern Altorientalischen*, 1908. Full details are given in Kautzsch, "Religion of Israel," in *HDB*, extra vol, 1904. For the last centuries before Christ see particularly, Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 1907 (also ET). The modern Jewish standpoint is represented by Montefiore, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the History of the Ancient Hebrews*, 1892.

C. VON ORELLI

ISRAELITE, iz′rȧ-el-īt, **ISRAELITISH,** iz′rȧ-el-īt-ish: Belonging to the tribes of ISRAEL (q.v.). Occurs 4 t in the NT: of Nathanael (Jn **1** 47); used by Paul (Rom **9** 4; **11** 1; 2 Cor **11** 22).

ISSACHAR, is′a-kär (יִשָּׂשכָר, *yissā[s^e]khār;* LXX, Swete **Ἰσσαχάρ,** *Issachár;* Tisch., *Issáchar*, so also in the NT, Treg. and WH):

(1) The 9th son of Jacob, the 5th borne to him by Leah (Gen **30** 17 f). His birth is in this passage connected with the strange story of Reuben and his mandrakes, and the name given him is apparently conceived as derived from *'īsh sākhār*, "a

1. The Name

hired workman." There is a play upon the name in this sense in Gen **49** 15, "He bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant under taskwork." Wellhausen (*Text der Büch. Sam.*, 95) thinks that the second element of the name may denote a deity; and Sokar, an Egyp god, has been suggested. The name in that case would mean "worshipper of Sokar." Practically nothing is preserved of the personal history of this patriarch beyond his share in the common actions of the sons of Jacob. Four sons were born to him before Jacob's family removed to Egypt (Gen **46** 13). In that land he died and was buried.

2. The Tribe

At Sinai the tribe numbered 54,000 men of war over 20 years of age (Nu **1** 29). At the end of the wanderings the numbers had grown to 64,300 (Nu **26** 25). In the days of David, the Chronicler puts the figures at 87,000 (1 Ch **7** 5). See Numbers. The place of Issachar in the desert-march was with the standard of the tribe of Judah (along with Zebulun) on the E. side of the tabernacle (Nu **2** 5), this group forming the van of the host (**10** 14 f). The rabbis say that this standard was of 3 colors, sardine, topaz and carbuncle, on which were inscribed the names of the 3 tribes, bearing the figure of a lion's whelp (Tg, *pseudo. Jon.* on Nu **2** 3). The captain of the tribe was Nethanel ben-Zuar (Nu **1** 8, etc). Later this place was held by Igal ben-Joseph, the tribal representative among the spies (Nu **13** 7). The prince chosen from Issachar to assist in the division of the land was Paltiel ben-Azzan (**34** 26). The position of I. at the strange ceremony near Shechem was on Mt. Gerizim, "to bless the people" (Dt **27** 12).

3. The Tribal Territory

Sixteen cities of Issachar are mentioned in Josh **19** 17 ff, but the only indications of boundaries are Tabor in the N. and Jordan in the E. We gather elsewhere that the territory of this tribe marched on the N. with Zebulun and Naphtali (**19** 11.33); on the W. with Manasseh and possibly Asher (**17** 10); and on the S. with Manasseh (ver 11). It does not seem to have had any point of contact with the sea. The portion of Issachar, therefore, included the plain of Esdraelon, Tabor, the hill of Moreh, and the slopes E. to the Jordan. The fortresses along the S. edge of the plain were held by Manasseh. Tola, a man of Issachar, held Shamir, a stronghold in Mt. Ephraim (Jgs **10** 1). To Manasseh was given Beth-shean with her "towns" (Josh **17** 11). No reliable line can be drawn for the S. border. The district thus indicated was small; but it embraced some of the most fruitful land in Pal. By the very riches of the soil Issachar was tempted. "He saw a resting-place that it was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant under taskwork" (Gen **49** 15). "The mountain" in Dt **33** 19 may possibly be Tabor, on which, most likely, there was an ancient sanctuary and place of pilgrimage. This would certainly be associated with a market, in which Issachar and Zebulun, the adjoining tribes, would be able to enrich themselves by trade with the pilgrims from afar. Issachar took part in the battle with Sisera (Jgs **5** 15). To Israel Issachar gave one judge, Tola (Jgs **10** 1), and two kings, Baasha and his son (1 K **15** 27, etc).

4. Men of Issachar

Of the 200 "heads" of the men of Issachar who came to David at Hebron it is said that they were "men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do" (1 Ch **12** 32). According to the Tg, this meant that they knew how to ascertain the periods of the sun and moon, the intercalation of months, the dates of solemn feasts, and could interpret the signs of the times. A company from Issachar came to the celebration of the Passover when it was restored by Hezekiah (2 Ch **30** 18). Issachar has a portion assigned to him in Ezekiel's ideal division of the land (**48** 25); and he appears also in the list in Rev (**7** 7).

(2) A Korahite doorkeeper, the 7th son of Obed-edom (1 Ch **26** 5). W. Ewing

ISSHIAH, is-shī'a (יִשִּׁיָּהוּ, *yishshīyāhū*, "Jeh exists"; AV **Ishiah**):

(1) Mentioned among David's heroes, a great-grandson of Tola (1 Ch **7** 3).

(2) Mentioned among the men who came to David at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 6; AV "Jesiah").

(3) A member of the priesthood of the house of Rehabiah (1 Ch **24** 21; AV "Jesiah").

(4) Another Levitical priest of the house of Uzziel (1 Ch **23** 20; **24** 25).

ISSHIJAH, is-shī'ja (יִשִּׁיָּה, *yishshīyāh*, "Jeh lends"; AV **Ishijah**): A man of the household of Harim, named among those who, at Ezra's command, were induced to put away their "strange wives" (Ezr **10** 31). Also called "Aseas" (1 Esd **9** 32).

ISSUE, ish'ū:

(1) (מוֹלֶדֶת, *mōledheth*, צֶאֱצָאִים, *çe'ĕçā'īm;* **σπέρμα,** *spérma*, "seed"): Offspring, descendants (Gen **48** 6; Isa **22** 24; Mt **22** 25 AV).

(2) (זִרְמָה, *zirmāh;* יָצָא, *yāçā'* [vb.]; **ῥύσις,** *rhúsis*): A gushing of fluid (semen, Ezk **23** 20; water, **47** 8; blood, Lk **8** 43). See next article.

ISSUE (OF BLOOD) (זוֹב, *zōbh*, זוּב, *zūbh;* **ῥύσις,** *rhúsis*, **αἱμόρροος,** *haimórrhoos*): When used as a description of a bodily affection the word signifies: (1) A discharge, the consequence of uncleanness and sin (Lev **15** 2 ff; Nu **5** 2). As such it was one of the judgments which were to afflict the family of Joab (2 S **3** 29); (2) a hemorrhage, either natural (Lev **12** 7, where the word used is *māḳōr*, lit. a "fountain"), or the consequence of disease (Mt **9** 20; Mk **5** 25; Lk **8** 43).

ISSUES, ish'ūz (תּוֹצָאוֹת, *tōçā'ōth*, lit. "outgoings"): (1) Ways of escape (Ps **68** 20 AV); (2) free moral choices (Prov **4** 23).

ISTALCURUS, is-tal-kū'rus (**Ἰσταλκοῦρος,** *Istalkoúros*): 1 Esd **8** 40, corresponding to Zabbud in Ezr **8** 14. In Swete's text the name is Istakalkos.

ISUAH, is'ū-a. See Ishvah.

ISUI, is'ū-ī. See Ishvi.

ISVAH, is'va. See Ishvah.

ITALA, it'a-la, **VERSION.** See Latin Version, The Old; Vulgate.

ITALIAN, i-tal'yan, **BAND.** See Band.

ITALY, it'a-li (**Ἰταλία,** *Italia*): At first confined as a name to the extreme southern part of the Italian peninsula in the region now called Calabria, whence its application was gradually extended. In Gr usage of the 5th cent. BC, the name was applied to the coasts as far as Metapontum and Posidonia, being synonymous with Oenotria. The Oenotrians are represented as having assumed the name of Italians (*Itali*) from a legendary ruler Italus (Dionysius, i.12.35; Vergil, *Aen.* i.533). The extension of Rom authority seems to have given this name an ever-widening application, since it was used to designate their allies generally. As early as the time of Polybius the name Italy was sometimes employed as an appellation for all the country between the two seas (Tyrrhenian and Adriatic) and from the foot of the Alps to the Sicilian Straits (Polyb. i.6; ii.14; iii.39.54), although Cisalpine Gaul was not placed on a footing of complete equality with the peninsula as regards administration until shortly after the death of Julius Caesar. From the time of Augustus the term was used in practically its modern sense (Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, I, 57–87).

The name Italy occurs 3 t in the NT: Acts **18** 2, Aquila "lately come from Italy," because of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius; Acts **27** 1, the decision that Paul be sent to Italy; He **13** 24, salutation from those "of Italy." The adj. form is found in the appellation, "Italian band" (*cohors Italica*, Acts **10** 1).

The history of ancient Italy, in so far as it falls within the scope of the present work, is treated under ROME (q.v.). GEORGE H. ALLEN

ITCH (חָרֶס, *ḥāreṣ;* **ψώρα,** *psôra*): Only in Dt **28** 27, where it probably refers to the parasitic skin disease of that name which is very common in Pal. It is due to a small mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, which makes burrows in the skin and sometimes causes extensive crusts or scabs, attended with a severe itching. It is very easily communicated from person to person by contact, and can be cured only by destruction of the parasite. This disease disqualified its victims for the priesthood (Lev **21** 20).

ITHAI, ith′ȧ-ī. See ITTAI.

ITHAMAR, ith′a-mär (אִיתָמָר, *'īthāmār*, "land" or "island of palms": Gesenius; or "father of Tamar," אִי, *'ī*, being perhaps for אֲבִי, *'ăbhī:* Cook in *EB*—though both derivations are uncertain): The 4th son of Aaron (Ex **6** 23; **28** 1; 1 Ch **6** 3), Eleazar being the 3d, Nadab and Abihu the 1st and 2d. While Nadab and Abihu were prematurely cut off for offering strange fire before the Lord (Lev **10** 1.2; Nu **3** 4; **26** 61), and Eleazar was appointed chief of the tribe of Levi (Ex **6** 23.25) and ultimately succeeded Aaron (Ex **28** 1), Ithamar was made the treasurer of the offerings for the Tabernacle (Ex **38** 21), and superintendent of the Gershonites and Merarites in the service of the Tabernacle (Nu **4** 28.33). In the time of Eli the high-priesthood had come to be in his family, but how, and whether before Eli's day or first in Eli's person, is not told and need not be conjectured. W. R. Smith in *EB* (art. "Eli"), on the strength of 1 S **2** 27.28, holds that the priesthood was originally in Eli's line; but the words "the house of thy father" do not necessarily mean only the house of Ithamar, but may, and most probably do, refer to Aaron and his descendants, of whom Ithamar was one. Nor does the cutting off of Eli's family from the priesthood and the setting in their place of "a faithful priest," who should do everything according to Jeh's will and walk before Jeh's anointed forever, find its complete fulfilment in the deposition of Abiathar or Ahimelech, his son, and the installation of Zadok in the time of Solomon (1 K **2** 35; 1 Ch **29** 22; see ZADOK). A descendant of Ithamar, Daniel by name, is mentioned among the exiles who returned from Babylon (Ezr **8** 2). T. WHITELAW

ITHIEL, ith′i-el (אִיתִיאֵל, *'īthī'ēl*, "God is"):

(1) A son of Jeshaiah of the tribe of Benjamin, mentioned among the inhabitants of Jerus in Nehemiah's day (Neh **11** 7).

(2) The name is perhaps also found in the oracle of Agur (Prov **30** 1). See ITHIEL AND UCAL.

ITHIEL AND UCAL (אִיתִיאֵל וְאֻכָל, *'īthī'ēl wᵉ'ukhāl*): Names of the two men to whom Agur the son of Jakeh spoke his words (Prov **30** 1). The purport of introducing these persons is strange and obscure; the margin proposes therefore, by the use of a different pointing, to read the verse, "The man said, I have wearied myself, O God, I have wearied myself, O God, and am consumed," thus doing away with the proper names; a reading which corresponds not inaptly with the tone of the succeeding verses. See AGUR; PROVERBS, BOOK OF, II, 6. JOHN FRANKLIN GENUNG

ITHLAH, ith′la (יִתְלָה, *yithlāh;* AV **Jethlah**): An unidentified town in the territory of Dan, named with Aijalon and Elon (Josh **19** 42).

ITHMAH, ith′mä (יִתְמָה, *yithmāh*, "purity"): A citizen of the country of the Moabites, David's deadly enemies, yet mentioned as one of the king's heroes (1 Ch **11** 46).

ITHNAN, ith′nan (יִתְנָן, *yithnān*): A town in the S. of Judah mentioned along with Hazor and Ziph (Josh **15** 23), apparently the "Ethnan" of Jerome (*Onom* **118** 13). Not identified.

ITHRA, ith′ra (יִתְרָא, *yithrā'*, "abundance"): The father of Amasa, commanding general in the rebel army of Absalom. It seems that his mother was Abigail, a sister or half-sister of King David (1 Ch **2** 17). She is called the sister of Zeruiah, Joab's mother (2 S **17** 25). In this same passage Ithra is called an "Israelite," but in 1 Ch **2** 17; 1 K **2** 5.32, we read: "Jether the Ishmaelite."

ITHRAN, ith′ran (יִתְרָן, *yithrān*, "excellent"):

(1) A descendant of Seir the Horite, son of Dishon (Gen **36** 26; 1 Ch **1** 41).

(2) One of the sons of Zophah of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch **7** 37).

ITHREAM, ith′rē-am (יִתְרְעָם, *yithrᵉ'ām*, "residue of the people"): The 6th son born to David at Hebron. His mother's name was Eglah (2 S **3** 5; 1 Ch **3** 3).

ITHRITE, ith′rīt (יִתְרִי, *yithrī*, "excellence," "preëminence"): A family in Israel, whose home was Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch **2** 53). Among the 37 heroes of David, two are mentioned who belonged to this family, Ira and Gareb (2 S **23** 38; 1 Ch **11** 40).

ITTAH-KAZIN, it-a-kā′zin (עִתָּה קָצִין, *'ittāh ḳāçīn*): Josh **19** 13 AV for Eth-kazin. Ittah is correctly Eth with Hē locale, meaning "toward Eth."

ITTAI, it′ȧ-ī, it′ī (אִתַּי, *'ittay*, אִיתַי, *'ithay*):

(1) A Gittite or native of Gath, one of David's chief captains and most faithful friends during the rebellion of Absalom (2 S **15** 11–22; **18** 2.4.12). The narrative reveals David's chivalrous and unselfish spirit in time of trouble, as well as the most self-sacrificing loyalty on the part of Ittai. He seems to have but recently left his native city and joined David's army through personal attachment to the king. David rapidly promoted him. Hearing of Absalom's rebellion and approach to Jerus, he flees with David. The latter remonstrates, urges him to go back and join Absalom, as he is a foreigner and in exile. His interests are in the

capital and with the king; there is no reason why he should be a fugitive and perhaps suffer the loss of everything; it would be better for him, with his band of men, to put himself and them at the service of Absalom, the new king. "Mercy and truth be with thee," says David in his magnanimity. Ittai, with a double oath, absolutely refuses to go back, but will stand by David until the last. Remonstrance being useless, the monarch orders him across the river, doubtless glad that he had such a doughty warrior and faithful friend by his side. On mustering his hosts to meet Absalom, David makes Ittai a chief captain with the intrepid Joab and Abishai. He doubtless did his part in the battle, and as nothing more is said of him it is possible that he fell in the fight.

(2) A Benjamite, one of David's 30 mighty men (2 S **23** 29; 1 Ch **11** 31, "Ithai").

J. J. Reeve

1. The Word an Adjective

ITURAEA, it-ū-rē′a (**Ἰτουραία,** *Itouraía*): The term occurs only once in Scripture, in the definition of Philip's territory: *tês Itouraías kaí Trachonítidos chṓras,* which AV renders: "of Ituraea and of the region of Trachonitis," and RV: "the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis" (Lk **3** 1). Sir W. M. Ramsay has given reasons for the belief that this word was certainly never used as a noun by any writer before the time of Eusebius (*Expos,* 1894, IX, 51 ff, 143 ff, 288 ff). It must be taken as an adj. indicating the country occupied by the Ituraeans.

2. The Ituraeans

The descent of the Ituraeans must probably be traced to Jetur, son of Ishmael (Gen **25** 15), whose progeny were clearly numbered among the Arabian nomads. According to Eupolemus (c 150 BC), quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* IX, 30), they were associated with the Nabataeans, Moabites and Ammonites against whom David warred on the E. of the Jordan. They are often mentioned by Lat writers; their skill in archery seems greatly to have impressed the Romans. They were skilful archers (Caesar, *Bell. Afr.* 20); a lawless (Strabo, xvi.2.10) and predatory people (Cicero, *Philipp.* ii.112). In the Lat inscriptions Ituraean soldiers have Syrian names (*HJP,* I, ii, 326). They would therefore be the most northerly of the confederates opposed to David (*supra*), and their country may naturally be sought in the neighborhood of Mt. Hermon. There is nothing to show when they moved from the desert to this district. Aristobulus made war against the Ituraeans, compelled many of them to be circumcised, and added a great part of their territory to Judaea, 140 BC (*Ant,* XIII, xi, 3). Dio Cassius calls Lysanias "king of the Ituraeans" (xlix.32), and from him Zenodorus leased land which included Ulatha and Paneas, 25 BC. The capital of Lysanias was Chalcis, and he ruled over the land from Damascus to the sea. Jos speaks of Soemus as a tetrarch in Lebanon (*Vita,* 11); while Tacitus calls him governor of the Ituraeans (*Ann.* xii.23). The country of Zenodorus, lying between Trachonitis and Galilee, and including Paneas and Ulatha, Augustus bestowed on Herod, 20 BC (*Ant,* XV, x, 3). In defining the tetrarchy of Philip, Jos names Batanea, Trachonitis and Auranitis, but says nothing of the Ituraeans (*Ant,* XVII, xi, 4; *BJ,* II, vi, 3). Paneas and Ulatha were doubtless included, and this may have been Ituraean territory (*HJP,* I, ii, 333). It seems probable, therefore, that the Ituraeans dwelt mainly in the mountains, and in the broad valley of Coele-Syria; but they may also have occupied the district to the S.E. of Hermon, the modern *Jēdūr.* It is not possible to define more closely the Ituraean country; indeed it is not clear whether St. Luke intended to indicate two separate parts of the dominion of Philip, or used names which to some extent overlapped.

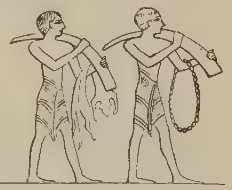
3. Indications of Their Territory

It has been suggested that the name *Jēdūr* may be derived from the Heb יְטוּר, *y^eṭūr,* and so be equivalent to Ituraea. But the derivation is impossible.

W. Ewing

IVAH, ī′va. See Ivvah.

IVORY, ī′vō-ri ([1] שֵׁן, *shēn,* "tooth" [tr^{d} "ivory," 1 K **10** 18; **22** 39; 2 Ch **9** 17; Ps **45** 8; Cant **5** 14; **7** 4; Ezk **27** 6.15; Am **3** 15; **6** 4]; [2] שֶׁנְהַבִּים, *shenhabbīm;* LXX **ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντινοι,** *odóntes elephántinoi,* "elephants' teeth" [1 K **10** 22; 2 Ch **9** 21]; [3] **ἐλεφάντινος,** *elephántinos,* "of ivory" [Rev **18** 12]): *Shēn* occurs often, meaning "tooth" of man or beast. In the passages cited it is tr^{d} in EV "ivory" (cf "crag," 1 S **14** 4.5; "cliff," Job **39** 28 *bis;* "flesh-hook of three teeth," 1 S **2** 13). *Shenhabbīm* is thought to be a contracted form of *shen hā-'ibbīm,* i.e. *hā,* the art., and *'ibbīm,* pl. of *'ibbāh* or *'ibbā';* cf Egyp *ab, ebu,* "elephant," and cf Lat *ebur,* "ivory" (see Liddell and Scott, s.v. ἐλέφας). On the other hand, it may be a question whether *bīm* is not a sing. form connected with the Arab. *fîl,* "elephant." If the word for "elephant" is not contained in *shenhabbīm,* it occurs nowhere in the Heb Bible.



Elephants' Tusks Brought to Thothmes III.

Ivory was probably obtained, as now, mainly from the African elephant. It was rare and expensive. It is mentioned in connection with the magnificence of Solomon (1 K **10** 18.22), being brought by the ships of Tarshish (2 Ch **9** 17.21). An "ivory house" of Ahab is mentioned in 1 K **22** 39. It is mentioned among the luxuries of Israel in the denunciations of Amos (**3** 15; **6** 4). It occurs in the figurative language of Ps **45** 8; Cant **5** 14; **7** 4. It is used for ornamentation of the ships of the Tyrians (Ezk **27** 6), who obtain it with ebony through the men of Dedan (ver 15). It is among the merchandise of Babylon (Rev **18** 12).

We do not learn of the use of elephants in war until a few centuries before the Christian era. In 1 Macc **8** 6, there is a reference to the defeat of Antiochus the Great, "having an hundred and twenty elephants," by Scipio Africanus in 190 BC. 1 Macc **1** 17 speaks of the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes with an army in which there were elephants. 1 Macc **6** 28–47 has a detailed account of a battle between Antiochus Eupator and Judas Maccabaeus at Bethsura (Beth-zur). There were 32 elephants. Upon the "beasts" (*θηρία, thēría*) there were "strong towers of wood"; "There were also upon every one two and thirty strong men, that fought upon them, beside the Indian that ruled him."

In Job **40** 15, AVm has for "behemoth," "*the elephant,* as some think."

Alfred Ely Day

IVORY, TOWER OF (מִגְדַּל הַשֵּׁן, *mighdal hashēn*): In Cant **7** 4 the neck of Shulammite is compared in whiteness and stateliness to a (or the) tower of ivory. The def. art. may suggest that the comparison is with some actual tower in or near Jerus; but more probably the language is simply a figure.

IVVAH, iv′a (עִוָּה, *'iwwāh;* **Ἀβά,** *Abá* [=*Avá*], **Ἀυά,** *Auá,* 2 K **18** 34, **Οὐδού,** *Oudoú,* 2 K **19** 13, apparently due to a misreading): The name is wanting in the MT and LXX of Isa **36** 19.

Ivvah was a city apparently conquered by the Assyrians, and is mentioned by them, in the vs quoted, with Hamath and Arpad, Sepharvaim and Hena. It has been assimilated with the Avva of 2 K **17** 24 as one of the places whence Sargon brought captives to Samaria, and identified with *Hit* on the Euphrates, between *Anah* and *Ramadieh*, but this seems improbable, as is also the suggestion that it is Emma, the modern *'Imm*, between Antioch and Aleppo. Hommel (*Expos T*, April, 1898, 330) upholds the view that Hena and Ivvah, or, as he prefers to read, Avvah, are not places at all, but the names of the two chief gods of Hamath, Arpad and Sepharvaim. This would be consistent with 2 K **18** 34; but **19** 13: "Where is the king . . . . of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah?" and **17** 31, where the gods of Sepharvaim are stated to be Adrammelech and Anammelech, raise serious difficulties. In all probability, the identification of Ivvah depends upon the correct localization of the twofold Sepharvaim, of which Hena and Ivvah may have been the names. The identification of Sepharvaim with the Bab Sip(p)ar is now practically abandoned. See SEPHARVAIM.

T. G. PINCHES

IVY, ī′vi (**κισσός,** *kissós*): The only mention of the word in all the sacred writings is in 2 Macc **6** 7 in connection with the oppression of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes: "On the day of the king's birth every month they were brought by bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices; and when the feast of Bacchus (Dionysus) was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Dionysus, carrying ivy," this plant (*Hedera helix*) being sacred to the Gr god of wine and of the culture of the vine (cf Eur. *Bacchae, passim*). It was of ivy or of pine that the "corruptible crown" of the famous Isthmian games was made (1 Cor **9** 25).

J. HUTCHISON

IYAR, ē-yär′. See IYYAR.

IYE-ABARIM, ī-yē-ab′a-rim (עִיֵּי הָעֲבָרִים, *'īyē hā-'ăbhārīm*, "the heaps of the Abarim"; AV **Ije-abarim;** in Nu **21** 11 LXX reads B, **Χαλγλεί,** *Chalglei*): A place in the journeyings of Israel named after Oboth, said to be "in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sunrising" (Nu **21** 11), "in the border of Moab" (**33** 44). The indications of position here given are not sufficient to guide to any identification, and, so far, nothing has been discovered in the district to help us. Called simply "Iyim" (AV "Iim") in Nu **33** 45.

IYIM, ī′yim (עִיִּים, *'īyīm*, "heaps"—the form of which, עִיֵּי, *'īyē*, is the constr.):

(1) A short form of the name Iye-abarim (Nu **33** 45).

(2) A town in the territory of Judah (Josh **15** 29; EV wrongly "Iim"). It lay in the extreme S., "toward the border of Edom." It is not identified.

IYYAR, ē-yär′ (אִיָּר, *'īyār;* **'Ιάρ,** *Iár*): The 2d month of the Jewish year, corresponding to May. It is not mentioned in the Bible. See CALENDAR.

IZEHAR, iz′ē̇-här,, ī′zē̇-här (Nu **3** 19 AV). See IZHAR.

IZHAR, iz′här (יִצְהָר, *yiçhār*, "the shining one"):

(1) The father of Korah (Nu **16** 1), descended from a Kohathite Levite of this name, whose descendants formed a family, in the tribe of Levi (Ex **6** 18.21; Nu **3** 19.27; 1 Ch **6** 18.38).

(2) A descendant of Judah, whose mother's name was Helah. ARVm gives the name Zohar (1 Ch **4** 7).

IZHARITES, iz′har-īts (יִצְהָרִי, *yiçhārī*): The descendants of Izhar, son of Kohath, and grandson of Levi (Nu **3** 19.27). In David's reign some of these were "over the treasures of the house of Jeh" (1 Ch **26** 23), others "were for the outward business over Israel, for officers and judges" (ib, ver 29).

IZLIAH, iz-lī′a (יִזְלִיאָה, *yizlī'āh*, "Jeh delivers"; AV **JEZLIAH**): A son of Elpaal, of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch **8** 18).

IZRAHIAH, iz-ra-hī′a (יִזְרַחְיָה, *yizraḥyāh*, "Jeh appears, or shines"):

(1) A descendant of Issachar, grandson of Tola, only son of Uzzi (1 Ch **7** 3).

(2) The leader of the singing at the purification of the people, on the occasion of Nehemiah's reformation; here rendered "Jezrahiah" (Neh **12** 42).

IZRAHITE, iz′ra-hīt (יִזְרָח, *yizrāḥ*, "rising, shining"): Shamhuth, the captain of the 5th monthly course (1 Ch **27** 8), is called an "Izrahite." The name may be derived from the town or family of Izrah, but more likely is a corruption of the word "Zerahite," descendant of Zerah of Judah.

IZRI, iz′rī (יִצְרִי, *yiçrī*, "creator," "former"): A man of the "sons of Jeduthun," leader of the fourth band of musicians, who served in the sanctuary (1 Ch **25** 11). Identical with Zeri (ver 3).

IZZIAH, iz-ī′a (יִזִּיָּה, *yizzīyāh*, "Jeh unites"; AV **Jeziah**): One of the faithful Jews who put away their foreign wives. He belonged to the family of Parosh (Ezr **10** 25; 1 Esd **9** 26, "Ieddias").

J

JAAKAN, jā′a-kān. See BEEROTH-BENE-JAAKAN.

JAAKOBAH, jā-a-kō′ba, jȧ-ak′o-ba (יַעֲקֹבָה, *ya'ăḳōbhāh*, for meaning cf JACOB, I, 1, 2): 1 Ch **4** 36, a Simeonite prince.

JAALA, jā′a-la, jȧ-ā′la (יַעֲלָא, *ya'ălā'*, meaning unknown, Neh **7** 58) and **JAALAH** (יַעֲלָה, *ya-'ălāh*, "mountain goat" [?], Ezr **2** 56): The name of a family of returned exiles, "children of Solomon's servants" = "Jeeli" in 1 Esd **5** 33.

JAALAM, jā′a-lam: AV for JALAM (q.v.).

JAANAI, jā′a-nī: AV for JANAI (q.v.).

JAAR, jā′ar (יַעַר, *ya'ar*, "forest" or "wood"): Is only once taken as a proper name (Ps **132** 6 RVm), "We found it in the field of Jaar." It may be a shortened form of the name Kiriath-jearim, where the ark had rested 20 years. See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

JAARE-OREGIM, jā′a-rē̇-ôr′ē̇-jim, -ôr′e-gim (יַעֲרֵי אֹרְגִים, *ya'ărē 'ōr^eghīm*): In 2 S **21** 19, given as the name of a Bethlehemite, father of Elhanan, who is said to have slain Goliath the Gittite (cf

1 S **17**). The name is not likely to be a man's name; the second part means "weavers" and occurs also as the last word of the verse in the MT, so it is probably a scribal error here due to repetition. The first part is taken to be (1) an error for יָעִיר, *yāʽīr* (see Jair), which is to be read in the ‖ section in 1 Ch **20** 5; (2) in 2 S **23** 24 Elhanan is the son of Dodo, also a Bethlehemite, and Klostermann would read here Dodai as the name of Elhanan's father.

David Francis Roberts

JAARESHIAH, jā-ar-ē-shī′a (יַעֲרֶשְׁיָה, *yaʽăresh-yāh*, meaning unknown): In 1 Ch **8** 27, a Benjamite, "son" of Jeroham. AV has "Jaresiah."

JAASAI, jā′a-sī, **JAASAU,** jā′a-sô. See Jaasu.

JAASIEL, jā̇-ā′si-el (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל, *yaʽăsī′ēl*, "God makes" [?]): In 1 Ch **11** 47, a Mezobaite, one of "the mighty men of the armies," and probably = "Jaasiel" of 1 Ch **27** 21, "the son of Abner," and a Benjamite tribal prince of David's. AV "Jasiel."

JAASU, jā′a-sū̇ (RV and Kᵉthībh, יַעֲשׂוּ, *yaʽăsū*, meaning uncertain); **JAASAI** (RVm and Ḳᵉrē, יַעֲשָׂי, *yaʽăsāy*), and **JAASAU** (AV): In Ezr **10** 37, one of those who had married foreign wives. LXX trˢ the consonantal text as a vb., *kaí epoíēsan*, "and they did." 1 Esd **9** 34 has "Eliasis."

JAAZANIAH, jā-az-a-nī′a (יַאֲזַנְיָהוּ, *ya′ăzan-yāhū*, in 2 K **25** 23; Ezk **8** 11; יַאֲזַנְיָה, *ya′ăzan-yāh*, in Jer **35** 3; Ezk **11** 1, "Jeh hears"):

(1) In 2 K **25** 23, "son of the Maacathite," and one of the Judaean "captains of the forces" who joined Gedaliah, the Bab governor appointed by Nebuchadrezzar over Judah, at Mizpah. He is the "Jezaniah" of Jer **40** 8; **42** 1. Though not mentioned by name, he was presumably one of those captains who joined Johanan in his attack on Ishmael after the latter had slain Gedaliah (Jer **41** 11–18). He is also the same as Azariah of Jer **43** 2, a name read by LXX B in **42** 1 also. Jer **43** 5 relates how Johanan and his allies, Jaazaniah (= Azariah) among them, left Judah with the remnant, and took up their abode in Egypt.

(2) In Jer **35** 3, son of Jeremiah (not the prophet), and a chief of the Rechabite clansmen from whose "staunch adherence to the precepts of their ancestor" Jeremiah "points a lesson for his own countrymen" (Driver, *Jer*, 215).

(3) In Ezk **8** 11, son of Shaphan, and one of the seventy men of the elders of Israel whom Ezekiel saw in a vision of Jerus offering incense to idols.

(4) In Ezk **11** 1, son of Azzur, and one of the 25 men whom Ezekiel saw in his vision of Jerus, at the E. door of the Lord's house, and against whose iniquity he was commanded to prophesy (**11** 1–13).

David Francis Roberts

JAAZER, jā′a-zēr (יַעֲזֵיר, *yaʽăzēr*). See Jazer.

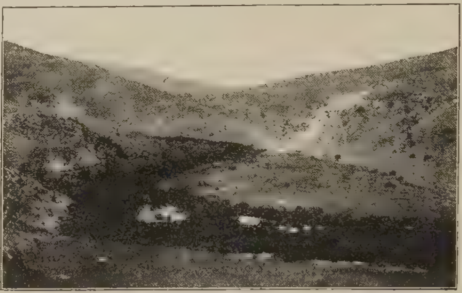
JAAZIAH, jā-a-zī′a (יַעֲזִיָּהוּ, *yaʽăzīyāhū*, "Jeh strengthens"): In 1 Ch **24** 26.27, a Levite, "son" of Merari. But the MT is corrupt. LXX B reads Ὀζειά (*Ozeiá*), which some take to suggest Uzziah (cf **27** 25); see Curtis, *Crit. and Exeget. Comm. on the Books of Ch*, 274–75; Kittel, ad loc.

JAAZIEL, jā̇-ā′zi-el (יַעֲזִיאֵל, *yaʽăzī′ēl*, "God strengthens"): In 1 Ch **15** 18, a Levite, one of the musicians appointed to play upon instruments at the bringing up of the ark by David. Kittel and Curtis, following LXX Ὀζειήλ (*Ozeiēl*), read "Uzziel," the name they adopt for Aziel in ver 20, and for Jeiel in **16** 5.

JABAL, jā′bal (יָבָל, *yābhāl*, meaning uncertain): In Gen **4** 20, a son of Lamech by Adah. He is called 'the father of those who dwell in tents and [with] herds.' So Gunkel, *Gen*³, 52, who says that the corresponding word in Arab. means "the herdsman who tends the camels." Skinner, *Gen*, 120, says that both Jabal and Jubal suggest יֹבֵל, *yōbhēl*, which in Phoen and Heb "means primarily 'ram,' then 'ram's horn' as a musical instrument, and finally 'joyous music' (in the designation of the year of Jubilee)." See also Skinner, *Gen*, 103, on the supposed connection in meaning with Abel.

David Francis Roberts

JABBOK, jab′ok (יַבֹּק, *yabbōḳ*, "luxuriant river"): A stream in Eastern Pal first named in the history of Jacob, as crossed by the patriarch on his return from Paddan-aram, after leaving Mahanaim (Gen **32** 22 ff). On the bank of this river he had his strange conflict with an unknown antagonist. The Jabbok was the northern boundary of the territory of Sihon the Amorite (Nu **21** 24). It is also named as the border of Ammon (Dt **3** 16). It is now called *Nahr ez-Zerḳā*, "river of blue," referring to the clear blue color of its water. It rises near to *ʽAmmān*—Rabbath Ammon—and makes a wide circuit, flowing first to the E., then to the N.W., until it is joined by the stream from *Wādy Jerash*, at which point it turns westward, and flows, with many windings, to the Jordan, the confluence being just N. of *ed-Dāmiyeh*. It drains a wider area than any other stream E. of the Jordan, except the *Yarmūk*. The bed of the river is in a deep gorge with steep, and in many places precipitous, banks. It is a great cleft, cutting the land of Gilead in two. It is lined along its course by a luxuriant growth of oleander which, in season, lights up the valley with brilliant color. The length of the stream, taking no account of its innumerable windings, is about 60 miles. The mouth of the river has changed its position from time to time. In the lower reaches the vegetation is tropical. The river is fordable at many points, save when in full flood. The particular ford referred to in Gen **32** cannot now be identified.


The Jabbok (*Nahr ez-Zerḳā*).

W. Ewing

JABESH, jā′besh (יָבֵשׁ, *yābhēsh*): A short form of Jabesh-gilead (q.v.).

JABESH-GILEAD, jā′besh-gil′ē-ad (יָבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד, *yābhēsh gilʽādh*; or simply יָבִישׁ, *yābhīsh*, "dry"): A city E. of the Jordan, in the deliverance of which from Nahash the Ammonite Saul's military prowess was first displayed (1 S **11** 1 ff). At an earlier time the inhabitants failed to share with their brethren in taking vengeance upon Benjamin. This laxity was terribly punished, only 400 virgins being spared alive, who afterward became wives to the Benjamites (Jgs **21**). The gratitude of the inhabitants to Saul was affectingly proved after the disaster to that monarch on Gilboa (1 S **31**). David, hearing of their deed, sent an approving message, and sought to win their loyalty to himself (2 S **2** 4 ff). Robinson (*BR*, III, 39) thought it might be represented by *ed-Deir*, about 6 miles from Pella (*Fāḥil*), on the southern bank of *Wādy Yābis*. The distance from Pella agrees with the statement of *Onom* (s.v.). Others (Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, 277 f; Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 430, etc) would identify it with the ruins of *Meriamīn*, about 3 miles S.E. of Pella, on the N. of *Wādy Yābis*. The site remains in doubt; but the ancient name still lingers in that of the valley, the stream from which enters the Jordan fully 9 miles S.E. of *Beisān*. W. Ewing

JABEZ, jā′bez (יַעְבֵּץ, *ya'bēç*, "sorrow" ["height"]):

(1) *Place:* An unidentified town probably in the territory of Judah, occupied by scribes (1 Ch **2** 55). For an ingenious reconstruction of the passage see *EB*, s.v.

(2) *Person:* The head of a family of Judah, noted for his "honorable" character, though "his mother bare him with *sorrow*" (1 Ch **4** 9.10), *ya'bēç* being interpreted as if it stood for *ya'çēbh*, "he causes pain." The same play upon words recurs in his prayer, "that it be not to my *sorrow!*" His request was granted, "and the sorrow implied by his ominous name was averted by prayer" (Dummelow, in loc.).

JABIN, jā′bin (יָבִין, *yābhīn*, "one who is intelligent," "discerning." The word may have been a hereditary royal title among the northern Canaanites. Cf the familiar usage of *par'ōh melekh miçrayim*):

(1) "The king of Hazor," the leading city in Northern Pal, who led an alliance against Joshua. He was defeated at the waters of Merom, his city was taken and he was slain (Josh **11** 1–9).

(2) "The king of Canaan, that reigned [or had reigned] in Hazor." It is not clear whether he dwelt in Hazor or Harosheth, the home of Sisera, the captain of his host at the time of the story narrated in Jgs. He oppressed Israel in the days preceding the victory of Deborah and Barak. To the Israelites he must have been but a shadowy figure as compared with his powerful captain, Sisera, for the song makes no mention of him and there is nothing to indicate that he even took part in the battle that freed Israel (Jgs **4** 2.7.17.23.24 *bis;* Ps **83** 9.10). Ella Davis Isaacs

JABNEEL, jab′nē-el, **JABNEH**, jab′ne (יַבְנְאֵל, *yabhn^e'ēl*, "God is builder"; LXX **Λεβνά,** *Lebná*, Swete reads *Lemná*, Apoc **'Ιαμνία,** *Iamnía*, **'Ιαμνεία,** *Iamneía*):

(1) A town on the northern border of the land assigned to Judah, near the western sea, mentioned in connection with Ekron (Josh **15** 11). The place is now represented by the modern village of *Yebna* which stands upon a hill a little to the S. of the *Nahr Rubin*, about 12 or 13 miles S. of Jaffa, on the road from there to Askelon, and about 4 miles from the sea. It had a port, now called *Mina Rubin*, a short distance S. of the mouth of the river, some remains of which still exist. Its harbor was superior to that of Jaffa (*PEFS*, 1875, 167–68). It does not occur in the Heb text of the OT except in the passage mentioned, but it appears under the form "Jabneh" (יַבְנֶה, *yabhneh*) in 2 Ch **26** 6, as is evident from the mention of Gath and Ashdod in connection with it. LXX reads Γεμνά (*Gemná*, *Jabneh*) where the Heb reads וַיָּמָּה, *wā-yāmmāh*, "even unto the sea," in Josh **15** 46, where Ekron and Ashdod and other cities and villages are mentioned as belonging to Judah's inheritance. Jos (*Ant*, V, i, 22) assigns it to the tribe of Dan. We have no mention of its being captured by Joshua or occupied by Judah until the reign of Uzziah who captured it and demolished its wall, in connection with his war upon the Philis (2 Ch **26** 6). The position of J. was strong and was the scene of many contests, both in the period of the monarchy and that of the Maccabees. It is mentioned frequently in the account of the wars of the latter with the Syrians. It was garrisoned by the Seleucid kings, and served as a base for raiding the territory of Judah. When Judas Maccabaeus defeated Gorgias and the Syrians he pursued them to the plains of J., but did not take the fortress (1 Macc **4** 15). Gorgias was there attacked by the Jewish generals Joseph and Azarias, contrary to Judas' orders, who were repulsed with loss (**5** 56–60; Jos, *Ant*, XII, viii, 6). Apollonius occupied it for King Demetrius (1 Macc **10** 69); and Cendebeus for Antiochus, and from there harassed the Jews (**15** 40). Judas burned the port and navy of J. (2 Macc **12** 8–9). It was taken by Simon in 142 BC (Jos, *Ant*, XIII, vi, 7; *BJ*, I, ii, 2), together with Gazara and Joppa, but was restored to its inhabitants by Pompey in 62 BC (*Ant*, XIV, iv, 4), and was rebuilt by Gabinius in 57 BC (*BJ*, I, viii, 4). It was restored to the Jews by Augustus in 30 AD. Herod gave it to his sister Salome and she bequeathed it to Julia, the wife of Augustus (*Ant*, XVIII, ii, 2; *BJ*, II, ix, 1). The town and region were prosperous in Rom times, and when Jerus was besieged by Titus the Sanhedrin removed to J., and it afterward became the seat of a great rabbinical school (Milman, *Hist Jews*, II, 411–12), but was suppressed in the persecution under Hadrian. Antonius allowed it to be revived, but it was again suppressed because of hostile language on the part of the rabbis (ib, 451–52). The Crusaders built there the castle of Ibelin, supposing it to be the site of Gath. It was occupied by the Saracens, and various inscriptions in Arab. of the 13th and 14th cents. have been found there (*SWP*, II, 441–42).

(2) A town of Naphtali mentioned in Josh **19** 33, and supposed to be the site of the modern *Yemma*, S.W. of the sea of Galilee (*SWP*, I, 365). It is the Kefr Yama of the Talm. H. Porter

JACAN, jā′kan (יַעְכָּן, *ya'kān*, meaning not known; AV **Jachan**): A chief of a family descended from Gad (1 Ch **5** 13).

JACHIN, jā′kin (יָכִין, *yākhīn*, "he will establish"):

(1) The 4th son of Simeon (Gen **46** 10; Ex **6** 15; Nu **26** 12). In 1 Ch **4** 24 his name is given as "Jarib" (cf AVm, RVm). "Jachinites," the patronymic of the family, occurs in Nu **26** 12.

(2) Head of the 21st course of priests in the time of David (1 Ch **24** 17). It is used as a family name in 1 Ch **9** 10, and as such also in Neh **11** 10, where some of the course are included in the list of those who, having returned from Babylon, willingly accepted the decision of the lot, and abandoned their rural retreats to become citizens and guardians of Jerus (vs 1 f). James Crichton

JACHIN, jā′kin, **AND BOAZ** (יָכִין, *yākhīn*, "he shall establish"; בֹּעַז, *bō'az*, "in it is strength," 1 K **7** 15–22; 2 K **25** 16.17; 2 Ch **3** 15–17; Jer **52** 17): These were the names of the two bronze pillars that stood before the temple of Solomon. They were not used in supporting the building; their appearance, therefore, must have been solely due to moral and symbolic reasons. What these are it is not easy to say. The pillars were not altar pillars with hearths at their top, as supposed by W. R. Smith (*Religion of the Semites*, 191, 468); rather they were "pillars of witness," as was the pillar that witnessed the contract between Jacob and Laban (Gen **31** 52). A difficulty arises about the height of the pillars. The writers in K and Jer affirm that the pillars before the porch were 18 cubits high apiece (1 K **7** 15; Jer **52** 21), while the Chronicler states that they were 35 cubits (2 Ch **3** 15). Various methods have been suggested of reconciling this discrepancy, but it is more probable that there is a corruption in the Chronicler's number. On the construction of the pillars and their capitals, see TEMPLE. At the final capture of Jerus they were broken up and the metal of which they were composed was sent to Babylon (2 K **25** 13.16). In Ezekiel's ideal temple the two pillars are represented by pillars of wood (**40** 49).

W. SHAW CALDECOTT

JACIMUS, jā′si-mus (*Ant*, XII, ix, 3). See ALCIMUS.

JACINTH, jā′sinth. See HYACINTH; STONES, PRECIOUS.

JACKAL, jak′ôl:

(1) תַּנִּים, *tannīm*, "jackals," AV "dragons"; cf Arab. تَيْنَان, *tînân*, "wolf"; and cf תַּנִּין, *tannīn*, Arab. تِنِّين, *tinnîn*, "sea monster" or "monster," ERV "dragon" (Job **7** 12 m; Ps **74** 13; **148** 7; Isa **27** 1; **51** 9; Jer **51** 34), "serpent" (Ex **7** 9.10.12; Dt **32** 33; Ps **91** 13), AV "whale" (Gen **1** 21; Job **7** 12); but תַּנִּין, *tannīn*, "jackals," AV "sea monsters" (Lam **4** 3), "jackal's well," AV "dragon well" (Neh **2** 13), and *tannīm*, "monster," AV and ERV "dragon" (Ezk **29** 3; **32** 2).

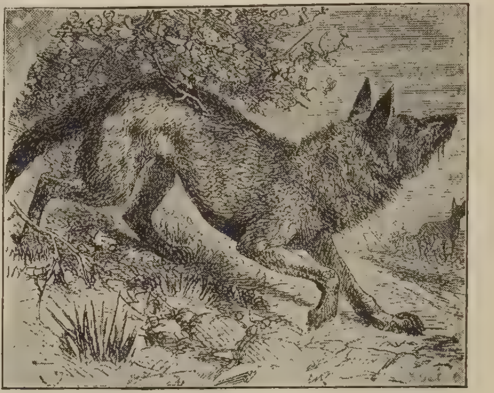
(2) אִיִּים, *'īyīm*, "wolves," AV "wild beasts of the islands"; cf אִי, *'ī*, pl. אִיִּים, *'īyīm*, "island"; also אַיָּה, *'ayyāh*, "a cry," √ אָוָה, *'āwāh*, "to cry," "to howl"; Arab. عَوَّى, *'auwa'*, "to bark" (of dogs, wolves, or jackals); إِبْن آوَى, *'ibn 'âwa'*, colloquially وَاوِي, *wâwî*, "jackal."

(3) צִיִּים, *çīyīm*, "wild beasts of the desert."

(4) אֹחִים, *'ohīm*, "doleful creatures."

"Jackals" occurs as a tr of *tannīm*, AV "dragons," in Job **30** 29; Ps **44** 19; Isa **13** 22; **34** 13; **35** 7; **43** 20; Jer **9** 11; **10** 22; **14** 6; **49** 33; **51** 37; of the fem. pl. form *tannōth* in Mal **1** 3, and of *tannīn* in Neh **2** 13 and Lam **4** 3. *Tannīm* is variously referred to a root meaning "to howl," and to a root meaning "to stretch out," trop. "to run swiftly, i.e. with outstretched neck and limb extended" (Ges.). Either derivation would suit "wolf" equally as well as "jackal." The expression in Jer **10** 22, "to make the cities of Judah a desolation, a dwelling-place of jackals," seems, however, esp. appropriate of jackals. The same is true of Isa **34** 13; Jer **9** 11; **49** 33, and **51** 37.

The jackal (from Pers *shaghâl*), *Canis aureus*, is found about the Mediterranean except in Western Europe. It ranges southward to Abyssinia, and eastward, in Southern Asia, to farther India. It is smaller than a large dog, has a moderately bushy tail, and is reddish brown with dark shadings above. It is cowardly and nocturnal. Like the fox, it is destructive to poultry, grapes, and vegetables, but is less fastidious, and readily devours the remains of others' feasts. Jackals generally go about in small companies. Their peculiar howl may frequently be heard in the evening and at any time in the night. It begins with a high-pitched, long-drawn-out cry. This is repeated two or three times, each time in a higher key than before. Finally there are several short, loud, yelping barks. Often when one raises the cry others join in. Jackals are not infrequently confounded with foxes. They breed freely with dogs.



Jackal (*Canis aureus*).

While *tannīm* is the only word tr^d "jackal" in EV, the words *'īyīm*, *çīyīm*, and *'ohīm* deserve attention. They, as well as *tannīm*, evidently refer to wild creatures inhabiting desert places, but it is difficult to say for what animal each of the words stands. All four (together with *b^{e}nōth ya'ănāh* and *s^e'īrīm*) are found in Isa **13** 21.22: "But wild beasts of the desert [*çīyīm*] shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures [*'ohīm*]; and ostriches [*b^{e}nōth ya'ănāh*] shall dwell there, and wild goats [*s^e'īrīm*] shall dance there. And wolves [*'īyīm*] shall cry in their castles, and jackals [*tannīm*] in the pleasant palaces."

In AV *'īyīm* (Isa **13** 22; **34** 14; Jer **50** 39) is tr^d "wild beasts of the islands" (cf *'īyīm*, "islands"). AVm has merely the transliteration *iim*, RV "wolves," RVm "howling creatures." Gesenius suggests the jackal, which is certainly a howler. While the wolf has a blood-curdling howl, it is much more rarely heard than the jackal.

Çiyīm (Ps **72** 9; **74** 14; Isa **13** 21; **23** 13; **34** 14; Jer **50** 39) has been considered akin to *çiyāh*, "drought" (cf *'ereç çiyāh*, "a dry land" [Ps **63** 1]), and is tr^d in RV as follows: Ps **72** 9, "they that dwell in the wilderness"; **74** 14, "the people inhabiting the wilderness"; Isa **23** 13, "them that dwell in the wilderness," RVm "the beasts of the wilderness"; Isa **13** 21; **34** 14; Jer **50** 39, "wild beasts of the desert." There would be some difficulty in referring *çīyim* in Ps **72** 9 to beasts rather than to men, but that is not the case in Ps **74** 14 and Isa **23** 13. "Wild cats" have been suggested.

'Ohīm, "doleful creatures," perhaps onomatopoetic, occurs only in Isa **13** 21. The tr "owls" has been suggested, and is not unsuitable to the context.

It is not impossible that *tannīm* and *'īyīm* may be different names of the jackals. *'Īyīm*, *çīyīm*, and *tannīm* occur together also in Isa **34** 13.14, and *'īyīm* and *çīyīm* in Jer **50** 39. Their similarity in sound may have much to do with their collocation. The recognized word for "wolf," *z^e'ēbh* (cf Arab. *dhi'b*), occurs 7 t in the OT. See DRAGON; WOLF; ZOÖLOGY.

ALFRED ELY DAY

JACKAL'S WELL (עֵין הַתַּנִּין, *'ēn ha-tannīn;* LXX has **πηγὴ τῶν συκῶν**, *pēgḗ tṓn sukṓn*, "fountain of the figs"; AV **dragon well**): A well or spring in the valley of Hinnom between the "Gate of the Gai" and the Dung Gate (Neh **2** 13). No such source exists in the *Wâdy er Rabâbi* (see HINNOM) today, although it is very probable that a well sunk to the rock in the lower parts of this valley might strike a certain amount of water trickling down the valley-bottom. G. A. Smith suggests (*Jerus*, I, ch iv) that this source may have arisen as the result of an earthquake, hence the name "dragon," and have subsequently disappeared; but it is at least as likely that it received its name from the jackals which haunted this valley, as the pariah dogs do today, to consume the dead bodies which were thrown there. See HINNOM; JACKAL.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

JACOB, jā'kub:

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I. Name.—יַעֲקֹב (5 t יַעֲקוֹב), *ya'ăḳōbh; 'Ιακώβ, Iakôb,* is in form a vb. in the Ḳal impf., 3d masc. sing. Like

1. Form and Distribution

some 50 other Heb names of this same form, it has no subject for the vb. expressed. But there are a number of independent indications that Jacob belongs to that large class of names consisting of a vb. with some Divine name or title (in this case *'Ēl*) as the subject, from which the common abbreviated form is derived by omitting the subject. (*a*) In Bab documents of the period of the Patriarchs, there occur such personal names as Ja-ku-bi, Ja-ku-ub-ilu (the former doubtless an abbreviation of the latter), and Aq-bu-ú (cf Aq-bi-a-ḫu), according to Hilprecht a syncopated form for A-qú(?)-bu(-ú), like Aq-bi-ilî alongside of A-qa-bi-ilî; all of which may be associated with the same root עקב, *'āḳabh,* as appears in Jacob (see H. Ranke, *Early Bab Personal Names,* 1905, with annotations by Professor Hilprecht as editor, esp. pp. 67, 113, 98 and 4). (*b*) In the list of places in Pal conquered by the Pharaoh Thutmose III appears a certain J'qb'r, which in Egyp characters represents the Sem letters יעקבאל, *ya'ăḳōbh-'ēl,* and which therefore seems to show that in the earlier half of the 15th cent. BC (so Petrie, Breasted) there was a place (not a tribe; see W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa,* 162 ff) in Central Pal that bore a name in some way connected with "Jacob." Moreover, a Pharaoh of the Hyksos period bears a name that looks like *ya'ăḳōbh-'ēl* (Spiegelberg, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung,* VII, 130). (*c*) In the Jewish tractate Pirḳē 'Abhōth, iii.1, we read of a Jew named *'Ăḳabhyāh,* which is a name composed of the same verbal root as that in Jacob, together with the Divine name *Yāhū* (i.e. Jeh) in its common abbreviated form. It should be noted that the personal names *'Aḳḳūbh* and *Ya'ăḳōbhāh* (accent on penult) also occur in the OT, the former borne by no less than 4 different persons; also that in the Palmyrene inscriptions we find a person named עתעקב, a name in which this same vb. עקב is preceded by the name of the god 'Ate, just as in *'Ăḳabhyāh* it is followed by the name *Yāhū.*

Such being the form and distribution of the name, it remains to inquire: What do we know of its etymology and what were the associations it conveyed to the Heb ear?

2. Etymology and Associations

The vb. in all its usages is capable of deduction, by simple association of ideas, from the noun "heel." "To heel" might mean: (*a*) "to take hold of by the heel" (so probably Hos **12** 3; cf Gen **27** 36); (*b*) "to follow with evil intent," "to supplant" or in general "to deceive" (so Gen **27** 36; Jer **9** 4, where the parallel, "go about with slanders," is interesting because the word so trd is akin to the noun "foot," as "supplant" is to "heel"); (*c*) "to follow with good intent," whether as a slave (cf our Eng. "to heel," of a dog) for service, or as a guard for protection, hence "to guard" (so in Ethiopic), "to keep guard over" and thus "to restrain" (so Job **37** 4); (*d*) "to follow," "to succeed," "to take the place of another" (so Arab., and the Heb noun עֵקֶב, *'ēḳebh,* "consequence," "recompense," whether of reward or punishment).

Among these four significations, which most commends itself as the original intent in the use of this vb. to form a proper name? The answer to this question depends upon the degree of strength with which the Divine name was felt to be the subject of the vb. As Jacob-el, the simplest interpretation of the name is undoubtedly, as Baethgen urges (*Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgeschichte,* 158), "God rewardeth" ([*d*] above), like Nathanael, "God hath given," etc. But we have already seen that centuries before the time when Jacob is said to have been born, this name was shortened by dropping the Divine subject; and in this shortened form it would be more likely to call up in the minds of all Semites who used it, associations with the primary, physical notion of its root ([*a*] above). Hence there is no ground to deny that even in the patriarchal period, this familiar personal name Jacob lay ready at hand—a name ready made, as it were—for this child, in view of the peculiar circumstances of its birth; we may say, indeed, one could not escape the use of it. (A parallel case, perhaps, is Gen **38** 28.30, Zerah; cf Zerahiah.) The associations of this root in everyday use in Jacob's family to mean "to supplant" led to the fresh realization of its appropriateness to his character and conduct when he was grown ([*b*] above). This construction does not interfere with a connection between the patriarch Jacob and the "Jacob-els" referred to above (under 1, [*b*]), should that connection on other grounds appear probable. Such a longer form was perhaps for every "Jacob" an alternative form of his name, and under certain circumstances may have been used by or of even the patriarch Jacob.

II. Place in the Patriarchal Succession.—In the dynasty of the "heirs of the promise," Jacob takes his place, first, as the successor of

1. As Son of Isaac and Rebekah

Isaac. In Isaac's life the most significant single fact had been his marriage with Rebekah instead of with a woman of Canaan. Jacob therefore represents the first generation of those who are determinately separate from their environment. Abraham and his household were immigrants in Canaan; Jacob and Esau were natives of Canaan in the second generation, yet had not a drop of Canaanitish blood in their veins. Their birth was delayed till 20 years after the marriage of their parents. Rebekah's barrenness had certainly the same effect, and probably the same purpose, as that of Sarah: it drove Isaac to Divine aid, demanded of him as it had of Abraham that "faith and patience" through which they "inherited the promises" (He **6** 12), and made the children of this pair also the evident gift of God's grace, so that Isaac was the better able "by faith" to "bless Jacob and Esau even concerning things to come" (He **11** 20).

These twin brothers therefore share thus far the same relation to their parents and to what their parents transmit to them. But here

2. As Brother of Esau

the likeness ceases. "Being not yet born, neither having done anything good or bad, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said unto [Rebecca], The elder shall serve the younger" (Rom **9** 11.12). In the Gen-narrative, without any doctrinal assertions either adduced to explain it, or deduced from it, the fact is nevertheless made as clear as it is in Mal or Rom, that Esau is rejected, and Jacob is chosen as a link in the chain of inheritance that receives and transmits the promise.

With Jacob the last person is reached who, for his own generation, thus sums up in a single individual "the seed" of promise. He

3. As Father of the Twelve

becomes the father of 12 sons, who are the progenitors of the tribes of the "peculiar people." It is for this reason that this people bears his name, and not that of his father Isaac or that of his grandfather Abraham. The "children of Israel," the "house of Jacob," are the totality of the seed of the promise. The Edomites too are children of Isaac. Ishmaelites equally with Israelites boast of descent from Abraham. But the twelve tribes that called themselves "Israel" were all descendants of Jacob, and were the only descendants of Jacob on the agnatic principle of family-constitution.

III. Biography.—The life of a wanderer (Dt **26** 5 RVm) such as Jacob was, may often be best divided on the geographical principle. Jacob's career falls into the four distinct periods: that of his residence with Isaac in Canaan, that of his residence with Laban in Aram, that of his independent life in Canaan and that of his migration to Egypt.

1. With Isaac in Canaan

Jacob's birth was remarkable in respect of (*a*) its delay for 20 years as noted above, (*b*) that condition of his mother which led to the Divine oracle concerning his future greatness and supremacy, and (*c*) the unusual phenomenon that gave him his name: "he holds by the heel" (see above, I, 2). Unlike his twin brother, Jacob seems to have been free from any physical peculiarities; his smoothness (Gen **27** 11) is only predicated of him in contrast to Esau's hairiness. These brothers, as they developed, grew apart in tastes and habits. Jacob, like his father in his quiet manner of life and (for that reason perhaps) the companion and favorite of his mother, found early the opportunity to obtain Esau's sworn renunciation of his right of primogeniture, by taking advantage of his habits, his impulsiveness and his fundamental indifference to the higher things of the family, the things of the future (**25** 32). It was not until long afterward that the companion-scene to this first "supplanting" (**27** 36) was enacted. Both sons meanwhile are to be thought of simply as members of Isaac's following, during all the period of his successive sojourns in Gerar, the Valley of Gerar and Beersheba (ch **26**). Within this period, when the brothers were 40 years of age, occurred Esau's marriage with two Hittite women. Jacob, remembering his own mother's origin, bided his time to find the woman who should be the mother of his children. The question whether she should be brought to him, as Rebekah was to Isaac, or he should go to find her, was settled at last by a family feud that only his absence could heal. This feud was occasioned by the fraud that Jacob at Rebekah's behest practised upon his father and brother, when these two were minded to nullify the clearly revealed purpose of the oracle (**25** 23) and the sanctions of a solemn oath (**25** 33). Isaac's partiality for Esau arose perhaps as much from Esau's resemblance to the active, impulsive nature of his mother, as from the sensual gratification afforded Isaac by the savory dishes his son's hunting supplied. At any rate, this partiality defeated itself because it overreached itself. The wife, who had learned to be eyes and ears for a husband's failing senses, detected the secret scheme, counterplotted with as much skill as unscrupulousness, and while she obtained the paternal blessing for her favorite son, fell nevertheless under the painful necessity of choosing between losing him through his brother's revenge or losing him by absence from home. She chose, of course, the latter alternative, and herself brought about Jacob's departure, by pleading to Isaac the necessity for obtaining a woman as Jacob's wife of a sort different from the Canaanitish women that Esau had married. Thus ends the first portion of Jacob's life.

2. To Aram and Back

It is no young man that sets out thus to escape a brother's vengeance, and perhaps to find a wife at length among his mother's kindred. It was long before this that Esau at the age of forty had married the Hittite women (cf **26** 34 with **27** 46). Yet to one who had hitherto spent his life subordinate to his father, indulged by his mother, in awe of a brother's physical superiority, and "dwelling in tents, a quiet [domestic] man" (**25** 27), this journey of 500 or 600 miles, with no one to guide, counsel or defend, was as new an experience as if he had really been the stripling that he is sometimes represented to have been. All the most significant chapters in life awaited him: self-determination, love, marriage, fatherhood, domestic provision and administration, adjustment of his relations with men, and above all a personal and independent religious experience.

Of these things, all were to come to him in the 20 years of absence from Canaan, and the last was to come first; for the dream of Jacob at Beth-el was of course but the opening scene in the long drama of God's direct dealing with Jacob. Yet it was the determinative scene, for God in His latest and fullest manifestation to Jacob was just "the God of Beth-el" (**35** 7; **48** 3; **49** 24).

With the arrival at Haran came love at once, though not for 7 years the consummation of that love. Its strength is naïvely indicated by the writer in two ways: impliedly in the sudden output of physical power at the well-side (**29** 10), and expressly in the patient years of toil for Rachel's sake, which "seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had to her" (**29** 20). Jacob is not primarily to be blamed for the polygamy that brought trouble into his home-life and sowed the seeds of division and jealousy in the nation of the future. Although much of Israel's history can be summed up in the rivalry of Leah and Rachel—Judah and Joseph—yet it was not Jacob's choice but Laban's fraud that introduced this cause of schism. At the end of his 7 years' labor Jacob received as wife not Rachel but Leah, on the belated plea that to give the younger daughter before the elder was not the custom of the country. This was the first of the "ten times" that Laban "changed the wages" of Jacob (**31** 7.41). Rachel became Jacob's wife 7 days after Leah, and for this second wife he "served 7 other years." During these 7 years were born most of the sons and daughters (**37** 35) that formed the actual family, the nucleus of that large caravan that Jacob took back with him to Canaan. Dinah is the only daughter named; **30** 21 is obviously in preparation for the story of ch **34** (see esp. **34** 31). Four sons of Leah were the oldest: Reuben, with the right of primogeniture, Simeon, Levi and Judah. Next came the 4 sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, the personal slaves of the two wives (cf ABRAHAM, IV, 2); the two pairs of sons were probably of about the same age (cf order in ch **49**). Leah's 5th and 6th sons were separated by an interval of uncertain length from her older group. And Joseph, the youngest son born in Haran, was Rachel's first child, equally beloved by his mother, and by his father for her sake (**33** 2; cf **44** 20), as well as because he was the youngest of the eleven (**37** 3).

Jacob's years of service for his wives were followed by 6 years of service rendered for a stipulated wage. Laban's cunning in limiting the amount of this wage in a variety of ways was matched by Jacob's cunning in devising means to overreach his uncle, so that the penniless wanderer of 20 years before becomes the wealthy proprietor of countless cattle and of the hosts of slaves necessary for their care (**32** 10). At the same time the apology of Jacob for his conduct during this entire period of residence in Haran is spirited (**31** 36–42); it is apparently unanswerable by Laban (ver 43); and it is confirmed, both by the evident concurrence of Leah and Rachel (vs 14–16), and by indications in the narrative that the justice (not merely the partiality) of God gave to each party his due recompense: to Jacob the rich returns of skilful, patient industry; to Laban rebuke and warning (vs 5–13. 24.29.42).

The manner of Jacob's departure from Haran was determined by the strained relations between his uncle and himself. His motive in going, however, is represented as being fundamentally the desire to terminate an absence from his father's country that had already grown too long (**31** 30; cf **30** 25)—a desire which in fact presented itself to him in the form of a revelation of God's own purpose and command (**31** 3). Unhappily, his clear record was stained by the act of another than himself, who nevertheless, as a member of his family, entailed thus upon him the burden of responsibility. Rachel, like Laban her father, was devoted to the superstition that manifested itself in the keeping and consulting of *tᵉrāphīm*, a custom which, whether more nearly akin to fetishism, totemism, or ancestor-worship, was felt to be incompatible with the worship of the one true God. (Note that the "teraphim" of **31** 19.34 f are the same as the "gods" of vs 30.32 and, apparently, of **35** 2.4.) This theft furnished Laban with a pretext for pursuit. What he meant to do he probably knew but imperfectly himself. Coercion of some sort he would doubtless have brought to bear upon Jacob and his caravan, had he not recognized in a dream the God whom Jacob worshipped, and heard Him utter a word of warning against the use of violence. Laban failed to find his stolen gods, for his daughter was as crafty and ready-witted as he. The whole adventure ended in a formal reconciliation, with the usual sacrificial and memorial token (**31** 43–55).

After Laban, Esau. One danger is no sooner escaped than a worse threatens. Yet between them lies the pledge of Divine presence and protection in the vision of God's host at Mahanaim: just a simple statement, with none of the fanciful detail that popular story-telling loves, but the sober record of a tradition to which the supernatural was matter of fact. Even the longer passage that preserves the occurrence at Peniel is conceived in the same spirit. What the revelation of the host of God had not sufficed to teach this faithless, anxious, scheming patriarch, that God sought to teach him in the night-struggle, with its ineffaceable physical memorial of a human impotence that can compass no more than to cling to Divine omnipotence (**32** 22–32). The devices of crafty Jacob to disarm an offended and supposedly implacable brother proved as useless as that bootless wrestling of the night before; Esau's peculiar disposition was not of Jacob's making, but of God's, and to it alone Jacob owed his safety. The practical wisdom of Jacob dictated his insistence upon bringing to a speedy termination the proposed association with his changeable brother, amid the difficulties of a journey that could not be shared by such divergent social and racial elements as Esau's armed host and Jacob's caravan, without discontent on the one side and disaster on the other. The brothers part, not to meet again until they meet to bury their father at Hebron (**35** 29).

3. In Canaan Again

Before Jacob's arrival in the S. of Canaan where his father yet lived and where his own youth had been spent, he passed through a period of wandering in Central Pal, somewhat similar to that narrated of his grandfather Abraham. To any such nomad, wandering slowly from Aram toward Egypt, a period of residence in the region of Mt. Ephraim was a natural chapter in his book of travels. Jacob's longer stops, recorded for us, were (1) at Succoth, E. of the Jordan near Peniel, (2) at Shechem and (3) at Beth-el.

Nothing worthy of record occurred at Succoth, but the stay at Shechem was eventful. Gen **34**, which tells the story of Dinah's seduction and her brother's revenge, throws as much light upon the relations of Jacob and the Canaanites, as does ch **14** or ch **23** upon Abraham's relations, or ch **26** upon Isaac's relations, with such settled inhabitants of the land. There is a strange blending of moral and immoral elements in Jacob and his family as portrayed in this *contretemps*. There is the persistent tradition of separateness from the Canaanites bequeathed from Abraham's day (ch **24**), together with a growing family consciousness and sense of superiority (**34** 7.14.31). And at the same time there is indifference to their unique moral station among the environing tribes, shown in Dinah's social relations with them (ver 1), in the treachery and cruelty of Simeon and Levi (vs 25–29), and in Jacob's greater concern for the security of his possessions than for the preservation of his good name (ver 30).

It was this concern for the safety of the family and its wealth that achieved the end which dread of social absorption would apparently never have achieved—the termination of a long residence where there was moral danger for all. For a second time Jacob had fairly to be driven to Beth-el. Safety from his foes was again a gift of God (**35** 5), and in a renewal of the old forgotten ideals of consecration (vs 2–8), he and all his following move from the painful associations of Shechem to the hallowed associations of Beth-el. Here were renewed the various phases of all God's earlier communications to this patriarch and to his fathers before him. The new name of Israel, hitherto so ill deserved, is henceforth to find realization in his life; his fathers' God is to be his God; his seed is to inherit the land of promise, and is to be no mean tribe, but a group of peoples with kings to rule over them like the nations round about (**35** 9–12). No wonder that Jacob here raises anew his monument of stone—emblem of the "Stone of Israel" (**49** 24)—and stamps forever, by this public act, upon ancient Luz (**35** 6), the name of Beth-el which he had privately given it years before (**28** 19).

Losses and griefs characterized the family life of the patriarch at this period. The death of his mother's Syrian nurse at Beth-el (**35** 8; cf **24** 59) was followed by the death of his beloved wife Rachel at Ephrath (**35** 19; **48** 7) in bringing forth the youngest of his 12 sons, Benjamin. At about the same time the eldest of the 12, Reuben, forfeited the honor of his station in the family by an act that showed all too clearly the effect of recent association with Canaanites (**35** 22). Finally, death claimed Jacob's aged father, whose latest years had been robbed of the companionship, not only of this son, but also of the son whom his partiality had all but made a fratricide; at Isaac's grave in Hebron the ill-matched brothers met once more, thenceforth to go their separate ways, both in their personal careers and in their descendants' history (**35** 29).

Jacob now is by right of patriarchal custom head of all the family. He too takes up his residence at Hebron (**37** 14), and the story of the family fortunes is now pursued under the new title of "the generations of Jacob" (**37** 2). True, most of this story revolves about Joseph, the youngest of the family save Benjamin; yet the occurrence of passages like ch **38**, devoted exclusively to Judah's affairs, or **46** 8–27, the enumeration of Jacob's entire family through its secondary ramifications, or ch **49**, the blessing of Jacob on all his sons—all these prove that Jacob, not Joseph, is the true center of the narrative until his death. As long as he lives he is the real head of his house, and not merely a superannuated veteran like Isaac. Not only Joseph, the boy of 17 (**37** 2), but also the self-willed elder sons, even a score of years later, come and go at his bidding (chs **42–45**). Joseph's dearest thought, as it is his first thought, is for his aged father (**43** 7.27; **44** 19; and esp. **45** 3.9.13.23, and **46** 29).

4. Last Years in Egypt

It is this devotion of Joseph that results in Jacob's migration to Egypt. What honors there Joseph can show his father he shows him: he presents him to Pharaoh, who for Joseph's sake receives him with dignity, and assigns him a home and sustenance for himself and all his people as honored guests of the land of Egypt (**47** 7–12). Yet in Beersheba, while *en route* to Egypt, Jacob had obtained a greater honor than this reception by Pharaoh. He had found there, as ready to respond to his sacrifices as ever to those of his fathers, the God of his father Isaac, and had received the gracious assurance of Divine guidance in this momentous journey, fraught with so vast a significance for the future nation and the world (**46** 1–4): God Himself would go with him into Egypt and give him, not merely the gratification of once more embracing his long-lost son, but the fulfilment of the covenant-promise (**15** 13–16) that he and his were not turning their backs upon Canaan forever. Though 130 years of age when he stood before Pharaoh, Jacob felt his days to have been "few" as well as "evil," in comparison with those of his fathers (**47** 9). And in fact he had yet 17 years to live in Goshen (**47** 28).

These last days are passed over without record, save of the growth and prosperity of the family. But at their close came the impartation of the ancestral blessings, with the last will of the dying patriarch. After adopting Joseph's sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, as his own, Jacob blesses them, preferring the younger to the elder as he himself had once been preferred to Esau, and assigns to Joseph the "double portion" of the firstborn—that "preëminence" which he denies to Reuben (**48** 22; **49** 4). In poetry that combines with the warm emotion and glowing imagery of its style and the unsurpassed elevation of its diction, a lyrical fervor of religious sentiment which demands for its author a personality that had passed through just such a course of tuition as Jacob had experienced, the last words of Jacob, in ch **49**, mark a turning-point in the history of the people of God. This is a translation of biography into prophecy. On the assumption that it is genuine, we may confidently aver that it was simply unforgetable by those who heard it. Its auditors were its theme. Their descendants were its fulfilment. Neither the one class nor the other could ever let it pass out of memory.

It was "by faith," we are well reminded, that Jacob "blessed" and "worshipped" "when he was dying" (He **11** 21). For he held to the promises of God, and even in the hour of dissolution looked for the fulfilment of the covenant, according to which Canaan should belong to him and to his seed after him. He therefore set Joseph an example, by "giving commandment concerning his bones," that they might rest in the burial-place of Abraham and Isaac near Hebron. To the accomplishment of this mission Joseph and all his brethren addressed themselves after their father's decease and the 70 days of official mourning. Followed by a "very great company" of the notables of Egypt, including royal officials and representatives of the royal family, this Heb tribe carried up to sepulture in the land of promise the embalmed body of the patriarch from whom henceforth they were to take their tribal name, lamented him according to custom for 7 days, and then returned to their temporary home in Egypt, till their children should at length be "called" thence to become God's "son" (Hos **11** 1) and inherit His promises to their father Jacob.

IV. Character and Beliefs.—In the course of this account of Jacob's career the inward as well as the outward fortunes of the man have somewhat appeared. Yet a more comprehensive view of the kind of man he was will not be superfluous at this point. With what disposition was he endowed—the natural nucleus for acquired characteristics and habits? Through what stages did he pass in the development of his beliefs and his character? In particular, what attitude did he maintain toward the most significant thing in his life, the promise of God to his house? And lastly, what resemblances may be traced in Israel the man to Israel the nation, of such sort that the one may be regarded as "typical" of the other? These matters deserve more than a passing notice.

1. Natural Qualities

From his father, Jacob inherited that domesticity and affectionate attachment to his home circle which appears in his life from beginning to end. He inherited shrewdness, initiative and resourcefulness from Rebekah—qualities which she shared apparently with her brother Laban and all his family. The conspicuous ethical faults of Abraham and Isaac alike are want of candor and want of courage. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the same failings in Jacob. Deceit and cowardice are visible again and again in the impartial record of his life. Both spring from unbelief. They belong to the natural man. God's transformation of this man was wrought by faith—by awakening and nourishing in him a simple trust in the truth and power of the Divine word. For Jacob was not at any time in his career indifferent to the things of the spirit, the things unseen and belonging to the future. Unlike Esau, he was not callous to the touch of God. Whether through inheritance, or as a fruit of early teaching, he had as the inestimable treasure, the true capital of his spiritual career, a firm conviction of the value of what God had promised, and a supreme ambition to obtain it for himself and his children. But against the Divine plan for the attainment of this goal by faith, there worked in Jacob constantly his natural qualities, the non-moral as well as the immoral qualities, that urged him to save himself and his fortunes by "works"—by sagacity, cunning, compromise, pertinacity—anything and everything that would anticipate God's accomplishing His purpose in His own time and His own way. In short, "the end justifies the means" is the program that, more than all others, finds illustration and rebuke in the character of Jacob.

2. Stages of Development

Starting with such a combination of natural endowments, social, practical, ethical, Jacob passed through a course of Divine tuition, which, by building upon some of them, repressing others and transfiguring the remainder, issued in the triumph of grace over nature, in the transformation of a Jacob into an Israel. This tuition has been well analyzed by a recent writer (Thomas, *Genesis*, III, 204 f) into the school of sorrow, the school of providence and the school of grace. Under the head of sorrow, it is not difficult to recall many experiences in the career just reviewed: long exile; disappointment; sinful passions of greed, anger, lust and envy in others, of which Jacob was the victim; perplexity; and, again and again, bereavement of those he held most dear.

But besides these sorrows, God's providence dealt with him in ways most remarkable, and perhaps more instructive for the study of such Divine dealings than in the case of any other character in the OT. By alternate giving and withholding, by danger here and deliverance there, by good and evil report, now by failure of "best laid schemes" and now by success with seemingly inadequate means, God developed in him the habit—not native to him as it seems to have been in part to Abraham and to Joseph—of reliance on Divine power and guidance, of accepting the Divine will, of realizing the Divine nearness and faithfulness.

And lastly, there are those admirably graded lessons in the grace of God, that were imparted in the series of Divine appearances to the patriarch, at Beth-el, at Haran, at Peniel, at Beth-el again and at Beersheba. For if the substance of these Divine revelations be compared, it will be found that all are alike in the assurance (1) that God is with him to bless; (2) that the changes of his life are ordained of God and are for his ultimate good; and (3) that he is the heir of the ancestral promises.

It will further be found that they may be arranged in a variety of ways, according as one or another of the revelations be viewed as the climax. Thus (1), agreeing with the chronological order, the appearance at Beersheba may well be regarded as the climax of them all. Abraham had gone to Egypt to escape a famine (**12** 10), but he went without revelation, and returned with bitter experience of his error. Isaac essayed to go to Egypt for the same cause (**26** 1 f), and was prevented by revelation. Jacob now goes to Egypt, but he goes with the express approval of the God of his fathers, and with the explicit assurance that the same Divine providence which ordained this removal (**50** 20) will see that it does not frustrate any of the promises of God. This was a crisis in the history of the "Kingdom of God" on a par with events like the Exodus, the Exile, or the Return.

(2) In its significance for his personal history, the first of these revelations was unique. Beth-el witnessed Jacob's choice, evidently for the first time, of his fathers' God as his God. And though we find Jacob later tolerating idolatry in his household and compromising his religious testimony by sin, we never find a hint of his own unfaithfulness to this first and final religious choice. This is further confirmed by the attachment of his later revelations to this primary one, as though this lent them the significance of continuity, and made possible the unity of his religious experience. So at Haran it was the "God of Beth-el" who directed his return (**31** 13); at Shechem it was to Beth-el that he was directed, in order that he might at length fulfil his Beth-el vow, by erecting there an altar to the God who had there appeared to him (**35** 1); and at Beth-el finally the promise of former years was renewed to him who was henceforth to be Israel (vs 9–15).

(3) Though thus punctuated with the supernatural, the only striking bit of the marvelous in all this biography is the night scene at Peniel. And this too may justly be claimed as a climax in Jacob's development. There he first received his new name, and though he deserved it as little in many scenes thereafter as he had deserved it before, yet the same could be said of many a man who has "seen the face of God," but has yet to grasp, like Jacob, the lesson that the way to overcome is through the helpless but clinging importunity of faith.

(4) Rather than in any of the other scenes, however, it was at Beth-el the second time that the patriarch reached the topmost rung on the ladder of development. As already noticed, the substance of all the earlier revelations is here renewed and combined. It is no wonder that after this solemn theophany we find Jacob, like Moses later, 'enduring as seeing him who is invisible' (He **11** 27), and "waiting for the salvation" (Gen **49** 18) of a God 'who is not ashamed of him, to be called his God' (He **11** 16), but is repeatedly called "the God of Jacob."

Finally, such a comparison of these revelations to Jacob reveals a variety in the way God makes Himself known. In the first revelation, naturally, the effort is made chiefly to impress upon its recipient the identity of the revealing God with the God of his fathers. And it has been remarked already that in the later revelations the same care is taken to identify the Revealer with the One who gave that first revelation, or else to identify Him, as then, with the God of the fathers. Yet, in addition to this, there is a richness and suitability in *the Divine names* revealed, which a mechanical theory of literary sources not only leaves unexplained but fails even to recognize. At Beth-el first it is Jeh, the personal name of *this* God, the God of his fathers, who enters into a new personal relation with Jacob; now, of all times in his career, he needs to know God by the differential mark that distinguishes Him absolutely from other gods, that there may never be confusion as to Jeh's identity. But this matter is settled for Jacob once for all. Thenceforth one of the ordinary terms for deity, with or without an attributive adjunct, serves to lift the patriarch's soul into communication with his Divine Interlocutor. The most general word of all in the Sem tongues for deity is *'Ēl*, the word used in the revelations to Jacob at Haran (**31** 13), at Shechem (**35** 1), at Beth-el the second time (**35** 11) and at Beersheba (**46** 3). But it is never used alone. Like *Allah* in the Arab. language (=*the* God), so *'Ēl* with the definite article before it serves to designate in Heb a particular divinity, not deity in general. Or else *'Ēl* without the article is made definite by some genitive phrase that supplies the necessary identification: so in Jacob's case, El-beth-el (**35** 7; cf **31** 13) or El-Elohe-Israel (**33** 20). Or, lastly, there is added to *'Ēl* some determining title, with the force of an adjective, as Shaddai (tr^{d} "Almighty") in **35** 11 (cf **43** 3). In clear distinction from this word, *'Ēl*, with its archaic or poetic flavor, is the common Heb word for God, *'Ĕlōhīm*. But while *'Ĕlōhīm* is used regularly by the narrator of the Jacob-stories in speaking, or in letting his actors speak, of Jacob's God, who to the monotheistic writer is of course *the* God and his own God, he never puts this word thus absolutely into the mouth of the revealing Deity. Jacob can say, when he awakes from his dream, "This is the house of *'Ĕlōhīm*," but God says to him in the dream, "I am the God [*'Ĕlōhīm*] of thy father" (**28** 17.13). At Mahanaim Jacob says, "This is the host of *'Ĕlōhīm*" (**32** 2), but at Beersheba God says to Jacob, "I am . . . . the God [*'Ĕlōhīm*] of thy father" (**46** 3). Such are the distinctions maintained in the use of these words, all of them used of the same God, yet chosen in each case to fit the circumstances of speaker, hearer and situation.

The only passage in the story of Jacob that might appear to be an exception does in fact but prove the rule. At Peniel the angel of God explains the new name of Israel by saying, "Thou hast striven with God [*'Ĕlōhīm*] and with men, and hast prevailed." Here the contrast with "men" proves that *'Ĕlōhīm* without the article is just the right expression, even on the lips of Deity: neither Deity nor humanity has prevailed against Jacob (**32** 28).

Throughout the entire story of Jacob, therefore, his relations with Jeh his God, after they were once established (**28** 13–16), are narrated in terms that emphasize the Divinity of Him who had thus entered into covenant-relationship with him: His Divinity—that is to say, those attributes in which His Divinity manifested itself in His dealings with Jacob.

3. Attitude toward the Promise

From the foregoing, two things appear with respect to Jacob's attitude toward the promise of God. First, with all his faults and vices he yet was spiritually sensitive; he responded to the approaches of his God concerning things of a value wholly spiritual—future good, moral and spiritual blessings. And second, he was capable of progress in these matters; that is, his reaction to the Divine tuition would appear, if charted, as a series of elevations, separated one from another, to be sure, by low levels and deep declines, yet each one higher than the last, and all taken collectively lifting the whole average up and up, till in the end faith has triumphed over sight, the future over present good, a yet unpossessed but Divinely promised Canaan over all the comfort and honors of Egypt, and the aged patriarch lives only to "wait for Jeh's salvation" (**49** 18).

The contrast of Jacob with Esau furnishes perhaps the best means of grasping the significance of these two facts for an estimate of Jacob's attitude toward the promise. For in the first place, Esau, who possessed so much that Jacob lacked—directness, manliness, a sort of *bonhomie*, that made him superficially more attractive than his brother—Esau shows nowhere any real "sense" for things spiritual. The author of Hebrews has caught the man in the flash of a single word, "profane" (*βέβηλος, bébēlos*)—of course, in the older, broader, etymological meaning of the term. Esau's desires dwelt in the world of the non-sacred; they did not aspire to that world of nearness to God, where one must 'put off the shoes from off his feet, because the place whereon he stands is holy ground.' And in the second place, there is no sign of growth in Esau. What we see him in his father's encampment, that we see him to the end—so far as appears from the laconic story. With the virtues as well as the vices of the man who lives for the present—forgiving when strong enough to revenge, condescending when flattered, proud of power and independent of parental control or family tradition—Esau is as impartially depicted by the sacred historian as if the writer had been an Edomite instead of an Israelite: the sketch is evidently true to life, both from its objectivity and from its coherence.

Now what Esau was, Jacob was not. His fault in connection with the promises of God, the family tradition, the ancestral blessing, lay not in despising them, but in seeking them in immoral ways. Good was his aim; but he was ready to "do evil that good might come." He was always tempted to be his own Providence, and God's training was clearly directed, both by providential leadings and by gracious disclosures, to this corresponding purpose: to enlighten Jacob as to the nature of the promise; to assure him that it was his by grace; to awaken personal faith in its Divine Giver; and to supplement his "faith" by that "patience" without which none can "inherit the promises." The faith that accepts was to issue at length in the faith that waits.

4. How Far a "Type" of Israel

A nation was to take its name from Jacob-Israel, and there are some passages of Scripture where it is uncertain whether the name designates the nation or its ancestor. In their respective relations to God and to the world of men and nations, there is a true sense in which the father was a "type" of the children. It is probably only a play of fancy that would discover a parallel in their respective careers, between the successive stages of life in the father's home (Canaan), life in exile, a return, and a second exile. But it is not fanciful to note the resemblance between Jacob's character and that of his descendants. With few exceptions the qualities mentioned above (IV, 2) will be found, *mutatis mutandis*, to be equally applicable to the nation of Israel. And even that curriculum in which the patriarch learned of God may be viewed as a type of the school in which the Heb people—not all of them, nor even the mass, but the "remnant" who approximated to the ideal Israel of the prophets, the "servant of Jeh"—were taught the lessons of faith and patience, of renunciation and consecration, that appear with growing clearness on the pages of Isaiah, of Habakkuk, of Jeremiah, of Malachi. This is apparently Hosea's point of view in **12** 2–4.12.

A word of caution, however, is needed at this point. There are limits to this equation. Even critics who regard Jacob under his title of Israel as merely the eponymous hero, created by legend to be the forefather of the nation (cf below, VI, 1), must confess that Jacob as Jacob is no such neutral creature, dressed only in the colors of his children's racial qualities. There is a large residuum in Jacob, after all parallelisms have been traced, that refuses to fit the lines of Heb national character or history, and his typical relation in fact lies chiefly in the direction of the covenant-inheritance, after the fashion of Malachi's allusion (Mal **1** 2), interpreted by Paul (Rom **9** 10–13).

V. References Outside of Genesis.—Under his two names this personage Jacob or Israel is more frequently mentioned than any other in the whole of sacred history. Yet in the vast majority of cases the nation descended from him is intended by the name, which in the form of "Jacob" or "Israel" contains not the slightest, and in the form "children of Israel," "house of Jacob" and the like, only the slightest, if any, allusion to the patriarch himself. But there still remain many passages in both Testaments where the Jacob or Israel of Gen is clearly alluded to.

1. In the OT

There is a considerable group of passages that refer to him as the last of the patriarchal triumvirate—Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: so particularly of Jeh as the "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," and of the covenant-oath as having been "sworn unto Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." And naturally the nation that is known by his name is frequently called by some phrase, equivalent to the formal *bᵉnē yisrā'ēl*, yet through its unusualness lending more significance to the idea of their derivation from him: so "seed of Jacob" and (frequently) "house of Jacob [Israel]." But there are a few OT passages outside of Gen in which so much of Jacob's history has been preserved, that from these allusions alone a fair notion might have been gathered concerning the Hebrews' tradition of their common ancestor, even if all the story in Gen had been lost. These passages are: Josh **24** 3.4.32; Ps **105** 10–23; Hos **12** 2–4.12; Mal **1** 2 f. Besides these, there are other allusions, scattered a word here and a sentence there, from all of which together we learn as follows. God gave to Isaac twin sons, Esau and Jacob, the latter at birth taking the former by the heel. God elected Jacob to be the recipient of the covenant-promise made to his father Isaac and to his grandfather Abraham; and this choice involved the rejection of Esau. Jeh appeared to Jacob at Beth-el and told him the land of Canaan was to be his and his seed's after him forever. Circumstances not explained caused Jacob to flee from his home in Canaan to Aram, where he served as a shepherd to obtain a wife as his wage. He became the father of 12 sons. He strove with the angel of God and prevailed amid earnest supplication. His name was by Jeh Himself changed to Israel. Under Divine protection as God's chosen one and representative, his life was that of a wanderer from place to place; once only he bought a piece of land, for a hundred pieces, near Shechem, from Hamor, the father of Shechem. A famine drove him down to Egypt, but not without providential preparation for the reception there of himself and all his family, through the remarkable fortunes of his son Joseph, sold, exiled, imprisoned, delivered, and exalted to a position where he could dispose of rulers and nations. In Egypt the children of Jacob multiplied rapidly, and at his death he made the sons of Joseph the heirs of the only portion of Canaanitish soil that he had acquired.

From this it appears, first, that not much that is essential in the biography of Jacob would have perished though Gen had been lost; and, second, that the sum of the incidental allusions outside Gen resemble the total impression of the narratives in Gen—in other words, that the Bib. tradition is self-consistent. And it runs back to a date (Hosea, 8th cent. BC) little farther removed from the events recounted than the length of time that separates our own day from the Norman conquest, or the Fall of Constantinople from the Hegira, or Jesus Christ from Solomon.

2. In the NT

In the NT also there are, besides the references to Jacob simply as the father of his nation, several passages that recall events in his life or traits of his character. These are: Jn **4** 5.6.12; Acts **7** 12.14–16; Rom **9** 10–13; He **11** 9.20 f. In the conversation between Jesus and the Samaritan woman it appears that the Samaritans cherished the association of Jacob with the ground he bought near Shechem, and with the well he dug while sojourning there with his sons and his flocks; they prided themselves on its transmission to them through Joseph, not to the hated Jews through Judah, and magnified themselves in magnifying Jacob's "greatness" and calling him "our father." Stephen's speech, as Luke reports it, includes in its rapid historical flight a hint or two about Jacob beyond the bare fact of his place in the tribal genealogy. Moved by the famine prevailing in Egypt and Canaan, Jacob twice dispatches his sons to buy grain in Egypt, and the second time Joseph is made known to his brothers, and his race becomes manifest to Pharaoh. At Joseph's behest, Jacob and all the family remove to Egypt. There all remain until their death, but the "fathers" (Joseph and his brethren; cf Jerome, *Epistola* cviii, ed. Migne) are buried in the family possession near Shechem. (Here emerges one of those divergences from the OT tradition that are a notable feature of Stephen's speech, and that have furnished occasion for much speculation upon their origin, value and implications. See comms. on Acts.) Paul's interest in Jacob appears in connection with his discussion of Divine election, where he calls attention to the oracle of Gen **25** 23 and to the use already made of the passage by Malachi (**1** 2 f), and reminds his readers that this choice of Jacob and rejection of Esau was made by God even before these twin sons of Isaac and Rebecca were born. Finally, the author of He, when charting the heroes of faith, focuses his glass for a moment upon Jacob: first, as sharing with Abraham and Isaac the promise of God and the life of unworldly, expectant faith (He **11** 9); and second, as receiving from Isaac, and at his death transmitting to his grandsons, blessings that had value only for one who worships and believes a God with power over "things to come" (vs 20 f).

VI. Modern Interpretations of Jacob.—For those who see in the patriarchal narratives anything—myth, legend, saga—rather than true biography, there is, of course, a different interpretation of the characters and events portrayed in the familiar Gen-stories, and a different value placed upon the stories themselves.

Apart from the allegorizing treatment accorded them by Philo the Jew and early Christian writers of like mind (see specimen in ABRAHAM), these views belong to modern criticism. To critics who make Heb history begin with the settlement of Canaan by the nomad Israelites fresh from the desert, even the Mosaic age and the Egyp residence are totally unhistorical—much more so these tales of a pre-Mosaic patriarchal age. Yet even those writers who admit the broad outlines of a residence of the tribes in Egypt, an exodus of some sort, and a founder of the nation named Moses, are for the most part skeptical of this cycle of family figures and fortunes in a remote age, with its nomads wandering between Mesopotamia and Canaan, and to and fro in Canaan, its circumstantial acquaintance with the names and relationships of each individual through those 4 long patriarchal generations, and its obvious foreshadowing of much that the later tribes were on this same soil to act out cents. later. This, we are told, is not history. Whatever else it may be, it is not a reliable account of such memorable events as compel their own immortality in the memories and through the written records of mankind.

1. Personification of the Hebrew Nation

The commonest view held, collectively of the entire narrative, specifically of Jacob, is that which sees here the precipitate from a pure solution of the *national* character and fortunes. Wellhausen, e.g., says (*Prolegomena*^{6}, 316): "The material here is not mythical, but national; therefore clearer [viz. than in Gen **1**–**11**] and in a certain sense historical. To be sure there is no historical knowledge to be gained here about the patriarchs, but only about the time in which the stories concerning them arose in the people of Israel; this later time with its inward and outward characteristics is here unintentionally projected into the gray antiquity and mirrored therein like a glorified phantasm . . . . [p. 318] Jacob is more realistically drawn than the other two [Abraham and Isaac]." In section IV, 4, above, we observed that, while many of Jacob's personal qualities prefigured the qualities of the later Heb people, there were some others that did not at all fit this equation. Wellhausen himself remarks this, in regard to the contrast between warlike Israel and the peaceful ancestors they invented for themselves. In his attempt to account for this contrast, he can only urge that a nation condemned to eternal wars would naturally look back upon, as well as forward to, a golden age of peace. (An alternative explanation he states, only to reject.) He fails to observe that this plea does not in the least alter the fact—his plea is indeed but a restatement of the fact—that this phenomenon is absolutely at variance with his hypothesis of how these stories of Jacob and the rest came to be what they are (see Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 250 ff).

2. God and Demi-God

This general view, which when carried to its extreme implications (as by Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan*, 1901) comes perilously near the *reductio ad absurdum* that is its own refutation, has been rejected by that whole group of critics, who, following Nöldeke, see in Jacob, as in so many others of the patriarchs, an original deity (myth), first abased to the grade of a hero (heroic legend), and at last degraded to the level of a clown (tales of jest or marvel). Adherents of this trend of interpretation differ widely among themselves as to details, but Jacob is generally regarded as a Canaanitish deity, whose local shrine was at Shechem, Beth-el or Peniel, and whose cult was taken over by the Hebrews, their own object of worship being substituted for him, and the outstanding features of his personality being made over into a hero that Israel appropriated as their national ancestor, even to the extent of giving him the secondary name of Israel. Stade attempted a combination of this "mythical" view with the "national" view in the interest of his theory of primitive animism, by making the patriarch a "mythological figure revered as an eponymous hero." This theory, in any form, requires the assumption, which there is nothing to support, that Jacob (or Jacob-el) is a name originally belonging to a deity and framed to fit his supposed character. At first, then, it meant "*'Ēl* deceives" or "*'Ēl* recompenses" (so B. Luther, *ZATW*, 1901, 60 ff; cf also the same writer, as well as Meyer himself, in the latter's *Israeliten*, etc, 109 ff, 271 ff). Meyer proposes the monstrosity of a nominal sentence with the tr, " 'He deceives' is *'Ēl*." Thus the first element of the name Jacob came to be felt as the name itself (="Jacob is God"), and it was launched upon its course of evolution into the human personage that Gen knows. It suffices to say with regard to all this, that in addition to its being inherently improbable—not to say, unproved—it goes directly in the face of the archaeological evidence adduced under I, 1, above. The simple fact that Jacob(-el) was a personal name for men, of everyday occurrence in the 2d–3d millenniums BC, is quite enough to overthrow this whole hypothesis; for, as Luther himself remarks (op. cit., 65), the above evolution of the name is essential to the "mythical" theory: "when this alteration took place cannot be told; yet it has to be postulated, since otherwise it remains inexplicable, how personal names could arise out of these formations [like Jacob-el] by rejection of the *'Ēl*."

3. Character of Fiction

The inadequacy of the two theories hitherto advanced to account for the facts of Gen being thus evident, Gunkel and others have explicitly rejected them and enunciated a third theory, which may be called the saga-theory. According to Gunkel, "to understand the persons of Gen as nations is by no means a general key to their interpretation”; and, “against the whole assumption that the principal patriarchal figures are originally gods is this fact first and foremost, that the names Jacob and Abraham are shown by the Bab to be customary personal names, and furthermore that the tales about them cannot be understood at all as echoes of original myths.” In place of these discredited views Gunkel (cf also Gressmann, *ZATW*, 1910, 1 ff) makes of Jacob simply a character in the stories (marvelous, humorous, pathetic and the like) current in ancient Israel, esp. on the lips of the professional story-teller. Whereas much of the material in these stories came to the Hebrews from the Babylonians, Canaanites or Egyptians, Jacob himself is declared to have belonged to the old Heb saga, with its flavor of nomadic desert life and sheep-raising. “The original Jacob may be the sly shepherd Jacob, who fools the hunter Esau; another tale, of the deceit of a father-in-law by his son-in-law, was added to it—the more naturally because both are shepherds; a third cycle, about an old man that loves his youngest son, was transferred to this figure, and that youngest son received the name of Joseph at a time when Jacob was identified with Israel’s assumed ancestor ‘Israel.’ Thus our result is, that the most important patriarchs are creations of fiction” (*Schriften des AT*, 5te Lieferung, 42).

It is so obvious that this new attitude toward the patriarchs lends itself to a more sympathetic criticism of the narrative of Gen, that critics who adopt it are at pains to deny any intention on their part of rehabilitating Jacob et al. as historical figures. “Saga,” we are told, “is not capable of preserving through so many cents. a picture” of the real character or deeds of its heroes, even supposing that persons bearing these names once actually lived; and we are reminded of the contrast between the Etzel of saga and the Attila of history, the Dietrich of saga and the Theodoric of history. But as against this we need to note, first, that the long and involved course of development through which, *ex hypothesi*, these stories have passed before reaching their final stage (J, 9th cent. BC; Gunkel, op. cit., 8, 46) involves a very high antiquity for the earlier stages, and thus reduces to a narrow strip of time those “so many cents.” that are supposed to separate the actual Jacob from the Jacob of saga (cf Abraham, VII, 4); and second, that the presuppositions as to the origin, nature and value of saga with which this school of criticism operates are, for the most part, only an elaborate statement of the undisputed major premise in a syllogism, of which the minor premise is: the Gen-stories are saga. Against this last proposition, however, there lie many weighty considerations, that are by no means counterbalanced by those resemblances of a general sort which any student of comparative literature can easily discern (see also Baethgen, op. cit., 158). James Oscar Boyd

JACOB (יַעֲקֹב, *ya‘ăḳōbh;* **’Ιακώβ,** *Iakôb*):
(1) The patriarch (see preceding art.).
(2) The father of Joseph the husband of Mary (Mt **1** 15.16).
(3) Patronymic denoting the Israelites (Isa **10** 21; **14** 1; Jer **10** 16).

JACOB, TESTAMENT OF. See Apocalyptic Literature.

JACOB’S WELL (**πηγὴ τοῦ ’Ιακώβ,** *pēgḗ toú Iakōb*): In Jn **4** 3 ff we read that Our Lord “left Judaea, and departed again into Galilee. And he must needs pass through Samaria. So he cometh to a city of Samaria, called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph: and Jacob’s well was there.” **1. Position of Well** When Jacob came to Shechem on his return from Paddan-aram he encamped “before,” i.e. E. of the city, and bought the land on which he had spread his tent (Gen **33** 18 f). This is doubtless the “portion” (Heb *shᵉkhem*) spoken of in Gen **48** 22; although there it is said to have been taken with sword and bow from the Amorites. Where the pass of Shechem opens to the E., near the northern edge of the valley, lies the traditional tomb of Joseph. On the other side of the vale, close to the base of Gerizim, is the well universally known as *Bīr Ya‘ḳūb*, “the well of Jacob.” The position meets perfectly the requirements of the narrative. The main road from the S. splits a little to the E., one arm leading westward through the pass, the other going more directly to the N. It is probable that these paths follow pretty closely the ancient tracks; and both would be frequented in Jesus’ day. Which of them He took we cannot tell; but, in any case, this well lay in the fork between them, and could be approached with equal ease from either. See Sychar.

Jacob’s Well.

In the chapter quoted, it is said that Jacob dug the well (ver 12). The OT says nothing of this. **2. Why Dug** With the copious springs at *‘Ain ‘Askar* and *Balāṭā*, one might ask why a well should have been dug here at all. We must remember that in the East, very strict laws have always governed the use of water, esp. when there were large herds to be considered. The purchase of land here may not have secured for Jacob such supplies as he required. There was danger of strife between rival herdsmen. The patriarch, therefore, may have dug the well in the interests of peace, and also to preserve his own independence.

Jew, Samaritan, Moslem and Christian agree in associating this well with the patriarch Jacob. **3. Consensus of Tradition** This creates a strong presumption in favor of the tradition: and there is no good reason to doubt its truth. Standing at the brink of the well, overshadowed by the giant bulk of Gerizim, one feels how naturally it would be spoken of as “this mountain.”

For long the well was unprotected, opening among the ruins of a vaulted chamber some feet below the surface of the ground. Major Anderson describes it (*Recovery of Jerus*, 465) as having “a narrow opening, just wide enough to allow the body of a

4. Description

man to pass through with arms uplifted, and this narrow neck, which is about 4 ft. long, opens into the well itself, which is cylindrically shaped, and about 7 ft. 6 in. in diameter. The mouth and upper part of the well are built of masonry, and the well appears to have been sunk through a mixture of alluvial soil and limestone fragments, till a compact bed of mountain limestone was reached, having horizontal strata which could be easily worked; and the interior of the well presents the appearance of having been lined throughout with rough masonry." The depth was doubtless much greater in ancient times; but much rubbish has fallen into it, and now it is not more than 75 ft. deep. It is fed by no spring, nor is the water conducted to it along the surface, as to a cistern. Its supplies depend entirely upon rainfall and percolation. Possibly, therefore, the water may never have approached the brim. The woman says "the well is deep." *Pēgē*, "spring," does not, therefore, strictly apply to it, but rather "tank" or "reservoir," *phréar*, the word actually used in vs 11 f. The modern inhabitants of *Nablūs* highly esteem the "light" water of the well as compared with the "heavy" or "hard" water of the neighboring springs. It usually lasts till about the end of May; then the well is dry till the return of the rain. Its contents, therefore, differ from the "living" water of the perennial spring.

From the narratives of the pilgrims we learn that at different times churches have been built over the well. The Moslems probably demolished the last of them after the overthrow of the Crusaders in 1187. A description of the ruins with drawings, as they were 30 years ago, is given in *PEF*, II, 174, etc. A stone found in 1881 may have been the original cover of the well. It measures 3 ft. 9 in. × 2 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. 6 in. The aperture in the center is 13 in. in diameter; and in its sides are grooves worn by the ropes used in drawing up the water (*PEFS*, 1881, 212 ff).

5. Present Condition

Some years ago the plot of ground containing the well was purchased by the authorities of the Gr church, and it has been surrounded by a wall. A chapel has been built over the well, and a large church is being erected beside it. W. Ewing

JACUBUS, ja-kū′bus (**'Ιάκουβος**, *Iákoubos;* B reads *Iarsoúboos*): In 1 Esd **9** 48 = "Akkub" in Neh **8** 7, a Levite who helped in the exposition of the law.

JADA, jā′da (יָדָע, *yādhā'*, "the knowing one"): Son of Onam and grandson of Jerahmeel by his wife Atarah (1 Ch **2** 26.28.32).

JADAU, jā′dô, ja-dā′ū (יִדּוֹ, *yiddō*, Kethībh; יַדַּי, *yadday*, Ḳerē AV; but RV IDDO): In Ezr **10** 43, one of those who had married foreign wives. RVm has "Jaddai" (= "Edos," 1 Esd **9** 35). See Iddo.

JADDAI, jad′ī, jad′ā̇-ī. See Iddo; Jadau.

JADDUA, jad′ū-a, ja-dū′a (יַדּוּעַ, *yaddūa'*, "known"):

(1) One of the "chiefs of the people" who with Nehemiah sealed the covenant, thus signifying their voluntary acceptance of the law and their solemn promise to submit to its yoke (Neh **10** 21 [Heb 22]).

(2) Son of Jonathan or Johanan, and great-grandson of Eliashib, the high priest in Nehemiah's time (Neh **12** 11.22). He is the last of the high priests mentioned in the OT, and held office during the reign of Darius the Pers, i.e. Darius III Codomannus, the last king of Persia (336–332 BC), who was overthrown by Alexander the Great. It is doubtless to him that Jos refers in his romantic account of Alexander's entrance into Jerus (*Ant*, XI, viii, 4 f; vii, 2; viii, 7). James Crichton

JADDUS, jad′us (B, **'Ιαδδούς**, *Iaddoús;* A, **'Ιοδδούς**, *Ioddoús*): AV has "Addus" = Barzillai (Ezr **2** 61; Neh **7** 63). J. was removed from the office of the priesthood because he could not prove his right to it after the return to Jerus under Zerubbabel (1 Esd **5** 38). He is called Barzillai in the OT, because he married Augia, the daughter of Zorzelleus (Barzillai the Gileadite, in the OT). Cf Barzillai.

JADON, jā′don (יָדוֹן, *yādhōn*, perhaps "he will judge" or "plead"): One who helped to rebuild the wall of Jerus in company with the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah (Neh **3** 7). He is called the "Meronothite," and another Meronothite is referred to in 1 Ch **27** 30, but there is no mention of a place Meronoth. Jadon is the name given by Jos (*Ant*, VIII, viii, 5; ix, 1) to "the man of God" from Judah who confronted Jeroboam as he burned incense at the altar in Bethel, and who was afterward deceived by the lie of the old prophet (1 K **13**). Jos may probably have meant Iddo the seer, whose visions concerning Jeroboam (2 Ch **9** 29) led to his being identified in Jewish tradition with "the man of God" from Judah. James Crichton

JAEL, jā′el (יָעֵל, *ya'ēl*, "a wild or mountain goat," as in Ps **104** 18; **'Ιαήλ**, *Iaēl*): The wife of Heber the Kenite and the slayer of Sisera (Jgs **4** 17–22; **5** 2–31). Jael emerges from obscurity by this single deed, and by the kindest construction can hardly be said to have reached an enviable fame. The history of this event is clear. For years Jabin the king of Canaan had oppressed Israel. For twenty years the Israelites had been subject to him, and, in largest measure, the instrument of their subjugation had been Sisera, the king's general, the "man of the iron chariots." Deborah, a prophetess of Israel, by her passion for freedom, had roused the tribes of Israel to do battle against Sisera. They defeated him at "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo," but Sisera sought in flight to save himself. He came to the "oaks of the wanderers," where the tribe of Heber lived. Here he sought, and was probably invited, to take shelter in the tent of Jael (**4** 17–18). There are two accounts of the subsequent events—one a prose narrative (**4** 19–22), the other a poetic one, found in Deborah's song of triumph (**5** 24–27). The two accounts are as nearly in agreement as could be expected, considering their difference in form.

It is evident that the tribe of Heber was regarded by both parties to the struggle as being neutral. They were descendants of Jethro, and hence had the confidence of the Israelites. Though they had suffered somewhat at the hands of the Canaanites they had made a formal contract of peace with Jabin. Naturally Sisera could turn to the tents of Heber in Kedesh-naphtali with some confidence. The current laws of hospitality gave an added element of safety. Whether Jael met Sisera and urged him to enter her tent and rest (**4** 18), or only invited him after his appeal for refuge, the fact remains that he was her guest, was in the sanctuary of her home, and protected by the laws of hospitality. She gave him milk to drink, a mantle for covering, and apparently acquiesced in his request that she should stand guard at the tent and deny his presence to any pursuers. When sleep came to the wearied fugitive she took a "tent-pin, and took a hammer in her hand, and went softly unto him, and smote the pin into his temples" (ver 21), and having murdered him, goes forth to meet Barak the Israelitish general and claims the credit for her deed. Some critics suggest that Sisera was not asleep when murdered, and thus try to convert Jael's treachery into strategy. But to kill your guest while he is drinking the milk of hospitality is little less culpable than to murder him while asleep. There is no evidence that Sisera offered Jael any insult or violence, and but little probability that she acted under any spiritual or Divine suggestion. It is really impossible to justify Jael's act, though it is not impossible to understand it or properly to appreciate Deborah's approval of the act as found in **5** 24. The motive of Jael may have been a mixed one. She may have been a sympathizer with Israel and with the religion of Israel. But the narrative scarcely warrants the interpretation that she felt herself as one called to render "stern justice on an enemy of God" (*Expositor's Bible*). Jael was unquestionably prudential. Sisera was in flight and Barak in pursuit. Probably her sympathy was with Barak, but certainly reflection would show her that it would not be wisdom to permit Barak to find Sisera in her tent. She knew, too, that death would be Sisera's portion should he be captured—therefore she would kill him and thus cement a friendship with the conqueror.

As to Deborah's praise of Jael (**5** 24), there is no call to think that in her hour of triumph she was either capable of or intending to appraise the moral quality of Jael's deed. Her country's enemy was dead and that too at the hand of a woman. The woman who would kill Sisera must be the friend of Israel. Deborah had no question of the propriety of meting out death to a defeated persecutor. Her times were not such as to raise this question. The method of his death mattered little to her, for all the laws of peace were abrogated in the times of war. Therefore Jael was blessed among women by all who loved Israel. Whether Deborah thought her also to be worthy of the blessing of God we may not tell. At any rate there is no need for us to try to justify the treachery of Jael in order to explain the words of Deborah. C. E. Schenk

JAGUR, jā'gur (יָגוּר, *yāghūr*): An unidentified town on the Edomite frontier of Judah in the S. (Josh **15** 21).

JAH, jä. See God, Names of.

JAHATH, jā'hath (יַחַת, *yaḥath*, perhaps for יַחְתֶּה, *yaḥteh*, יַחֲתֶה, *yaḥătheh*, "he [God] will snatch up"):

(1) Son of Reaiah, son of Shobal, a descendant of Judah, and father of Ahumai and Lahad, the families of the Zorathites (1 Ch **4** 2).

(2) A frequent name for a descendant of Levi: (*a*) Son of Libni, son of Gershom, the eldest son of Levi (1 Ch **6** 20.43 [Heb **6** 5.28], where "son of Libni" is omitted).

(*b*) Son of Shimei, son of Gershom (1 Ch **23** 10 f).

(*c*) One of the "sons" of Shelomoth, a descendant of Izhar, son of Kohath, the second son of Levi (1 Ch **24** 22).

(*d*) A descendant of Merari, the third son of Levi, and an overseer in the repairing of the temple in the reign of Josiah (2 Ch **34** 12). James Crichton

JAHAZ, jā'haz (יַהַץ, *yahaç*, Isa **15** 4; Jer **48** 34, יַהֲצָה, *yahăçāh*, or יַהְצָה, *yahçāh*, Nu **21** 23; Dt **2** 32; Josh **13** 18; **21** 36, AV "Jahazah"; Jgs **11** 20; Jer **48** 21; 1 Ch **6** 78, "Jahzah"): This is the place where in a great battle Israel overwhelmed Sihon king of the Amorites, and then took possession of all his territory (Nu **21** 23, etc). It is named along with Beth-baal-meon and Kedemoth (Josh **13** 18), with Kedemoth (**21** 37) pointing to a position in the S.E. of the Amorite territory. It was given to Reuben by Moses, and was one of the cities in the portion of that tribe assigned to the Merarite Levites. Mesha (MS, ll. 18 ff) says that the king of Israel dwelt in Jahaz when at war with him. Mesha drove him out, and the city passed into the hands of Moab. It is referred to as a city of Moab in Isa **15** 4; Jer **48** 21.34. Cheyne thinks that either Jahaz or Kedemoth must be represented today by the important ruins of *Umm er-Reṣāṣ*, about 2½ hours N. of Dibon toward the desert (*EB*, s.v.). No certain identification is possible. W. Ewing

JAHAZIAH, jā-ha-zī'a: AV for Jahzeiah (q.v.).

JAHAZIEL, ja-hā'zi-el (יַחֲזִיאֵל, *yaḥăzī'ēl*, "God sees"):

(1) In 1 Ch **12** 4 (Heb ver 5), one of David's recruits at Ziklag, a Benjamite or maybe a Judaean.

(2) In 1 Ch **16** 6, one of two priests appointed by David to sound trumpets before the ark on its journey to Jerus. LXX B, A, read "Uzziel."

(3) In 1 Ch **23** 19; **24** 23, a Levite, "son" of Hebron, a Kohathite. Kittel, following LXX, reads "Uzziel."

(4) In 2 Ch **20** 14, an Asaphite, son of Zechariah. He encouraged King Jehoshaphat of Judah and his subjects to fight against the Moabite and Ammonite invaders.

(5) In Ezr **8** 5, an ancestor of one of the families of the Restoration. Read probably "of the sons of Zattu, Sheconiah the son of J.," following 1 Esd **8** 32 (=Jezelus). David Francis Roberts

JAHDAI, jä'dā-ī, jä'dī (יַהְדַּי, *yahday*, "Jeh leads" [?]; Baer reads יֶהְדַּי, *yehday*): In 1 Ch **2** 47, where six sons of J. are mentioned. "The name has been taken as that of another wife or concubine of Caleb; more probably Jahdai is a descendant of Caleb, whose name, in the original connection, has fallen from the text" (Curtis, *Ch*, 96).

JAHDIEL, jä'di-el (יַחְדִּיאֵל, *yaḥdī'ēl*, "God gives joy"): In 1 Ch **5** 24, head of a Manassite family.

JAHDO, jä'dō (יַחְדּוֹ, *yaḥdō*, meaning uncertain; Kittel suggests יַחְדַּי, *yaḥday*=Jahdai): In 1 Ch **5** 14, a Gileadite.

JAHLEEL, jä'lē-el (יַחְלְאֵל, *yaḥl^{e}'ēl*, "wait for God!"): In Gen **46** 14; Nu **26** 26, a "son" (i.e. clan) of Zebulun.

JAHLEELITES, jä'lē-el-īts, **THE** (הַיַּחְלְאֵלִי, *ha-yaḥl^{e}'ēlī*, coll. with art.): In Nu **26** 26, the descendants of the clan of Jahleel.

JAHMAI, jä'mā-ī, jä'mī (יַחְמַי, *yaḥmay*, perhaps=יַחְמְיָה, *yaḥm^{e}yāh*, "may Jeh protect!"): In 1 Ch **7** 2, head of a clan of Issachar.

JAHWEH, yä'we. See God, Names of.

JAHZAH, jä'za. See Jahaz.

JAHZEEL, jä'zē-el (יַחְצְאֵל, *yaḥç^{e}'ēl*, "God divides," "apportions"): In Gen **46** 24; Nu **26** 48; and 23 MSS in 1 Ch **7** 13; and **JAHZIEL** (יַחֲצִיאֵל, *yaḥăçī'ēl*, same meaning as above): 1 Ch **7** 13, a "son" (clan) of Naphtali.

JAHZEELITES, jä′zē-el-īts, **THE** (הַיַּחְצְאֵלִי, *ha-yaḥç**ᵉ’ēlī*, coll. with art.): In Nu **26** 48, descendants of the clan of Jahzeel.

JAHZEIAH, jä-zē′ya, jä′zē-ya (יַחְזְיָה, *yaḥzᵉyāh*, “Jeh sees”): In Ezr **10** 15, son of Tikvah, and a contemporary of Ezra. It is disputed whether he and Jonathan opposed or supported Ezra in the matter of prosecuting those who had married foreign wives = Ezekias, 1 Esd **9** 14, or Ezias. See Jonathan, 9.

Two translations of the Heb phrase (עָמַד עַל־זֹאת, *‘āmadh ‘al-zō’th*) are given: (1) “stood over this matter,” i.e. supported Ezra; so AV (“were employed in this matter”), and so LXX, 1 Esd **9** 14, RVm. This is supported by ver 4, “Let now our princes be appointed for all the assembly,” where the same phrase is found. (2) RV “stood up against this matter,” so *BDB*, Gesenius, Bertheau, Stade. Both translations can be supported by ‖s in Heb. The context is better suited by the former rendering.

David Francis Roberts

JAHZERAH, jä′zē-ra, ja-zē′ra (יַחְזֵרָה, *yaḥzērāh*, meaning unknown): In 1 Ch **9** 12, an ancestor of Maasai and apparently = “Ahzai” of Neh **11** 13.

JAHZIEL, jä′zi-el. See Jahzeel.

JAILOR, jāl′ẽr. See Prison.

JAIR, jā′ẽr:

(1) **Jair** (יָאִיר, *yā’īr*, “he enlightens” or “one giving light”):

(*a*) Son, i.e. descendant of Manasseh (Nu **32** 41; Dt **3** 14; Josh **13** 30; 1 K **4** 13; 1 Ch **2** 22 f). According to 1 Ch **2** 21 f he was the son of Segub, son of Hezron, a descendant of Judah, who married the daughter of Machir, son of Manasseh. He was thus descended both from Judah and Manasseh. At the time of the conquest he distinguished himself by taking the tent-villages Havvoth-jair (q.v.). The accounts of his exploit are difficult to harmonize (see *ICC* on above passages). Some would identify him with the Jair of Jgs **10** 3, holding that Manasseh’s settlement in Northern Gilead and Bashan took place, not before Israel’s passage of the Jordan, but after the settlement of the tribe on the W. For a criticism of this view see *HGHL*, 577, n.

(*b*) One of the judges. He is said to have had 30 sons, who rode on 30 ass colts, and who had as many cities, known as Havvoth-jair (Jgs **10** 3.4). One tradition identifies (*a*) and (*b*). Others reconcile the two narratives by interpreting the word “son” in a non-literal sense.

(*c*) The father of Mordecai (Est **2** 5). In the Apoc (Ad Est **11** 2) his name is given as “Jairus” (’Ιάειρος, *Iáeiros*).

(2) **Jair** (Ḳᵉrē יָעִיר, *yā‘īr*, “he arouses”; Kᵉthībh יָעוּר, *yā‘ūr;* a different name from [1] above): The father of Elhanan, the giant-slayer (1 Ch **20** 5). In the ‖ passage (2 S **21** 19) his name is given as “Jaare-oregim,” but the text should be corrected to Jair, “oregim” (*’ōrᵉghīm*) having crept in from the line below through a copyist’s error.

James Crichton

JAIRITE, jā′ẽr-īt (יָאִרִי, *yā’irī*, “of Jair”): In 2 S **20** 26, Ira the Jairite is “chief minister unto David.” He was a descendant of Jair who was a Manassite (Nu **32** 41, etc) and whose territory was in Gilead. LXX Luc and Syr suggest יַתִּרִי, *yattirī*, “Jattirite,” i.e. a native of Jattir mentioned in 1 S **30** 27 as one of the towns friendly to David when he was in Ziklag. It is not improbable that a native of Jattir would be given such a post by David. See Ira, and cf 2 S **23** 38.

JAIRUS, jā′i-rus, jȧ-ī′rus (**’Ιάειρος**, *Iáeiros;* 1 Esd **5** 31; Ad Est **11** 2). See Airus; Jair.

JAIRUS, jā′i-rus, jȧ-ī′rus (**’Ιάειρος**, *Iáeiros*): A ruler in a synagogue near Capernaum whose only daughter, aged about 12 years, was raised from the dead by Jesus (Mt **9** 18–26; Mk **5** 22–43; Lk **8** 41–56). The accounts of the miracle are substantially the same, but vary in detail. According to Mk and Lk the arrival of Jairus in Capernaum fell immediately after the return of Jesus from Gadara, but according to Mt the sequence of events was that Jesus had returned to Capernaum, had called Matthew, had joined the feast of the publicans, and had just finished His discourse on fasting when Jairus came to Him. Mt and Mk both testify to the great faith of Jairus, who besought of Jesus that He should but lay His hand upon the maid and she should live. According to Mt she was already dead when Jairus came to Capernaum; according to the others she was on the point of death; but all agree as to her death before the arrival of Jesus and His followers at her abode. Mt implies that Jesus alone was present at the actual raising; Mk and Lk state that Peter, James, John and the parents were also there. The healing of the woman with the issue of blood by Jesus on the way is given by all.

C. M. Kerr

JAKAN, jā′kan (יַעֲקָן, *ya‘ăḳān*). See Jaakan.

JAKEH, jā′ke (יָקֶה, *yāḳeh*, perhaps from Arab. root meaning “carefully religious”; יָקֵא, *yāḳē’*, as if from קִיא, *ḳī’*): The father of Agur, the author of the sayings recorded in Prov **30** 1. Nothing is known of either Jakeh or Agur. The immediate connection in the Heb text of *ha-massā’*, “the prophecy” or “burden” (AV “even the prophecy,” RV “the oracle”) with *nᵉ’um*, “oracle” (AV “spake,” RV “saith”) is quite exceptional, while the ver is unintelligible and the text, as the LXX shows, is evidently corrupt. The best emendation is that which changes *ha-massā’*, “the prophecy,” into *ha-massā’ī*, “the Massaite,” or into *mimmassā’*, “of Massa” (RVm), Massa being the name of the country of an Ishmaelite tribe (cf Gen **25** 14; 1 Ch **1** 30; Prov **31** 1 RVm). See Agur.

James Crichton

JAKIM, jā′kim (יָקִים, *yāḳīm*, “he [God] lifteth up”; cf Eliakim):

(1) A Benjamite, a son of Shimei (1 Ch **8** 19).

(2) A priest, the head of the 12th of the 24 courses into which the priests were divided (1 Ch **24** 12).

JALAM, jā′lam (יַעְלָם, *ya‘lām*, according to *BDB* following LXX **’Ιεγλόμ**, *Ieglóm*, in Gen, from √ עָלַם, *‘ālam*, meaning “to conceal”; according to Gunkel, *Gen*³, 390, from יָעֵל, *yā‘ēl*, “mountain-goat”; see *HPN*, 90, n. 5; AV **Jaalam**): In Gen **36** 5.14.18; 1 Ch **1** 35, a son of Esau, mentioned as the 2d son by Oholibamah; probably an Edomite clan.

JALON, jā′lon (יָלוֹן, *yālōn*, meaning unknown): In 1 Ch **4** 17, a son of Ezrah, a Judahite.

JAMBRES, jam′brēz. See Jannes and Jambres.

JAMBRI, jam′brī (**οἱ υἱοὶ ’Ιαμβρείν**, *hoi huioí Iambreín;* 1 Macc **9** 36–41): The sons of Jambri are said to have come out of Medeba (originally Med’ba), a city of the Moabites, and subsequently a possession of the Amorites, and to have carried off John, the brother of Jonathan, who succeeded Judas Maccabaeus as leader of the Jews. The

Israelites got possession of the place and assigned it to the tribe of Reuben. No mention is made elsewhere of the Jambri. In Jos (*Ant*, XIII, i, 2) they are called "sons of Amaraeus."

JAMES, jāmz (**'Ιάκωβος**, *Iácōbos*): English form of Jacob, and the name of 3 NT men of note:

(1) **The Son of Zebedee**, one of the Twelve Apostles (**ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου**, *ho toú Zebedaíou*):

1. Family Relations, etc

I. In NT.—To the Synoptists alone are we indebted for any account of this James. He was the son of Zebedee and the brother of John (Mt **4** 21; Mk **1** 19; Lk **5** 10). As the Synoptists generally place the name of James before that of John, and allude to the latter as "the brother of James," it is inferred that James was the elder of the two brothers. His mother's name was probably Salome, the sister of the mother of Jesus (cf Mt **27** 56; Mk **15** 40; Jn **19** 25), but this is disputed by some (cf Brethren of the Lord). J. was a fisherman by trade, and worked along with his father and brother (Mt **4** 21). According to Lk, these were partners with Simon (**5** 10), and this is also implied in Mk (**1** 19). As they owned several boats and employed hired servants (Lk **5** 11; Mk **1** 20), the establishment they possessed must have been considerable.

2. First Call

The call to J. to follow Christ (Mt **4** 18–22; Mk **1** 16–20; Lk **5** 1–11) was given by Jesus as He was walking by the sea of Galilee (Mt **4** 18). There He saw "James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the boat with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. And they straightway left the boat and their father, and followed him" (Mt **4** 21.22). The account of Lk varies in part from those of Mt and Mk, and contains the additional detail of the miraculous draught of fishes, at which J. and John also were amazed. This version of Lk is regarded by some as an amalgamation of the earlier accounts with Jn **21** 1–8.

3. Probation and Ordination

As the above incident took place after the imprisonment of John the Baptist, when Jesus had departed into Galilee (Mt **4** 12; Mk **1** 14), and as there is no mention of J. among those who received the preliminary call recorded by John (cf Jn **1** 35–51; **3** 24, and cf Andrew), it is probable that while Peter and Andrew made the pilgrimage to Bethany, J. and the other partners remained in Galilee to carry on the business of their trade. Yet, on the return of Peter and Andrew, the inquiries of J. must have been eager concerning what they had seen and heard. His mind and imagination became filled with their glowing accounts of the newly found "Lamb of God" (Jn **1** 36) and of the preaching of John the Baptist, until he inwardly dedicated his life to Jesus and only awaited an opportunity to declare his allegiance openly. By this is the apparently abrupt nature of the call, as recorded by the Synoptists, to be explained. After a period of companionship and probationership with his Master, when he is mentioned as being present at the healing of Simon's wife's mother at Capernaum (Mk **1** 29–31), he was ordained one of the Twelve Apostles (Mt **10** 2; Mk **3** 17; Lk **6** 14; Acts **1** 13).

4. Apostleship

From this time onward he occupied a prominent place among the apostles, and, along with Peter and John, became the special confidant of Jesus. These three alone of the apostles were present at the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mk **5** 37; Lk **8** 51), at the Transfiguration (Mt **17** 1–8; Mk **9** 2–8; Lk **9** 28–36), and at the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (Mt **26** 36–46; Mk **14** 32–42). Shortly after the Transfiguration, when Jesus, having "stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem" (Lk **9** 51), was passing through Samaria, the ire of J. and John was kindled by the ill reception accorded to Him by the populace (Lk **9** 53). They therefore asked of Jesus, "Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume them?" (Lk **9** 54). "But he turned, and rebuked them" (ver 55). It was probably this hotheaded impetuosity and fanaticism that won for them the surname "Boanerges, which is, Sons of thunder," bestowed on them when they were ordained to the Twelve (Mk **3** 17). Yet upon this last occasion, there was some excuse for their action. The impression left by the Transfiguration was still deep upon them, and they felt strongly that their Lord, whom they had lately beheld "in his glory" with "countenance altered" and "glistering raiment," should be subjected to such indignities by the Samaritans. Upon the occasion of Jesus' last journey to Jerus (Mk **10** 32), the two brothers gave expression to this presumptuous impetuosity in a more selfish manner (Mk **10** 35–45). Presuming on their intimacy with Jesus, they made the request of him, "Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and one on thy left hand, in thy glory" (Mk **10** 37). In the account of Mt (**20** 20–28), the words are put in the mouth of their mother. The request drew forth the rebuke of Jesus (Mk **10** 38), and moved the ten with indignation (Mk **10** 40); but by the words of their Lord peace was again restored (Mk **10** 42–45). After the arrival of Jesus in Jerus, when He "sat on the mount of Olives over against the temple," J. was one of the four who put the question to Him concerning the last things (Mk **13** 3.4). He was also present when the risen Jesus appeared for the 3d time to the disciples and the miraculous draught of fishes was made at the sea of Tiberias (Jn **21** 1–14).

5. Death

J. was the first martyr among the apostles, being slain by King Herod Agrippa I about 44 AD, shortly before Herod's own death. The vehemence and fanaticism which were characteristic of J. had made him to be feared and hated among the Jewish enemies of the Christians, and therefore when "Herod the king put forth his hands to afflict certain of the church . . . . he killed J. the brother of John with the sword" (Acts **12** 1.2). Thus did J. fulfil the prophecy of Our Lord that he too should drink of the cup of his Master (Mk **10** 39).

II. In Apocryphal Literature.—According to the "Genealogies of the Twelve Apostles" (cf Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*, II, 49), "Zebedee was of the house of Levi, and his wife of the house of Judah. Now, because the father of James loved him greatly he counted him among the family of his father Levi, and similarly because the mother of John loved him greatly, she counted him among the family of her father Judah. And they were surnamed 'Children of Thunder,' for they were of both the priestly house and of the royal house." The Acts of St. John, a heretical work of the 2d cent., referred to by Clement of Alexandria in his *Hypotyposis* and also by Eusebius (*HE*, III, 25), gives an account of the call of J. and his presence at the Transfiguration, similar in part to that of the Gospels, but giving fantastic details concerning the supernatural nature of Christ's body, and how its appearances brought confusion to J. and other disciples (cf Hennecke, *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 423–59). The Acts of St. James in India (cf Budge, II, 295–303) tells of the missionary journey of J. and Peter to India, of the appearance of Christ to them in the form of a beautiful young man, of their healing a blind man, and of their imprisonment, miraculous release, and their conversion of the people. According to the Martyrdom of St. James (Budge, II, 304–8), J. preached to the 12 tribes scattered abroad, and persuaded them to give their first-fruits to the church instead of to Herod. The accounts of his trial and death are similar to that in Acts **12** 1–2.

J. is the patron saint of Spain. The legend of his preaching there, of his death in Judaea, of the transportation of his body under the guidance of angels to Iria and of the part that his miraculous appearances played in the history of Spain, is given in Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, I, 230–41.

(2) **James the son of Alphaeus** (**ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου,** *ho toú Alphaíou;* for etymology, etc, of James, see above): One of the Twelve Apostles (Mt **10** 3; Mk **3** 18; Lk **6** 15; Acts **1** 13). By Mt and Mk he is coupled with Thaddaeus, and by Lk and Acts with Simon Zelotes. As Matthew or Levi is also called the son of Alphaeus (cf Mt **9** 9; Mk **2** 14), it is possible that he and James were brothers. According to the Genealogies of the Apostles (cf Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*, II, 50), James was of the house of Gad. The Martyrdom of St. James, the son of Alphaeus (cf Budge, ib, 264–66) records that James was stoned by the Jews for preaching Christ, and was "buried by the Sanctuary in Jerus."

This James is generally identified with James the Little or the Less, the brother of Joses and son of Mary (Mt **27** 56; Mk **15** 40). In Jn **19** 25 this Mary is called the wife of Cleophas (AV) or Clopas (RV), who is thus in turn identified with Alphaeus. There is evidence in apocryphal lit. of a Simon, a son of Clopas, who was also one of the disciples (cf NATHANAEL). If this be the same as Simon Zelotes, it would explain why he and James (i.e. as being brothers) were coupled together in the apostolic lists of Lk and Acts. Some have applied the phrase "his mother's sister" in Jn **19** 25 to Mary the wife of Clopas, instead of to a separate person, and have thus attempted to identify James the son of Alphaeus with James the brother of Our Lord. For a further discussion of the problem, see BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

(3) **James, "the Lord's brother"** (**ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου,** *ho adelphós toú Kuríou*):

I. NT References.—This James is mentioned by name only twice in the Gospels, i.e. when, on the

1. In the Gospels

visit of Jesus to Nazareth, the countrymen of Our Lord referred in contemptuous terms to His earthly kindred, in order to disparage His preaching (Mt **13** 55; Mk **6** 3). As J. was one of "his brethren," he was probably among the group of Christ's relatives who sought to interview Him during His tour through Galilee with the Twelve (Mt **12** 46). By the same reasoning, he accompanied Jesus on His journey to Capernaum (Jn **2** 12), and joined in attempting to persuade Him to depart from Galilee for Judaea on the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles (Jn **7** 3). At this feast J. was present (**7** 10), but was at this time a non-believer in Jesus (cf **7** 5, "Even his brethren did not believe on him").

2. In the Epistles

Yet the seeds of conversion were being sown within him, for, after the crucifixion, he remained in Jerus with his mother and brethren, and formed one of that earliest band of believers who "with one accord continued stedfastly in prayer" (Acts **1** 14). While there, he probably took part in the election of Matthias to the vacant apostleship (Acts **1** 15–25). J. was one of the earliest witnesses to the resurrection, for, after the risen Lord had manifested Himself to the five hundred, "he was seen of James" (1 Cor **15** 7 AV). By this his growing belief and prayerful expectancy received confirmation. About 37 or 38 AD, J., "the Lord's brother" (Gal **1** 19), was still in Jerus, and had an interview there for the first time with Paul, when the latter returned from his 3 years' sojourn in Damascus to visit Cephas, or Peter (Gal **1** 18.19; cf Acts **9** 26). In several other passages the name of J. is coupled with that of Peter. Thus, when Peter escaped from prison (about 44 AD), he gave instructions to those in the house of John Mark that they should immediately inform "James and the brethren" of the manner of his escape (Acts **12** 17). By the time of the Jerus convention, i.e. about 51 AD (cf Gal **2** 1), J. had reached the position of first overseer in the church (cf Acts **15** 13.19). Previous to this date, during Paul's ministry at Antioch, he had dispatched certain men thither to further the mission, and the teaching of these had caused dissension among the newly converted Christians and their leaders (Acts **15** 1.2; Gal **2** 12). The conduct of Peter, over whom J. seems to have had considerable influence, was the principal matter of contention (cf Gal **2** 11 ff). However, at the Jerus convention the dispute was amicably settled, and the pillars of the church, J., John and Cephas, gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship (Gal **2** 9). The speech of J. on this occasion (Acts **15** 13–29), his sympathy with the religious needs of the gentile world (ver 17), his desire that formalism should raise no barrier to their moral and spiritual advancement (vs 19.20.28.29), and his large-hearted tributes to the "beloved Barnabas and Paul" (vs 25.26), indicate that J. was a leader in whom the church was blessed, a leader who loved peace more than faction, the spirit more than the law, and who perceived that religious communities with different forms of observance might still live and work together in common allegiance to Christ. Once more (58 AD), J. was head of the council at Jerus when Paul made report of his labors, this time of his 3d missionary journey (Acts **21** 17 ff). At this meeting Paul was admonished for exceeding the orders he had received at the first council, in that he had endeavored to persuade the converted Jews also to neglect circumcision (Acts **21** 21), and was commanded to join in the vow of purification (Acts **21** 23–26). There is no Scriptural account of the death of J. From 1 Cor **9** 5 it has been inferred that he was married. This is, however, only a conjecture, as the passage refers to those who "lead about a sister, a wife" (AV), while, so far as we know, J. remained throughout his life in Jerus.

This J. has been regarded as the author of the Ep. of Jas, "a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ"; cf JAMES, EPISTLE OF. Also, for details concerning his relationship to Christ, cf BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

II. References in Apocryphal Literature.—J. figures in one of the miraculous events recorded in the gnostic "Gospel of the Infancy, by Thomas the Israelite philosopher," being cured of a snake-bite by the infant Jesus (cf Hennecke, *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 73). According to the Gospel of the Hebrews (cf ib, 11–21), J. had also partaken of the cup of of the Lord, and refused to eat till he had seen the risen Lord. Christ acknowledged this tribute by appearing to J. first. In the Acts of Peter (cf Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*, II, 475), it is stated that "three days after the ascension of our Lord into heaven, James, whom our Lord called his 'brother in the flesh,' consecrated the Offering and we all drew nigh to partake thereof: and when ten days had passed after the ascension of our Lord, we all assembled in the holy fortress of Zion, and we stood up to say the prayer of sanctification, and we made supplication unto God and besought Him with humility, and James also entreated Him concerning the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Offering." The Preaching of St. James the Just (cf Budge, II, 78–81) tells of the appointment of J. to the bishopric of Jerus, of his preaching, healing of the sick and casting out of devils there. This is confirmed by the evidence of Clement of Alexandria (Euseb., *HE*, II, 1). In the Martyrdom of St. James the Just (cf Budge, II, 82–89), it is stated that J., "the youngest of the sons of Joseph," alienated, by his preaching, Piobsata from her husband Ananus, the governor of Jerus. Ananus therefore inflamed the Jews against J., and they hurled him down from off the pinnacle of the temple. Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius (*HE*, II, 23), and Jos (*Ant*, XX, ix, 1), testify to the general truth of this. It is thus probable that James was martyred about 62 or 63 AD.

Besides the ep. which bears his name, J. was also the reputed author of the Protevangelium Jacobi, a work which originated in the 2d cent. and received later additions (cf Henn, *NA*, 47–63; also Joseph, Husband of Mary).

C. M. Kerr

JAMES, EPISTLE OF:

- I. Characteristics of the Epistle
  - 1. Jewish
  - 2. Authoritative
  - 3. Practical
- II. Author of the Epistle
- III. Style of the Epistle
  - 1. Plainness
  - 2. Good Greek
  - 3. Vividness
  - 4. Duadiplosis
  - 5. Figures of Speech
  - 6. Unlikeness to Paul
  - 7. Likeness to Jesus
- IV. Date of the Epistle
- V. History of the Epistle
- VI. Message of the Epistle to Our Times
  - 1. To the Pietist
  - 2. To the Sociologist
  - 3. To the Student of the Life and Character of Jesus
- Literature

I. Characteristics of the Epistle.—The Ep. of Jas is the most Jewish writing in the NT. The Gospel according to Mt was written for the Jews. The Ep. to the He is addressed explicitly to them. The Apocalypse is full of the spirit of the OT. The Ep. of Jude is Jewish too. Yet all of these books have more of the distinctively Christian element in them than we can find in the Ep. of Jas. If we eliminate two or three passages containing references to Christ, the whole epistle might find its place just as properly in the Canon of the OT as in that of the NT, as far as its substance of doctrine and contents is concerned. That could not be said of any other book in the NT. There is no mention of the incarnation or of the resurrection, the two fundamental facts of the Christian faith. The word "gospel" does not occur in the ep. There is no suggestion that the Messiah has appeared and no presentation of the possibility of redemption through Him. The teaching throughout is that of a lofty morality which aims at the fulfilment of the requirements of the Mosaic law. It is not strange therefore that Spitta and others have thought that we have in the Ep. of Jas a treatise written by an unconverted Jew which has been adapted to Christian use by the interpolation of the two phrases containing the name of Christ in **1** 1 and **2** 1. Spitta thinks that this can be the only explanation of the fact that we have here an ep. practically ignoring the life and work of Jesus and every distinctively Christian doctrine, and without a trace of any of the great controversies in the early Christian church or any of the specific features of its propaganda. This judgment is a superficial one, and rests upon superficial indications rather than any appreciation of the underlying spirit and principles of the book. The spirit of Christ is here, and there is no need to label it. The principles of this ep. are the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. There are more ||s to that Sermon in this ep. than can be found anywhere else in the NT in the same space. The ep. represents the idealization of Jewish legalism under the transforming influence of the Christian motive and life. It is not a theological discussion. It is an ethical appeal. It has to do with the outward life for the most part, and the life it pictures is that of a Jew informed with the spirit of Christ. The spirit is invisible in the ep. as in the individual man. It is the body which appears and the outward life with which that body has to do. The body of the ep. is Jewish, and the outward life to which it exhorts is that of a profoundly pious Jew. The Jews familiar with the OT would read this ep. and find its language and tone that to which they were accustomed in their sacred books. Jas is evidently written by a Jew for Jews. It is Jewish in character throughout. This is apparent in the following particulars: (1) The ep. is addressed to the 12 tribes which are of the Dispersion (**1** 1). The Jews were scattered abroad through the ancient world. From Babylon to Rome, wherever any community of them might be gathered for commercial or social purposes, these exhortations could be carried and read. Probably the ep. was circulated most widely in Syria and Asia Minor, but it may have gone out to the ends of the earth. Here and there in the ghettos of the Rom Empire, groups of the Jewish exiles would gather and listen while one of their number read this letter from home. All of its terms and its allusions would recall familiar home scenes. (2) Their meeting-place is called "your synagogue" (**2** 2). (3) Abraham is mentioned as "our father" (**2** 21). (4) God is given the OT name, "the Lord of Sabaoth" (**5** 4). (5) The law is not to be spoken against nor judged, but reverently and loyally obeyed. It is a royal law to which every loyal Jew will be subject. It is a law of liberty, to be freely obeyed (**2** 8–12; **4** 11). (6) The sins of the flesh are not inveighed against in the ep., but those sins to which the Jews were more conspicuously liable, such as the love of money and the distinction which money may bring (**2** 2–4), worldliness and pride (**4** 4–6), impatience and murmuring (**5** 7–11), and other sins of the temper and tongue (**3** 1–12; **4** 11.12). (7) The illustrations of faithfulness and patience and prayer are found in OT characters, in Abraham (**2** 21), Rahab (**2** 25), Job (**5** 11), and Elijah (**5** 17.18). The whole atmosphere of the ep. is Jewish.

1. Jewish

2. Authoritative

The writer of this ep. speaks as one having authority. He is not on his defence, as Paul so often is. There is no trace of apology in his presentation of the truth. His official position must have been recognized and unquestioned. He is as sure of his standing with his readers as he is of the absoluteness of his message.

No OT lawgiver or prophet was more certain that he spoke the word of the Lord. He has the vehemence of Elijah and the assured meekness of Moses. He has been called "the Amos of the NT," and there are paragraphs which recall the very expressions used by Amos and which are full of the same fiery eloquence and prophetic fervor. Both fill their writings with metaphors drawn from the sky and the sea, from natural objects and domestic experiences. Both seem to be country-bred and to be in sympathy with simplicity and poverty. Both inveigh against the luxury and the cruelty of the idle rich, and both abhor the ceremonial and the ritual which are substituted for individual righteousness. Malachi was not the last of the prophets. John the Baptist was not the last prophet of the Old Dispensation. The writer of this ep. stands at the end of that prophetic line, and he is greater than John the Baptist or any who have preceded him because he stands within the borders of the kingdom of Christ. He speaks with authority, as a messenger of God. He belongs to the goodly fellowship of the prophets and of the apostles. He has the authority of both. There are 54 imperatives in the 108 verses of this ep.

3. Practical

The ep. is interested in conduct more than in creed. It has very little formulated theology, less than any other ep. in the NT; but it insists upon practical morality throughout. It begins and it closes with an exhortation to patience and prayer. It preaches a gospel of good works, based upon love to God and love to man. It demands liberty, equality, fraternity for all. It enjoins humility and justice and peace. It prescribes singleness of purpose and stedfastness of soul. It requires obedience to the law, control of the passions, and control of the tongue. Its ideal is to be found in a good life, characterized by the meekness of wisdom. The writer of the ep. has caught the spirit of the ancient prophets, but the lessons that he teaches are taken, for the most part, from the Wisdom lit. of the OT and the Apoc. His direct quotations are from the Pent and the Book of Prov; but it has been estimated that there are 10 allusions to the Book of Prov, 6 to the Book of Job, 5 to the Book of Wisd, and 15 to the Book of Ecclus. This Wisdom lit. furnishes the staple of his meditation and the substance of his teaching. He has little or nothing to say about the great doctrines of the Christian church.

He has much to say about the wisdom that cometh down from above and is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy (**3** 15–17). The whole ep. shows that the author had stored his mind with the rich treasure of the ancient wisdom, and his material, while offered as his own, is both old and new. The form is largely that of the Wisdom lit. of the Jews. It has more parallels with Jesus the son of Sirach than with any writer of the sacred books.

The substance of its exhortation, however, is to be found in the Synoptics and more particularly in the Sermon on the Mount. Its wisdom is the wisdom of Jesus the son of Joseph, who is the Christ.

These are the three outstanding characteristics of this ep. In form and on the surface it is the most Jewish and least Christian of the writings in the NT. Its Christianity is latent and not apparent. Yet it is the most authoritative in its tone of any of the epp. in the NT, unless it be those of the apostle John. John must have occupied a position of undisputed primacy in the Christian church after the death of all the other apostles, when he wrote his epp. It is noteworthy that the writer of this ep. assumes a tone of like authority with that of John. John was the apostle of love, Paul of faith, and Peter of hope. This writer is the apostle of good works, the apostle of the wisdom which manifests itself in peace and purity, mercy and morality, and in obedience to the royal law, the law of liberty. In its union of Jewish form, authoritative tone, and insistence upon practical morality, the ep. is unique among the NT books.

II. Author of the Epistle.—The address of the ep. states that the writer is "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (**1** 1). The tradition of the church has identified this James with the brother of Our Lord. Clement of Alexandria says that Peter and James and John, who were the three apostles most honored of the Lord, chose James, the Lord's brother, to be the bishop of Jerus after the Lord's ascension (Euseb., *HE*, II, 1). This tradition agrees well with all the notices of James in the NT books. After the death of James the brother of John, Peter was thrown into prison, and having been miraculously released, he asked that the news be sent to James and to the brethren (Acts **12** 17). This James is evidently in authority in the church at this time. In the apostolical conference held at Jerus, after Peter and Paul and Barnabas had spoken, this same James sums up the whole discussion, and his decision is adopted by the assembly and formulated in a letter which has some very striking ||s in its phraseology to this ep. (Acts **15** 6–29). When Paul came to Jerus for the last time he reported his work to James and all the elders present with him (Acts **21** 18). In the Ep. to the Gal Paul says that at the time of one of his visits to Jerus he saw none of the apostles save Peter and James the Lord's brother (Gal **1** 18.19). At another visit he received the right hand of fellowship from James and Cephas and John (Gal **2** 9). At a later time certain who came from James to Antioch led Peter into backsliding from his former position of tolerance of the Gentiles as equals in the Christian church (Gal **2** 12).

All of these references would lead us to suppose that James stood in a position of supreme authority in the mother-church at Jerus, the oldest church of Christendom. He presides in the assemblies of the church. He speaks the final and authoritative word. Peter and Paul defer to him. Paul mentions his name before that of Peter and John. When he was exalted to this leadership we do not know, but all indications seem to point to the fact that at a very early period James was the recognized executive authority in the church at Jerus, which was the church of Pentecost and the church of the apostles. All Jews looked to Jerus as the chief seat of their worship and the central authority of their religion. All Christian Jews would look to Jerus as the primitive source of their organization and faith, and the head of the church at Jerus would be recognized by them as their chief authority. The authoritative tone of this ep. comports well with this position of primacy ascribed to James.

All tradition agrees in describing James as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a man of the most rigid and ascetic morality, faithful in his observance of all the ritual regulations of the Jewish faith. Hegesippus tells us that he was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine nor strong drink. He ate no flesh. He alone was permitted to enter with the priests into the holy place, and he was found there frequently upon his knees begging forgiveness for the people, and his knees became hard like those of a camel in consequence of his constantly bending them in his worship of God and asking forgiveness for the people (Euseb., *HE*, II, 23). He was called James the Just. All had confidence in his sincerity and integrity, and many were persuaded by him to believe on the Christ. This Jew, faithful in the observance of all that the Jews held sacred, and more devoted to the temple-worship than the most pious among them, was a good choice for the head of the Christian church. The blood of David flowed in his veins. He had all the Jew's pride in the special privileges of the chosen race. The Jews respected him and the Christians revered him. No man among them commanded the esteem of the entire population as much as he.

Jos (*Ant*, XX, ix) tells us that Ananus the high priest had James stoned to death, and that the most equitable of the citizens immediately rose in revolt against such a lawless procedure, and Ananus was deposed after only three months' rule. This testimony of Jos simply substantiates all that we know from other sources concerning the high standing of James in the whole community. Hegesippus says that James was first thrown from a pinnacle of the temple, and then they stoned him because he was not killed by the fall, and he was finally beaten over the head with a fuller's club; and then he adds significantly, "Immediately Vespasian besieged them" (Euseb., *HE*, II, 23). There would seem to have been quite a widespread conviction among both the Christians and the Jews that the afflictions which fell upon the holy city and the chosen people in the following years were in part a visitation because of the great crime of the murder of this just man. We can understand how a man with this reputation and character would write an ep. so Jewish in form and substance and so insistent in its demands for a practical morality as is the Ep. of Jas. All the characteristics of the ep. seem explicable on the supposition of authorship by James the brother of the Lord. We accept the church tradition without hesitation.

III. The Style of the Epistle.—The sentence construction is simple and straightforward. It reminds us of the Eng. of Bunyan and DeFoe. There is usually no good reason for misunderstanding anything James says. He puts his truth plainly, and the words he uses have no hidden or mystical meanings. His thought is transparent as his life.

1. Its Plainness

2. Its Good Greek

It is somewhat surprising to find that the Gr of the Ep. of Jas is better than that of the other NT writers, with the single exception of the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews. Of course this may be due to the fact that James had the services of an amanuensis who was a Gr scholar, or that his own MS was revised by such a man; but, although unexpected, it is not impossible that James himself may have been capable of writing such Gr as this.

It is not the good Gr of the classics, and it is not the poor and provincial Gr of Paul. There is more care for literary form than in the uncouth periods of the gentile apostle, and the vocabulary would seem to indicate an acquaintance with the literary as well as the commercial and the conversational Gr. "Galilee was studded with Gr towns, and it was certainly in the power of any Galilean to gain a knowledge of Gr. . . . We may reasonably suppose that our author would not have scrupled to avail himself of the opportunities within his reach, so as to master the Gr language, and learn something of Gr philosophy. This would be natural, even if we think of James as impelled only by a desire to gain wisdom and knowledge for himself; but if we think of him also as the principal teacher of the Jewish believers, many of whom were Hellenists, instructed in the wisdom of Alexandria, then the natural bent would take the shape of duty: he would be a student of Gr in order that he might be a more effective instructor to his own people" (Mayor, *The Ep. of St. James*, ccxxxvi). The Gr of the ep. is the studied Gr of one who was not a native to it, but who had familiarized himself with its literature. James could have done so and the ep. may be proof that he did.

3. Its Vividness

James is never content to talk in abstractions. He always sets a picture before his own eyes and those of his readers. He has the dramatic instinct. He has the secret of sustained interest. He is not discussing things in general but things in particular. He is an artist and believes in concrete realities. At the same time he has a touch of poetry in him, and a fine sense of the analogies running through all Nature and all life. The doubting man is like the sea spume (**1** 6). The rich man fades away in his goings, even as the beauty of the flower falls and perishes (**1** 11). The synagogue scene with its distinction between the rich and the poor is set before us with the clear-cut impressiveness of a cameo (**2** 1–4). The Pecksniffian philanthropist, who seems to think that men can be fed not by bread alone but by the words that proceed magnificently from his mouth, is pilloried here for all time (**2** 15.16). The untamable tongue that is set on fire of hell is put in the full blaze of its world of iniquity, and the damage it does is shown to be like that of a forest fire (**3** 1–12). The picture of the wisdom that comes from above with its sevenfold excellences of purity, peaceableness, gentleness, mercy, fruitfulness, impartiality, sincerity, is worthy to hang in the gallery of the world's masterpieces (**3** 17). The vaunting tradesmen, whose lives are like vanishing vapor, stand there before the eyes of all in Jerus (**4** 13–16). The rich, whose luxuries he describes even while he denounces their cruelties and prophesies their coming day of slaughter, are the rich who walk the streets of his own city (**5** 1–6). His short sentences go like shots straight to the mark. We feel the impact and the impress of them. There is an energy behind them and a reality in them that makes them live in our thought. His abrupt questions are like the quick interrogations of a cross-examining lawyer (**2** 4–7.14.16; **3** 11.12; **4** 1.4.5.12.14). His proverbs have the intensity of the accumulated and compressed wisdom of the ages. They are irreducible minimums. They are memorable sayings, treasured in the speech of the world ever since his day.

4. Its Duadiplosis

Sometimes James adds sentence to sentence with the repetition of some leading word or phrase (**1** 1–6.19–24; **3** 2–8). It is the painful style of one who is not altogether at home with the language which he has chosen as the vehicle of his thought. It is the method by which a discussion could be continued indefinitely. Nothing but the vividness of the imagery and the intensity of the thought saves James from fatal monotony in the use of this device.

5. Its Figures of Speech

James has a keen eye for illustrations. He is not blind to the beauties and wonders of Nature. He sees what is happening on every hand, and he is quick to catch any homiletical suggestion it may hold. Does he stand by the seashore? The surge that is driven by the wind and tossed reminds him of the man who is unstable in all his ways, because he has no anchorage of faith, and his convictions are like driftwood on a sea of doubt (**1** 6). Then he notices that the great ships are turned about by a small rudder, and he thinks how the tongue is a small member, but it accomplishes great things (**3** 4.5). Does he walk under the sunlight and rejoice in it as the source of so many good and perfect gifts? He sees in it an image of the goodness of God that is never eclipsed and never exhausted, unvarying for evermore (**1** 17). He uses the natural phenomena of the land in which he lives to make his meaning plain at every turn: the flower of the field that passes away (**1** 10.11), the forest fire that sweeps the mountain side and like a living torch lights up the whole land (**3** 5), the sweet and salt springs (**3** 11), the fig trees and the olive trees and the vines (**3** 12), the seed-sowing and the fruit-bearing (**3** 18), the morning mist immediately lost to view (**4** 14), the early and the latter rain for which the husbandman waiteth patiently (**5** 7).

There is more of the appreciation of Nature in this one short ep. of Jas than in all the epp. of Paul put together. Human life was more interesting to Paul than natural scenery. However, James is interested in human life just as profoundly as Paul. He is constantly endowing inanimate things with living qualities. He represents sin as a harlot, conceiving and bringing forth death (**1** 15). The word of truth has a like power and conceives and brings forth those who live to God's praise (**1** 18). Pleasures are like gay hosts of enemies in a tournament, who deck themselves bravely and ride forth with singing and laughter, but whose mission is to wage war and to kill (**4** 1.2). The laborers may be dumb in the presence of the rich because of their dependence and their fear, but their wages, fraudulently withheld, have a tongue, and cry out to high heaven for vengeance (**5** 4). What is friendship with the world? It is adultery, James says (**4** 4). The rust of unjust riches testifies against those who have accumulated them, and then turns upon them and eats their flesh like fire (**5** 3). James observed the man who glanced at himself in the mirror in the morning, and saw that his face was not clean, and who went away and thought no more about it for that whole day, and he found in him an illustration of the one who heard the word and did not do it (**1** 23.24). The ep. is full of these rhetorical figures, and they prove that James was something of a poet at heart, even as Jesus was. He writes in prose, but there is a marked rhythm in all of his speech. He has an ear for harmony as he has an eye for beauty everywhere.

6. Its Unlikeness to Paul

The Pauline epistles begin with salutations and close with benedictions. They are filled with autobiographical touches and personal messages. None of these things appear here. The ep. begins and ends with all abruptness. It has an address, but no thanksgiving. There are no personal messages and no indications of any intimate personal relationship between the author and his readers. They are his "beloved brethren." He knows their needs and their sins, but he may never have seen their faces or visited their homes. The ep. is more like a prophet's appeal to a nation than a personal letter.

7. Its Likeness to Jesus

Both the substance of the teaching and the method of its presentation remind us of the discourses of Jesus. James says less about the Master than any other writer in the NT, but his speech is more like that of the Master than the speech of any one of them. There are at least ten parallels to the Sermon on the Mount in this short ep., and for almost everything that James has to say we can recall some statement of Jesus which might have suggested it. When the parallels fail at any point, we are inclined to suspect that James may be repeating some unrecorded utterance of Our Lord. He seems absolutely faithful to his memory of his brother's teaching. He is the servant of Jesus in all his exhortation and persuasion.

Did the Master shock His disciples' faith by the loftiness of the Christian ideal He set before them in His great sermon, "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt **5** 48)? James sets the same high standard in the very forefront of his ep.: "Let patience have its perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, lacking in nothing" (**1** 4). Did the Master say, "Ask, and it shall be given you" (Mt **7** 7)? James says, "If any of you lacketh wisdom, let him ask of God . . . . ; and it shall be given him" (**1** 5). Did the Master add a condition to His sweeping promise to prayer and say, "Whosoever . . . . shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that what he saith cometh to pass; he shall have it" (Mk **11** 23)? James hastens to add the same condition, "Let him ask in faith, nothing doubting: for he that doubteth is like the surge of the sea driven by the wind and tossed" (**1** 6). Did the Master close the great sermon with His parable of the Wise Man and the Foolish Man, saying, "Every one that heareth these words of mine, and doeth them, shall be likened unto a wise man. And every one that heareth these words of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man" (Mt **7** 24.26)? James is much concerned about wisdom, and therefore he exhorts his readers, "Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deluding your own selves" (**1** 22). Had the Master declared, "If ye know these things, blessed are ye if ye do them" (Jn **13** 17)? James echoes the thought when he says, "A doer that worketh, this man shall be blessed in his doing" (**1** 25). Did the Master say to the disciples, "Blessed are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God" (Lk **6** 20)? James has the same sympathy with the poor, and he says, "Hearken, my beloved brethren; did not God choose them that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him?" (**2** 5). Did the Master inveigh against the rich, and say, "Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you, ye that are full now! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you, ye that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep" (Lk **6** 24.25)? James bursts forth into the same invective and prophesies the same sad reversal of fortune, "Come now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries that are coming upon you" (**5** 1). "Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purify your hearts, ye doubleminded. Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep: let your laughter be turned to mourning, and your joy to heaviness" (**4** 8.9). Had Jesus said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged" (Mt **7** 1)? James repeats the exhortation, "Speak not one against another, brethren. He that . . . . judgeth his brother . . . . judgeth the law: . . . . but who art thou that judgest thy neighbor?" (**4** 11.12). Had Jesus said, "Whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted" (Mt **23** 12)? We find the very words in James, "Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall exalt you" (**4** 10). Had Jesus said, "I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of his feet. . . . . But let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: and whatsoever is more than these is of the evil one" (Mt **5** 34–37)? Here in James we come upon the exact ‖: "But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by the heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; that ye fall not under judgment" (**5** 12).

We remember how the Master began the Sermon on the Mount with the declaration that even those who mourned and were persecuted and reviled and reproached were blessed, in spite of all their suffering and trial. Then we notice that James begins his ep. with the same paradoxical putting of the Christian faith, "Count it all joy, my brethren, when ye fall into manifold trials" (**1** 2 ARVm). We remember how Jesus proceeded in His sermon to set forth the spiritual significance and the assured permanence of the law; and we notice that James treats the law with the same respect and puts upon it the same high value. He calls it "the perfect law" (**1** 25), "the royal law" (**2** 8), the "law of liberty" (**2** 12). We remember what Jesus said about forgiving others in order that we ourselves may be forgiven; and we know where James got his authority for saying, "Judgment is without mercy to him that hath showed no mercy" (**2** 13). We remember all that the Master said about good trees and corrupt trees being known by their fruits, "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" (Mt **7** 16–20). Then in the Ep. of Jas we find a like question, "Can a fig tree, my brethren, yield olives, or a vine figs?" (**3** 12). We remember that the Master said, "Know ye that he is nigh, even at the doors" (Mt **24** 33). We are not surprised to find the statement here in James, "Behold, the judge standeth before the doors" (**5** 9). These reminiscences of the sayings of the Master meet us on every page. It may be that there are many more of them than we are able to identify. Their number is sufficiently large, however, to show us that James is steeped in the truths taught by Jesus, and not only their substance but their phraseology constantly reminds us of Him.

IV. Date of the Epistle.—There are those who think that the Ep. of Jas is the oldest ep. in the NT. Among those who favor an early date are Mayor, Plumptre, Alford, Stanley, Renan, Weiss, Zahn, Beyschlag, Neander, Schneckenburger, Thiersch, and Dods.

The reasons assigned for this conclusion are: (1) the general Judaic tone of the ep., which seems to antedate admission of the Gentiles in any alarming numbers into the church; but since the ep. is addressed only to Jews, why should the Gentiles be mentioned in it, whatever its date? and (2) the fact that Paul and Peter are supposed to have quoted from Jas in their writing; but this matter of quotation is always an uncertain one, and it has been ably argued that the quotation has been the other way about.

Others think that the ep. was written toward the close of James's life. Among these are Kern, Wiesinger, Schmidt, Brückner, Wordsworth, and Farrar.

These argue (1) that the ep. gives evidence of a considerable lapse of time in the history of the church, sufficient to allow of a declension from the spiritual fervor of Pentecost and the establishment of distinctions among the brethren; but any of the sins mentioned in the ep. in all probability could have been found in the church in any decade of its history. (2) James has a position of established authority, and those to whom he writes are not recent converts but members in long standing; but the position of James may have been established from a very early date, and in an encyclical of this sort we could not expect any indication of shorter or longer membership in the church. Doubtless some of those addressed were recent converts, while others may have been members for many years. (3) There are references to persecutions and trials which fit the later rather than the earlier date; but all that is said on this subject might be suitable in any period of the presidency of James at Jerus. (4) There are indications of a long and disappointing delay in the Second Coming of the Lord in the repeated exhortation to patience in waiting for it; but on the other hand James says, "The coming of the Lord is at hand," and "The judge standeth before the doors" (**5** 7–9). The same passage is cited in proof of a belief that the immediate appearance of the Lord was expected, as in the earliest period of the church, and in proof that there had been a disappointment of this earlier belief and that it had been succeeded by a feeling that there was need of patience in waiting for the coming so long delayed.

It seems clear to us that there are no decisive proofs in favor of any definite date for the ep. It must have been written before the martyrdom of James in the year 63 AD, and at some time during his presidency over the church at Jerus; but there is nothing to warrant us in coming to any more definite conclusion than that Davidson, Hilgenfeld, Baur, Zeller, Hausrath, von Soden, Jülicher, Harnack, Bacon and others date the ep. variously in the post-Pauline period, 69–70 to 140–50 AD. The arguments for any of these dates fall far short of proof, rest largely if not wholly upon conjectures and presuppositions, and of course are inconsistent with any belief in the authorship by James.

V. History of the Epistle.—Eusebius classed Jas among those whose authenticity was disputed by some. "James is said to be the author of the first of the so-called Catholic Epp. But it is to be observed that it is disputed; at least, not many of the ancients have mentioned it, as is the case likewise with the ep. that bears the name of Jude, which is also one of the seven so-called Catholic Epp. Nevertheless, we know that these also, with the rest, have been read publicly in most churches" (*HE*, II, 23). Eusebius himself, however, quotes Jas **4** 11 as Scripture and Jas **5** 13 as spoken by the holy apostle. Personally he does not seem disposed to question the genuineness of the ep. There are ||s in phraseology which make it possible that the ep. is quoted in Clement of Rome in the 1st cent., and in Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, the Ep. to Diognetus, Irenaeus, and Hermas in the 2d cent. It is omitted in the canonical list of the Muratorian Fragment and was not included in the Old Lat version. Origen seems to be the first writer to quote the ep. explicitly as Scripture and to assert that it was written by James the brother of the Lord. It appears in the Pesh version and seems to have been generally recognized in the East. Cyril of Jerus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Ephraem of Edessa, Didymus of Alexandria, received it as canonical. The 3d Council of Carthage in 397 AD finally settled its status for the Western church, and from that date in both the East and the West its canonicity was unquestioned until the time of the Reformation.

Erasmus and Cajetan revived the old doubts concerning it. Luther thought it contradicted Paul and therefore banished it to the appendix of his Bible. "James," he says, "has aimed to refute those who relied on faith without works, and is too weak for his task in mind, understanding, and words, mutilates the Scriptures, and thus directly contradicts Paul and all Scriptures, seeking to accomplish by enforcing the law what the apostles successfully effect by love. Therefore I will not place his Ep. in my Bible among the proper leading books" (*Werke*, XIV, 148). He declared that it was a downright strawy ep., as compared with such as those to the Rom and to the Gal, and it had no real evangelical character. This judgment of Luther is a very hasty and regrettable one. The modern church has refused to accept it, and it is generally conceded now that Paul and James are in perfect agreement with each other, though their presentation of the same truth from opposite points of view brings them into apparent contradiction. Paul says, "By grace have ye been saved through faith . . . . not of works, that no man should glory" (Eph **2** 8.9). "We reckon therefore that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law" (Rom **3** 28). James says, "Faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself" (**2** 17). "Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not only by faith" (**2** 24). With these passages before him Luther said, "Many have toiled to reconcile Paul with James . . . . but to no purpose, for they are contrary, 'Faith justifies'; 'Faith does not justify'; I will pledge my life that no one can reconcile those propositions; and if he succeeds he may call me a fool" (*Colloquia*, II, 202).

It would be difficult to prove Luther a fool if Paul and James were using these words, faith, works, and justification, in the same sense, or even if each were writing with full consciousness of what the other had written. They both use Abraham for an example, James of justification by works, and Paul of justification by faith. How can that be possible? The faith meant by James is the faith of a dead orthodoxy, an intellectual assent to the dogmas of the church which does not result in any practical righteousness in life, such a faith as the demons have when they believe in the being of God and simply tremble before Him. The faith meant by Paul is intellectual and moral and spiritual, affects the whole man, and leads him into conscious and vital union and communion with God. It is not the faith of demons; it is the faith that redeems. Again, the works meant by Paul are the works of a dead legalism, the works done under a sense of compulsion or from a feeling of duty, the works done in obedience to a law which is a taskmaster, the works of a slave and not of a son. These dead works, he declares, can never give life. The works meant by James are the works of a believer, the fruit of the faith and love born in every believer's heart and manifest in every believer's life. The possession of faith will insure this evidence in his daily conduct and conversation; and without this evidence the mere profession of faith will not save him. The justification meant by Paul is the initial justification of the Christian life. No doing of meritorious deeds will make a man worthy of salvation. He comes into the kingdom, not on the basis of merit but on the basis of grace. The sinner is converted not by doing anything, but by believing on the Lord Jesus Christ. He approaches the threshold of the kingdom and he finds that he has no coin that is current there. He cannot buy his way in by good works; he must accept salvation by faith, as the gift of God's free grace. The justification meant by James is the justification of any after-moment in the Christian life, and the final justification before the judgment throne. Good works are inevitable in the Christian life. There can be no assurance of salvation without them.

Paul is looking at the root; James is looking at the fruit. Paul is talking about the beginning of the Christian life; James is talking about its continuance and consummation. With Paul, the works he renounces precede faith and are dead works. With James, the faith he denounces is apart from works and is a dead faith.

Paul believes in the works of godliness just as much as James. He prays that God may establish the Thessalonians in every good work (2 Thess **2** 17). He writes to the Corinthians that "God is able to make all grace abound unto" them; that they, "having always all sufficiency in everything, may abound unto every good work" (2 Cor **9** 8). He declares to the Ephesians that "we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God afore prepared that we should walk in them" (Eph **2** 10). He makes a formal statement of his faith in Rom: God "will render to every man according to his works: to them that by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honor and incorruption, eternal life: but unto them that are factious, and obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness, shall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gr; but glory and honor and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gr" (Rom **2** 6–10). This is the final justification discussed by James, and it is just as clearly a judgment by works with Paul as with him.

On the other hand James believes in saving faith as well as Paul. He begins with the statement that the proving of our faith works patience and brings perfection (**1** 3.4). He declares that the prayer of faith will bring the coveted wisdom (**1** 6). He describes the Christian profession as a holding "the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory" (**2** 1). He says that the poor as to the world are rich in faith, and therefore heirs to the kingdom (**2** 5). He quotes the passage from Gen, "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness" (**2** 23), and he explicitly asserts that Abraham's "faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect" (**2** 22). The faith mentioned in all these passages is the faith of the professing Christian; it is not the faith which the sinner exercises in accepting salvation. James and Paul are at one in declaring that faith and works must go hand in hand in the Christian life, and that in the Christian's experience both faith without works is dead and works without faith are dead works. They both believe in faith working through love as that which alone will avail in Christ Jesus (Gal **5** 6). Fundamentally they agree. Superficially they seem to contradict each other. That is because they are talking about different things and using the same terms with different meanings for those terms in mind.

VI. The Message of the Epistle to Our Times.—

1. To the Pietist

There are those who talk holiness and are hypocrites; those who make profession of perfect love and yet cannot live peaceably with their brethren; those who are full of pious phraseology but fail in practical philanthropy. This ep. was written for them. It may not give them much comfort, but it ought to give them much profit. The mysticism that contents itself with pious frames and phrases and comes short in actual sacrifice and devoted service will find its antidote here. The antinomianism that professes great confidence in free grace, but does not recognize the necessity for corresponding purity of life, needs to ponder the practical wisdom of this ep. The quietists who are satisfied to sit and sing themselves away to everlasting bliss ought to read this ep. until they catch its bugle note of inspiration to present activity and continuous good deeds. All who are long on theory and short on practice ought to steep themselves in the spirit of James; and since there are such people in every community and in every age, the message of the ep. will never grow old.

2. To the Sociologist

The sociological problems are to the front today. The old prophets were social reformers, and James is most like them in the NT. Much that he says is applicable to present-day conditions. He lays down the right principles for practical philanthropy, and the proper relationships between master and man, and between man and man. If the teachings of this ep. were put into practice throughout the church it would mean the revitalization of Christianity. It would prove that the Christian religion was practical and workable, and it would go far to establish the final brotherhood of man in the service of God.

3. To the Student of the Life and Character of Jesus

The life of Our Lord is the most important life in the history of the race. It will always be a subject of the deepest interest and study. Modern research has penetrated every contributory realm for any added light upon the heredity and the environment of Jesus. The people and the land, archaeology and contemporary history, have been cultivated intensively and extensively for any modicum of knowledge they might add to our store of information concerning the Christ. We suggest that there is a field here to which sufficient attention has not yet been given. James was the brother of the Lord. His ep. tells us much about himself. On the supposition that he did not exhort others to be what he would not furnish them an example in being, we read in this ep. his own character writ large. He was like his brother in so many things. As we study the life and character of James we come to know more about the life and character of Jesus.

Jesus and James had the same mother. From her they had a common inheritance. As far as they reproduced their mother's characteristics they were alike. They had the same home training. As far as the father in that home could succeed in putting the impress of his own personality upon the boys, they would be alike. It is noticeable in this connection that Joseph is said in the Gospel to have been "a just man" (Mt **1** 19 AV), and that James came to be known through all the early church as James the Just, and that in his ep. he gives this title to his brother, Jesus, when he says of the unrighteous rich of Jerus, "Ye have condemned and killed the just" man (**5** 6 AV). Joseph was just, and James was just, and Jesus was just. The brothers were alike, and they were like the father in this respect. The two brothers seem to think alike and talk alike to a most remarkable degree. They represent the same home surroundings and human environment, the same religious training and inherited characteristics. Surely, then, all that we learn concerning James will help us the better to understand Jesus.

They are alike in their poetical insight and their practical wisdom. They are both fond of figurative speech, and it seems always natural and unforced. The discourses of Jesus are filled with birds and flowers and winds and clouds and all the sights and sounds of rural life in Pal. The writings of James abound in reference to the field flowers and the meadow grass and the salt fountains and the burning wind and the early and the latter rain. They are alike in mental attitude and in spiritual alertness. They have much in common in the material equipment of their thought. James was well versed in the apoc lit. May we not reasonably conclude that Jesus was just as familiar with these books as he? James seems to have acquired a comparative mastery of the Gr language and to have had some acquaintance with the Gr philosophy. Would not Jesus have been as well furnished in these lines as he?

What was the character of James? All tradition testifies to his personal purity and persistent devotion, commanding the reverence and the respect of all who knew him. As we trace the various elements of his character manifesting themselves in his anxieties and exhortations in this ep., we find rising before us the image of Jesus as well as the portrait of James. He is a single-minded man, stedfast in faith and patient in trials. He is slow to wrath, but very quick to detect any sins of speech and hypocrisy of life. He is full of humility, but ready to champion the cause of the oppressed and the poor. He hates all insincerity and he loves wisdom, and he believes in prayer and practises it in reference to both temporal and spiritual good. He believes in absolute equality in the house of God. He is opposed to anything that will establish any distinctions between brethren in their place of worship. He believes in practical philanthropy. He believes that the right sort of religion will lead a man to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world. A pure religion in his estimation will mean a pure man. He believes that we ought to practise all that we preach.

As we study these characteristics and opinions of the younger brother, does not the image of his and our Elder Brother grow ever clearer before our eyes?

Literature.—Works on Introduction: by Zahn, Weiss, Jülicher, Salmon, Dods, Bacon, Bennett and Adeney; MacClymont, *The NT and Its Writers;* Farrar, *The Messages of the Books*, and *Early Days of Christianity;* Fraser, *Lectures on the Bible;* Godet, *Bib. Studies.* Works on the Apostolic Age: McGiffert, Schaff, Hausrath, Weizsäcker. Commentaries: Mayor, Hort, Beyschlag, Dale, Huther, Plummer, Plumptre, Stier.

Doremus Almy Hayes

JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM, prō-tē-van-jel′-i-um, **OF.** See Apocryphal Gospels.

JAMIN, jā′min (יָמִין, *yāmīn*, "right hand"):

(1) In Gen **46** 10; Ex **6** 15; Nu **26** 12; 1 Ch **4** 24, a "son" (clan) of Simeon.

(2) In 1 Ch **2** 27, a Judahite, "son" of Ram and grandson of Jerahmeel.

(3) In Neh **8** 7, a Levite (?), one of those who "caused the people to understand" the Torah when Ezra enforced it = "Iadinus" in 1 Esd **9** 48.

JAMINITES, jā′min-īts (הַיָּמִינִי, *ha-yāmīnī*, coll. with art.): In Nu **26** 12, descendants of Jamin ([1] above).

JAMLECH, jam′lek (יַמְלֵךְ, *yamlēkh*, "may he [God] cause to reign"): A "prince" or chief of the tribe of Simeon (1 Ch **4** 34). If ver 41 refers to the preceding list, he lived in the time of Hezekiah.

JAMNIA, jam′ni-a. See JABNEEL.

JAMNITES, jam′nīts (**Ἰαμνῖται,** *Iamnítai*): The inhabitants (2 Macc **12** 9) of Jamnia, the ancient Jabneel, a town on the northern border of Judah near the sea. Its port and navy were burned by Judas Maccabaeus (loc. cit.).

JANAI, jā′nā̇-ī, jā′nī (יַעְנַי, *yaʽnay*, "he answers"; as to whether final *y* is the third radical, or may be taken as equivalent to the Divine name *Yāh*, see *HPN*, 149–51): A chief of a family descended from Gad (1 Ch **5** 12, AV "Jaanai").

JANGLING, jaṇ′gling (**ματαιολογία,** *mataiología*, "vain discourse," "babbling"): This word is not found in ARV; once only in AV (1 Tim **1** 6). ARV has "vain talking," instead of "vain jangling," and evidently means proud, self-conceited talking against what God has revealed and against God Himself.

JANIM, jā′nim (יָנִים, *yānīm;* AV **Janum**): A place in the Hebron uplands named with Eshan and Beth-tappuah (Josh **15** 53); unidentified.

JANNAI, jan′ā̇-ī (**Ἰανναί,** *Iannaí*, Tisch., Treg., WH; **Ἰαννά,** *Ianná*, *TR;* AV **Janna**); An ancestor of Jesus in Lk's genealogy, the 5th before Joseph, the husband of Mary (Lk **3** 24).

JANNES, jan′ēz, **AND JAMBRES,** jam′brēz (**Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς,** *Iannḗs kaí Iambrḗs*, 2 Tim **3** 8): These are the names of two magicians in ancient Egypt, who withstood Moses before Pharaoh.

1. Egyptian Magicians This is the only place where the names occur in the NT, and they are not mentioned in the OT at all. In Ex **7** 11.22 Egyp magicians are spoken of, who were called upon by Pharaoh to oppose Moses and Aaron: "Then Pharaoh also called for the wise men and the sorcerers: and they also, the magicians of Egypt, did in like manner with their enchantments." Jannes and Jambres were evidently two of the persons referred to in this passage. It should be observed that the word tr^d here "magicians" occurs also in Gen **41** 8 in connection with Pharaoh's dreams: Pharaoh "sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof." RVm reads for "magicians," "or sacred scribes." The Heb word is *ḥarṭummīm*, and means sacred scribes who were skilled in the sacred writing, that is in the hieroglyphics; they were a variety of Egyp priests. J. and J. were doubtless members of one or other of the various classes spoken of in the passages in Ex and Gen, the wise men, the sorcerers, and the magicians or sacred scribes.

2. Mentioned by Pliny and Others J. and J., one or both, are also mentioned by Pliny (23–79 AD), by Apuleius (c 130 AD), both of whom speak of Moses and Jannes as famous magicians of antiquity. The Pythagorean philosopher Numenius (2d cent. AD) speaks of J. and J. as Egyp *hierogrammateis*, or sacred scribes.

3. Traditions There are many curious Jewish traditions regarding J. and J. These traditions, which are found in the Tg and elsewhere, are full of contradictions and impossibilities and anachronisms. They are to the effect that J. and J. were sons of Balaam, the soothsayer of Pethor. Notwithstanding this impossibility in the matter of date, they were said to have withstood Moses 40 years previously at the court of Pharaoh, to whom it was also said, they so interpreted a dream of that king, as to foretell the birth of Moses and cause the oppression of the Israelites. They are also said to have become proselytes, and it is added that they left Egypt at the Exodus, among the mixed multitude. They are reported to have instigated Aaron to make the golden calf. The traditions of their death are also given in a varying fashion. They were said to have been drowned in the Red Sea, or to have been put to death after the making of the golden calf, or during the slaughter connected with the name of Phinehas.

4. Origen's Statement According to Origen (*Comm.* on Mt **27** 8) there was an apocryphal book—not yet rediscovered—called "The Book of J. and J." Origen's statement is that in 2 Tim **3** 8 Paul is quoting from that book.

5. Derivation In the Targumic lit. "Mambres" occurs as a variant reading instead of "Jambres." It is thought that Jambres is derived from an Aram. root, meaning "to oppose," the participle of which would be Mambres. The meaning of either form is "he who opposes." Jannes is perhaps a corruption of Ioannes or Iohannes (John).

JOHN RUTHERFURD

JANNES AND JAMBRES, BOOK OF: An apocryphal work condemned by Pope Gelasius. See preceding art., JANNES AND JAMBRES.

JANOAH, ja-nō′a (יָנוֹחַ, *yānō^{a}ḥ*, "resting-place"):

(1) A place named on the eastern boundary of Ephraim (Josh **16** 6 f; AV "Janohah"). *Onom* (s.v. "Jano") places it in Akrabattine, 12 Rom miles E. of Neapolis (*Nablūs*). This points definitely to *Khirbet Yānūn*. On a hill near by, the Moslems show the *Maḳām* of *Neby Nūn*, the father of Joshua.

(2) A town in the uplands of Naphtali, mentioned as having been captured and depopulated by Tiglath-pileser. It is named with Abel-beth-maacah and Kedesh (2 K **15** 29). It may be identical with *Yānūḥ*, a village about 6 miles E. of Tyre.

W. EWING

JANUM, jā′num (Ḳ^{e}rē יָנוּם, *yānūm*, K^{e}thībh יָנִים, *yānīm*). See JANIM.

JAPHETH, jā′feth (יֶפֶת, *yepheth;* יָפֶת, *yāpheth;* **Ἰάφεθ,** *Iápheth*): This name, in Gen **9** 27, seems to be explained by the phrase

1. Etymologies of Japheth "may God make wide [*yapht*, ARV "enlarge"] for Japheth," where *yapht* and *Japheth* are represented by the same consonants, but with different vowel-points. The root of *yapht* is *pāthāh*, "to make wide." This etymology, however, is not universally accepted, as the word-play is so obvious, and the association of Japheth with Shem ("dark") and Ham ("black") suggests a name on similar lines—either gentilic, or descriptive of race. Japheth has therefore been explained as meaning "fair," from *yāphāh*, the non-Sem and non-Hamitic races known to the Jews being all more or less white-skinned. The Tg of Onkelos agrees with the EV, but that of Jonathan has "God shall beautify Japheth," as though from *yāphāh*.

2. His Descendants The immediate descendants of J. were seven in number, and are represented by the nations designated Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Mesech, and Tiras; or, roughly, the Armenians, Lydians, Medes, Greeks, Tibarenians, and Moschians, the last, Tiras, remaining still obscure. The sons of Gomer (Ashkenaz, Riphath and Togarmah) were all settled in the West Asian tract; while the sons of Javan (Elisah, Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim or Rodanim) occupied the Mediterranean coast and the adjacent islands.

3. His Place among the Sons of Noah

In Gen **9** 27, as in other passages, Japheth occupies the 3d place in the enumeration of the sons of Noah, but he is really regarded as the 2d son, Ham being the youngest. In the genealogical table, however (Gen **10** 1 ff), the descendants of Japheth are given first, and those of Shem last, in order to set forth Sem affinities at greater length. Though this would seem to indicate that the fair races were the least known to the Jews, it implies that the latter were well disposed toward them, for Japheth was (ultimately) to dwell in the tents of Shem, and therefore to take part in Shem's spiritual privileges.

4. Japheth and Iapetos

It seems unlikely that the Gr giant-hero, Iapetos, father of Prometheus, who was regarded by the Greeks as the father of the human race, has any connection with the Heb Japheth. The original of the Heb record probably belongs to a date too early to admit borrowing from the Gr, and if the name had been borrowed by the Greeks from the Hebrews, a nearer form might be expected. See Shem; Ham; Table of Nations.

T. G. Pinches

JAPHETH, jā′feth (**'Ιάφεθ,** *Iápheth*): A region mentioned only in Jth **2** 25, where no particulars are given which may lead to its identification. Holofernes "came unto the borders of Japheth, which were toward the south, over against Arabia."

JAPHIA, ja-fī′a, jaf′i-a (יָפִיעַ, *yāphī^{a}ʿ*, perhaps "tall"; cf Arab.; **'Ιέφθα,** *Iéphtha*):

(1) King of Lachish, one of the 5 "kings of the Amorites" who allied themselves together in an expedition against Gibeon on account of its treaty with the Israelites (Josh **10** 3–5). After their discomfiture by Joshua in the battle of Beth-horon (ver 10), "one of the most important in the history of the world" (Stanley), they fled and hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah (ver 16). As Joshua passed, he was informed of this, but, unwilling to delay his pursuit of the fugitives, he ordered great stones to be rolled unto the mouth of the cave, leaving a guard in charge (vs 17 f). On the completion of his victory, Joshua returned to Makkedah and commanded the Israelites to bring forth the imprisoned kings, and summoned the chiefs of his army to plant their feet upon their necks. Then he put them to death; and after he had hung their bodies on 5 trees, he ordered the Israelites in the evening to take them down and cast them into the cave (vs 22–27).

(2) (LXX 'Ιεφιές, *Iephiés*, 'Ιαφιέ, *Iaphié*): One of the sons of David who were born to him at Jerus (2 S **5** 15; 1 Ch **3** 7; **14** 6). James Crichton

JAPHIA, ja-fī′a, jaf′i-a (יָפִיעַ, *yāphī^{a}ʿ*): A town on the southern boundary of Zebulun named with Chisloth-tabor and Daberath (Josh **19** 12). It is represented by the modern *Yāfā*, about 1½ miles S.W. of Nazareth, near the foot of the hills. It was one of the places fortified by Jos (*Vita*, 45; *BJ*, II, xx, 6).

JAPHLET, jaf′let (יַפְלֵט, *yaphlēṭ*, "he escapes" [?]): In 1 Ch **7** 32.33, a "son" of Heber, an Asherite.

JAPHLETI, jaf′lē-tī, jaf-lē′tī: AV in Josh **16** 3, where Heb is הַיַּפְלֵטִי, *ha-yaphlēṭī*, "the Japhletites," RV, a clan said to border on the territory of Joseph, but not mentioned elsewhere.

JAPHO, jā′fō: AV and ARVm in Josh **19** 46 for Joppa (q.v.).

JAR, jär. See Barrel.

JARAH, jā′ra (יַעְרָה, *yaʿrāh*, "honey-comb" [?]): A descendant of King Saul (1 Ch **9** 42); but LXX B, A, have **'Ιαδά,** *Iadá* = יַעְדָּה, *yaʿdāh*, a name found in LXX of 1 Ch **8** 36, where MT has יְהוֹעַדָּה, *y^{e}hōʿaddāh*, Jehoaddah. Some Heb MSS have *yaʿdāh* in **9** 42, and it should probably be accepted as the correct reading there, for *yaʿdāh* = Jehoaddah *y^{e}hōʿaddāh*, linguistically; cf Jonathan and Jehonathan, etc.

JAREB, jā′reb, jar′eb (יָרֵב, *yārēbh*, "let him contend"; LXX **'Ιαρείμ,** *Iareím*): Is mentioned twice in Hos (**5** 13; **10** 6) as an Assyr king who received tribute from Israel.

1. Obscurity of the Name

We do not, however, know of an Assyr king of that name, or of such a place as is indicated by "the king of Jareb" (**5** 13 AVm). Sayce (*HCM*, 417) thinks Jareb may possibly be the earlier name of Sargon who took Samaria in 722 BC, as the passages in which it appears seem to relate to the last struggles of the Northern Kingdom. This conjecture he bases on the probability that the successor of Shalmaneser IV, following the example of other usurpers of the Assyr throne before him, assumed the name of Sargon. Those who hold that Hosea's prophecies are probably not later than 734 BC reject this view.

2. Meaning of the Word

If we take the Heb text in **5** 13 as it stands (*melekh yārēbh*), Jareb cannot be regarded as the name of a person, owing to the absence of the art. before *melekh*, "king," which is always inserted in such a case. It is probably an epithet or nickname applied to the Assyr king, as is suggested by RVm ("a king that should contend") and AVm ("the king that should plead"), being derived from the √ *rībh*, "to strive." The rendering would then be "King Combat," "King Contentious," indicating Assyria's general hostility to Israel and the futility of applying for help to that quarter against the will of Jeh. Some suggest that for *melekh yārēbh* we should read *malkī rabh* (*ī* being the old nominative termination), or *melekh rabh*, "Great King," a title frequently applied to Assyr monarchs. Others, following the LXX, would read *melekh rām*, "High King."

3. Historical Reference

The historical reference, if it be to any recorded incident, may be to the attempt of Menahem, king of Israel in 738 BC, to gain over the Assyrians by a large subsidy to Pul, who assumed the name of Tiglath-pileser (2 K **15** 19). In this case, as both Ephraim and Judah are mentioned in the protasis, we should have to suppose that Ephraim made application on behalf of both kingdoms. If "Judah" be inserted before "sent" to complete the parallel, then the clause would be interpreted of Ahaz, king of Judah, who offered a heavy bribe to Tiglath-pileser to help him to withstand the combined attack of Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel (2 K **16** 7 f). But perhaps there may be no particular allusions in the two clauses of the apodosis, but only a reference to a general tendency on the part of both kingdoms to seek Assyr aid.

4. Other Views

Cheyne would make a violent change in the verse. He would substitute "Israel" for "Judah" as warranted by Hos **12** 2, insert "Israel" before "sent," change *'ashshur*, "Assyria," into *miççūr*, the North Arabian land of Muṣri, "references to which underlie many passages in the OT," and for *melekh yārēbh*, he would read *melekh ʿărābhī*, "king of Arabia." For other views see *ICC*. James Crichton

JARED, jā′red (יֶרֶד, *yeredh,* "descent"; pausal form, יָרֶד, *yāredh,* in Gen **5** 15; 1 Ch **1** 2, hence EV "Jared" for "Jered"; **Ἰαρέδ,** *Iaréd*): In Gen **5** 15–20; 1 Ch **1** 2; Lk **3** 37, son of Mahalaleel and father of Enoch. AV has "Jered" in 1 Ch **1** 2.

The name is supposed by Budde to denote a degeneration of the human race, the first five generations being righteous, their successors not, except Enoch and Noah. The name has been identified with that of Irad (עִירָד, *'īrādh*), Gen **4** 18. See Skinner, *Gen,* 117, 129, 131.

JARESIAH, jar-ḗ-sī′a: AV for Jaareshiah (q.v.).

JARHA, jär′ha (יַרְחָע, *yarḥā'*, meaning unknown): An Egyp slave of Shesham, about Eli's time (cf *HPN*, 235), who married his master's daughter, and became the founder of a house of the Jerahmeelites (1 Ch **2** 34 ff).

JARIB, jā′rib, jar′ib (יָרִיב, *yārībh,* "he contends," or "takes [our] part," or "conducts [our] case"):

(1) In 1 Ch **4** 24, a "son" (clan) of Simeon = "Jachin" of Gen **46** 10; Ex **6** 15; Nu **26** 12.

(2) In Ezr **8** 16, one of the "chief men" for whom Ezra sent, and dispatched by him to Casiphia to fetch ministers for God's house = "Joribus" (1 Esd **8** 44).

(3) In Ezr **10** 18, a priest who had married a foreign wife = "Joribus" (1 Esd **9** 19).

JARIMOTH, jar′i-moth (**Ἰαριμώθ,** *Iarimôth*): 1 Esd **9** 28; called "Jeremoth" in Ezr **10** 27.

JARMUTH, jär′muth (יַרְמוּת, *yarmūth*):

(1) A city of the Canaanites in the Shephelah (Josh **15** 35) of Judah whose "king," Piram, joined the league of the "five kings" against Joshua (Josh **10** 3–5), was defeated at Gibeon and slain at Makkedah (ver 23). One of the 31 "kings" defeated in Joshua's campaign (Josh **12** 11). In Josh **15** 35 it is mentioned in conjunction with Adullam, Socoh and Azekah, and in Neh **11** 29 with Zorah, Zanoah and Adullam. Cheyne (*EB*) suggests that the "Maroth" of Mic **1** 12 may be a copyist's error for Jarmuth. In *Onom* (*OS*² **132** 31; **266** 38) mention is made of a Ἰερμοχώς, *Iermochôs*, or Jermucha, 10 Rom miles N.E. of Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrîn*). The site of this once important place is *Khirbet el Yarmūk*, a ruin, with many old walls and cisterns, on the top of a hill 1,465 ft. above sea-level. It is nearly 2 miles N.W. of *Beit Nattîf*, from which it is visible, and 8½ miles, as measured on map, N.N.E. of *Beit Jibrîn*. Cf *PEF*, III, 128, Sh XVIII.

(2) A city of Issachar belonging to the "children of Gershon, of the families of the Levites" (Josh **21** 29); in the duplicate list in 1 Ch **6** 73 we have Ramoth, while in the LXX version of Josh **21** 29 we have, in different VSS, *Rhemmáth* or *Iermôth*. In Josh **19** 21 "Remeth" occurs (in Heb) in the lists of cities of Issachar; in the LXX *Rhémmas* or *Rhamáth*. The name was probably "Remeth" or "Ramoth," but the place has never been identified with any certainty. See Ramoth.

E. W. G. Masterman

JAROAH, ja-rō′a (יָרוֹחַ, *yārōªḥ*, meaning unknown): A Gadite chief (1 Ch **5** 14). But the text is doubtful; see Curtis, *Ch*, 124.

JASAELUS, jas-a-ē′lus (**Ἰασάηλος,** *Iasáēlos;* B, *Asáēlos;* AV **Jasael,** jā′sā̇-el [1 Esd **9** 30]): Called "Sheal" in Ezr **10** 29.

JASHAR, jā′shar, jash′ar, **BOOK OF** (סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר, *ṣēpher ha-yāshār;* AV **Book of Jasher,** m "the book of the upright"): The title of an ancient Heb national song-book (lit. "book of the righteous one") from which two quotations are made in the OT: (1) Josh **10** 12–14, the command of Joshua to the sun and moon, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon. . . . . Is not this written in the book of Jashar?" (see Beth-horon; LXX in this place omits the reference to Jashar); and (2) 2 S **1** 18 ff, "the song of the bow," or lament of David over Saul and Jonathan. (3) Some conjecture a third extract in 1 K **8** 12, "Then spake Solomon, Jeh hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness." The words of Jeh are quoted by LXX in ver 53 as "written in the book of the song" (*en biblíō tḗs ōdḗs*), and it is pointed out that the words "the song" (in Heb הַשִּׁיר, *ha-shīr*) might easily be a corruption of הַיָּשָׁר, *ha-yāshār*. A similar confusion ("song" for "righteous") may explain the fact that the Pesh Syr of Josh has for a title "the book of praises or hymns." The book evidently was a well-known one, and may have been a gradual collection of religious and national songs. It is conjectured that it may have included the Song of Deborah (Jgs **5**), and older pieces now found in the Pent (e.g. Gen **4** 23.24; **9** 25–27; **27** 27–29); this, however, is uncertain. On the curious theories and speculations of the rabbis and others about the book (that it was the Book of the Law, of Gen, etc), with the fantastic reconstructive theory of Dr. Donaldson in his *Jashar*, see the full art. in *HDB*.

James Orr

JASHEN, jā′shen, jash′en (יָשֵׁן, *yāshēn*, "asleep" [?]): Seemingly the father of some of David's thirty valiant men (2 S **23** 32 f). The MT reads "Eliahba the Shaalbonite, the sons of Jashen, Jonathan, Shammah the Hararite, ..." 1 Ch **11** 33 f has "Eliahba the Shaalbonite, the sons of Hashem the Gizonite, Jonathan the son of Shagee the Hararite . . . ." It is clear that "sons of" are a dittography of the last three consonants of the previous word. LXX, Luc in 2 S and 1 Ch has ὁ Γουνί, *ho Gouní*, "the Gunite," for "the Gizonite," perhaps correctly (cf Gen **46** 24; Nu **26** 48 for "Guni," "Gunite"). So 2 S **23** 32 may be corrected thus: "Eliahba the Shaalbonite, Jashen the Gunite, Jonathan the son of Shammah the Hararite." Jashen thus becomes one of the thirty = "Hashem" of 1 Ch **11** 34.

David Francis Roberts

JASHER, jā′shẽr, jash′ẽr, **BOOK OF:** AV for Jashar (q.v.), and see Beth-horon, Battle of.

JASHOBEAM, ja-shō′bḗ-am (יָשָׁבְעָם, *yāshobh-'ām*, probably "people will return"; see discussion of names compounded with עַם, *'am*, in *HPN*, 41–59): Jashobeam is mentioned in three passages (1 Ch **11** 11; **12** 6 [Heb 7]; **27** 2 f), but opinions vary as to the number of persons referred to. In 1 Ch **11** 11 he is called "the son of a Hachmonite" (reference unknown) and "the chief of the three" ("three," the best reading; RV "thirty"; AV, RVm "captains"), mighty men of David. He is said to have slain 300 (800 in 2 S **23** 8) at one time, i.e. one after another.

The *gibbōrīm*, or heroes, numbered 600 and were divided into bands of 200 each and subdivided into smaller bands of 20 each, with a captain for each company large and small. Jashobeam had command of the first of the three bands of 200 (see Ewald, *HI*, III, 140 f; Stanley, *HJC*, II, 78). From the indefiniteness of the description, "three of the thirty chief," he can hardly be regarded as one of the three mighty men who broke through the ranks of the Philis, and brought water from the well of Bethlehem to David on the hill-fortress of Adullam (1 Ch **11** 15–17), and the fact that "the thirty" have not yet been mentioned would seem to indicate that this story is not in its proper place. But "Jashobeam" here (1 Ch **11** 11) is probably an error for "Ishbaal," the reading of many of the MSS of the LXX (*HPN*, 46, n.).

In the ‖ passage (2 S **23** 8) he is called "Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite." This verse, however, is probably corrupt (RVm), and the text should be corrected in accordance with Ch to "Ishbaal, the Hachmonite." In 1 Ch **27** 2 f Jashobeam is said to have been "the son of Zabdiel," of the family of Perez, and the commander-in-chief of the division of David's army which did duty the first month. The army consisted of 12 divisions of 24,000 each, each division serving a month in turn. In 1 Ch **12** 6 (Heb 7) Jashobeam is mentioned among those who joined David at Ziklag in the time of Saul, and is described as a Korahite, probably one belonging to a family of Judah (cf **2** 43). James Crichton

JASHUB, jā′shub, jash′ub (יָשׁוּב, *yāshūbh;* יָשִׁיב, *yāshībh,* in Ch, but Ḳ^erē יָשׁוּב, *yāshūbh,* "he returns"):

(1) In Nu **26** 24; 1 Ch **7** 1, a "son" (clan) of Issachar. Gen **46** 13 has incorrectly Iob, but LXX Jashub.

(2) In Ezr **10** 29, one of those who had married foreign wives="Jasubus" in 1 Esd **9** 30.

(3) In Isa **7** 3, part of the name Shear-jashub (q.v.).

JASHUBI-LEHEM, ja-shōō-bī-lē′hem (יָשֻׁבִי לֶחֶם, *yāshubhī-leḥem*): A name in 1 Ch **4** 22 where commentators insert בֵּית, *bēth,* between the two words and translate "[and] returned to Beth-lehem."

JASHUBITES, jā′shub-īts, jash′ub-īts, **THE** (הַיָּשֻׁבִי, *ha-yāshubhī,* coll. with art.): In Nu **26** 24, descendants of Jashub (q.v. [1]).

JASIEL, jā′si-el, jas′i-el (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל, *ya'ăsī'ēl,* "God is maker," 1 Ch **11** 47 AV). See Jaasiel.

JASON, jā′sun (**’Ιάσων,** *Iásōn*): A common name among the Hellenizing Jews who used it for Jesus or Joshua, probably connecting it with the Gr vb. *iásthai* ("to heal").

(1) Son of Eleazar, sent (161 BC) by Judas Maccabaeus with other deputies to Rome "to make a league of amity and confederacy" (1 Macc **8** 17; Jos, *Ant,* XII, x, 6), and perhaps to be identified with (2).

(2) The father of Antipater who went as ambassador of Jonathan to Rome in 144 BC (1 Macc **12** 16; **14** 22; *Ant,* XIII, v, 8).

(3) Jason of Cyrene, a Jewish historian, who is known only from what is told of him in 2 Macc **2** 19–23. 2 Macc is in fact simply an abridgment in one book of the 5 books written by Jason on the Jewish wars of liberation. He must have written after 162 BC, as his books include the wars under Antiochus Eupator.

(4) Jason the high priest, second son of Simon II and brother of Onias III. The change of name from Jesus (Jos, *Ant,* XII, v) was part of the Hellenizing policy favored by Antiochus Epiphanes from whom he purchased the high-priesthood by a large bribe, thus excluding his elder brother from the office (2 Macc **4** 7–26). He did everything in his power to introduce Gr customs and Gr life among the Jews. He established a gymnasium in Jerus, so that even the priests neglected the altars and the sacrifices, and hastened to be partakers of the "unlawful allowance" in the palaestra. The writer of 2 Macc calls him "that ungodly wretch" and "vile" Jason. He even sent deputies from Jerus to Tyre to take part in the worship of Hercules; but what he sent for sacrifices, the deputies expended on the "equipment of galleys." After 3 years of this Hellenizing work he was supplanted in 172 BC in the favor of Antiochus by Menelaus who gave a large bribe for the high priest's office. Jason took refuge with the Ammonites; on hearing that Antiochus was dead he tried with some success to drive out Menelaus, but ultimately failed (2 Macc **5** 5 ff). He took refuge with the Ammonites again, and then with Aretas, the Arabian, and finally with the Lacedaemonians, where he hoped for protection "as being connected by race," and there "perished miserably in a strange land."

(5) A name mentioned in Acts **17** 5–9 and in Rom **16** 21. See following article.

J. Hutchison

JASON, jā′sun (**’Ιάσων,** *Iásōn*): A Gr name assumed by Jews who bore the Heb name Joshua. This name is mentioned twice in the NT. (See also preceding article.)

(1) Jason was the host of St. Paul during his stay in Thessalonica, and, during the uproar organized by the Jews, who were moved to jealousy by the success of Paul and Silas, he and several other "brethren" were severely handled by the mob. When the mob failed to find Paul and Silas, they dragged Jason and "certain brethren" before the politarchs, accusing Jason of treason in receiving into his house those who said "There is another king, one Jesus." The magistrates, being troubled, took security from them, and let them go.

There are various explanations of the purpose of this security. "By this expression it is most probably meant that a sum of money was deposited with the magistrates, and that the Christian community of the place made themselves responsible that no attempt should be made against the supremacy of Rome, and that peace should be maintained in Thessalonica itself" (Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*). Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*) thinks that the security was given to prevent Paul from returning to Thessalonica and that St. Paul refers to this in 1 Thess **2** 18.

The immediate departure of Paul and Silas seems to show the security was given that the strangers would leave the city and remain absent (Acts **17** 5–9).

(2) Jason is one of the companions of St. Paul who unite with him in sending greetings to the Rom Christians (Rom **16** 21). He is probably the same person as (1). Paul calls him a kinsman, which means a Jew (cf Rom **9** 3; **16** 11.21).

S. F. Hunter

JASPER, jas′pẽr, **JASPIS,** jas′pis. See Stones, Precious.

JASUBUS, ja-sū′bus (**’Ιάσουβος,** *Iásoubos*): An Israelite who in the time of Ezra had to put away his foreign wife (1 Esd **9** 30); called "Jashub" in Ezr **10** 29.

JATAL, jā′tal (1 Esd **5** 28). See Atar.

JATHAN, jā′than (**’Ιαθάν,** *Iathán;* **א**, *Nathán*): For "Jonathas" in AV, which is the Lat form for the Heb "Jonathan." Jonathan was brother of Ananias and "son of that great Sammaias" (Tob **5** 13).

JATHBATH, jath′bath. See Jotbathah.

JATHNIEL, jath′ni-el (יַתְנִיאֵל, *yathnī'ēl,* "God lives"): Fourth "son" of Meshelemiah, a Korahite (1 Ch **26** 2).

JATTIR, jat′ẽr (יַתִּיר, *yattīr,* and יַתִּר, *yattir*): A town in the hill country of Judah, mentioned in conjunction with Shamir and Socoh (Josh **15** 48); one of the cities given to the "children of Aaron the priest" (Josh **21** 14; 1 Ch **6** 57). David after his victory over the Amalekites sent a present of the spoil from Ziklag "to them that were in Jattir" (1 S **30** 27).

It is now *Khirbet 'Attīr,* an important ruin, in the extreme S. of the hill country, 5 miles S.E. of *edh Dharîyeh* and 20 miles S.E. of *Beit Jibrîn*. This must correspond to the "very large village Jethira" which is mentioned in *Onom* (**119** 27; **133** 3; **134** 24, etc) as 20 miles S.E. of Eleutheropolis (i.e. *Beit Jibrîn*). The site is full of caves. See *PEF*, III, 408, Sh XXV. E. W. G. Masterman

JAVAN, jā′van (יָוָן, *yāwān*, meaning unknown): (1) In Gen **10** 2.4 = 1 Ch **1** 5.7 (LXX Ἰωυάν, *Iōuán*); Isa **66** 19; Ezk **27** 13 (LXX Ἑλλάς, *Hellás*, Greece); Dnl **8** 21 m; **10** 20; **11** 2; Zec **9** 13; Joel **3** 6 (Heb **4** 6) (LXX οἱ Ἕλληνες, *hoi Héllēnes*, i.e. "Greeks"), "son" of Japheth, and "father" of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodarim, i.e. Rhodes (incorrectly "Dodanim" in Gen **10** 4). Javan is the Gr Ἰάων, *Iáōn*, or Ἰά(ϝ)ων, *Iá(v)ōn*, and in Gen and 1 Ch = the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor, probably here = Cyprus. The reference in Ezk **27** 13 (from which that in Isa **66** 19 is copied) is the country personified. In Joel the pl. יְוָנִים, *y^{e}wānīm*, is found. In Dnl the name is extended to the Greeks generally. Corroboration of the name is found in Assyr (*KB*, II, 43). "The Pers *Yauna* occurs in the same double reference from the time of Darius; cf Aesch. *Pers.*, 176, 562" (Skinner, *Gen*, 198). In Egyp the word is said to be *y^{e}v^{a}n-(n)a;* in the Am Tab *Yivana* is mentioned as being in the land of Tyre. See *HDB*, II, 552*b*.

(2) Place (Ezk **27** 19); name wanting in LXX.

David Francis Roberts

JAVELIN, jav′lin, jav′e-lin. See Armor; Arms.

JAW, jô (לְחִי, *l^{e}ḥī*, "cheek [bone]," "jaw [bone]"), **JAWBONE,** jô′bōn, **JAW TEETH:** In Job **41** 2, RV gives "pierce his jaw through with a hook" for AV "bore his jaw through with a thorn" (see Hook; Leviathan). Ps **22** 15, "My tongue cleaveth to my jaws [*malḳō^{a}ḥ*]," is descriptive of the effect of a fever or physical torture, a dryness and a horrible clamminess. *Malḳoḥayim* is an ancient dual form meaning the two jaws, and, metaphorically, *malḳō^{a}ḥ* indicates that which is caught between the jaws, booty, prey, including captives (Nu **31** 11.26.32; Isa **49** 24 f).

Figurative: (1) Of the power of the wicked, with a reference to Divine restraint and discipline: "I brake the jaws [Heb "great teeth"] of the unrighteous" (Job **29** 17; Prov **30** 14); cf Ps **58** 6, "Break out the great teeth [*maltā‘ōth*, "jaw teeth"] of the young lions, O Jeh." Let the wicked be deprived of their ability for evil; let them at least be disabled from mischief. LXX reads "God shall break," etc. (Cf Edmund Prys's *Metrical Paraphrase of the Pss*, in loc.) "A bridle . . . . in the jaws of the peoples" (Isa **30** 28; cf 2 K **19** 28) is descriptive of the ultimate check of the Assyr power at Jerus, "as when a bridle or lasso is thrown upon the jaws of a wild animal when you wish to catch and tame him" (G. A. Smith, *Isa*, I, 235). Cf Ezk **29** 4 (concerning Pharaoh); **38** 4 (concerning Gog), "I will put hooks in [into] thy jaws." (2) Of human labor and trials, with a reference to the Divine gentleness: "I was to them as they that lift up the yoke on their jaws" (Hos **11** 4), or 'take the yoke off their jaws,' as the humane driver eased the yoke with his hands or 'lifted it forward from neck to the jaws'; or it may perhaps refer to the removal of the yoke in the evening, when work is over.

Jawbone (Jgs **15** 15 ff). See Ramath-lehi.

M. O. Evans

JAZER, jā′zēr (יַעְזֵר or יַעְזֵיר, *ya‘zēr;* LXX Ἰαζήν, *Iazḗn* in A; א, *Iazḗr*): In some cases, e.g. Nu **21** 32, AV reads "Jaazer." This was a city of the Amorites E. of the Jordan taken, along with its towns, by Moses, and occupied by the tribe of Gad (Nu **21** 32; **32** 35). The country was very fertile, and its spacious pasture-lands attracted the flock-masters of Gad (**32** 1), the southern border of whose territory it marked (Josh **13** 25). It was assigned to the Merarite Levites (Josh **21** 39; 1 Ch **6** 81). The place was reached by Joab when taking the census (2 S **24** 5). In the 40th year of King David mighty men of valor were found here to whom he intrusted the oversight in Reuben and Gad "for every matter pertaining to God, and for the affairs of the king" (1 Ch **26** 32 f). The fruitfulness of the country is alluded to in Isa **16** 8 f; Jer **48** 32. (Note: "Sea of" Jazer in this verse has arisen through accidental repetition of *yām*, "sea," from the preceding clause.) The city was taken from the Ammonites by Judas Maccabaeus, and burned (1 Macc **5** 7.8; *Ant*, XII, viii, 1).

Onom places Jazer 10 Rom miles W. of Philadelphia (*'Ammān*), and about 15 miles from Heshbon, where a great stream rises, which flows into the Jordan. Many would identify it with *Khirbet Ṣar*, on the S. of *Wādy Ṣīr*, about 5 miles W. of *'Ammān*. The perennial stream from *Wādy Ṣīr* reaches the Jordan by *Wādy el-Kefrein*. Cheyne (*EB*, s.v.) suggests *Yajūz* on *Wādy Zorby*, a tributary of the Jabbok, with extensive Rom remains. It lies a little way to the E. of *el Jubeihāt* ("Jogbehah," Nu **32** 35). It is situated, however, to the N. and not to the W. of *'Ammān*, where *Onom* places it. Neither identification is certain.

W. Ewing

JAZIZ, jā′ziz (יָזִיז, *yāzīz*, meaning uncertain): The Hagrite who was over David's flocks (1 Ch **27** 30 [Heb 31]).

JEALOUSY, jel′us-i (קִנְאָה, *ḳin'āh;* **ζῆλος,** *zḗlos*): Doubtless, the root idea of both the Gr and the Heb tr^{d} "jealousy" is "warmth," "heat." Both are used in a good and a bad sense—to represent right and wrong passion.

When jealousy is attributed to God, the word is used in a good sense. The language is, of course, anthropomorphic; and it is based upon the feeling in a husband of exclusive right in his wife. God is conceived as having wedded Israel to Himself, and as claiming, therefore, exclusive devotion. Disloyalty on the part of Israel is represented as adultery, and as provoking God to jealousy. See, e.g., Dt **32** 16.21; 1 K **14** 22; Ps **78** 58; Ezk **8** 3; **16** 38.42; **23** 25; **36** 5; **38** 19.

When jealousy is attributed to men, the sense is sometimes good, and sometimes bad. In the good sense, it refers to an ardent concern for God's honor. See, e.g., Nu **25** 11 (cf 1 K **19** 10; 2 K **10** 16); 2 Cor **11** 2 (cf Rom **10** 2). In the bad sense, it is found in Acts **7** 9; Rom **13** 13; 1 Cor **3** 3; 2 Cor **12** 20; Jas **3** 14.16.

The "law of jealousy" is given in Nu **5** 11–31. It provided that, when a man suspected his wife of conjugal infidelity, an offering should be brought to the priest, and the question of her guilt or innocence should be subjected to a test there carefully prescribed. The test was intended to be an appeal to God to decide the question at issue. See Adultery; Sacrifice. E. J. Forrester

JEALOUSY, IMAGE OF. See Images.

JEALOUSY, WATER OF. See Adultery, (2).

JEARIM, jē′a-rim, jē̇-ā′rim, **MOUNT** (הַר־יְעָרִים, *har-y^{e}‘ārīm*): A mountain by the side of which passed the border of Judah (Josh **15** 10). It is mentioned here only, and is identical with Chesalon (q.v.).

JEATHERAI, jē̇-ath′ē̇-rī (RV), **JEATERAI,** jē̇-at′ē̇-rī (AV) (יְאָתְרַי, *y^{e}'āth^{e}ray*, meaning unknown): A descendant of Gershom, "son" of Levi (1 Ch **6** 21 [Heb 6]), and probably an ancestor of Asaph (so commentators); in vs 39–43 the corresponding name is "Ethni." The difference in the Heb words is not great.

JEBERECHIAH, je-ber-ĕ-kī′a (יְבֶרֶכְיָהוּ, *y^ebherekhyāhū*, "Jeh blesses"): The father of the Zechariah whom Isaiah (**8** 2) took as a witness of his prophecy against Syria and Ephraim (c 734 BC).

JEBUS, jē′bus (יְבוּס, *y^ebhūṣ;* **Ἰεβούς,** *Iebous*): In Jgs **19** 10.11, "Jebus (the same is Jerus)"; 1 Ch **11** 4.5, "Jerus (the same is Jebus)." It was once thought that this was the first name of Jerus, as indeed might be suggested by the Bib. references, but it is now known from the Am Tab that Uru-sa-lem was a name used centuries before the time of David (see Jerusalem, I). It would appear probable that the name "Jebus" was evolved by the Hebrews as an alternate name, and possibly they may have imagined an earlier name, for Jerus from Jebusite (q.v), the name of the local tribe who owned the district in the first centuries of Israel's occupation of Canaan. E. W. G. Masterman

JEBUS, jē′bus, **JEBUSI,** jeb′ū-sī, **JEBUSITE,** jeb′ū-zīt (יְבוּס, *y^ebhūṣ*, הַיְבוּסִי, *ha-y^ebhūṣī*): "Jebus" is an old name for Jerus (Jgs **19** 10.11; 1 Ch 4.5 ‖ 2 S **5** 6–9, "the same is Jerus"; see preceding article). "Jebusi" (lit. "Jebusite") is also used as a name for the city in AV (Josh **18** 16.28; cf **15** 8); RV correctly renders "Jebusite" (see Jerusalem). "Jebusites," for the people (in AV Gen **15** 21; Ex **3** 8.17, etc), does not occur in Heb in the pl.; hence in RV is always rendered in the sing., "Jebusite." The "Jebusite" is said in Gen **10** 16; 1 Ch **1** 14 to be the 3d son of Canaan, i.e. of the country of Canaan. Elsewhere he represents a tribe separate from the Canaanites. He stands between Heth and the Amorite (cf Nu **13** 29; Josh **11** 3; Ezk **16** 3.45). In the lists of the peoples inhabiting Pal the "Jebusite" is always placed last, a fact indicative, probably, of their smaller number.

To what race the Jebusites belonged is doubtful. Their name does not seem Sem, and they do not make their appearance till after the patriarchal period.

The original name of Jerus was Bab, Uru-Salim, "the city of Salim," shortened into Salem in Gen **14** 18 and in the inscriptions of the Egyp kings Ramses II and Ramses III. In the Am Tab (1400 BC) Jerus is still known as Uru-Salim, and its king bears a Hittite name, implying that it was at the time in the possession of the Hittites. His enemies, however, were closing around him, and one of the tablets shows that the city was eventually captured and its king slain. These enemies would seem to have been the Jebusites, since it is after this period that the name "Jebus" makes its appearance for the first time in the OT (Jgs **19** 10.11).

The Jebusite king at the time of the conquest was Adoni-zedek, who met his death at Beth-horon (Josh **10** 1 ff; in ver 5 the word "Amorite" is used in its Bab sense to denote the inhabitants of Canaan generally). The Jebusites were a mountain tribe (Nu **13** 29; Josh **11** 3). Their capital "Jebus" was taken by the men of Judah and burned with fire (Jgs **1** 8), but they regained possession of, and held, the fortress till the time of David (2 S **5** 6 ff).

When Jerus was taken by David, the lives and property of its Jebusite inhabitants were spared, and they continued to inhabit the temple-hill, David and his followers settling in the new City of David on Mt. Zion (Josh **15** 8.63; Jgs **1** 21; **19** 11). And as Araunah is called "king" (2 S **24** 23), we may conclude that their last ruler also had been allowed to live. His name is non-Sem, and the various spellings of it (cf 1 Ch **21** 15, "Ornan") indicate that the Heb writers had some difficulty in pronouncing it. The Jebusites seem ultimately to have blended with the Israelitish population.

James Orr

JECAMIAH, jek-a-mī′a: AV for Jekamiah (q.v.).

JECHILIAH, jek-i-lī′a (יְכִלְיָה, *y^ekhilyāh*). See Jecholiah; K^ethībh and 2 Ch **26** 3 RV, where Ḳ^erē is יְכָלְיָה, *y^ekholyāh*="Jecoliah" (AV).

JECHOLIAH, jek-ō-lī′a (יְכָלְיָהוּ, *y^ekholyāhū;* 2 K **15** 2 AV=יְכָלְיָה, *y^ekholyāh*, Ḳ^erē in 2 Ch **26** 3, "Jeh is able" or "Jeh has been able"): The mother of King Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah. RV has "Jecoliah" in 2 K and so AV in 2 Ch.

JECHONIAS, jek-ō-nī′as (**Ἰεχονίας,** *Iechonias*, AV; Gr form of "Jechoniah," RV):

(1) The altered form of Jehoiachin (Ad Est **11** 4; Bar **1** 3.9; Mt **1** 11.12). The last but one of the kings of Judah.

(2) The son of Zeelus (1 Esd **8** 92), called "Shecaniah" in Ezr **10** 2.

JECOLIAH, jek-ō-lī′a: 2 K **15** 2; 2 Ch **26** 3 AV; see Jechiliah; Jecholiah.

JECONIAH, jek-ō-nī′a. See Jehoiachin.

JECONIAS, jek-ō-nī′as (**Ἰεχονίας,** *Iechonias*):

(1) One of the chiliarchs who made great gifts of sheep and calves at the Passover of Josiah (1 Esd **1** 9); called "Conaniah" in 2 Ch **35** 9.

(2) One reading makes Jeconias (not Joachaz) son of Josiah in 1 Esd **1** 34 m.

JEDAIAH, jē-dā′ya, jē-dī′a:

(1) (יְדַעְיָה, *y^edha'yāh*, "Jeh knows"):

(*a*) A priest in Jerus (1 Ch **9** 10; **24** 7).

(*b*) Ezr **2** 36=Neh **7** 39, where "children of Jedaiah" are mentioned="Jeddu" in 1 Esd **5** 24.

(*c*) J. is among "the priests and the Levites" that returned with Zerubbabel (Neh **11** 10; **12** 6.19).

(*d*) Another priest of the same name (Neh **12** 7.21).

(*e*) One of the exiles whom Zechariah was commanded to send with silver and gold to Jerus. LXX does not take the word as a proper name (Zec **6** 10.14).

(2) (יְדָיָה, *y^edhāyāh*, "Jeh throws" [?]):

(*a*) Father of a Simeonite prince (1 Ch **4** 37).

(*b*) One of the repairers of the wall of Jerus (Neh **3** 10). David Francis Roberts

JEDDU, jed′ōō (**Ἰέδδου,** *Ieddou*): Called Jedaiah (q.v. 1, [*b*]) in canonical books (1 Esd **5** 24).

JEDEUS, je-dē′us (**Ἰεδαῖος,** *Iedaios*): Called Adaiah (q.v.) in Ezr **10** 29 (1 Esd **9** 30).

JEDIAEL, jē-dī′ā-el (יְדִיעֲאֵל, *y^edhī'ă'ēl*, "God makes known"[?]):

(1) A "son" of Benjamin or probably of Zebulun (1 Ch **7** 6.10.11). See Curtis, *Ch*, 145–49, who suggests emending the name to יַחְלְאֵל, *yaḥl^e'ēl*, Jahleel, in agreement with Gen **46** 24.

(2) One of David's mighty men (1 Ch **11** 45), probably=the Manassite who deserted to David at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 20 [Heb 21]).

(3) A Korahite doorkeeper in David's reign (1 Ch **26** 2).

JEDIDAH, jē-dī′da (יְדִידָה, *y^edhīdhāh*, "beloved"): Mother of King Josiah of Judah, daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath (2 K **22** 1).

JEDIDIAH, jed-i-dī′a (יְדִידְיָה, *y^edhīdh-yāh,* "the beloved of Jeh"): The name conferred by God through Nathan upon Solomon at his birth (2 S **12** 25).

JEDUTHUN, jē̇-dū′thun. See Asaph.

JEELI, jē̇-ē′lī (**'Ιειηλί,** *Ieiēlí*): Called "Jaalah" in Ezr **2** 56 and "Jaala" in Neh **7** 58 (1 Esd **5** 33).

JEELUS, jē̇-ē′lus (**'Ιεήλος,** *Ieḗlos*): Called "Jehiel" in Ezr **10** 2 (1 Esd **8** 92).

JEEZER, jē̇-ē′zẽr (AV) (אִיעֶזֶר, *'ī'ezer;* RV IEZER): The name of a clan of Gilead (Nu **26** 30), but read לַאֲבִיעֶזֶר, *la-'ăbhī'ezer,* i.e. "of Abiezer" (cf Josh **17** 2). See Abiezer.

JEEZERITES, jē̇-ē′zẽr-īts. See Abiezer.

JEGAR-SAHA-DUTHA, jē-gär-sā-ha-dū′tha, (יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא, *y^eghar sāhădhūthā';* LXX **Βουνός μαρτυρεῖ,** *Bounós marturei,* "[the] mound witnesses"): The name given by the Aramaean, Laban, to the "cairn of witness," called by Jacob Galeed (q.v.) (Gen **31** 47). The rest of the second part of this name appears again in Job **16** 19, where שָׂהֲדִי, *sāhădhī,* should be rendered with RV, "he that voucheth for me," i.e. "my witness."

JEHALLELEL, jē̇-hal′ē̇-lel (RV), **JEHALELEEL,** jē-ha-lē′lē̇-el (AV) (יְהַלֶּלְאֵל, *y^ehallel'ēl,* "he shall praise God"):

(1) A Judahite (1 Ch **4** 16).

(2) A Levite, a descendant of Merari (2 Ch **29** 12).

JEHDEIAH, je-dē′ya, jā′dē̇-ya (יֶחְדְּיָהוּ, *yeḥd^eyāhū,* "may Jeh give joy!"):

(1) A Levite, head of the family of Shubael (1 Ch **24** 20).

(2) An officer of David "over the asses" (1 Ch **27** 30).

JEHEZKEL, jē̇-hez′kel (RV), **JEHEZEKEL,** jē̇-hez′ē̇-kel (AV) (יְחֶזְקֵאל, *y^eḥezķē'l,* "God strengthens"):

(1) A priest of David's time (1 Ch **24** 16).

(2) Jehezkel in Ezk **1** 3 AVm, for Ezekiel (q.v.).

JEHIAH, jē̇-hī′a (יְחִיָּה, *y^eḥīyāh,* "may Jeh live!"): Keeper of the ark with Obed-edom (1 Ch **15** 24), but in ver 18 the name is יְעִיאֵל, *y^e'ī'ēl,* Ieiel (q.v.)

JEHIEL, jē̇-hī′el (יְחִיאֵל, *y^eḥī'ēl,* "may God live!"):

(1) A Levite, one of the musicians appointed to play upon instruments at the bringing up of the ark by David (1 Ch **15** 18.20; **16** 5); **Jehieli,** jē̇-hī′ē̇-lī (יְחִיאֵלִי, *y^eḥī'ēlī*): A patronymic of this name (1 Ch **26** 21.22), but Curtis (*Ch,* 286–87) reads "Jehiel [ver 21] and his brethren Zetham and Joel" (ver 22); cf **23** 8, where the three seem to be brothers. See (2) above.

(2) A Gershonite, head of a Levitical house (1 Ch **23** 8; **29** 8).

(3) Son of a Hachmonite; he was "with the king's [David's] sons," i.e. their tutor (1 Ch **27** 32).

(4) A son of King Jehoshaphat (2 Ch **21** 2).

(5) In 2 Ch **29** 14 AV, where Ķ^erē is יְחוּאֵל, *y^eḥū'ēl,* RV "Jehuel," a Hermanite Levite who took part in cleansing the temple in Hezekiah's reign.

(6) An overseer in Hezekiah's reign (2 Ch **31** 13).

(7) One of the three "rulers" of the temple in Hezekiah's reign (2 Ch **35** 8).

(8) Father of Obadiah, a returned exile (Ezr **8** 9) = "Jezelus" of 1 Esd **8** 35.

(9) Father of Shecaniah (Ezr **10** 2) = "Jeelus" of 1 Esd **8** 92. He was a "son" of Elam, and so probably the same as "Jehiel" in Ezr **10** 26, one of those who had married foreign wives = "Jezrielus" of 1 Esd **9** 27.

(10) A "son" of Harim, and one of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 21) = "Hiereel" of 1 Esd **9** 21.

(11) AV in 1 Ch **9** 35 = Jeiel (q.v. [2]).

(12) AV in 1 Ch **11** 44 = Jeiel (q.v. [3]).

David Francis Roberts

JEHIZKIAH, jē-hiz-kī′a (יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ, *y^eḥizķīyāhū,* "Jeh strengthens"): One of the Ephraimite chiefs (2 Ch **28** 12) who with Obed are said to have opposed the enslavement of the Judahites taken captive by Pekah in his war against Ahaz (c 734 BC).

JEHOADDAH, jē-hō̇-ad′a (RV), **JEHOADAH,** jē̇-hō′a-da (AV) (יְהוֹעַדָּה, *y^ehō'addāh,* "Jeh has deposed" or "numbered"): A descendant of King Saul (1 Ch **8** 36), called "Jarah" in 1 Ch **9** 42, where LXX has *'Ιαδά, Iadá* = יַעְדָּה, *ya'dāh.* See Jarah.

JEHOADDAN, jē-hō̇-ad′an (יְהוֹעַדָּן, *y^ehō'addān,* meaning unknown): In 2 Ch **25** 1; and Ķ^erē, AV in 2 K **14** 2, where K^ethībh and RV are "Jehoaddin" (יְהוֹעַדִּין, *y^ehō'addīn*), the mother of King Amaziah of Judah.

JEHOADDIN, jē-hō̇-ad′in. See Jehoaddan.

JEHOAHAZ, jē̇-hō′a-haz, jē-hō̇-ā′haz (יְהוֹאָחָז, *y^ehō'āḥāz,* "Jeh has grasped"; **'Ιωαχάς,** *Iōachás;* 2 K **13** 1–9):

(1) Son of Jehu, and 11th king of Israel. He is stated to have reigned 17 years.

1. Chronology of Reign

Jos was already aware (*Ant,* IX, viii, 5) of the chronological difficulty involved in the cross-references in vs 1 and 10, the former of which states that Jehoahaz began to reign in the 23d year of Jehoash of Jerus, and reigned 17 years; while the latter gives him a successor in Jehoash's 37th year, or 14 years later. Jos alters the figure of ver 1 to 21; and, to meet the same difficulty, the LXX (Aldine ed) changes 37 to 39 in ver 10. The difficulty may be met by supposing that Jehoahaz was associated with his father Jehu for several years in the government of the country before the death of the latter, and that these years were counted as a part of his reign. This view has in its favor the fact that Jehu was an old man when he died, and may have been incapacitated for the full discharge of administrative duties before the end came. The accession of Jehoahaz as sole ruler may be dated about 825 BC.

2. Low Condition of the Kingdom

When Jehoahaz came to the throne, he found a discouraged and humiliated people. The territory beyond Jordan, embracing 2½ tribes, or one-fourth of the whole kingdom, had been lost in warfare with the Syrian king, Hazael (2 K **10** 32.33). A heavy annual subsidy was still payable to Assyria, as by his father Jehu. The neighboring kingdom of Judah was still unfriendly to any member of the house of Jehu. Elisha the prophet, though then in the zenith of his influence, does not seem to have done anything toward the stability of Jehu's throne.

3. Israel and Syria

Specially did Israel suffer during this reign from the continuance of the hostility of Damascus (2 K **13** 3.4.22). Hazael had been selected, together with Jehu, as the instrument by which the idolatry of Israel was to be punished (1 K **19** 16). Later the instruments of vengeance fell out. On Jehu's death, the pressure from the east on Hazael was greatly relieved. The great conqueror, Shalmaneser II, had died, and his son Samsi-Ramman IV had to meet a revolt within the empire, and was busy with expeditions against Babylon and Media during the 12 years of his reign (824–812 BC). During these years, the kingdoms of the seaboard of the Mediterranean were unmolested. They coincide with the years of Jehoahaz, and explain the freedom which Hazael had to harass the dominions of that king.

4. The Elisha Episodes

Particulars of the several campaigns in which the troops of Damascus harassed Israel are not given. The life of Elisha extended through the 3 reigns of Jehoram (12 years), Jehu (28 years) and Jehoahaz (12 or 13 years), into the reign of Joash (2 K **13** 14). It is therefore probable that in the *memorabilia* of his life in 2 K **4–8**, now one and now another king of Israel should figure, and that some of the episodes there recorded belong to the reign of Jehoahaz. There are evidences that strict chronological order is not observed in the narrative of Elisha, e.g. Gehazi appears in waiting on the king of Israel in **8** 5, *after* the account of his leprosy in **5** 27. The terrible siege of Samaria in ch **7** is generally referred to the reign of Jehoram; but no atmosphere is so suitable to it as that of the reign of Jehoahaz, in one of the later years of whom it may have occurred. The statement in **13** 7 that "the king of Syria destroyed them, and made them like the dust in threshing," and the statistics there given of the depleted army of Jehoahaz, would correspond with the state of things that siege implies. In this case the Ben-hadad of 2 K **6** 24 would be the son of Hazael (**13** 3).

5. His Idolatry

Jehoahaz, like his father, maintained the calf-worship in Bethel and Dan, and revived also the cult of the Asherah, a form of Canaanitish idolatry introduced by Ahab (1 K **16** 33). It centered round a sacred tree or pole, and was probably connected with phallic worship (cf 1 K **15** 13, where Maacah, mother of Asa, is said to have "made an abominable image for an Asherah" in Jerus).

6. Partial Reform

The close of this dark reign, however, is brightened by a partial reform. In his distress, we are told, "Jehoahaz besought Jeh, and Jeh hearkened unto him" (2 K **13** 4). If the siege of Samaria in ch **6** belongs to his reign, we might connect this with his wearing "sackcloth within upon his flesh" (ver 30)—an act of humiliation only accidentally discovered by the rending of his garments. Ver 5 goes on to say that "Jeh gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians." The "saviour" may refer to Joash, under whom the deliverance began (**13** 25), or to Jeroboam II, of whom it is declared that by him God "saved" Israel (**14** 27). Others take it to refer to Ramman-nirari III, king of Assyria, whose conquest of Damascus made possible the victories of these kings. See Jehoash.

W. Shaw Caldecott

(2) A king of Judah, son and successor of Josiah; reigned three months and was deposed, 608 BC. Called "Shallum" in Jer **22** 11; cf 1 Ch **3** 15. The story of his reign is told in 2 K **23** 30–35, and in a briefer account in 2 Ch **36** 1–3. The historian of 2 K characterizes his reign as evil; 2 Ch passes no verdict upon him. On the death of his father in battle, which threw the realm into confusion, he, though a younger son (cf 2 K **23** 31 with **23** 36; 1 Ch **3** 15 makes him the fourth son of Josiah), was raised to the throne by "the people of the land," the same who had secured the accession to his father; see under Josiah. Perhaps, as upholders of the sterling old Davidic idea, which his father had carried out so well, they saw in him a better hope for its integrity than in his elder brother Jehoiakim (Eliakim), whose tyrannical tendencies may already have been too apparent. The prophets also seem to have set store by him, if we may judge by the sympathetic mentions of him in Jer **22** 11 and Ezk **19** 3.4. His career was too short, however, to make any marked impression on the history of Judah.

Josiah's ill-advised meddling with the designs of Pharaoh-necoh (see under Josiah) had had, in fact, the ill effect of plunging Judah again into the vortex of oriental politics, from which it had long been comparatively free. The Egyp king immediately concluded that so presumptuous a state must not be left in his rear unpunished. Arrived at Riblah on his Mesopotamian expedition, he put Jehoahaz in bonds, and later carried him prisoner to Egypt, where he died; raised his brother Jehoiakim to the throne as a vassal king; and imposed on the realm a fine of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold. So the fortunes of the Judaean state, so soon after Josiah's good reign, began their melancholy change for the worse.

John Franklin Genung

(3) In 2 Ch **21** 17; **25** 23=Ahaziah, king of Judah (q.v.) (2 K **8** 25 ff; 2 Ch **22** 1 ff).

JEHOASH, jē-hō′ash, the uncontracted form of **JOASH** (יְהוֹאָשׁ, *yehō′āsh*, יוֹאָשׁ, *yō′āsh*, "Jeh hath bestowed"; cf 2 K **11** 2.21; **12** 1 19; 2 Ch **24** 1, etc; **Ἰωάς**, *Iōás*):

(1) The 9th king of Judah; son of Ahaziah and Zibiah, a woman of Beersheba (2 K **11–12**; 2 Ch **22** 10—**24** 27). Jehoash was 7 years old at his accession, and reigned 40 years. His accession may be placed in 852 BC. Some include in the years of his reign the 6 years of Athaliah's usurpation.

1. His Early Preservation

When, on Athaliah's usurpation of the throne, she massacred the royal princes, J. was saved from her unnatural fury by the action of his aunt Jehosheba, the wife of Jehoiada, the high priest (2 K **11** 1.2; 2 Ch **22** 10.11). During 6 years he was concealed in the house of Jehoiada, which adjoined the temple; hence is said to have been "hid in the house of Jeh"—a perfectly legitimate use of the phrase according to the idiom of the time.

2. The Counter-Revolution

During these formative years of J.'s early life, he was under the moral and spiritual influence of Jehoiada—a man of lofty character and devout spirit. At the end of 6 years, a counter-revolution was planned by Jehoiada, and was successfully carried out on a Sabbath, at one of the great festivals. The accounts of this revolution in K and Ch supplement each other, but though the Levitical interest of the Chronicler is apparent in the details to which he gives prominence, the narratives do not necessarily collide, as has often been represented. The event was prepared for by the young king being privately exhibited to the 5 captains of the "executioners" (RV "Carites") and "runners" (2 K **11** 4; 2 Ch **23** 1). These entered into covenant with Jehoiada, and, by his direction, summoned the Levites from Judah (2 Ch **23** 2), and made the necessary arrangements for guarding the palace and the person of the king. In these dispositions both the royal body-guard and the Levites seem to have had their parts. J. next appears standing on a platform in front of the temple, the law of the testimony in his hand and the crown upon his head. Amid acclamations, he is anointed king. Athaliah, rushing on the scene with cries of "treason" (see Athaliah), is driven forth and slain. A new covenant is made between Jeh and the king and people, and, at the conclusion of the ceremony, a great procession is formed, and the king is conducted with honor to the royal house (2 K **11** 19; 2 Ch **23** 20). Thus auspiciously did the new reign begin.

3. Repair of the Temple

Grown to manhood (cf the age of his son Amaziah, 2 K **14** 25), J. married two wives, and by them had sons and daughters (2 Ch **24** 3). His great concern at this period, however, was the repair of the temple—the "house of Jeh"—which in the reign of Athaliah had been broken up in many places, plundered, and allowed to become dilapidated (2 K **12** 5.12; 2 Ch **24** 7). To meet the expense of its restoration, the king gave orders that all monies coming into the temple, whether dues or voluntary offerings, should be appropriated for this purpose (2 K **12** 4), and from the account in Ch would seem to have contemplated a revival of the half-shekel tax appointed by Moses for the construction of the tabernacle (2 Ch **24** 5.6; cf Ex **30** 11–16; **38** 25). To enforce this impost would have involved a new census, and the memory of the judgments which attended David's former attempt of this kind may well have had a deterrent effect on Jehoiada and the priesthood. "The Levites hastened it not," it is declared (2 Ch **24** 5).

4. A New Expedient

Time passed, and in the 23d year of the king's reign (his 30th year), it was found that the breaches of the house had still not been repaired. A new plan was adopted. It was arranged that a chest with a hole bored in its lid should be set up on the right side of the altar in the temple-court, under the care of two persons, one the king's scribe, the other an officer of the high priest, and that the people should be invited to bring voluntarily their half-shekel tax or other offerings, and put it in this box (2 K **12** 9; 2 Ch **24** 8.9). Gifts from worshippers who did not visit the altar were received by priests at the gate, and brought to the box. The expedient proved brilliantly successful. The people cheerfully responded, large sums were contributed, the money was honestly expended, and the temple was thoroughly renovated. There remained even a surplus, with which gold and silver vessels were made, or replaced, for the use of the temple. Jehoiada's long and useful life seems to have closed soon after.

5. The King's Declension

With the death of this good man, it soon became evident that the strongest pillar of the state was removed. It is recorded that "J. did that which was right in the eyes of Jeh all his days wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him" (2 K **12** 2), but after Jehoiada had been honorably interred in the sepulchers of the kings (2 Ch **24** 16), a sad declension became manifest. The princes of Judah came to J. and expressed their wish for greater freedom in worship than had been permitted them by the aged priest. With weak complaisance, the king "hearkened unto them" (ver 17). Soon idols and Asherahs began to be set up in Jerus and the other cities of Judah. Unnamed prophets raised their protests in vain. The high priest Zechariah, a worthy son of Jehoiada, testified in his place that as the nation had forsaken Jeh, he also would forsake it, and that disaster would follow (ver 20). Wrathful at the rebuke, the king gave orders that Zechariah should be stoned with stones in the temple-court (ver 21). This was done, and the act of sacrilege, murder, and ingratitude was perpetrated to which Jesus seems to refer in Mt **23** 35; Lk **11** 51 ("son of Barachiah" in the former passage is probably an early copyist's gloss through confusion with the prophet Zechariah).

6. Calamities and Assassination

The high priest's dying words, "Jeh look upon it, and require it," soon found an answer. Within a year of Zechariah's death, the armies of Hazael, the Syrian king, were ravaging and laying waste Judah. The city of Gath fell, and a battle, the place of which is not given, placed Jerus at the mercy of the foe (2 K **12** 17; 2 Ch **24** 23.24). To save the capital from the indignity of foreign occupation, J., then in dire sickness, collected all the hallowed things of the temple, and all the gold of the palace, and sent them to Hazael (2 K **12** 17.18). This failure of his policy, in both church and state, excited such popular feeling against J., that a conspiracy was formed to assassinate him. His physical sufferings won for him no sympathy, and two of his own officers slew him, while asleep, in the fortress of Millo, where he was paying a visit (ver 20). He was buried in the city of David, but not in the royal sepulchers, as Jehoiada had been (2 Ch **24** 25).

J. is mentioned as the father of Amaziah (2 K **14** 1; 2 Ch **25** 25). His contemporaries in Israel were Jehoahaz (2 K **13** 1) and Jehoash (2 K **13** 10).

1. Accession and Reign

(2) The son of Jehoahaz, and 12th king of Israel (2 K **13** 10–25; **14** 8–16; 2 Ch **25** 17–24). Jehoash reigned for 16 years. His accession may be placed in 813 BC. There were almost simultaneous changes in the sovereignties of Judah and of Assyria—Amaziah succeeding to the throne of Judah in the 2d year of J., and Ramman-nirari III coming to the throne of Assyria in 811 BC—which had important effects on the history of Israel in this reign.

2. Elisha and Jehoash

During the three previous reigns, for half a century, Elisha had been the prophet of Jeh to Israel. He was now aged and on his deathbed. Hearing of his illness, the young king came to Dothan, where the prophet was, and had a touching interview with him. His affectionate exclamation, "My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof" (2 K **13** 14; cf **2** 12), casts a pleasing light upon his character. On his lips the words had another meaning than they bore when used by Elisha himself at Elijah's translation. Then they referred to the "appearance" which parted Elisha from his master; now they referred to the great service rendered by the prophet to the kingdom. Not only had Elisha repeatedly saved the armies of Israel from the ambushes prepared for them by the Syrians (2 K **6** 8–23), but he had given assurance of the relief of the capital when it was at its worst extremity (**6** 24 ff). To J., Elisha's presence was indeed in place of chariots and horse. The truth was anew demonstrated by the promise which the dying prophet now made to him. Directing J. in the symbolical action of the shooting of certain arrows, he predicted three victories over the Syrians—the first at Aphek, now *Fîk*, on the E. of the Lake of Galilee—and more would have been granted, had the faith of the king risen to the opportunity then afforded him (**6** 15–19).

3. Assyria and Damascus

An interesting light is thrown by the annals of Assyria on the circumstances which may have made these victories of J. possible. Ramman-nirari III, who succeeded to the throne in 811 BC, made an expedition against Damascus, Edom and Philistia, in his account of which he says: "I shut up the king [of Syria] in his chief city, Damascus. . . . He clasped my feet, and gave himself up. . . . His countless wealth and goods I seized in Damascus." With the Syrian power thus broken during the remainder of this ruler's reign of 27 years, it may be understood how J. should be able to recover, as it is stated he did, the cities which Ben-hadad had taken from his father Jehoahaz (2 K **13** 25). Schrader and others see in this Assyr ruler the "saviour" of Israel alluded to in

2 K **13** 5; more usually the reference is taken to be to J. himself, and to Jeroboam II (cf 2 K **14** 27).

4. War with Judah

The epitome of J.'s reign is very brief, but the favorable impression formed of him from the acts of Elisha is strengthened by another gained from the history of Amaziah of Judah (2 K **14** 8–16; 2 Ch **25** 17–24). For the purpose of a southern campaign, Amaziah had hired a large contingent of troops from Samaria. Being sent back unemployed, these mercenaries committed ravages on their way home, for which, apparently, no redress was given. On the first challenge of the king of Judah, J. magnanimously refused the call to arms, but on Amaziah persisting, the peace established nearly 80 years before by Jehoshaphat (1 K **22** 44) was broken at the battle of Beth-shemesh, in which Amaziah was defeated and captured. Jerus opened its gates to the victor, and was despoiled of all its treasure, both of palace and temple. A portion of the wall was broken down, and hostages for future behavior were taken to Samaria (2 K **14** 13.14).

5. Character

J. did not long survive his crowning victory, but left a resuscitated state, and laid the foundation for a subsequent rule which raised Israel to the zenith of its power. Jos gives J. a high character for godliness, but, like each of his predecessors, he followed in the footsteps of Jeroboam I in permitting, if not encouraging, the worship of the golden calves. Hence his conduct is pronounced "evil" by the historian (2 K **13** 11). He was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II. W. SHAW CALDECOTT

JEHOHANAN, jē-hō-hā′nan (יְהוֹחָנָן, *yᵉhōḥānān*, "Jeh is [or has been] gracious"):

(1) A Korahite doorkeeper in David's reign, "son" of Meshelemiah (1 Ch **26** 3). LXX, Luc, has "Jehonathan."

(2) One of the five captains over King Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch **17** 15), probably father of Ishmael, "son of J." (2 Ch **23** 1).

(3) Ezr **10** 6 (AV has "Johanan") = "Johanan" of Neh **12** 22.23 = "Jonathan" of Neh **12** 11, "son" of Eliashib (Ezr **10** 6; but "grandson" in Neh **12** 11). He was high priest in Ezra's time = "Jonas" in 1 Esd **9** 1 (AV "Joanan").

(4) One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 28) = "Joannes" RV, "Johannes" AV (1 Esd **9** 29).

(5) Son of Tobiah, the Ammonite, Nehemiah's opponent (Neh **6** 18, AV "Johanan").

(6) Head of the priestly family of Amariah (Neh **12** 13).

(7) A priest present at the dedication of the walls of Jerus (Neh **12** 42).

(8) The name in the Heb of 2 Ch **28** 12. See JOHANAN, (7). DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

JEHOIACHIN, je-hoi′a-kin (יְהוֹיָכִין, *yᵉhōyākhīn*, "Jeh will uphold"; called also "Jeconiah" in 1 Ch **3** 16; Jer **24** 1; יְכָנְיָה, *yᵉkhonyāh*, "Jeh will be stedfast," and "Coniah" in Jer **22** 24.28; כָּנְיָהוּ, *konyāhū*, "Jeh has upheld him"; Ἰωακείμ, *Iōakeím*): A king of Judah; son and successor of Jehoiakim; reigned three months and surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar; was carried to Babylon, where, after being there 37 years a prisoner, he died.

1. Sources

The story of his reign is told in 2 K **24** 8–16, and more briefly in 2 Ch **36** 9–10. Then, after the reign of his successor Zedekiah and the final deportation are narrated, the account of his release from prison 37 years afterward and the honor done him is given as the final paragraph of 2 K (**25** 27–30). The same thing is told at the end of the Book of Jer (**52** 31–34). Neither for this reign nor for the succeeding is there the usual reference to state annals; these seem to have been discontinued after Jehoiakim. In Jer **22** 24–30 there is a final pronouncement on this king, not so much upon the man as upon his inevitable fate, and a prediction that no descendant of his shall ever have prosperous rule in Judah.

2. His Reign

Of the brief reign of J. there is little to tell. It was rather a historic landmark than a reign; but its year, 597 BC, was important as the date of the first deportation of Jewish captives to Babylon (unless we except the company of hostages carried away in Jehoiakim's 3d [4th] year, Dnl **1** 1–7). His coming to the throne was just at or near the time when Nebuchadnezzar's servants were besieging Jerus; and when the Chaldaean king's arrival in person to superintend the siege made apparent the futility of resistance, J. surrendered to him, with all the royal household and the court. He was carried prisoner to Babylon, and with him ten thousand captives, comprising all the better and sturdier element of the people from prince to craftsman, leaving only the poorer sort to constitute the body of the nation under his successor Zedekiah. With the prisoners were carried away also the most valuable treasures of the temple and the royal palace.

3. The Two Elements

Ever since Isaiah fostered the birth and education of a spiritually-minded remnant, for him the vital hope of Israel, the growth and influence of this element in the nation has been discernible, as well in the persecution it has roused (see under MANASSEH), as in its fiber of sound progress. It is as if a sober sanity of reflection were curing the people of their empty idolatries. The feeling is well expressed in such a passage as Hab **2** 18–20. Hitherto, however, the power of this spiritual Israel has been latent, or at best mingled and pervasive among the various occupations and interests of the people. The surrender of Jehoiachin brings about a segmentation of Israel on an unheard-of principle: not the high and low in wealth or social position, but the weight and worth of all classes on the one side, who are marked for deportation, and the refuse element of all classes on the other, who are left at home. With which element of this strange sifting Jeremiah's prophetic hopes are identified appears in his parable of the Good and Bad Figs (Jer **24**), in which he predicts spiritual integrity and upbuilding to the captives, and to the home-staying remainder, shame and calamity. Later on, he writes to the exiles in Babylon, advising them to make themselves at home and be good citizens (Jer **29** 1–10). As for the hapless king, "this man Coniah," who is to be their captive chief in a strange land, Jeremiah speaks of him in a strain in which the stern sense of Jeh's inexorable purpose is mingled with tender sympathy as he predicts that this man shall never have a descendant on David's throne (Jer **22** 24–30). It is as if he said, All as Jeh has ordained, but—the pity of it!

4. Thirty-seven Years Later

In the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's successor, perhaps by testamentary edict of Nebuchadnezzar himself, a strange thing occurred. J., who seems to have been a kind of hostage prisoner for his people, was released from prison, honored above all the other kings in similar case, and thenceforth to the end of his life had his portion at the royal table (2 K **25** 27–30; Jer **52** 31–34). This act of clemency may have been due to some such good influence at court as is described in the Book of Dnl; but also it was a tribute to the good conduct of that better element of the people of which he was hostage and representative. It was the last event of Judaean royalty; and suggestive for the glimpse it seems to afford of a people whom Isa (**40–66**) could address as redeemed and forgiven. At Kiriath-sepher was found a stamped jar handle inscribed "to Eliakim the servant of Jehoiachin," an interesting and unique historical record of that brief reign. John Franklin Genung

JEHOIADA, jē̆-hoi′a-da (יְהוֹיָדָע, *y*^{e}*hōyādhā‘*, "Jeh knows"; **’Ιωδᾶε**, *Iōdáe*):

(1) Father of Benaiah, the captain of David's body-guard (2 S **8** 18; **20** 23; **23** 20.22; 1 K **1** 8, etc). J. was "the son of a valiant man of Kabzeel" (2 S **23** 20), but commentators read with LXX and Ewald, "Benaiah (the son of Jehoiada) a man of valour." Kabzeel was a town belonging to Judah on the border of Edom in the S. (Josh **15** 21). In 1 Ch **27** 5, we read "Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada the priest, chief," RV, but RVm has "chief minister" wrongly. Yet J. is nowhere else called a priest or even a Levite, though in 1 Ch **12** 27 (Heb 28) a J. is mentioned as a military "leader of the house of Aaron," who came to David to Hebron with other members of the house of Levi. In 1 Ch **27** 34 there is named among David's counsellors, "J. the son of Benaiah," where some commentators would read with two MSS, "B., the son of J." though Curtis, *Crit. and Exeget. Comm. on the Books of Ch*, 295, keeps the MT.

(2) Priest in the reigns of Ahaziah, Queen Athaliah, and Jehoash (Joash) of Judah (2 K **11** 4—**12** 16 [Heb 17]=2 Ch **23** 1—**24** 14; 2 Ch **22** 11; **24** 14–16.17–20.22.25). In 2 K **12** 10 (Heb 11) he is called "high priest," and is the first to be given that title, but as the priest lived in the temple, there is no meaning in saying that he "came up," so commentators omit the words, "and the chief priest." According to 2 Ch **22** 11, he had married Jehoshabeath (=Jehosheba), the daughter of the king, i.e. Jehoram.

1. Jehoiada and the Revolt against Athaliah

(*a*) The account in 2 Ch **23** 1–21 differs in many respects from that in 2 K **11** 4–20, but even the latter has its problems, and Stade (*ZATW*, 1885, 280 ff) pointed out two sources in it. This view is accepted by many. A reader is struck at once by the double reference to the death of Athaliah (vs 16.20), and the construction of the Heb for "making a covenant" is different in ver 4 from that in ver 17. Stade holds that there is one narrative in **11** 4–12.18*b*–20 and another in vs 13–18*a*.

In the first, J. makes an agreement with the captains of the foreign body-guard, and arranges that both the incoming and outgoing temple-guard shall be kept in the temple at the time when the guard should be changed on the Sabbath, and also that the young prince, Jehoash, who had been kept in hiding, shall be proclaimed. The captains do this, and the prince is crowned and proclaimed (vs 4–12). Then officers are set up in the temple, and Jehoash is taken to the royal palace and enthroned. The revolt proves popular with the people of Jerus and those of the district, and Athaliah is slain in the palace.

But there are difficulties in this narrative, though the above gives the trend of events; ver 5 refers to a third of the guard who "came in on the sabbath," and ver 7 to two companies who "go forth on the sabbath"; the Heb is, "they that enter the sabbath" and "they that go out of the sabbath." Ver 9 makes clear the connection between vs 5 and 7. But ver 6 introduces a difficulty: it seems to denote a division of those who "enter" into three divisions, i.e. the two in ver 6 and one in ver 5. If ver 6 be omitted, as is proposed by many, this difficulty vanishes. But there still remains the question of the change of guards. Commentators say that "they who enter the sabbath" are those who leave the temple and enter their quarters at the beginning of the Sabbath, presumably, while "those who go out" are those who leave their quarters to mount guard. This is not impossible as an explanation of the Heb. It is further believed that the guard at the temple on the Sabbath was double that on other days. The other explanation, held by older commentators is that on the Sabbath the guard was only half its usual size; this gives another meaning to the Heb phrases. On the other hand, it may be held that the revolt took place at the close of the Sabbath, and that the double-sized guard was kept by J. even after the usual-sized one had come to take their place. It should be added that Wellhausen proposed to read צְעָדוֹת (*ç*^{e}*‘ādhōth*), "armlets" (cf Isa **3** 19), for עֵדוּת (*‘ēdhūth*), "testimony," in ver 12; and in ver 19 the words "and all the people of the land" are held to be an addition.

(*b*) The 2d narrative (vs 13–18*a*) begins suddenly. Presumably its earlier part was identical with the earlier part of the 1st narrative, unless ver 6 was a part originally of this 2d account. Athaliah hears the noise of the people (ver 13, where "the guard" is a gloss and so to be omitted), and comes to the temple, where she witnesses the revolt and cries, "Treason! treason!" J. orders her to be put forth (omit "between the ranks" in ver 15), so that she should not be slain in the temple, and she is murdered at one of the palace entrances (ver 16, where RV, following LXX of 2 Ch **23** 15, tr^s the first sentence wrongly: it should be "So they laid hands on her"). J. then makes the king and the people enter into a solemn covenant to be Jeh's people, and the result is the destruction of the temple of Baal, and the death of Mattan, its priest (vs 17.18*a*). This 2d narrative gives a religious significance to the revolt, but it is incomplete. The other narrative presents a very natural course of events, for it was absolutely necessary for J. to secure the allegiance of the royal foreign body-guard.

(*c*) The account in 2 Ch **23** 1–21, though following that of 2 K in the main, differs from it considerably. The guard is here composed of Levites; it does not mention the foreign body-guard, and relates how the revolt was planned with the Levites of the cities of Judah—a method which would have become known to Athaliah and for which she would have made preparations, no doubt. Ch makes it a wholly religious movement, while 2 K gives two points of view. The value of the Chronicler's account depends largely on one's estimate of the Books of Ch and one's views as to the development of the Jewish priestly system. A. Van Hoonacker, *Le sacerdoce lévitique dans la loi et dans l'histoire des Hébreux*, 93–100, defends the account in 2 Ch.

2. Jehoiada and the Restoration of the Temple

The part which J. played in the restoration of the temple buildings is described in 2 K **11** 21—**12** 16 (Heb **12** 1–17) ‖ 2 Ch **24** 1–14. Here again the narratives of 2 K and 2 Ch differ to a large extent.

(*a*) According to 2 K (i) the priests are commanded by Jehoash to devote the dues or free-will offerings of the people to repairing the breaches in the temple. They fail to do so, and (ii) J. is summoned by the king and rebuked. Then (iii) a new regulation is put into force: the offerings, except the guilt offerings and sin offerings, are no longer to be given to the priests, but to be put into a chest provided in the temple for the purpose. (iv) The money got in this way is devoted to repairing the temple, but (v) none of it is used to provide temple vessels.

(*b*) Ch, on the other hand, (i) relates that the priests and Levites are commanded to go through Judah to collect the necessary money. They "hastened it not." Then (ii) J. is summoned to account for this disobedience, and (iii) a chest is put outside the temple to receive the tax commanded by Moses. (iv) This the people pay willingly, and the temple is repaired. There is such a surplus that (v) there is money also to provide vessels for the temple.

It is at least questionable whether the additions in 2 Ch are trustworthy; the contradictions against 2 K are clear, and the latter gives the more likely narrative, although Van Hoonacker (op. cit., 101–14) defends the former.

According to 2 Ch **24** 15, J. lived to be 130 years old, and was buried among the kings—a unique distinction.

(3) AV in Neh **3** 6=Joiada (q.v.).

(4) There is a Jehoiada, the priest mentioned in Jer **29** 26, in whose stead Zephaniah was declared priest by Shemaiah in a letter.

Giesebrecht takes him to be the same as the priest of Athaliah's time (see [2] above), but Duhm says that nothing is known of him. In any case, Zephaniah could not have been the direct successor of the well-known Jehoiada, and so the reference can scarcely be to him if it is to have any meaning.

David Francis Roberts

JEHOIAKIM, jē-hoi′a-kim (יְהוֹיָקִים, *yᵉhōyāḳīm,* "Jeh will establish"; **Ἰωακείμ,** *Iōakeím*): The name given him by Pharaoh-necoh, who raised him to the throne as vassal king in place of his brother Jehoahaz, is changed from Eliakim (אֶלְיָקִים, *'elyāḳīm,* "God will establish"). The change compounds the name, after the royal Judaean custom, with that of Jeh; it may also imply that Necoh claims Jeh's authorization for his act, as in a similar way Sennacherib had claimed it for his invasion of Judah (2 K **18** 25). He has represented the campaign with which Josiah interfered as undertaken by Divine command (*'Ēl,* 2 Ch **35** 21); this episode of it merely translates the authorization, rather arrogantly, into the conquered nation's dialect.

A king of Judah, elder (half-) brother and successor of Jehoahaz; reigned 11 years from 608 BC.

I. Sources for His Life and Time.—The circumstances of his accession and raising of the indemnity to Pharaoh-necoh, followed by a brief

1. Annalistic

résumé of his reign, are narrated in 2 K **23** 34—**24** 6. The naming of the source for "the rest of his acts" (**24** 5) is the last reference we have to "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah." The acccount in 2 Ch **36** 5–8, though briefer still, mentions Nebuchadnezzar's looting of the temple at some uncertain date in his reign. Neither account has any good to say of J.; to the writer of 2 K, however, his ill fortunes are due to Jeh's retributive justice for the sins of Manasseh; while to the Chronicler the sum of his acts, apparently connected with the desecration of the sanctuary, is characterized as "the abominations which he did." For "the rest of his acts" we are referred, also for the last time, to the "book of the kings of Israel and Judah."

2. Prophetic

For the moral and spiritual chaos of the time, and for prophecies and incidents throwing much light on the king's character, Jeremiah has a number of extended passages, not, however, in consecutive order.

The main ones clearly identifiable with this reign are: **22** 13–19, inveighing against the king's tyrannies and predicting his ignominious death; ch **26**, dated in the beginning of his reign and again predicting (as had been predicted before in **7** 12–15) the destruction of the temple; ch **25**, dated in his 4th year and predicting the conquest of Judah and surrounding nations by Nebuchadnezzar; ch **36**, dated in the 4th and 5th years, and telling the story of the roll of prophecy which the king destroyed; ch **45**, an appendix from the 4th year, reassuring Baruch the scribe, in terms of the larger prophetic scale, for his dismay at what he had to write; ch **46**, also an appendix, a reminiscence of the year of Carchemish, containing the oracle then pronounced against Egypt, and giving words of the larger comfort to Judah. The Book of the prophet Habakkuk, written in this reign, gives expression to the prophetic feeling of doubt and dismay at the unrequited ravages of the Chaldaeans against a people more righteous than they, with a sense of the value of stedfast faith and of Jeh's world-movement and purpose which explains the seeming enormity.

II. Character and Events of His Reign.—The reign of J. is not so significant for any personal impress of his upon his time as for the fact that it fell in one of the most momentous epochs of ancient history.

1. The Epoch

By the fall of Nineveh in 606 to the assault of Nebuchadnezzar, then crown prince of the rising Bab empire, Assyria, "the rod of [Jeh's] anger" (Isa **10** 5), ended its arrogant and inveterate sway over the nations. Nebuchadnezzar, coming soon after to the Chaldaean throne, followed up his victory by a vigorous campaign against Pharaoh-necoh, whom we have seen at the end of Josiah's reign (see under Josiah) advancing toward the Euphrates in his attempt to secure Egyp dominion over Syria and Mesopotamia. The encounter took place in 605 at Carchemish on the northern Euphrates, where Necoh was defeated and driven back to the borders of his own land, never more to renew his aggressions (2 K **24** 7). The dominating world-empire was now in the hands of the Chaldaeans, "that bitter and hasty nation" (Hab **1** 6); the first stage of the movement by which the world's civilization was passing from Sem to Aryan control. With this world-movement Israel's destiny was henceforth to be intimately involved; the prophets were already dimly aware of it, and were shaping their warnings and promises, as by a Divine instinct, to that end. It was on this larger scale of things that they worked; it had all along been their endeavor, and continued with increasing clearness and fervor, to develop in Israel a conscience and stamina which should be a leavening power for good in the coming great era (cf Isa **2** 2–4; Mic **4** 1–3).

2. The King's Perverse Character

Of all these prophetic meanings, however, neither the king nor the ruling classes had the faintest realization; they saw only the political exigencies of the moment. Nor did the king himself, in any patriotic way, rise even to the immediate occasion. As to policy, he was an unprincipled opportunist: vassal to Necoh to whom he owed his throne, until Necoh himself was defeated; enforced vassal to Nebuchadnezzar for 3 years along with the other petty kings of Western Asia; then rebelling against the latter as soon as he thought he could make anything by it. As to responsibility of administration, he had simply the temper of a despotic self-indulgent Oriental. He raised the immense fine that Necoh imposed upon him by a direct taxation, which he farmed out to unscrupulous officials. He indulged himself with erecting costly royal buildings, employing for the purpose enforced and unpaid labor (Jer **22** 13–17); while all just interests of his oppressed subjects went wholly unregarded. As to religion, he let matters go on as they had been under Manasseh, probably introducing also the still more strange and heathenish rites from Egypt and the East of which we see the effects in Ezk **8** 5–17. And meanwhile the reformed temple-worship which Josiah had introduced seems to have become a mere formal and perfunctory matter, to which, if we may judge by his conspicuous absence from fast and festal occasions (e.g. Jer **26, 36**), the king paid no attention. His impious act of cutting up and burning Jeremiah's roll (**36** 23), as also his vindictive pursuit and murder of Uriah for prophesying in the spirit of Jeremiah (**26** 20–23), reveal his antipathy to any word that does not prophesy "smooth things" (cf Isa **30** 10), and in fact a downright perversity to the name and will of Jeh.

3. The Prophetic Attitude

With the onset of the Chaldaean power, prophecy, as represented in the great seers whose words remain to us, reached a crisis which only time and the consistent sense of its larger issues could enable it to weather. Isaiah, in his time, had stood for the inviolability of Zion, and a miraculous deliverance had vindicated his sublime faith. But with Jeremiah, conditions had changed. The idea thus engendered, that the temple was bound to stand and with it Jerus, an idea confirmed by Josiah's centralizing reforms, had become a superstition and a presumption (cf Jer **7** 4); and Jeremiah had reached the conviction that it, with its wooden rites and glaring abuses, must go: that nothing short of a clean sweep of the old religious fetishes could cure the inveterate unspirituality of the nation. This conviction of his must needs seem to many like an inconsistency—to set prophecy against itself. And when the Chaldaean appeared on the scene, his counsel of submission and prediction of captivity would seem a double inconsistency; not only a traversing of a tested prophecy, but treason to the state. This was the situation that he had to encounter; and for it he gave his tender feelings, his liberty, his life. It is in this reign of J. that, for the sake of Jeh's word and purpose, he is engulfed in the deep tragedy of his career. And in this he must be virtually alone. Habakkuk is indeed with him in sympathy; but his vision is not so clear; he must weather disheartening doubts, and cherish the faith of the righteous (Hab **2** 4), and wait until the vision of Jeh's secret purpose clears (Hab **2** 1–3). If the prophets themselves are thus having such an equivocal crisis, we can imagine how forlorn is the plight of Jeh's "remnant," who are dependent on prophetic faith and courage to guide them through the depths. The humble nucleus of the true Israel, which is some day to be the nation's redeeming element, is undergoing a stern seasoning.

After Syria fell into Nebuchadnezzar's power, he seems to have established his headquarters for some years at Riblah; and after J. attempted to revolt from his authority, he sent against him guerilla bands from the neighboring nations, and detachments from his Chaldaean garrisons, who harassed him with raids and depredations.

4. Harassing and Death

In 2 Ch **36** 6.7, it is related that Nebuchadnezzar carried some of the vessels of the temple to Babylon and bound the king in fetters to carry him also to Babylon—the latter purpose apparently not carried out. This was in J.'s 4th year. In Dnl **1** 1.2, though ascribed to Jehoiakim's 3d year, this same event is related as the result of a siege of Jerus. It is ambiguously intimated also that the king was deported; and among "the seed royal and of the nobles" who were of the company were Daniel and his three companions (Dnl **1** 3.6). The manner of J's death is obscure. It is merely said (2 K **24** 6) that he "slept with his fathers"; but Jos (*Ant*, X, vi, 3), perhaps assuming that Jeremiah's prediction (Jer **22** 19) was fulfilled, states that Nebuchadnezzar slew him and cast his body outside the walls unburied. John Franklin Genung

JEHOIARIB, jē-hoi′a-rib (יְהוֹיָרִיב, *yᵉhōyārībh*, "Jeh pleads" or "contends"): A priest in Jerus (1 Ch **9** 10); the name occurs again in 1 Ch **24** 7 as the name of a family among the 24 courses of priests = the family Joiarib (יוֹיָרִיב, *yōyārībh*, same meaning as above, Neh **12** 6), the head of which is Mattenai in Neh **12** 19. In Neh **11** 10 we should probably read "Jedaiah and Joiarib" for "Jedaiah the son of Joiarib" (cf 1 Ch **9** 10). Jehoiarib = Joarib in 1 Macc **2** 1.

JEHONADAB, jē-hon′a-dab (יְהוֹנָדָב, *yᵉhōnādhābh*, either "Jeh is noble" or "liberal," or "Jeh has impelled") = **Jonadab** (יוֹנָדָב, *yōnādhābh*, same meaning):

(1) Jehonadab in Heb of 2 S **13** 5; but Jonadab in EV, and in Heb and EV of **13** 3.32.35; son of Shimeah, King David's brother. He was friendly with Amnon his cousin, and is said to be "a very shrewd [RV "subtle"] man." He planned to get Tamar to wait upon Amnon. Two years after, when Absalom had murdered Amnon, and David had heard that all the king's sons were assassinated, J. assured him that only Amnon was killed; and his reassuring tone is justified (ver 35); possibly he knew of Absalom's intentions. LXX, Luc, has "Jonathan" in **13** 3 ff; and in 2 S **21** 21 ‖ 1 Ch **20** 7, there is mentioned a son of Shimei (= "Shimea," 1 Ch **20** 7 = "Shammah," 1 S **16** 9), whose name is Jonathan. See Jonathan, (4).

(2) Jehonadab in 2 K **10** 15.23; in Heb of Jer **35** 8.14.16.18 = Jonadab in Jer **35** 6.10.19, and EV of **35** 8.14.16.18, "son" of Rechab, of the Kenite clan (1 Ch **2** 55). J. is described in 2 K **10** as an ally of Jehu in the abolition of Baal-worship in Samaria. Jehu met him after slaying the son of Ahab (**10** 15); the second part of the verse should probably be trᵈ 'And he greeted him and said to him, Is thy heart upright [with me] as my heart is with thee? And Jehonadab answered, Yes. Then spake Jehu [so LXX], If so, give me thy hand.' In Jer **35** (where EV has Jonadab throughout), he is called the "father" of the Rechabites, who derived from him their ordinances for their nomadic life and abstention from wine. See Rechab, Rechabites. David Francis Roberts

JEHONATHAN, jē-hon′a-than (יְהוֹנָתָן, *yᵉhōnāthān*, "Jeh has given"): The name is the same as Jonathan: the Heb has the two forms for the same person sometimes; sometimes only one is found. See Jonathan. The form "Jehonathan" occurs as follows in EV:

(1) A Levite who took part in teaching the Torah in the cities of Judah under Jehoshaphat (2 Ch **17** 8 EV and Heb).

(2) Head of the priestly family of Shemaiah (Neh **12** 18 EV and Heb).

(3) AV and Heb in 1 Ch **27** 25; see Jonathan, (7).

JEHORAM, je-hō′ram, written also in the abbreviated form, **JORAM** (יְהוֹרָם, *yᵉhōrām*, יוֹרָם, *yōrām*, "Jeh is high"; RV retains "Joram" for Heb *yᵉhōrām* in 2 K **9** 15–24):

(1) Ninth king of Israel (2 K **1** 17—**9** 28), son of Ahab and Jezebel, successor to his brother Ahaziah, who died childless. He began to reign 853 BC, and reigned 12 years (2 K **3** 1; **8** 16).

The statement in 2 K **1** 17, "the second year of Jehoram," follows a system of chronology common to the Lucian group of MSS, in which the 1st year of Jehoshaphat falls in the 11th year of Omri; the 24th year of Jehoshaphat in the 1st year of Ahaziah; and the 1st year of Jehoram in the 2d year of Jehoram of Judah. The double chronology (2 K **1** 17 and 2 K **3** 1) is due to the intention of the compiler of K to refer all the acts of Elisha to the reign of Jehoram, thus dislocating the order of events in that reign. Elisha, however, survived Jehoram many years, and it is possible that some of the events are to be referred to subsequent reigns.

It is difficult to estimate the religious character of J. Apparently the fierce fanaticism of Jezebel and the boldness of Ahab reappear in the son in the form of duplicity and superstition. The attempt of Jezebel to substitute Baal for Jeh had failed. The people were on the side of Jeh. Otherwise Jehu could not have carried out his bloody reform. All the worshippers of Baal in the land could be gathered into one temple of Baal (2 K **10** 18 ff). Evidently J. feared the people. Accordingly he posed as a reformer by putting away the pillar of Baal (2 K **3** 2), while secretly he worshipped Baal (**3** 13*a*). Nevertheless, when he got into straits, he expected to receive the help of Jeh (**3** 13*b*). He had not learned that a dual nature is as impossible as a union of Baal and Jeh.

1. His Religious Policy

Immediately upon his accession, J. came into conflict with Mesha, king of Moab (2 K **3** 4 ff). The account of the conflict is of special interest because of the supplementary information concerning Mesha furnished by the Moabite Stone. There we learn (ll. 1–8) that Moab became tributary to Israel in the days of Omri, and remained so for forty years, but that it rebelled in the days of Ahab. This probably brings us to the statement in 2 K **3** 4 ff that Mesha "rendered unto the king of

2. The Moabite War

Israel the wool of a hundred thousand lambs, and of a hundred thousand rams," and that "when Ahab was dead, ... the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel." The victories of Mesha, glorified by the M S, possibly took place before the events of 2 K **3** 4 ff. Accordingly, J. resolved to recover the allegiance of the Moabites. He called to his aid the ally of his father, Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the latter's vassal, the king of Edom. J. was entertained at Jerus (Jos, *Ant*, IX, iii, 1). The allies marched against Moab by the longer route, around the southern end of the Dead Sea, indicating that Moab was fortified against attack from the W., and that Israel was weak in the East Jordan country. After the allies had been miraculously delivered from perishing for lack of water, they devastated the land and sacked the cities, and finally they succeeded in shutting up Mesha in Kir-hareseth. Driven to despair, Mesha offered his eldest son upon the wall as a burnt offering to Chemosh. This seems to have caused the tide to turn, for "there was great wrath against Israel," and the allies returned to their own land, apparently having failed to secure a lasting advantage.

3. The Conflicts with Syria

Assuming that 2 K **4–8** belong to the reign of J., it appears that the Syrians made frequent incursions into the land of Israel, perhaps more in the nature of plundering robber bands than invasions by a regular army (2 K **6**). Finally, however, Ben-hadad in person invaded the country and besieged Samaria. The inhabitants were reduced to horrible straits by famine, when the oppressors took sudden flight and Israel was saved. In the years 849, 848, and 845, Shalmaneser II invaded Syria. It is probable that during this period J. recovered Ramoth-gilead, which had fallen to Syria under Ahab. Hazael succeeded Ben-hadad as ruler of Syria, and his first act, after having murdered his predecessor, was to regain Ramoth-gilead. In the defence of the city, J., who was assisted by his nephew, Ahaziah, was wounded, and returned to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds.

4. The Conspiracy of Jehu

J. left the army at Ramoth-gilead under the command of Jehu, a popular captain of the host. While J. was at Jezreel, Elisha sent a prophet to anoint Jehu as king of Israel. Jehu had been a witness of the dramatic scene when Elijah hurled the curse of Jeh at Ahab for his crime against Naboth. Jehu at once found in himself the instrument to bring the curse to fufilment. Accordingly, he conspired his crime against J. With a company of horsemen he proceeded to Jezreel, where Ahaziah was visiting his sick uncle, J. J. suspected treachery, and, in company with Ahaziah, he rode out to meet Jehu. On his question, "Is it peace, Jehu?" he received a brutal reply that no longer left him in doubt as to the intention of the conspirator. As J. turned to flee, Jehu drew his bow and shot him in the back so that the arrow pierced his heart. His dead body was thrown into the plat of ground that had belonged to Naboth.

(2) King of Judah, son of Jehoshaphat (2 K **8** 16–24; 2 Ch **21** 1–20), he began to rule about 849 and reigned 8 years. With reference to the chronological difficulty introduced by 2 K **1** 17, see (1) above.

1. His Marriage

In the beginning of the reigns of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, an attempt was made to end the old feud between Israel and Judah. At the suggestion of Ahab, the two kingdoms, for the first time, joined forces against the common foe from the N., the Syrians. To seal the alliance, Athaliah, daughter of Jezebel and Ahab, was married to J., son of Jehoshaphat. Thus Jehoram was brother-in-law to (1) above. No doubt this was considered as a master stroke of conciliatory policy by the parties interested. However, it proved disastrous for Judah. Beyond a doubt, the unholy zeal of Jezebel included the Baalizing of Judah as well as of Israel. This marriage was a step in that direction.

2. His Idolatry

"A man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife." J. did so. "He walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab" (2 K **8** 18). According to 2 Ch **21** 11.13, J. not only accepted the religion of Athaliah, but he became a persecutor, compelling the inhabitants of Jerus and of the land to become apostates.

3. The Letter of Elijah

Because of his gross idolatry and his wickedness, he is said (2 Ch **21** 12 ff) to have received a denunciatory letter from the prophet Elijah, which, however, had no effect on him. But this leads to a chronological difficulty. Was Elijah still alive? The inference from 2 K **3** 11 is that he was not. Then, too, the Chronicler otherwise never mentions Elijah. Oettli is of the opinion that one should either read "Elisha" for "Elijah," or else consider the letter to have been the conception of a later writer, who felt that Elijah must have taken note of the wickedness of J. and his wife, Athaliah, daughter of Ahab. In the latter event, the letter might be called a haggadic Midrash.

4. His Character

5. The Revolt of Edom

A man's religion cannot be divorced from his character. Baalism had in it the elements of tyranny and civic unrighteousness. In keeping with his religion, and in true oriental fashion, J. began his reign by murdering his brothers, and other princes of the land, to whom Jehoshaphat had given valuable gifts and responsible positions. The only event belonging to his reign recorded in K is the revolt of Edom. Edom was subdued by David, and, probably with the exception of a temporary revolt under Solomon (1 K **11** 14 ff), it had remained subject to the united kingdom or to Judah until the revolt under J. The text is somewhat obscure, but both accounts indicate that the expedition of J. against Edom ended in failure. In the account we are told that at the same time Libnah revolted.

6. The Raid into Judah

Perhaps the revolt of Libnah should be taken in connection with the invasion of the Philis and of the Arabians, mentioned in 2 Ch **21**. Libnah was located on the southwestern border of Judah. Since it was a border city, it is possible that the compiler of K considered it as belonging to Philistia. In the account in Ch, J. is represented as having lost all his possessions and all his family, save Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons, when the town was sacked and the palace plundered by the invading force of Philis and Arabians. The account appears to be based upon reliable sources.

7. His Death

In his last days, he was afflicted with a frightful disease in the bowels. His death was unregretted, and his burial without honor. Contrast, however, 2 K **8** 24 with 2 Ch **21** 20. Ahaziah, also called Jehoahaz, his younger son, then became king in his stead.

S. K. Mosiman

JEHOSHABEATH, jē-hō̇-shab′ė-ath (יְהוֹשַׁבְעַת, *y*^{e}*hōshabh‘ath*, "Jeh is an oath"): In 2 Ch **22** 11 = Jehosheba (q.v.) of 2 K **11** 2.

JEHOSHAPHAT, jė-hosh′a-fat (יְהוֹשָׁפָט, *y*^{e}*hōshāphāṭ*, "Jeh has judged"):

(1) King of Judah. See separate article.

(2) Son of Ahilud. He was recorder under David

(2 S **8** 16; **20** 24; 1 Ch **18** 15) and Solomon (1 K **4** 3).

(3) Son of Paruah, and Solomon's overseer in Issachar to provide victuals for the royal household for one month of the year (1 K **4** 17).

(4) Son of Nimshi, and father of Jehu, king of Northern Israel (2 K **9** 2.14). His name is omitted in **9** 20 and 1 K **19** 16, where Jehu is called "son of Nimshi."

(5) AV (but not Heb) in 1 Ch **15** 24; RV correctly JOSHAPHAT (q.v.). DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

JEHOSHAPHAT, jē̆-hosh'a-fat (יְהוֹשָׁפָט, *yᵉhō-shāphāṭ*, "Jeh judges"): The 4th king of Judah, son of Asa. His mother was Azubah, the daughter of Shilhi, of whom nothing further is known. He was 35 years of age at his accession, and reigned 25 years, c 873–849 BC. The history of his reign is contained in 1 K **22** 41–50 and in 2 Ch **17** 1—**21** 1. The narrative in 1 K **22** 1–35*a* and in 2 K **3** 4 ff belongs to the history of the Northern Kingdom. The absence from K of the details contained in 2 Ch affords no presumption against their truth. Neither do high numbers, embellished statements, and the coloring of the writer's own age destroy the historical perspective.

1. His Religious Policy

The reign of J. appears to have been one of unusual religious activity. It was, however, characterized not so much by striking religious measures as it was by the religious spirit that pervaded every act of the king, who sought the favor of Jeh in every detail of his life (2 Ch **17** 3.4). He evidently felt that a nation's character is determined by its religion. Accordingly, he made it his duty to purify the national worship. The "sodomites," i.e. those who practised immorality in the worship of Jeh in the temple precincts, were banished from the land (1 K **22** 46). The Asherim were taken out of Judah (2 Ch **17** 6; **19** 3), and "the people from Beer-sheba to the hill-country of Ephraim were brought back unto Jeh, the God of their fathers" (**19** 4). Because of his zeal for Jeh, J. is rewarded with power and "riches and honor in abundance" (**17** 5).

2. His System of Public Instruction

Believing that religion and morals, the foundation and bulwarks of civilization, suffer from ignorance, J. introduced a system of public instruction for the whole land (2 Ch **17** 7 ff). He appointed a commission, composed of princes, Levites and priests, to go from city to city to instruct the people. Their instruction was to be based on the one true foundation of sound morals and healthy religious life, "the book of the law of Jeh" (**17** 7–9).

3. His Judicial Institutions

Next in importance to J.'s system of public instruction, was his provision for the better administration of justice. He appointed judges to preside over courts of common pleas, which he established in all the fortified cities of Judah. In addition to these local courts, two courts of appeal, an ecclesiastical and a civil court, were established at Jerus to be presided over by priests, Levites, and leading nobles as judges. At the head of the ecclesiastical court of appeal was the high priest, and a layman, "the ruler of the house of Judah," headed the civil court of appeal (2 Ch **19** 4–11). The insistence that a judge was to be in character like Jeh, with whom there is "no iniquity . . . . nor respect of persons, nor taking of bribes" (**19** 7), is worthy of note.

4. His Military Defences

According to 2 Ch **17** 2, J. began his reign with defensive measures against Israel. Furthermore, he built castles and cities of store in the land of Judah, "and he had many works," probably military supplies, "in the cities of Judah" (**17** 13). He appears to have had a large standing army, including cavalry (1 K **22** 4; 2 Ch **17** 14 ff). However, the numbers in 2 Ch **17** 14 ff seem to be impossibly high.

5. His Foreign Policy

Godliness and security at home were followed by respect and peace abroad. The fact that the Philis and the Arabians brought tribute (**17** 11), and that Edom had no king (1 K **22** 47), but a deputy instead, who possibly was appointed by J., would indicate that he held the suzerainty over the nations and tribes bordering Judah on the S. and W. Holding the suzerainty over the weaker nations, and being allied with the stronger, J. secured the peace for the greater part of his reign (1 Ch **17** 10) that fostered the internal development of the kingdom.

6. His Alliance with Ahab

In contrast to the former kings of Judah, J. saw greater benefit in an alliance with Israel than in civil war. Accordingly, the old feud between the two kingdoms (1 K **14** 30; **15** 6) was dropped, and J. made peace with Israel (**22** 44). The political union was cemented by the marriage of Jehoram, son of J., to Athaliah, daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. Shortly after the marriage, J. joined Ahab in a campaign against Syria (2 Ch **18** 1–3). In view of the subordinate position that J. seems to take in the campaign (1 K **22** 4.30), and in view of the military service rendered to Jehoram (2 K **3** 4 ff), Judah seems to have become a dependency of Israel. Nevertheless, the union may have contributed to the welfare and prosperity of Judah, and it may have enabled J. to hold the suzerainty over the neighboring nations. However, the final outcome of the alliance with the house of Omri was disastrous for Judah. The introduction into Judah of Baalism more than counterbalanced any political and material advantage gained, and in the succeeding reigns it indirectly led to the almost total extinction of the royal family of Judah (**11** 1 ff).

7. His Alliance with Jehoram

In spite of the denunciation of the prophet Jehu for his expedition with Ahab, thus "help[ing] the wicked" (2 Ch **19** 2), J. entered into a similar alliance with Jehoram of Israel (2 K **3** 4 ff). On the invitation of Jehoram to join him in an expedition against Moab, J. was ready with the same set speech of acceptance as in the case of Ahab (2 K **3** 7; cf 1 K **22** 4). For the details of the expedition see JEHORAM, (1).

8. Victory over the Moabites and Ammonites

The Chronicler has given us a very remarkable account of a victory gained by J. over the Moabites and Ammonites. No doubt he made use of a current historical Midr. Many find the historical basis of the Midr in the events recorded in 2 K **3** 4 ff. However, the localities are different, and there a defeat is recorded, while in this case we have a victory. The story in outline bears the stamp of probability. 1 K **22** 45 seems to suggest wars of J. that are not mentioned in K. The tribes mentioned in the account are represented as trying to make permanent settlement in Judah (2 Ch **20** 11). In their advance through the S. of Judah, they were doubtless harassed by the shepherd population of the country. J., according to his custom, sought the help of Jeh. The invading forces fell to quarreling among themselves (2 Ch **20** 23), and destroyed one another. The spoil was great because the invaders had brought all their goods with them, expecting to remain in the land.

9. Destruction of Jehoshaphat's Fleet The destruction of J.'s fleet is recorded in 1 K **22** 48.49 and in 2 Ch **20** 35–37. However, the two accounts are quite different. According to K, J. built ships of Tarshish to sail to Ophir for gold, but the vessels were wrecked at Ezion-geber. Thereupon Ahaziah offered to assist J. with seamen, but J. refused to enter into the alliance. According to Ch the alliance had been formed, and together they built ships at Ezion-geber, which were destroyed because J. had made an alliance with the wicked king of Israel. In view of J.'s other alliances, the Chronicler may be in the right. Ch, however, misunderstood the term "ships of Tarshish."

Valley of Jehoshaphat (Looking N.E.).

10. His Death J. died at the age of 60. Jos says (*Ant*, IX, iii, 2) that he was buried in a magnificent manner, for he had imitated the actions of David. The kingdom was left to Jehoram, who inaugurated the beginning of his reign by causing the massacre of his brethren. S. K. Mosiman

JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק יְהוֹשָׁפָט, *'ēmeḳ yᵉhōshāphāṭ;* the latter word means "Jeh judgeth," and *'ēmeḳ,* "wide," "open valley"; LXX *hē koilás Iōsaphát*): The name is used in Joel **3** 2.12 of the scene of Judgment: "Let the nations bestir themselves, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat; for there will I sit to judge all the nations round about" (ver 12). "The valley of decision" (or "sharp judgment") is another name the prophet gives to this spot (ver 14). Some have identified it with the valley (*'ēmeḳ*) of Beracah (q.v.) of 2 Ch **20** 26, where King Jehoshaphat obtained a great victory, but this is improbable.

Since the 4th cent. AD the Kidron (q.v.) valley has been named the Valley of J. The tradition is now strongest among the Moslems who point out the exact scene of the Judgment; the Bridge *As Sirât,* dividing heaven and hell, is to stretch across this valley from the *Ḥaram* area to the Mount of Olives. It is, however, the ambition of every pious Jew to be buried on the slopes of this valley, to be at hand at the resurrection. This, too, was an ordinary place for Jewish graves in preëxilic times (2 K **23** 6, etc). The valley today, esp. that part adjacent to the temple, is crowded with Moslem and Jewish graves. A worthless tradition indicates the tomb of Jehoshaphat himself close to the so-called "Pillar of Absalom." See King's Vale. There is not the slightest reason for believing that this is the spot referred to by Joel—indeed he may have spoken of an ideal spot only. The valley of the Kidron is a *naḥal* ("ravine"), not an *'ēmeḳ* ("broad valley"). It is impossible not to suspect that there is some connection between the name Jehoshaphat and the name of a village near the head of this valley—*Shâphat;* perhaps at one time it was *Wâdy Shâphat,* which name would readily suggest the traditional one. See Gehenna.

E. W. G. Masterman

JEHOSHEBA, jē-hosh'ē-ba, jē-hō-shē'ba (יְהוֹשֶׁבַע, *yᵉhōshebha'*, "Jeh is an oath"): Called "Jehoshabeath" in 2 Ch **22** 11; daughter of Jehoram king of Judah, possibly by a wife other than Athaliah (2 K **11** 2). According to 2 Ch **22** 11, she was the wife of Jehoiada, the priest. She hid Jehoash, the young son of King Ahaziah, and so saved his life from Queen Athaliah.

JEHOSHUA, jē-hosh'ū-a (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *yᵉhōshuᵃ'*, "Jeh is deliverance," or "is opulence"): The usual Heb form of the name "Joshua"; it occurs in AV of Nu **13** 16 (ARV "Hoshea"); and in some editions of AV in 1 Ch **7** 27, where others have the form "Jehoshuah" (*h* being wrongly added at the end). See Joshua, son of Nun.

JEHOVAH, jē-hō'va, je-hō'va. See God, Names of, II, 5.

JEHOVAH-JIREH, jē-hō'va-jī're (יהוה יִרְאֶה, *yahweh yir'eh,* "Jeh sees"): The name given by Abraham to the place where he had sacrificed a ram provided by God, instead of his son Isaac (Gen **22** 14). The meaning plainly is that the Lord sees and provides for the necessities of His servants. There is an allusion to ver 8 where Abraham says, "God will provide himself [RVm "will see for himself"] the lamb for a burnt offering." The ver (14 AV) goes on to connect the incident with the popular proverb, "In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen" (RV "provided"), RVm suggests "he shall be seen." "The mount of Jeh" in other places denotes the temple hill at Jerus (Ps **24** 3; Isa **2** 3, etc). With changes of the punctuation very different readings have been suggested. According to Swete's text: "And A. called the name of that place [the] 'Lord *saw*' [aorist] in order that they may say today: 'In the mountain [the] Lord *was seen*'" (aorist). LXX reads, "In the mountain Jeh seeth," or "will see." If there is merely a verbal connection between the clauses we should most naturally read, "In the mount of Jeh one is seen [appears]," i.e. men, people, appear—the reference being to the custom of visiting the temple at pilgrimages (Driver, *HDB*, s.v.). But if the connection of the proverb with the name "Jehovah-jireh" depends on the double sense of the word "see," then the best explanation may be, Jeh sees the needs of those who come to worship before Him on Zion, and there "is seen," i.e. reveals Himself to them by answering their prayers and supplying their wants. His "seeing," in other words, takes practical effect in a "being seen" (ibid).

W. Ewing

JEHOVAH-NISSI, j.-nis′ī (יהוה נִסִּי, *yahweh niṣṣī,* "Jeh is my banner"): So Moses named the altar which he reared to signalize the defeat of the Amalekites by Israel under Joshua, at Rephidim (Ex **17** 15). LXX translates "the Lord my refuge," deriving *niṣṣī* from נוּס, *nūṣ,* "to flee." Tg Onkelos reads, "Moses built an altar and worshipped on it before Jeh, who had wrought for him miracles" (נִיסִּין, *nīṣṣīn*). The suggestion is that the people should rally round God as an army gathers round its standard. He it is who leads them to victory.

JEHOVAH, SERVANT OF. See Servant of Jehovah.

JEHOVAH-SHALOM, j.-shā′lom (יהוה שָׁלוֹם, *yahweh shālōm,* "Jeh is peace"): This was the name given by Gideon to the altar he built at Ophra, in allusion to the word spoken to him by the Lord, "Peace be unto thee" (Jgs **6** 24). It is equivalent to "Jeh is well disposed."

JEHOVAH-SHAMMAH, j.-sham′a (יהוה שָׁמָּה, *yahweh shāmmāh,* "Jeh is there"): The name to be given to the new Jerus, restored and glorified, as seen in the vision of Ezk (**48** 35 m; cf Rev **21** 3). Jeh returns to the temple which He had forsaken, and from that time forward the fact of supreme importance is that *He is there,* dwelling in the midst of His people.

JEHOVAH-TSIDKENU (ÇIDKENU), j.-tsid-kē′nū, tsid′kē-nū (יהוה צִדְקֵנוּ, *yahweh çidhkēnū,* "Jeh [is] our righteousness"): The symbolic name given (1) to the king who is to reign over the restored Israel (Jer **23** 6); (2) to the state or capital (**33** 16).

JEHOZABAD, jē-hoz′a-bad (יְהוֹזָבָד, *yᵉhōzābhādh,* "Jeh has bestowed"):

(1) A servant of King Jehoash of Judah. According to 2 K **12** 21 (22), he was a son of Shomer, but 2 Ch **24** 26 makes him "son of Shimrith the Moabitess."

(2) A Korahite doorkeeper, son of Obed-edom (1 Ch **26** 4).

(3) A Benjamite, one of King Jehoshaphat's warriors (2 Ch **17** 18).

JEHOZADAK, jē-hoz′a-dak (יְהוֹצָדָק, *yᵉhōçādhāḳ,* "Jeh is righteous"): Priest at the time of the captivity under Nebuchadrezzar (1 Ch **6** 14.15 [Heb **5** 40.41]). He was the father of Joshua (Jeshua) the priest (Hag **1** 1.12.14; **2** 2.4; Zec **6** 11). AV has Josedech in Hag and Zec. Same as "Jozadak" (יוֹצָדָק, *yōçādhāḳ,* same meaning) in Ezr **3** 2.8; **5** 2; **10** 18; Neh **12** 26; and= "Josedek" (AV "Josedec") of 1 Esd **5** 5.48.56; **6** 2; **9** 19; Sir **49** 12.

JEHU, jē′hū (יֵהוּא, *yēhū';* meaning uncertain, perhaps "Jeh is he"; 1 K **19** 16.17; 2 K **9, 10;** **Εἰού,** *Eioú*): Son of Jehoshaphat, and descendant of Nimshi, hence commonly called "the son of Nimshi"; 10th king of Israel, and founder of its IVth Dynasty. Jehu reigned for 28 years. His accession may be reckoned at c 752 BC (some date a few years later).

Jehu's Tribute—from Obelisk of Shalmaneser.

1. Officer of Ahab

A soldier of fortune, J. appears first as an officer in the body-guard of Ahab. To himself we owe the information that he was present at the judicial murder of Naboth, and that Naboth's sons were put to death with their father (2 K **9** 26). He was in attendance when Ahab drove from Samaria to inspect his new possession in Jezreel, and was witness of the dramatic encounter at the vineyard between the king and the prophet Elijah (cf 1 K **21** 16 ff). Years after, J. reminded Bidkar, his captain (lit. "thirdsman," in chariot), of the doom they had there heard pronounced upon Ahab and his house (2 K **9** 25 ff). It was in fulfilment of this doom that J. at that time ordered the body of the slain Jehoram to be thrown into the inclosure which had once been Naboth's (ver 26). Ahab's temporary repentance averted the punishment from himself for a few years (1 K **21** 27–29), but the blow fell at the battle of Ramoth-gilead, and J. would not be unmindful of the prophet's words as he beheld the dogs licking Ahab's blood as they washed his chariot "by the pool of Samaria" (**22** 38).

2. Jehoram at Ramoth-gilead and Jezreel

A different fate awaited Ahab's two sons. The elder, Ahaziah, died, after a short reign, from the effects of an accident (2 K **1**). He was succeeded by his brother Jehoram, who toward the close of his reign of 12 years (2 K **3** 1) determined on an attempt to recover Ramoth-gilead, where his father had been fatally stricken, from Hazael, of Syria. Ramoth-gilead was taken (2 K **9** 14), but in the attack the Israelitish king was severely wounded, and was taken to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds (ver 15). The city meanwhile was left in charge of J. and his fellow-captains. At Jezreel he was visited by Ahaziah, of Judah, who had taken part with him in the war (**8** 28.29; **9** 16).

The time was now ripe for the execution of the predicted vengeance on the house of Ahab, and to Elisha the prophet, the successor of Elijah, it fell to take the decisive step which precipitated the crisis.

3. The Anointing of Jehu

Hazael and J. had already been named to Elijah as the persons who were to execute the Divine judgment, the one as king of Syria, the other as king of Israel (1 K **19** 15–17). Elijah was doubtless aware of this commission, which it was now his part, as respected J., to fulfil. A messenger was hastily dispatched to Ramoth-gilead, with instructions to seek out J., take him apart, anoint him king of Israel in Jeh's name, and charge him with the task of utterly destroying the house of Ahab in punishment for the righteous blood shed by Ahab and Jezebel. The messenger was then to flee. This was done, and J., the sacred oil poured on his head, found himself alone with this appalling trust committed to him (2 K **9** 1–10).

4. The Revolution—Death of Jehoram

Events now moved rapidly. J.'s companions were naturally eager to know what had happened, and on learning that J. had been anointed king, they at once improvised a throne by throwing their garments on the top of some steps, blew the trumpet, and proclaimed, "J. is king." Not a moment was lost. No one was permitted to leave the city to carry forth tidings, and J. himself, with characteristic impetuosity, set out, with a small body of horsemen, in his chariot to Jezreel. Bidkar was there as charioteer (**9** 25). As they came within sight of the city, a watchman reported their advance, and messengers were sent to inquire as to their errand. These were ordered to fall into the rear. This conduct awakened suspicion, and Jehoram and Ahaziah—who was still with his invalided kinsman—ordered their chariots, and proceeded in person to meet J. The companies met at the ill-omened field of Naboth, and there the first stroke of vengeance fell. The anxious query, "Is it peace?" was answered by a storm of denunciation from J., and on Jehoram turning to flee, an arrow from J.'s powerful bow shot him through the heart, and he sank dead in his chariot. Ahaziah likewise was pursued, and smitten "at the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam." He died at Megiddo, and was taken to Jerus for burial in the sepulcher of the kings (**9** 11–28). A somewhat variant account of Ahaziah's death is given in 2 Ch **22** 9. It is possible that J. came to Megiddo or its neighborhood, and had to do with his end there.

5. Death of Jezebel

The slaughter of Jehoram was at once followed by that of the chief instigator of all the crimes for which the house of Ahab suffered—the queen-mother Jezebel. Hot from the pursuit of Ahaziah, J. pressed on Jezreel. Jezebel, now an aged woman, but still defiant, had painted and attired herself, and, looking from her window, met him as he drove into the palace court, with the insulting question, "Is it peace, thou Zimri, thy master's murderer?" (cf 1 K **16** 9–12). J.'s answer was an appeal for aid from those within. Two or three eunuchs of the palace gave signs of their concurrence. These, at J.'s bidding, threw Jezebel down into the court-yard, where, lying in her blood, she was trodden under foot by the chariot horses. When, a little later, her remains were sought for burial, she was found to have been almost wholly devoured by the dogs—a lurid commentary on Elijah's earlier threatening, which was now recalled (2 K **9** 30–37). J. was an intrepid minister of judgment, but the pitiless zeal, needless cruelty, and, afterward, deceit, with which he executed his mission, withdraw our sympathy from him, as it did that of a later prophet (Hos **1** 4).

The next acts of J. reveal yet more clearly his thoroughness of purpose and promptitude of action, while they afford fresh exhibitions of his ruthlessness and unscrupulousness of spirit.

6. Slaughter of Ahab's Descendants

Samaria was the capital of the kingdom, and headquarters of the Baal-worship introduced by Jezebel, though it is recorded of Jehoram that he had removed, at least temporarily, an obelisk of Baal which his father had set up (2 K **3** 2; cf **10** 26). The city was still held for the house of Ahab, and 70 of Ahab's "sons"—to be taken here in the large sense of male descendants—resided in it (**10** 1.6). J. here adopted a bold and astute policy. He sent letters to Samaria challenging those in authority to set up one of their master's sons as king, and fight for the city and the kingdom. The governors knew well that they could make no effective resistance to J., and at once humbly tendered their submission. J., in a second message, bade them prove their sincerity by delivering to him the heads of the 70 princes of Ahab's house in baskets. This they did, by their act irrevocably committing themselves to J.'s cause (ver 9). The ghastly relics were piled up in two heaps at the gate of Jezreel—a horrible object-lesson to any still inclined to hesitate in their allegiance. Friends and partisans of the royal house shared the fate of its members (ver 11).

7. Slaughter of Ahaziah's Brethren

Apart from the faultiness in the agent's motive, the deeds now recounted fell within the letter of J.'s commission. As much cannot be said of the deeds of blood that follow. J. had killed Ahaziah, king of Judah. Now, on his way to Samaria, he met a company of 42 persons, described as "brethren of Ahaziah"—evidently blood-relations of various degrees, as Ahaziah's own brethren had been earlier slain by the Arabians (2 Ch **21** 17; **22** 1)—and, on learning who they were, and of their purpose to visit their kinsfolk at Jezreel, gave orders that they be slain on the spot, and their bodies ignominiously thrown into the pit (or "cistern") of the shearing-house where he had encountered them. It was a cruel excess for which no sufficient justification can be pleaded (2 K **10** 12–14).

8. Massacre of the Worshippers of Baal

Still less can the craft and violence be condoned by which, when he reached Samaria, J. evinced his "zeal for Jeh" (ver 16) in the extirpation of the worshippers of Baal. J. had secured on his side the support of a notable man—Jehonadab the son of Rechab (vs 15.16; cf Jer **35** 6–19)—and his entrance into Samaria was signalized by further slaying of all adherents of Ahab. Then, doubtless to the amazement of many, J. proclaimed himself an enthusiastic follower of Baal. A great festival was organized, to which all prophets, worshippers, and priests of Baal were invited from every part of Israel. J. himself took the leading part in the sacrifice (ver 25). Vestments were distributed to distinguish the true worshippers of Baal from others. Then when all were safely gathered into "the house of Baal," the gates were closed, and 80 soldiers were sent in to massacre the whole deluded company in cold blood. None escaped. The temple of Baal was broken up. Thus, indeed, "J. destroyed Baal out of Israel" (ver 28), but at what a frightful cost of falsehood and treacherous dealing! (2 K **10** 18–28).

9. Wars with Hazael

The history of J. in the Bible is chiefly the history of his revolution as now narrated. His reign itself is summed up in a few vs, chiefly occupied with the attacks made by Hazael, king of Syria, on the trans-Jordanic territories of Israel (**10** 32.33). These districts were overrun, and remained lost to Israel till the reign of J.'s great-grandson, Jeroboam II (2 K **14** 28).

It is in another direction, viz. to the annals of Assyria, we have to look for any further information we possess on the reign of J. In these annals, fortunately, some interesting notices are preserved. In 854 BC was fought

10. Assyrian Notices

the great battle of Ḳarḳar (a place between Aleppo and Hamath), when Shalmaneser II, king of Assyria, defeated a powerful combination formed against him (Damascus, Hamath, Philistia, Ammon, etc). Among the allies on this occasion is mentioned "Ahabbu of Sir'ilâa," who took the third place with 2,000 chariots and 10,000 footmen. There is a difficulty in supposing Ahab to have been still reigning as late as 854, and Wellhausen, Kamphausen and others have suggested that Ahab's name has been confused with that of his successor Jehoram in the Assyr annals. Kittel, in his *History of the Hebrews* (II, 233, ET) is disposed to accept this view. G. Smith, in his *Assyr Eponym Canon* (179), is of the opinion that the tribute lists were often carelessly compiled and in error as to names. The point of interest is that from this time Israel was evidently a tributary of Assyria.

11. Tribute of Jehu

With this accord the further notices of Israel in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, two in number. Both belong to the year 842 BC and relate to J. On Shalmaneser's Black Obelisk is a pictorial representation of "the tribute of J., son of Omri." An ambassador kneels before the conqueror, and presents his gifts. They include silver, gold, a gold cup, gold vessels, a golden ladle, lead, a staff for the king's hand, scepters. An allusion to the same event occurs in the annals of Shalmaneser's campaign against Hazael of Syria in this year. "At that time I received the tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians, of J., son of Omri."

There are some indications that in his latter years, which were clouded with misfortune, J. associated with himself his son Jehoahaz in the government (cf 2 K **13** 1.10, where Jehoahaz comes to the throne in the 23d, and dies in the 37th year of Jehoash of Judah—14 years—yet has a total reign of 17 years). J. is not mentioned in Ch, except incidentally in connection with the death of Ahaziah (2 Ch **22** 9), and as the grandfather of Jehoash (**25** 17).

The character of J. is apparent from the acts recorded of him. His energy, determination, promptitude, and zeal fitted him for the work he had to do. It was rough work, and was executed with relentless thoroughness. Probably gentler measures would have failed to eradicate Baal-worship from Israel. His impetuosity was evinced in his furious driving (2 K **9** 20). He was bold, daring, unscrupulous, and masterful and astute in his policy. But one seeks in vain in his character for any touch of magnanimity, or of the finer qualities of the ruler. His "zeal for Jeh" was too largely a cloak for merely worldly ambition. The bloodshed in which his rule was founded early provoked a reaction, and his closing years were dark with trouble. He is specially condemned for tolerating the worship of the golden calves (2 K **10** 29–31). Nevertheless the throne was secured to his dynasty for four generations (**10** 30; cf **15** 12).

W. Shaw Caldecott

JEHUBBAH, jḗ-hub'a (יְחֻבָּה, *yᵉḥubbāh*, meaning unknown): A descendant of Asher, mentioned in 1 Ch **7** 34, where Ḳᵉrē is וְחֻבָּה, *wᵉḥubbāh*, "and Hubbah," but Kᵉthībh is יַחְבָּה, *yaḥbāh;* LXX B follows Ḳᵉrē.

JEHUCAL, jḗ-hū'kal (יְהוּכַל, *yᵉhūkhal*, probably meaning "Jeh is able"): A courtier sent by King Zedekiah to Jeremiah to ask the prophet to pray for the king and the people (Jer **37** 3). Most VSS except LXX, with **38** 1, have "Jucal" (יוּכַל, *yūkhal*, same meaning).

JEHUD, jē'hud (יְהוּד, *yᵉhūdh*): A town in the lot of Dan named between Baalath and Bene-berak (Josh **19** 45). The only possible identification seems to be with *el-Yehudīyeh,* which lies about 8 miles E. of Jaffa.

JEHUDI, jḗ-hū'dī (יְהוּדִי, *yᵉhūdhī*, properly "a Jew"): An officer of King Jehoiakim (Jer **36** 14.21. 23). He was sent by the princes to summon Baruch to read the roll containing Jeremiah's prophecies to them; he afterward read them to the king, who destroyed them. His name is noteworthy, as also is that of his grandfather Cushi (i.e. "Ethiopian"), and the two are said to point to a foreign origin.

JEHUDIJAH, jē-hū-dī'ja (1 Ch **4** 18 AV). See Ha-jehudijah.

JEHUEL, jḗ-hū'el (Kᵉthībh יְחוּאֵל, *yᵉḥū'ēl;* but Ḳᵉrē יְחִיאֵל, *yᵉḥī'ēl,* i.e. "Jehiel" AV, in 2 Ch **29** 14): A Levite; see Jehiel, (5).

JEHUSH, jē'hush (1 Ch **8** 39). See Jeush, (3).

JEIEL, jḗ-ī'el (יְעִיאֵל, *yᵉʽī'ēl,* meaning unknown):

(1) A Reubenite (1 Ch **5** 7).

(2) In 1 Ch **8** 29, added in RV from **9** 35, where Kᵉthībh is "Jeuel," an ancestor of King Saul; AV "Jehiel."

(3) One of David's mighty men (1 Ch **11** 44). AV is "Jehiel"; Kᵉthībh is "Jeuel."

(4) A Levite, keeper of the ark with Obed-edom (1 Ch **15** 18.21; **16** 5; 2 Ch **20** 14), called "Jehiah" in 1 Ch **15** 24.

(5) A Levite (1 Ch **16** 5) = "Jaaziel" of 1 Ch **15** 18 (q.v.).

(6) A scribe under King Uzziah (2 Ch **26** 11).

(7) A chief of the Levites, present at King Josiah's great Passover feast (2 Ch **35** 9).

(8) One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 43) = "Juel" in 1 Esd **9** 35.

(9) AV in 2 Ch **29** 14; see Jehiel, (5).

(10) AV in Ezr **8** 13; see Jeuel, (3).

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JEKABZEEL, jḗ-kab'zḗ-el (יְקַבְצְאֵל, *yᵉḳabhçᵉ'ēl,* "God gathers"; Neh **11** 25). See Kabzeel.

JEKAMEAM, jek-a-mē'am, jḗ-kam'ḗ-am (יְקַמְעָם, *yᵉḳamʽām,* probably "may kinsman establish"): Head of a Levitical house (1 Ch **23** 19; **24** 23). The meaning of the name depends upon that of עָם (*ʽam*) in compound names; see *HPN*, 46, 51 ff.

JEKAMIAH, jek-a-mī'a (יְקַמְיָה, *yᵉḳamyāh,* "may Jeh establish"):

(1) A Judahite, son of Shallum (1 Ch **2** 41).

(2) A son of King Jeconiah (Jehoiachin); in AV "Jecamiah" (1 Ch **3** 18).

JEKUTHIEL, jḗ-kū'thi-el (יְקוּתִיאֵל, *yᵉḳūthī'ēl,* meaning doubtful): A Judahite (1 Ch **4** 18). The meaning may be "preservation of God," or perhaps the same as יָקְתְאֵל, *yoḳthᵉ'ēl,* "Joktheel," the name of a place in Josh **15** 38; 2 K **14** 7.

JEMIMAH, jḗ-mī'ma (יְמִימָה, *yᵉmīmāh,* perhaps a diminutive meaning "little dove"): The first daughter of Job (**42** 14), born after his restoration from affliction.

JEMNAAN, jem'nā̇-an (**Ἰεμνάαν,** *Iemnáan*): A city on the coast of Pal; mentioned among those affected by the expedition of Holofernes (Jth **2** 28; **3** 1 ff). The name is used for Jabniel, generally called "Jamnia" by the Gr writers.

JEMUEL, jḗ-mū'el (יְמוּאֵל, *yᵉmū'ēl,* meaning unknown): A "son" of Simeon (Gen **46** 10; Ex **6** 15) = "Nemuel" in Nu **26** 12; 1 Ch **4** 24.

Syr version has "Jemuel" in the 4 passages, but Gray (*HPN*, 307, n. 6) thinks "Jemuel" is more probably a correction in Gen than "Nemuel" in Nu.

JEOPARD, jep'ard, **JEOPARDY,** jep'ar-di: The Eng. word referred originally to a game where the chances were even (from OFr. *jeu parti*); transferred thence to designate any great risk. In the NT, represented by the Gr vb. *kinduneúō* (Lk **8** 23; 1 Cor **15** 30). In the OT (Jgs **5** 18) for a Heb idiom, "despise the soul," i.e. they placed a small value upon their lives (Vulg "offered their souls to death"); for elliptical expression, "went with their lives," in 2 S **23** 17 m.

JEPHTHAH, jef′tha (יִפְתָּח, *yiphtāḥ*, "opened," or "opener," probably signifying "Jeh will open"; **Ἰεφθάε,** *Iephtháe;* used as the name of a place, as in Josh **15** 43; **19** 14; of a man, Jgs **10** 6—**12** 7): Ninth judge of the Israelites. His antecedents are obscure. Assuming Gilead to be the actual name of his father, his mother was a harlot. He was driven from home on account of his illegitimacy, and went to the land of Tob in Eastern Syria (Jgs **11** 2.3). Here he and his followers lived the life of freebooters.

The Israelites beyond the Jordan being in danger of an invasion by the Ammonites, J. was invited by the elders of Gilead to be their leader (**11** 5.6). Remembering how they had expelled him from their territory and his heritage, J. demanded of them that in the event of success in the struggle with the Ammonites, he was to be continued as leader. This condition being accepted he returned to Gilead (**11** 7–11). The account of the diplomacy used by J. to prevent the Ammonites from invading Gilead is possibly an interpolation, and is thought by many interpreters to be a compilation from Nu **20**–**21**. It is of great interest, however, not only because of the fairness of the argument used (**11** 12–28), but also by virtue of the fact that it contains a history of the journey of the Israelites from Lower Egypt to the banks of the Jordan. This history is distinguished from that of the Pent chiefly by the things omitted. If diplomacy was tried, it failed to dissuade the Ammonites from seeking to invade Israel. J. prepared for battle, but before taking the field paused at Mizpeh of Gilead, and registered a vow that if he were successful in battle, he would offer as a burnt offering to Jeh whatsoever should first come from his doors to greet him upon his return (**11** 29–31). The battle is fought, J. is the victor, and now his vow returns to him with anguish and sorrow. Returning to his home, the first to greet him is his daughter and only child. The father's sorrow and the courage of the daughter are the only bright lights on this sordid, cruel conception of God and of the nature of sacrifice. That the sacrifice was made seems certain from the narrative, although some critics choose to substitute for the actual death of the maiden the setting the girl apart for a life of perpetual virginity. The Israelitish laws concerning sacrifices and the language used in **11** 39 are the chief arguments for the latter interpretation. The entire narrative, however, will hardly bear this construction (**11** 34–40).

J. was judge in Israel for 6 years, but appears only once more in the Scripture narrative. The men of Ephraim, offended because they had had no share in the victory over the Ammonites, made war upon Gilead, but were put to rout by the forces under J. (**12** 1–6). C. E. Schenk

JEPHUNNEH, jē̇-fun′e (יְפֻנֶּה, *y^{e}phunneh*, meaning uncertain):

(1) Father of Caleb (Nu **13** 6; **14** 6.30, etc).

According to Nu **13** 6, he was of the tribe of Judah; according to **32** 12; Josh **14** 6, a Ḳenizzite; the Ḳenizzites were incorporated in Judah (cf 1 Ch **4** 13–15).

(2) A son of Jether, an Asherite (1 Ch **7** 38).

JERAH, jē′ra (יֶרַח, *yeraḥ*): A son of Joktan (Gen **10** 26 ‖ 1 Ch **1** 20). No district Jerah has been discovered. However, *Yurākh* in Yemen and *Yaraḥ* in Hijaz are places named by the Arab. geographers. The fact that the word in Heb means "moon" has led to the following suggestions: the *Banū Hilāl* ("sons of the new moon") in the N. of Yemen; *Ghubb el-Ḳamar* ("the bay of the moon"), *Jebel el-Ḳamar* ("the mountains of the moon") in Eastern Ḥadramant. But in Southern Arabia worship of the moon has caused the word to bulk largely in place-names.

JERAHMEEL, jē̇-rä′mē̇-el (יְרַחְמְאֵל, *y^{e}raḥm^e'ēl*, "may God have compassion!"):

(1) In 1 Ch **2** 9.25.26.27.33.42, he is described as the son of Hezron, the son of Perez, the son of Judah by Tamar his daughter-in-law (Gen **38**). In 1 S **27** 10 is mentioned the *neghebh* of the **Jerahmeelites,** jē̇-rä′mē̇-el-īts (הַיְּרַחְמְאֵלִי, *ha-y^{e}raḥm^e'ēlī*, a collective noun), RV "the South of the Jerahmeelites." The latter is a tribal name in use probably before the proper name, above; their cities are mentioned in 1 S **30** 29. Cheyne has radical views on J. See *EB*, s.v.; also T. Witton Davies in *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, III, 689–708 (May, 1908); and Cheyne's replies in *Hibbert Journal*, VII, 132–51 (October, 1908), and *Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah*.

(2) A Merarite Levite, son of Kish (1 Ch **24** 29).

(3) "The king's son," RV and AVm (Jer **36** 26). RVm, AV have "son of Hammelech," taking the word הַמֶּלֶךְ as a proper name. He was "probably a royal prince, one who had a king among his ancestors but not necessarily son of the ruling king; so **38** 6; 1 K **22** 26*b;* esp. Zeph **1** 8 written at a time when the reigning king, Josiah, could not have had a grown-up 'son'" (Driver, *Jer*, 224, n. *e*). J. was with two others commanded by Jehoiakim to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch.

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JERECHU, jer′ē̇-kū, AV **Jerechus,** jer′ē̇-kus (1 Esd **5** 22). See Jericho.

JERED, jē′red (יֶרֶד, *yeredh*, "descent"): A Judahite, father of Gedor (1 Ch **4** 18). See also Jared.

JEREMAI, jer′ē̇-mī, jer-ē̇-mā′ī (יְרֵמַי, *y^{e}rēmay*, meaning unknown): One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 33). See Jeremias (1 Esd **9** 34).

JEREMIAH, jer-ē̇-mī′a ([*a*] יִרְמְיָהוּ, *yirm^{e}yāhū*, or [*b*] shorter form, יִרְמְיָה, *yirm^{e}yāh*, both differently explained as "Jeh establishes [so Giesebrecht], whom Jeh casts," i.e. possibly, as Gesenius suggests, "appoints" [A. B. Davidson in *HDB*, II, 569*a*], and "Jeh looseneth" [the womb]; see *BDB*): The form (*b*) is used of Jeremiah the prophet only in Jer **27** 1; **28** 5.6.10.11.12*b*.15; **29** 1; Ezr **1** 1; Dnl **9** 2, while the other is found 116 t in Jer alone. In 1 Esd **1** 28.32.47.57; 2 Esd **2** 18, EV has "Jeremy," so AV in 2 Macc **2** 1.5.7; Mt **2** 17; **27** 9; in Mt **16** 14, AV has "Jeremias," but RV in 2 Macc and Mt has "Jeremiah."

(1) The prophet. See special article. Of the following, (2), (3) and (4) have form (*a*) above; the others the form (*b*).

(2) Father of Hamutal (Hamital), the mother of King Jehoahaz and King Jehoiakim (2 K **23** 31; **24** 18 ‖ Jer **52** 1).

(3) A Rechabite (Jer **35** 3).

(4) In 1 Ch **12** 13 (Heb 14), a Gadite.

(5) In 1 Ch **12** 10 (Heb 11), a Gadite.

(6) In 1 Ch **12** 4 (Heb 5), a Benjamite(?) or Judaean. (4), (5) and (6) all joined David at Ziklag.

(7) Head of a Manassite family (1 Ch **5** 24).

(8) A priest who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh **10** 2), probably the same as he of **12** 34 who took part in the procession at the dedication of the walls of Jerus.

(9) A priest who went to Jerus with Zerubbabel from exile and became head of a priestly family of that name (Neh **12** 1).

David Francis Roberts

JEREMIAH, jer-ē-mī′a:

1. Name and Person
2. Life of Jeremiah
3. The Personal Character of Jeremiah
4. The Prophecies of Jeremiah
5. The Book of Jeremiah
6. Authenticity and Integrity of the Book
7. Relation to the LXX

Literature

1. Name and Person

The name of one of the greatest prophets of Israel. The Heb יִרְמְיָהוּ, *yirmᵉyāhū*, abbreviated to יִרְמְיָה, *yirmᵉyāh*, signifies either "Jeh hurls" or "Jeh founds." LXX reads Ἰερμίας, *Iermías*, and the Vulg *Jeremias*. As this name also occurs not infrequently, the prophet is called "the son of Hilkiah" (**1** 1), who is, however, not the high priest mentioned in 2 K **22** and **23,** as it is merely stated that he was "of the priests that were in Anathoth" in the land of Benjamin. In Anathoth, now *Anâta*, a small village 1½ hours N.E. of Jerus, lived a class of priests who belonged to a side line, not to the line of Zadok (cf 1 K **2** 26).

2. Life of Jeremiah

J. was called by the Lord to the office of a prophet while still a youth (**1** 6) about 20 years of age, in the 13th year of King Josiah (**1** 2; **25** 3), in the year 627 BC, and was active in this capacity from this time on to the destruction of Jerus, 586 BC, under kings Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. Even after the fall of the capital city he prophesied in Egypt at least for several years, so that his work extended over a period of about 50 years in all. At first he probably lived in Anathoth, and put in his appearance publicly in Jerus only on the occasion of the great festivals; later he lived in Jerus, and was there during the terrible times of the siege and the destruction of the city.

Although King Josiah was God-fearing and willing to serve Jeh, and soon inaugurated his reformation according to the law of Jeh (in the 18th year of his reign), yet J., at the time when he was called to the prophetic office, was not left in doubt of the fact that the catastrophe of the judgment of God over the city would soon come (**1** 11 ff); and when, after a few years, the Book of the Law was found in the temple (2 K **22** and **23**), J. preached "the words of this covenant" to the people in the town and throughout the land (**11** 1–8; **17** 19–27), and exhorted to obedience to the Divine command; but in doing this then and afterward he became the object of much hostility, esp. in his native city, Anathoth. Even his own brethren or near relatives entered into a conspiracy against him by declaring that he was a dangerous fanatic (**12** 6). However, the condition of J. under this pious king was the most happy in his career, and he lamented the latter's untimely death in sad lyrics, which the author of Ch was able to use (2 Ch **35** 25), but which have not come down to our times.

Much more unfavorable was the prophet's condition after the death of Josiah. Jehoahaz-Shallum, who ruled only 3 months, received the announcement of his sentence from J. (**22** 10 ff). Jehoiakim (609–598 BC) in turn favored the heathen worship, and oppressed the people through his love of luxury and by the erection of grand structures (Jer **22** 13 ff). In addition, his politics were treacherous. He conspired with Egypt against his superior, Nebuchadnezzar. Epoch-making was the 4th year of Jehoiakim, in which, in the battle of Carchemish, the Chaldaeans gained the upper hand in Hither Asia, as J. had predicted (**46** 1–12). Under Jehoiakim J. delivered his great temple discourse (**7–9**; **10** 17–25). The priests for this reason determined to have the prophet put to death (ch **26**). However, influential elders interceded for him, and the princes yet showed some justice. He was, however, abused by the authorities at the appeal of the priests (ch **20**). According to **36** 1 ff, he was no longer permitted to enter the place of the temple. For this reason the Lord commanded him to collect his prophecies in a book-roll, and to have them read to the people by his faithful pupil Baruch (ch **36**; cf ch **45**). The book fell into the hands of the king, who burned it. However, J. dictated the book a second time to Baruch, together with new additions.

Jehoiachin or Coniah (**22** 24 ff), the son of Jehoiakim, after a reign of 3 months, was taken into captivity to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, together with a large number of his nobles and the best part of the people (Jer **24** 1; **29** 2), as the prophet had predicted (**22** 20–30). But conditions did not improve under Zedekiah (597–586 BC). This king was indeed not as hostile to J. as Jehoiakim had been; but all the more hostile were the princes and the generals, who were now in command after the better class of these had been deported to Babylon. They continually planned rebellion against Babylon, while J. was compelled to oppose and put to naught every patriotic agitation of this kind. Finally, the Bab army came in order to punish the faithless vassal who had again entered into an alliance with Egypt. J. earnestly advised submission, but the king was too weak and too cowardly as against his nobles. A long siege resulted, which caused the direst sufferings in the life of J. The commanders threw him into a vile prison, charging him with being a traitor (**37** 11 ff). The king, who consulted him secretly, released him from prison, and put him into the "court of the guard" (**37** 17 ff), where he could move around freely, and could again prophesy. Now that the judgment had come, he could again speak of the hopeful future (chs **32, 33**). Also chs **30** and **31,** probably, were spoken about this time. But as he continued to preach submission to the people, those in authority cast him into a slimy cistern, from which the pity of a courtier, Ebed-melech, delivered him (**39** 15–18). He again returned to the court of the guard, where he remained until Jerus was taken.

After the capture of the city, J. was treated with great consideration by the Babylonians, who knew that he had spoken in favor of their government (**39** 11 ff; **40** 1 ff). They gave him the choice of going to Babylon or of remaining in his native land. He decided for the latter, and went to the governor Gedaliah, at Mizpah, a man worthy of all confidence. But when this man, after a short time, was murdered by conscienceless opponents, the Jews who had been left in Pal, becoming alarmed and fearing the vengeance of the Chaldaeans, determined to emigrate to Egypt. J. advised against this most earnestly, and threatened the vengeance of Jeh, if the people should insist upon their undertaking (**42** 1 ff). But they insisted and even compelled the aged prophet to go with them (**43** 1 ff). Their first goal was Tahpanhes (Daphne), a town in Lower Egypt. At this place he still continued to preach the word of God to his fellow-Israelites; cf the latest of his preserved discourses in **43** 8–13, as also the sermon in ch **44,** delivered at a somewhat later time but yet before 570 BC. At that time J. must have been from 70 to 80 years old. He

ANATHOTH, JEREMIAH'S BIRTHPLACE

probably died soon after this in Egypt. The church Fathers report that he was stoned to death at Daphne by the Jews (Jerome, *Adv. Jovin*, ii, 37; Tertullian, *Contra Gnost.*, viii; Pseudepiphan., *De Proph.*, ch viii; Dorotheus, 146; Isidorus, *Ort. et Obit. Patr.*, ch xxxviii). However, this report is not well founded. The same is the case with the rabbinical tradition, according to which he, in company with Baruch, was taken from Egypt to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, and died there (*Ṣēdher ‘Ōlām Rabbā’* **26**).

3. Personal Character of Jeremiah

The Book of Jer gives us not only a fuller account of the life and career of its author than do the books of the other prophets, but we also learn more about his own inner and personal life and feelings than we do of Isaiah or any other prophet. From this source we learn that he was, by nature, gentle and tender in his feelings, and sympathetic. A decided contrast to this is found in the hard and unmerciful judgment which it was his mission to announce. God made him strong and firm and immovable like iron for his mission (**1** 18; **15** 20). This contrast between his naturally warm personal feelings and his strict Divine mission not rarely appears in the heart-utterances found in his prophecies. At first he rejoiced when God spoke to him (**15** 16); but soon these words of God were to his heart a source of pain and of suffering (**15** 17 ff). He would have preferred not to utter them; and then they burned in his breast as a fire (**20** 7 ff; **23** 9). He personally stood in need of love, and yet was not permitted to marry (**16** 1 f). He was compelled to forego the pleasures of youth (**15** 17). He loved his people as nobody else, and yet was always compelled to prophesy evil for it, and seemed to be the enemy of his nation. This often caused him to despair. The enmity to which he fell a victim, on account of his declaration of nothing but the truth, he deeply felt; see his complaints (**9** 1 ff; **12** 5 f; **15** 10; **17** 14–18; **18** 23, and often). In this sad antagonism between his heart and the commands of the Lord, he would perhaps wish that God had not spoken to him; he even cursed the day of his birth (**15** 10; **20** 14–18; cf Job **3** 1 ff). Such complaints are to be carefully distinguished from that which the Lord through His Spirit communicated to the prophet. God rebukes him for these complaints, and demands of him to repent and to trust and obey Him (**15** 19). This discipline makes him all the more unconquerable. Even his bitter denunciations of his enemies (**11** 20 ff; **15** 15; **17** 18; **18** 21–23) originated in part in his passionate and deep nature, and show how great is the difference between him and that perfect Sufferer, who prayed even for His deadly enemies. But J. was nevertheless a type of that Suffering Saviour, more than any of the OT saints. He, as a priest, prayed for his people, until God forbade him to do so (**7** 16; **11** 14; **14** 11; **18** 20). He was compelled more than all the others to suffer through the anger of God, which was to afflict his people. The people themselves also felt that he meant well to them. A proof of this is seen in the fact that the rebellious people, who always did the contrary of what he had commanded them, forced him, the unwelcome prophet of God, to go along with them, to Egypt, because they felt that he was their good genius.

4. The Prophecies of Jeremiah

What J. was to preach was the judgment upon Judah. As the reason for this judgment J. everywhere mentioned the apostasy from Jeh, the idolatry, which was practised on *bāmōth*, or the "high places" by Judah, as this had been done by Israel. Many heathenish abuses had found their way into the life of the people. Outspoken heathenism had been introduced by such men as King Manasseh, even the sacrifice of children to the honor of Baal-Molech in the valley of Hinnom (**7** 31; **19** 5; **32** 35), and the worship of "the queen of heaven" (**7** 18; **44** 19). It is true that the reformation of Josiah swept away the worst of these abominations. But an inner return to Jeh did not result from this reformation. For the reason that the improvement had been more on the surface and outward, and was done to please the king, J. charges up to his people all their previous sins, and the guilt of the present generation was yet added to this (**16** 11 f). Together with religious insincerity went the moral corruption of the people, such as dishonesty, injustice, oppression of the helpless, slander, and the like. Compare the accusations found in **5** 1 ff.7 f.26 ff; **6** 7.13; **7** 5 f.9; **9** 2.6.8; **17** 9 ff; **21** 12; **22** 13 ff; **23** 10; **29** 23, etc. Esp. to the spiritual leaders, the priests and prophets, are these things charged up.

The judgment which is to come in the near future, as a punishment for the sins of the people, is from the outset declared to be the conquest of the country through an enemy from abroad. In this way the heated caldron with the face from the N., in the vision containing the call of the prophet (**1** 13 ff), is to be understood. This power in the N. is not named until the 4th year of Jehoiakim (ch **25**), where Nebuchadnezzar is definitely designated as the conqueror. It is often thought, that, in the earlier years of his career, J. had in mind the Scythians when he spoke of the enemies from the N., esp. in chs **4–6**. The Scythians (according to Herodotus i.103 ff) had, probably a few years before J.'s call to the prophetic office, taken possession of Media, then marched through Asia Minor, and even forced their way as far as Egypt. They crossed through Canaan, passing by on their march from E. to W., near Beth-shean (Scythopolis). The ravages of this fierce people probably influenced the language used by J. in his prophecies (cf **4** 11 ff; **5** 15 ff; **6** 3 ff.22 ff). But it is unthinkable that J. expected nothing more than a plundering and a booty-seeking expedition of the Scythian nomad hordes. Chariots, such as are described in **4** 13, the Scythians did not possess. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that J. from the outset speaks of a deportation of his people to this foreign land (**3** 18; **5** 19), while an exile of Israel in the country of the Scythians was out of the question. At all events from the 4th year of Jehoiakim, J. regards the Chaldaeans as the enemy who, according to his former announcement, would come from the N. It is possible that it was only in the course of time that he reached a clear conviction as to what nation was meant by the revelation from God. But, upon further reflection, he must have felt almost certain on this subject, esp. as Isaiah (**39** 6), Micah (**4** 10), and, soon after these, Habakkuk had named Babylon as the power that was to carry out the judgment upon Israel. Other prophets, too, regard the Babylonians as belonging to the northern group of nations (cf Zec **6** 8), because they always came from the N., and because they were the legal successors of the Assyrians.

In contrast to optimistic prophets, who had hoped to remedy matters in Israel (**6** 14), J. from the beginning predicted the destruction of the city and of the sanctuary, as also the end of the Jewish nation and the exile of the people through these enemies from abroad. According to **25** 11; **29** 10, the Bab supremacy (not exactly the exile) was to continue for 70 years; and after this, deliverance should come. Promises to this effect are found only now and then in the earlier years of the prophet (**3** 14 ff; **12** 14 ff; **16** 14 f). However, during the time of the siege and afterward, such predictions are more frequent (cf **23** 1 ff; **24** 6 f; **47** 2–7; and in the "Book of Comfort," chs **30–33**).

What characterizes this prophet is the spiritual inwardness of his religion; the external theocracy he delivers up to destruction, because its forms were not animated by God-fearing sentiments. External circumcision is of no value without inner purity of heart. The external temple will be destroyed, because it has become the hiding-place of sinners. External sacrifices have no value, because those who offer them are lacking in spirituality, and this is displeasing to God. The law is abused and misinterpreted (**8** 8); the words of the prophets as a rule do not come from God. Even the Ark of the Covenant is eventually to make way for a glorious presence of the Lord. The law is to be written in the hearts of men (**31** 31 ff). The glories of the Messianic times the prophet does not describe in detail, but their spiritual character he repeatedly describes in the words "Jeh our righteousness" (**23** 6; **33** 16). However, we must not overestimate the idealism of J. He believed in a realistic restoration of the theocracy to a form, just as the other prophets (cf chs **31, 32, 38–40**).

As far as the form of his prophetic utterances is concerned, J. is of a poetical nature; but he was not only a poet. He often speaks in the meter of an elegy; but he is not bound by this, and readily passes over into other forms of rhythms and also at times into prosaic speech, when the contents of his discourses require it. The somewhat monotonous and elegiac tone, which is in harmony with his sad message to the people, gives way to more lively and varied forms of expression, when the prophet speaks of other and foreign nations. In doing this he often makes use of the utterances of earlier prophets.

5. The Book of Jeremiah

The first composition of the book is reported in **36** 1 ff. In the 4th year of Jehoiakim, at the command of Jeh, he dictated all of the prophecies he had spoken down to this time to his pupil Baruch, who wrote them on a roll. After the destruction of this book-roll by the king, he would not be stopped from reproducing the contents again and making additions to it (**36** 32). In this we have the origin of the present Book of Jer. This book, however, not only received further additions, but has also been modified. While the discourses may originally have been arranged chronologically, and these reached only down to the 4th year of King Jehoiakim, we find in the book, as it is now, as early as **21** 1 ff; **23** 1 ff; **26** 1 ff, discourses from the times of Zedekiah. However, the 2d edition (**36** 28) contained, no doubt, ch **25,** with those addresses directed against the heathen nations extant at that time. The lack of order, from a chronological point of view, in the present book, is attributable also to the fact that historical accounts or appendices concerning the career of J. were added to the book in later times, e.g. chs **26, 35, 36** and others; and in these additions are also found older discourses of the prophet. Beginning with ch **37,** the story of the prophet during the siege of Jerus and after the destruction of the city is reported, and in connection with this are his words and discourses belonging to this period.

It is a question whether these pieces, which are more narrative in character, and which are the product of a contemporary, probably Baruch, at one time constituted a book by themselves, out of which they were later taken and incorporated in the book of the prophet, or whether they were inserted by Baruch. In favor of the first view, it may be urged that they are not always found at their proper places chronologically; e.g. ch **26** is a part of the temple discourse in chs **7–9.** However, this "Book of Baruch," which is claimed by some critics to have existed as a separate book beside that of Jer, would not furnish a connected biography, and does not seem to have been written for biographical purposes. It contains introductions to certain words and speeches of the prophet and statements of what the consequences of these had been. Thus it is more probable that Baruch, at a later time, made supplementary additions to the original book, which the prophet had dictated without any personal data. But in this work the prophet himself may have coöperated. At places, perhaps, the dictation of the prophet ends in a narrative of Baruch (**19** 14—**20** 6), or vice versa. Baruch seems to have written a historical introduction, and then J. dictated the prophecy (**27** 1; **18** 1; **32** 1 ff, and others). Of course, the portions of the book which came from the pen of Baruch are to be regarded as an authentic account.

6. Authenticity and Integrity of the Book

However, critics have denied to J. and his pupil certain sections of the present book, and they claim that these belong to a later date. Among these is **10** 1–16, containing a warning to those in the exile against idolatry (and related to Isa **40** ff), which, it is claimed, could not possibly in this form and fulness be the work of J. Also **17** 19–27 is without reason denied to J., upon the ground that he could not have thought of emphasizing the Sabbath law. He was, however, no modern idealist, but respected also the Divine ordinances (cf **11** 1–8). Then ch **25** is rejected by some, while others attack esp. vs 12–14 and 27–38; but in both cases without reason. On the other hand, we admit that ver 25 and also vs 13 f are later additions. The words, "all that is written in this book, which J. hath prophesied against all the nations," are probably a superscription, which has found its way into the text. In ver 26 the words, "and the king of Sheshach shall drink after them," are likewise considered spurious. Sheshach is rightly regarded here, as in **51** 41, as a cipher for "Babel," but the use of *'At-bash* (a cipher in which the order of the letters of the Heb alphabet is reversed, ת for א, שׁ for ב, etc, hence SHēSHaKH = BāBHeL, see the comms.) does not prove spuriousness. The sentence is not found in the LXX. The attacks made on chs **30** and **31** are of little moment. **33** 14–26 is not found in the LXX, and its contents, too, belong to the passages in Jer that are most vigorously attacked. Critics regard J. as too spiritual to have perpetuated the Levitical priesthood. In ch **39,** vs 1.2.4–10 are evidently additions that do not belong to this place. The remaining portion can stand. Among the discourses against the nations, chs **46–51,** those in **46** 1–12, spoken immediately preceding the battle of Carchemish, cannot be shown to be unauthentic; even vs 13–28 are also genuine. The fact, however, is that the text has suffered very much. Nor are there any satisfactory reasons against the prophecy in chs **47–49,** if we assume that J. reasserted some of his utterances against the heathen nations that did not seem to have been entirely fulfilled. Chs **50** and **51,** the discourses against Babylon, have the distinct impress of J. This impression is stronger than the doubts, which, however, are not without weight. The events in **51** 59 ff, which are not to be called into question, presuppose longer addresses of J. against Babylon. The possibility, however, remains that the editing of these utterances as found in the present book dates from the time after 586 BC. That any influence of Deutero-Isaiah or later authors can be traced in Jer cannot be shown with any certainty. Ch **52** was written neither by Jeremiah nor for his book, but is taken from the Books of K, and is found there almost verbatim (2 K **24, 25**).

7. Relation to the LXX

A special problem is furnished by the relation of the text of Jer to the Alexandrian version of the Seventy (LXX). Not only does the Heb form of the book differ from the Gr materially, much more than this is the case in other books of the OT, but the arrangement, too, is a different one. The oracle concerning the heathen nations (chs **46**–**51**) is in the LXX found in the middle of ch **25**, and that, too, in an altogether different order (viz. **49** 35 ff.46; **50**; **51**; **47** 1–7; **49** 7–22; **49** 1–5.28–33.23–27; **48**). In addition, the readings throughout the book in many cases are divergent, the text in the LXX being in general shorter and more compact. The Gr text has about 2,700 Heb words less than the authentic Heb text, and is thus about one-eighth shorter.

As far as the insertion of the addresses against the heathen nations in ch **29** is concerned, the Gr order is certainly not more original than is the Heb. It rather tears apart, awkwardly, what is united in ch **25**, and has probably been caused by a misunderstanding. The words of **25** 13 were regarded as a hint that here the discourses against the heathen were to follow. Then, too, the order of these discourses in the Gr text is less natural than the one in Heb. In regard to the readings of the text, it has been thought that the text of the LXX deserves the preference on account of its brevity, and that the Heb text had been increased by additions. However, in general, the Gr version is very free, and often is done without an understanding of the subject; and there are reasons to believe that the translator shortened the text, when he thought the style of Jeremiah too heavy. Then, too, where he met with repetitions, he probably would omit; or did so when he found trouble with the matter or the language. This does not deny that his tr in many places may be correct, and that additions may have been made to the Heb text.

LITERATURE.—Calvin, *Praelectiones in Librum Prophetiae Jer et Thren*, Geneva, 1653; Sebastian Schmidt, *Commentarii in libr. prophet. Jer*, Argent, 1685. Modern comm. by Hitzig, Ewald, Graf, Nägelsbach, Keil; also Cheyne (*Pulpit Comm.*), Peake, Duhm, and von Orelli.

C. VON ORELLI

JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF. See JEREMY, THE EPISTLE OF.

JEREMIAH, THE LAMENTATIONS OF. See LAMENTATIONS.

JEREMIAS, jer-ē-mī′as (**'Ιερεμίας**, *Ieremías*):

(1) Named among the sons of Baani as one of those who had married foreign wives (1 Esd **9** 34). In Ezr **10** 33 we find, "Jeremai" among the sons of Hashum. In 1 Esd it should come in **9** 33 before Manasses.

(2) See JEREMIAH (general art.).

JEREMIEL, jer-ē-mī′el (Lat *Hieremihel*, al. *Jeremiel*, "El hurls" or "El appoints"): AVm and RV in 2 Esd **4** 36 for AV "Uriel." He is here called the "archangel" who answers the questions raised by the souls of the righteous dead. He is perhaps identical with Ramiel of Apoc Bar or Remiel of Eth Enoch.

JEREMOTH, jer′ē-moth ([*a*] יְרֵמוֹת, and [*b*] יְרֵימוֹת, *y*^e*rēmōth*, [*c*] יְרִימוֹת, *y*^e*rīmōth*, meaning unknown): Of the following (1) has form (*b*), (5) the form (*c*), the rest (*a*).

(1) In 1 Ch **7** 8 (AV "Jerimoth"), and

(2) In 1 Ch **8** 14, Benjamites. Cf JEROHAM, (2).

(3) In 1 Ch **23** 23, and (4) in 1 Ch **25** 22 = "Jerimoth," **24** 30; heads of Levitical houses.

(5) A Naphtalite, one of David's tribal princes (1 Ch **27** 19); AV "Jerimoth."

(6) (7) (8) Men who had married foreign wives. In Ezr **10** 26 (="Hieremoth," 1 Esd **9** 27); ver 27 (="Jarimoth," 1 Esd **9** 28); ver 29 (="Hieremoth," 1 Esd **9** 30); the Ḳ^erē of the last is וְרָמוֹת, *w*^e*rāmōth*, "and Ramoth"; so RVm, AV.

DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

JEREMY, jer′e-mi. See JEREMIAH (general art.).

JEREMY, jer′e-mi, **THE EPISTLE OF** (**'Επιστολὴ 'Ιερεμίου**, *Epistolē Ieremíou*):

1. Name
2. Canonicity and Position
3. Contents
4. Original Language
5. Authorship, Date and Aim
6. Text and Versions

LITERATURE

1. Name

In MSS BA the title is simply "An Epistle of Jeremiah." But in B, etc, there is a superscription introducing the letter: "Copy of a letter which Jeremiah sent to the captives about to be led to Babylon by [Pesh adds Nebuchadnezzar] the king of the Babylonians, to make known to them what had been commanded him by God." What follows is a satirical exposure of the folly of idolatry, and not a letter. The idea of introducing this as a letter from Jeremiah was probably suggested by Jer **29** 1 ff.

2. Canonicity and Position

The early Gr Fathers were on the whole favorably disposed toward this tract, reckoning it to be a part of the Canon. It is therefore included in the lists of canonical writings of Origen, Epiphanius, Cyril of Jerus and Athanasius, and it was so authoritatively recognized by the Council of Laodicea (360 AD).

In most Gr MSS of the LXX (BA Codd. March, Chisl, in the Syr Hex), it follows Lam as an independent piece, closing the supposed writings of Jeremiah. In the best-known printed edd of the LXX (Tischendorf, Swete, etc), the order is Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep. Jer. In Fritzsche, *Lib. Apoc VT Graece*, Ep. Jer stands between Bar and Tob. But in Lat MSS, including those of the Vulg, it is appended to Bar, of which it forms ch **6**, though it really has nothing to do with that book. This last is the case with Protestant edd (EV, etc) of the Apoc, a more intelligible arrangement, as Jer and Lam do not occur in the Apoc, and the Bib. Baruch was Jeremiah's amanuensis.

3. Contents

In the so-called letter (see 1, above) the author shows the absurdity and wickedness of heathen worship. The Jews, for their sins, will be removed to Babylon, where they will remain 7 generations. In that land they will be tempted to worship the gods of the people. The writer's aim is ostensibly to warn them beforehand by showing how helpless and useless the idols worshipped are, and how immoral as well as silly the rites of the Bab religion are. For similar polemics against idolatry, see Isa **44** 9–19 (which in its earnestness resembles the Ep. Jer closely); Jer **10** 3–9; Ps **115** 4–8; **135** 15–18; Wisd **13** 10–19; **15** 13–17.

4. Original Language

That the Ep. Jer was composed in Gr is the opinion of practically all scholars. There are no marks of translation; the Gr is on the whole good, and abounds in such rhetorical terms as characterized the Gr of Northern Egypt about the beginning of our era. There is no trace of a Heb original, though Origen has been mistakenly understood to say there was one in his day (see Schürer, *GJV*⁴, III, 467 f). Romanist writers defend a Heb original, and point to some Hebraisms (ver 44 and the use of the fut. for the past), but these can be matched in admittedly Hellenistic Gr writings.

5. Authorship, Date and Aim

The writer was almost certainly a resident in Alexandria toward the close of the last cent. BC. The Gr of the book, the references to Egyp religion (ver 19, where the Feast of Lights at Sais—Herod. ii.62—is referred to), and the allusion to the Ep. Jer in 2 Macc **2** 2, denied by Schürer, etc, make the above conclusion very probable. The author had in mind the dangers to the religion of his fellow-countrymen presented by the fascinating forms of idolatry existing at Alexandria. Certainly Jeremiah is not the author, for the book was written in Gr and never formed part of the Heb Canon. Besides, the treatment is far below the level of the genuine writings of that prophet.

(1) *The Greek.*—This ep. occurs in the principal MSS of the LXX uncials (BA Q Γ contain 7*b*–24*a*, etc) and cursives (except 70, 96, 229).

6. Text and Versions

(2) *The Syriac.*—P follows the Gr, but very freely. The Syr H follows the text of B closely, often at the expense of Syr idioms.

(3) *The Latin.*—The Vulg is made direct from the Gr. There is a different Lat VS published by Sabatier in his *Bib. Sacr. Lat Versiones Antiquas*, II, 734 ff. It is freer than the Vulg.

(4) There are also Arabic (following A), Coptic (ed Quatremère, 1810), and Ethiopic (ed Dillmann, 1894) versions.

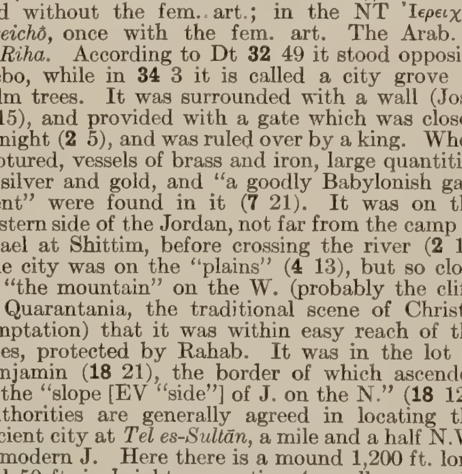
Literature.—See under Apocrypha for Comm. and editions. But note in addition to the lit. mentioned in the art. the following: Reusch, *Erklär. des B. Baruch*, 1853; Daubanton, "Het Apok boek 'Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰερεμίου,'" *Theol. Studien*, 1888, 126–38.

T. Witton Davies

JERIAH, jḗ-rī′a (יְרִיָּהוּ, *yᵉrīyāhū*, "founded of Jeh"): In 1 Ch **23** 19; **24** 23 = "Jerijah" (יְרִיָּה, *yᵉrīyāh*), **26** 31, head of a Levitical house: called chief of the Hebronites in **24** 23 (cf ver 30).

JERIBAI, jer′i-bī, jer-i-bā′ī (יְרִיבַי, *yᵉrībhay*, meaning uncertain): One of David's mighty men of the armies (1 Ch **11** 46); one of the names not found in the list in 2 S **23** 24–29*a*.

JERICHO, jer′i-kō (the word occurs in two forms. In the Pent, in 2 K **25** 5 and in Ezr, Neh, Ch it is written יְרֵחוֹ, *yᵉrēḥō;* יְרִיחוֹ, *yᵉrīḥō*, elsewhere): In 1 K **16** 34 the final letter is ה, *hē*, instead of ו, *wāw*. The termination *wāw* is thought to preserve the peculiarities of the old Can. dialect. In the LXX we have the indeclinable form, Ἰεριχώ, *Ierichō* (Swete has the form *Iereichō* as well), both with and without the fem. art.; in the NT Ἰερειχώ, *Iereichō*, once with the fem. art. The Arab. is *er-Riha*. According to Dt **32** 49 it stood opposite Nebo, while in **34** 3 it is called a city grove of palm trees. It was surrounded with a wall (Josh **2** 15), and provided with a gate which was closed at night (**2** 5), and was ruled over by a king. When captured, vessels of brass and iron, large quantities of silver and gold, and "a goodly Babylonish garment" were found in it (**7** 21). It was on the western side of the Jordan, not far from the camp of Israel at Shittim, before crossing the river (**2** 1). The city was on the "plains" (**4** 13), but so close to "the mountain" on the W. (probably the cliffs of Quarantania, the traditional scene of Christ's temptation) that it was within easy reach of the spies, protected by Rahab. It was in the lot of Benjamin (**18** 21), the border of which ascended to the "slope [EV "side"] of J. on the N." (**18** 12). Authorities are generally agreed in locating the ancient city at *Tel es-Sulṭān*, a mile and a half N.W. of modern J. Here there is a mound 1,200 ft. long and 50 ft. in height supporting 4 smaller mounds, the highest of which is 90 ft. above the base of the main mound.



Site of Ancient Jericho.

The geological situation (see Jordan Valley) sheds great light upon the capture of the city by Joshua (Josh 6). If the city was built as we suppose it to have been upon the unconsolidated sedimentary deposits which accumulated to a great depth in the Jordan valley during the enlargement of the Dead Sea, which took place in Pleistocene (or glacial) times, the sudden falling of the walls becomes easily credible to anyone who believes in the personality of God and in His power either to foreknow the future or to direct at His will the secondary causes with which man has to deal in Nature. The narrative does not state that the blowing of the rams' horns of themselves effected the falling of the walls. It was simply said that at a specified juncture on the 7th day the walls would fall, and that they actually fell at that juncture. The miracle may, therefore, be regarded as either that of prophecy, in which the Creator by foretelling the course of things to Joshua, secured the junction of Divine and human activities which constitutes a true miracle, or we may regard the movements which brought down the walls to be the result of direct Divine action, such as is exerted by man when he produces an explosion of dynamite at a particular time and place. The phenomena are just such as occurred in the earthquake of San Francisco in 1906, where, according to the report of the scientific commission appointed by the state, "the most violent destruction of buildings was on the made ground. This ground seems to have behaved during the earthquake very much in the same way as jelly in a bowl, or as a semi-liquid in a tank." Santa Rosa, situated on the valley floor, "underlain to a considerable depth by loose or slightly coherent geological formations, ... 20 miles from the rift, was the most severely shaken town in the state and suffered the greatest disaster relatively to its population and extent" (*Report*, 13 and 15). Thus an earthquake, such as is easily provided for along the margin of this great Jordan crevasse, would produce exactly the phenomena here described, and its occurrence at the time and place foretold to Joshua constitutes it a miracle of the first magnitude.

Notwithstanding the curse pronounced in Josh **6** 26 AV, prophesying that whosoever should rebuild the city "he shall lay the foundations thereof in his firstborn," it was rebuilt (1 K **16** 34) by Hiel the Bethelite in the days of Ahab. The curse was literally fulfilled. Still David's messengers are said to have "tarried at Jericho" in his day (2 S **10** 5; 1 Ch **19** 5). In Elisha's time (2 K **2** 5) there was a school of prophets there, while several other references to the city occur in the OT and the Apoc (2 Ch **28** 15, where it is called "the city of palmtrees"; 2 K **25** 5; Jer **39** 5; Ezr **2** 34; Neh **3** 2; **7** 36; 1 Macc **9** 50). Jos describes it and the fertile plain surrounding it, in glowing terms. In the time of Christ, it was an important place yielding a large revenue to the royal family. But the city which Herod rebuilt was on a higher elevation, at the base of the western mountain, probably at *Beit Jubr*, where there are the ruins of a small fort. Jericho was the place of rendezvous for Galilean pilgrims desiring to avoid Samaria, both in going to and in departing from Jerus, and it has been visited at all times by thousands of pilgrims, who go down from Jerus to bathe in the Jordan. In 1907–9 Jericho was excavated by Sellin and Watzinger (cf Jericho) who found a Canaanite city which they believe to be the one destroyed by Joshua. No city walls were found above ground. That it was a Canaanite city is unquestioned, but some doubt is cast upon the date of this city by Vincent (*Revue Biblique*, 1913, 456–58) and by Albright (*Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI, 51 ff). The present barrenness of the region is largely due to the destruction of the aqueducts which formerly distributed over the plain the waters brought down through the wadies which descend from the mountains of Judaea. The ruins of many of these are silent witnesses of the cause of its decay. Twelve aqueducts at various levels formerly branched from the *Wādy Kelt*, irrigating the plain both N. and S. In the Middle Ages they were so repaired that an abundance and variety of crops were raised, including wheat, barley, millet, figs, grapes and sugar cane. See further Palestine (Recent Exploration).
Revised by M. G. K.

George Frederick Wright

JERIEL, jē′ri-el, jer′i-el (יְרִיאֵל, *yᵉrī'ēl*, "founded of God"; cf Jeriah): A chief of Issachar (1 Ch **7** 2).

JERIJAH, jḗ-rī′ja (1 Ch **26** 31). See Jeriah.

JERIMOTH, jer′i-moth (see Jeremoth, [*c*]):

(1) A Benjamite (1 Ch **7** 7).

(2) A Benjamite who joined David at Ziklag, or perhaps a Judaean (1 Ch **12** 5 [Heb 6]).

(3) In 1 Ch **24** 30 = Jeremoth, (4) (q.v.).

(4) A Levite musician in David's time (1 Ch **25** 4).

(5) Son of David and father of Mahalath, Rehoboam's wife (2 Ch **11** 18). He is not mentioned (2 S **3** 2–5; **5** 14–16; 1 Ch **3** 1–9; **14** 4–7) among the sons of David's wives, so Curtis (*Ch*, 369) thinks that he was either the son of a concubine, or possibly the name is a corruption of "Ithream" (יִתְרְעָם, *yithr*ᵉ*ʿām*, 1 Ch **3** 3).

(6) A Levite overseer in Hezekiah's time (2 Ch **31** 13).

David Francis Roberts

JERIOTH, jer′i-oth, jer′i-ōth (יְרִיעוֹת, *y*ᵉ*rīʿōth*, "[tent-] curtains"): In 1 Ch **2** 18, where MT is corrupt, Kittel in his comm. and in Bib. Heb reads "Caleb begat [children] of Azubah his wife, Jerioth." Wellhausen (*De Gent. et Fam. Jud.*, 33) reads, "Caleb begat [children] of Azubah his wife, the daughter of Jerioth." According to EV, Caleb had two wives, but the context does not bear this out. J. H. Michaelis regarded J. as another name for Azubah. See Curtis, *Comm. on Ch*, 92.

JEROBOAM, jer-ō̇-bō′am (יָרָבְעָם, *yārobhʿām;* LXX Ἱεροβοάμ, *Hieroboám*, usually assumed to have been derived from ריב and עם, and signifying "the people contend," or, "he pleads the people's cause"): The name was borne by two kings of Israel.

(1) **Jeroboam I,** son of Nebat, an Ephraimite, and of Zeruah, a widow (1 K **11** 26–40; **12**—**14** 20). He was the first king of Israel after the disruption of the kingdom, and he reigned 22 years (937–915 BC).

1. Sources

The history of J. is contained in 1 K **11** 26–40; **12** 1—**14** 20; 2 Ch **10** 1—**11** 4; **11** 14–16; **12** 15; **13** 3–20, and in an insertion in the LXX after 1 K **12** 24(*a–z*). This insertion covers about the same ground as the MT, and the LXX elsewhere, with some additions and variations. The fact that it calls J.'s mother a *pórnē* (harlot), and his wife the Egyp princess Ano (cf 1 K **11**); that J. is punished by the death of his son before he has done any wrong; that the episode with the prophet's mantle does not occur until the meeting at Shechem; that J. is not proclaimed king at all—all this proves the passage inferior to the MT. No doubt it is a fragment of some historical work, which, after the manner of the later Midr, has combined history and tradition, making rather free use of the historical kernel.

2. His Rise and Revolt

J., as a highly gifted and valorous young Ephraimite, comes to the notice of Solomon early in his reign (1 K **11** 28; cf **9** 15.24). Having noticed his ability, the king made him overseer of the fortifications and public work at Jerus, and placed him over the levy from the house of Joseph. The fact that the latter term may stand for the whole of the ten tribes (cf Am **5** 6; **6** 6; Ob ver 18) indicates the importance of the position, which, however, he used to plot against the king. No doubt he had the support of the people in his designs. Prejudices of long standing (2 S **19** 40 f; **20** f) were augmented when Israelitish interests were made subservient to Judah and to the king, while enforced labor and burdensome taxation filled the people's hearts with bitterness and jealousy. J., the son of a widow, would be the first to feel the gall of oppression and to give voice to the suffering of the people. In addition, he had the approval of the prophet Ahijah of the old sanctuary of Shiloh, who, by tearing his new mantle into twelve pieces and giving ten of them to J., informed him that he was to become king of the ten tribes. Jos says (*Ant*, VIII, vii, 8) that J. was elevated by the words of the prophet, "and being a young man of warm temper, and ambitious of greatness, he could not be quiet," but tried to get the government into his hands at once. For the time, the plot failed, and J. fled to Egypt where he was received and kindly treated by Shishak, the successor to the father-in-law of Solomon.

3. The Revolt of the Ten Tribes

The genial and imposing personality of Solomon had been able to stem the tide of discontent excited by his oppressive régime, which at his death burst all restraints. Nevertheless, the northern tribes, at a popular assembly held at Shechem, solemnly promised to serve Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who had already been proclaimed king at Jerus, on condition that he would lighten the burdens that so unjustly rested upon them. Instead of receiving the *magna charta* which they expected, the king, in a spirit of despotism, gave them a rough answer, and Jos says "the people were struck by his words, as it were, by an iron hammer" (*Ant*, VIII, viii, 3). But despotism lost the day. The rough answer of the king was met by the *Marseillaise* of the people:

> "What portion have we in David?
> Neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse:
> To your tents, O Israel:
> Now see to thine own house, David" (1 K **12** 16).

Seeing the turn affairs had taken, but still unwilling to make any concessions, Rehoboam sent Adoram, who had been over the levy for many years (1 K **5** 14; **12** 18), and who no doubt had quelled dissatisfaction before, to force the people to submission, possibly by the very methods he had threatened to employ (1 K **12** 14). However, the attempt failed. The aged Adoram was stoned to death, while Rehoboam was obliged to flee ignominiously back to Jerus, king only of Judah (1 K **12** 20). Thus the great work of David for a united kingdom was shattered by inferiors, who put personal ambitions above great ideals.

4. The Election

As soon as J. heard that Solomon was dead, he returned from his forced exile in Egypt and took up his residence in his native town, Zeredah, in the hill country of Ephraim (LXX 1 K **12** 20 ff). The northern tribes, having rejected the house of David, now turned to the leader, and perhaps instigator of the revolution. Jeroboam was sent for and raised to the throne by the choice and approval of the popular assembly. Divinely set apart for his task, and having the approval of the people, J. nevertheless failed to rise to the greatness of his opportunities, and his kingdom degenerated into a mere military monarchy, never stronger than the ruler who chanced to occupy the throne. In trying to avoid the Scylla that threatened its freedom and faith (1 K **11** 33), the nation steered into the Charybdis of revolution and anarchy in which it finally perished.

5. Political Events

Immediately upon his accession, J. fortified Shechem, the largest city in Central Israel, and made it his capital. Later he fortified Penuel in the E. Jordan country. According to 1 K **14** 17, Tirzah was the capital during the latter part of his reign. About J.'s external relations very little is known beyond the fact that there was war between him and Rehoboam constantly (1 K **14** 30). In 2 Ch **13** 2–20 we read of an inglorious war with Abijah of Judah. When Shishak invaded Judah (1 K **14** 25 f), he did not spare Israel, as appears from his inscription on the temple at Karnak, where a list of the towns captured by him is given. These belong to Northern Israel as well as to Judah, showing that Shishak exacted tribute there, even if he used violence only in Judah. The fact that J. successfully managed a revolution but failed to establish a dynasty shows that his strength lay in the power of his personality more than in the soundness of his principles.

6. His Religious Policy

Despite the success of the revolution politically, J. descried in the halo surrounding the temple and its ritual a danger which threatened the permanency of his kingdom. He justifiably dreaded a reaction in favor of the house of David, should the people make repeated religious pilgrimages to Jerus after the first passion of the rebellion had spent itself. He therefore resolved to establish national sanctuaries in Israel. Accordingly, he fixed on Bethel, which from time immemorial was one of the chief sanctuaries of the land (Gen **28** 19; **35** 1; Hos **12** 4), and Dan, also a holy place since the conquest, as the chief centers of worship for Israel. J. now made "two calves of gold" as symbols of the strength and creative power of Jeh, and set them up in the sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan, where altars and other sacred objects already existed. It appears that many of the priests still in the land were opposed to his image-worship (2 Ch **11** 13 ff). Accordingly, he found it necessary to institute a new, non-Levitical priesthood (1 K **13** 33). A new and popular festival on the model of the feasts at Jerus was also established. J.'s policy might have been considered as a clever political move, had it not contained the dangerous appeal to the lower instincts of the masses, that led them into the immoralities of heathenism and hastened the destruction of the nation. J. sacrificed the higher interests of religion to politics. This was the "sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin" (1 K **12** 30; **16** 26).

7. Hostility of the Prophets

It may be that many of the prophets sanctioned J.'s religious policy. Whatever the attitude of the majority may have been, there was no doubt a party who strenuously opposed the image-worship.

(1) *The anonymous prophet.*—On the very day on which J. inaugurated the worship at the sanctuary at Bethel "a man of God out of Judah" appeared at Bethel and publicly denounced the service. The import of his message was that the royal altar should some day be desecrated by a ruler from the house of David. The prophet was saved from the wrath of the king only by a miracle. "The altar also was rent, and the ashes poured out from the altar." This narrative of 1 K **13** is usually assumed to belong to a later time, but whatever the date of compilation, the general historicity of the account is little affected by it.

(2) *The prophet Ahijah.*—At a later date, when J. had realized his ambition, but not the ideal which the prophet had set before him, Ahijah predicted the consequences of his evil policy. J.'s eldest son had fallen sick. He thought of Ahijah, now old and blind, and sent the queen in disguise to learn the issue of the sickness. The prophet bade her to announce to J. that the house of J. should be extirpated root and branch; that the people whom he had seduced to idolatry should be uprooted from the land and transported beyond the river; and, severest of all, that her son should die.

8. His Death

J. died in the 22d year of his reign, having "bequeathed to posterity the reputation of an apostate and a succession of endless revolutions."

S. K. Mosiman

(2) **Jeroboam II** (2 K **14** 23–29), son of Joash and 13th king of Israel; 4th sovereign of the dynasty of Jehu. He reigned 41 years. His accession may be placed c 798 BC (some date lower).

1. His Warlike Policy

J. came into power on the crest of the wave of prosperity that followed the crushing of the supremacy of Damascus by his father. By his great victory at Aphek, followed by others, Joash had regained the territory lost to Israel in the reigns of Jehu and Jehoahaz (2 K **13** 17.25). This satisfied Joash, or his death prevented further hostilities. J., however, then a young man, resolved on a war of retaliation against Damascus, and on further conquests. The condition of the eastern world favored his projects, for Assyria was at the time engaged, under Shalmaneser III and Assurdan III, in a life-and-death struggle with Armenia. Syria being weakened, J. determined on a bold attempt to conquer and annex the whole kingdom of which Damascus was the capital. The steps of the campaign by which this was accomplished are unknown to us. The result only is recorded, that not only the intermediate territory fell into J.'s hands, but that Damascus itself was captured (2 K **14** 28). Hamath was taken, and thus were restored the eastern boundaries of the kingdom, as they were in the time of David (1 Ch **13** 5). From the time of Joshua "the entrance of Hamath" (Josh **13** 5), a narrow pass leading into the valley of the Lebanons, had been the accepted northern boundary of the promised land. This involved the subjection of Moab and Ammon, probably already tributaries of Damascus.

2. New Social Conditions

J.'s long reign of over 40 years gave time for the collected tribute of this greatly increased territory to flow into the coffers of Samaria, and the exactions would be ruthlessly enforced. The prophet Amos, a contemporary of J. in his later years, dwells on the cruelties inflicted on the trans-Jordanic tribes by Hazael, who "threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron" (Am **1** 3). All this would be remembered now, and wealth to which the Northern Kingdom had been unaccustomed flowed into its treasuries. The hovels of unburned brick in which the citizens had lived were replaced by "houses of hewn stone" (Am **5** 11). The ivory house which Ahab built in Samaria (1 K **22** 39; decorations only are meant) was imitated, and there were many "great houses" (Am **3** 15). The sovereign had both a winter and a summer palace. The description of a banqueting scene within one of these palatial abodes is lifelike in its portraiture. The guests stretched themselves upon the silken cushions of the couches, eating the flesh of lambs and stall-fed calves, drinking wine from huge bowls, singing idle songs to the sound of viols, themselves perfumed and anointed with oil (Am **6** 4–6). Meanwhile, they were not grieved for the affliction of Joseph, and cared nothing for the wrongdoing of which the country was full. Side by side with this luxury, the poor of the land were in the utmost distress. A case in which a man was sold into slavery for the price of a pair of shoes seems to have come to the prophet's knowledge, and is twice referred to by him (Am **2** 6; **8** 6).

3. Growth of Ceremonial Worship

With all this, and as part of the social organization, religion of a kind flourished. Ritual took the place of righteousness; and in a memorable passage, Amos denounces the substitution of the one for the other (Am **5** 21 ff). The worship took place in the sanctuaries of the golden calves, where the votaries prostrated themselves before the altar clothed in garments taken in cruel pledge, and drank sacrificial wine bought with the money of those who were fined for non-attendance there (Am **2** 8). There were subsidiary temples and altars at Gilgal and Beersheba (Am **4** 4; **5** 5; **8** 14). Both of these places had associations with the early history of the nation, and would be attended by worshippers from Judah as well as from Israel.

4. Mission of Amos

Toward the close of his reign, it would appear that J. had determined upon adding greater splendor and dignity to the central shrine, in correspondence with the increased wealth of the nation. Amos, about the same time, received a commission to go to Bethel and testify against the whole proceedings there. He was to pronounce that these sanctuaries should be laid waste, and that Jeh would raise the sword against the house of J. (Am **7** 9). On hearing his denunciation, made probably as he stood beside the altar, Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, sent a messenger to the king at Samaria, to tell him of the "conspiracy" of Amos, and that the land was not able to bear all his words. The messenger bore the report that Amos had declared "J. shall die by the sword," which Amos had not done. When the messenger had gone, priest and prophet had a heated controversy, and new threatenings were uttered (Am **7** 10–17).

5. Prophecy of Jonah

The large extension of territory acquired for Israel by J. is declared to have been the realization of a prophecy uttered earlier by Jonah, the son of Amittai (2 K **14** 25)—the same whose mission to Nineveh forms the subject of the Book of Jon (**1** 1). It is also indicated that the relief which had now come was the only alternative to the utter extinction of Israel. But Jeh sent Israel a "saviour" (2 K **13** 5), associated by some with the Assyr king Ramman-nirari III, who crushed Damascus, and left Syria an easy prey, first to Jehoash, then to J. (see Jehoash), but whom the historian seems to connect with J. himself (2 K **14** 26.27).

J. was succeeded on his death by his weak son Zechariah (ver 29). W. Shaw Caldecott

JEROHAM, jē-rō′ham (יְרֹחָם, *yerōḥām*, "may he be compassionate!"):

(1) An Ephraimite, the father of Elkanah, and grandfather of Samuel (1 S **1** 1; 1 Ch **6** 27.34 [Heb 12.19]): Jerahmeel is the name in LXX, B, in 1 S and in LXX, L+MSS, in 1 Ch.

(2) A Benjamite (1 Ch **8** 27), apparently = Jeremoth, (2) (cf ver 14), and probably the same as he of 1 Ch **9** 8.

(3) Ancestor of a priest in Jerus (1 Ch **9** 12 = Neh **11** 12).

(4) A man of Gedor, father of two of David's Benjamite recruits at Ziklag, though Gedor might be a town in Southern Judah (1 Ch **12** 7 [Heb 8]).

(5) Father of Azarel, David's tribal chief over Dan (1 Ch **27** 22).

(6) Father of Azariah, one of the captains who supported Jehoiada in overthrowing Queen Athaliah (2 Ch **23** 1). David Francis Roberts

JERUBBAAL, jer-u-bā′al, jē-rub′ā-al (יְרֻבַּעַל, *yerubba'al*, "let Baal contend"): The name given to Gideon by his father, Joash, and the people in recognition of his destruction of the altar of Baal at Ophrah (Jgs **6** 32). For this name the form "Jerubbesheth" (2 S **11** 21) was substituted after the analogy of "Ishbosheth" and "Mephibosheth," in which *bōsheth*, the Heb word for "shame," displaced the word *ba'al*, no doubt because the name resembled one given in honor of Baal. See Gideon.

JERUBBESHETH, jer-ub-bē′sheth, jē-rub′ē-sheth (יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת, *yerubbesheth*, see Jerubbaal for meaning): It is found once (2 S **11** 21) for Jerubbaal.

The word בֹּשֶׁת, *bōsheth*, "shameful thing," was substituted by later editors of the text for בַּעַל, *ba'al*, "lord," in the text of Jer **3** 24; Hos **9** 10; in 2 S **2** 8, etc, we find Ish-bosheth = Eshbaal (Ishbaal) in 1 Ch **8** 33; **9** 39. The reason for this was reluctance to pronounce the word *Ba'al*, which had by their time been associated with Canaanitic forms of worship. In 2 S **11** 21 LXX, Luc, has "Jeroboal," which LXX, B, has corrupted to "Jeroboam." Cf Meribbaal; Mephibosheth; and see *GB*, Intro, 400 ff. For a NT case cf Rom **11** 4 and see Sanday and Headlam ad loc. See Jerubbaal.

David Francis Roberts

JERUEL, jē-rōō′el, jer′ōō-el (יְרוּאֵל, *yerū'ēl*, "founded by El"): Jahaziel prophesied that King Jehoshaphat should meet the hordes of Moabites and Ammonites, after they had come up by the "ascent of Ziz," "at the end of the valley [i.e. *wâdy*], before the wilderness of Jeruel" (2 Ch **20** 16). The particular part of the wilderness intended, is unknown. Cheyne (*EB*) thinks this may be an error for the Jezreel of Judah, mentioned in Josh **15** 56, etc. See Jezreel.

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LITERATURE

I. The Name.—The earliest mention of Jerus is in the Am Tab (1450 BC), where it appears in the form Uru-sa-lim; allied with this we have Ur-sa-li-immu on the Assyr monuments of the 8th cent. BC.

1. In Cuneiform

The most ancient Bib. form is יְרוּשָׁלֵם, *y^erūshālēm*, shortened in Ps **76** 2 (cf Gen **14** 18) to Salem, but in MT we have it vocalized: יְרוּשָׁלַםִ, *y^erūshālaim*. In Jer **26** 18; Est **2** 6; 2 Ch **25** 1; **32** 9 we have יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, *y^erūshālayim*, a form which occurs on the Jewish coins of the Revolt and also in Jewish literature; it is commonly used by modern Talmudic Jews. The form with the ending *-aim* or *-ayim* is interpreted by some as being a dual, referring to the upper and lower Jerus, but such forms occur in other names as implying special solemnity; such a pronunciation is both local and late.

2. In Hebrew

In the LXX we get Ἰερουσαλήμ (*Ierousalḗm*), constantly reflecting the earliest and the common Heb pronunciation, the initial letter being probably unaspirated; soon, however, we meet with Ἱερουσαλήμ (*Hierousalḗm*)—with the aspirate—the common form in Jos, and Ἱεροσόλυμα (*Hierosóluma*) in Macc (Books II–IV), and in Strabo. This last form has been carried over into the Lat writers, Cicero, Pliny, Tacitus and Suetonius. It was replaced in official use for some centuries by Hadrian's *Aelia Capitolina*, which occurs as late as Jerome, but it again comes into common use in the documents of the Crusades, while Solyma occurs at various periods as a poetic abbreviation.

3. In Gr and Latin

In the NT we have Ἱερουσαλήμ (*Hierousalḗm*), particularly in the writings of St. Luke and St. Paul, and τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα (*tá Hierosóluma*) elsewhere. The AV of 1611 has Ierosalem in the OT and Hierusalem in the NT. The form Jerusalem first occurs in French writings of the 12th cent.

With regard to the meaning of the original name there is no concurrence of opinion. The oldest known form, Uru-sa-lim, has been considered by many to mean either the "City of Peace" or the "City of [the god] Salem," but other interpreters, considering the name as of Heb origin, interpret it as the "possession of peace" or "foundation of peace." It is one of the ironies of history that a city which in all its long history has seen so little peace and for whose possession such rivers of blood have been shed should have such a possible meaning for its name.

4. The Meaning of Jerusalem

Other names for the city occur. For the name Jebus see JEBUS. In Isa **29** 1, occurs the name אֲרִיאֵל, *'ărī'ēl*, probably "the hearth of God," and in **1** 26 the "city of righteousness." In Ps **72** 16; Jer **32** 24 f; Ezk **7** 23, we have the term הָעִיר, *hā-'īr*, "the city" in contrast to "the land." A whole group of names is connected with the idea of the sanctity of the site; *'īr ha-ḳōdhesh*, the "holy city" occurs in Isa **48** 2; **52** 1; Neh **11** 1, and *y^erūshālayim ha-ḳ^edhōshāh*, "Jerusalem the holy" is inscribed on Simon's coins. In Mt **4** 5; **27** 53 we have ἡ ἁγία πόλις, *hē hagía pólis*, "the holy city," and in Philo, Ἱερόπολις, *Hierópolis*, with the same meaning.

5. Other Names

In Arab. the common name is *Beit el Maḳdis*, "the holy house," or *el Muḳaddas*, "the holy," or the common name, used by the Moslems everywhere today, *el Ḳūds*, a shortened form of *el Ḳūds esh Sherēf*, "the noble sanctuary."

Non-Moslems usually use the Arab. form Yerusalēm.

II. Geology, Climate and Springs.—The geology of the site and environs of Jerus is comparatively simple, when studied in connection with that of the land of Pal as a whole (see GEOLOGY OF PALESTINE). The outstanding feature is that the rocks consist entirely of various forms of limestone, with strata containing flints; there are no primary rocks, no sandstone (such as comes to the surface on the E. of the Jordan) and no volcanic rocks. The lime-

1. Geology

stone formations are in regular strata dipping toward the S.E., with an angle of about 10°.

On the high hills overlooking Jerus on the E., S.E. and S.W. there still remain strata of considerable thickness of those chalky limestones of the post-Tertiary period which crown so many hilltops of Pal, and once covered the whole land. On the "Mount of Olives," for example, occurs a layer of conglomerate limestone known as *Nāri*, or "firestone," and another thicker deposit, known as *Ka'kūli*, of which two distinct strata can be distinguished. In these layers, esp. the latter, occur pockets containing marl or *haur*, and in both there are bands of flint.

Over the actual city's site all this has been denuded long ages ago. Here we have three layers of limestone of varying density very clearly distinguished by all the native builders and masons:

(1) *Mizzeh helu*, lit. "sweet mizzeh," a hard, reddish-grey layer capable of polish, and reaching in places to a depth of 70 ft. or more. The "holy rock" in the temple-area belongs to this layer, and much of the ancient building stone was of this nature.

(2) Below this is the *Melekeh* or "royal" layer, which, though not very thick—35 ft. or so—has been of great importance in the history of the city. This rock is peculiar in that when first exposed to the air it is often so soft that it can be cut with a knife, but under the influence of the atmosphere it hardens to make a stone of considerable durability, useful for ordinary buildings. The great importance of this layer, however, lies in the fact that in it have been excavated the hundreds of caverns, cisterns, tombs and aqueducts which honeycomb the city's site.

(3) Under the *Melekeh* is a Cenomanian limestone of great durability, known as *Mizzeh Yehudeh*, or "Jewish mizzeh." It is a highly valued building stone, though hard to work. Geologically it is distinguished from *Mizzeh helu* by its containing ammonites. Characteristically it is a yellowish-grey stone, sometimes slightly reddish. A variety of a distinctly reddish appearance, known as *Mizzeh ahmar*, or "red mizzeh," makes a very ornamental stone for columns, tombstones, etc; it takes a high polish and is sometimes locally known as "marble."

This deep layer, which underlies the whole city, comes to the surface in the Kidron valley, and its impermeability is probably the explanation of the appearance there of the one true spring, the "Virgin's Fount." The water over the site and environs of Jerus percolates with ease the upper layer, but is conducted to the surface by this hard layer; the comparatively superficial source of the water of this spring accounts for the poorness of its quality.

2. Climate and Rainfall

The broad features of the climate of Jerus have probably remained the same throughout history, although there is plenty of evidence that there have been cycles of greater and lesser abundance of rain. The almost countless cisterns belonging to all ages upon the site and the long and complicated conduits for bringing water from a distance, testify that over the greater part of history the rainfall must have been, as at present, only seasonal.

As a whole, the climate of Jerus may be considered healthy. The common diseases should be largely preventable—under an enlightened government; even the malaria which is so prevalent is to a large extent an importation from the low-lying country, and could be stopped at once, were efficient means taken for destroying the carriers of infection, the abundant Anopheles mosquitoes. On account of its altitude and its exposed position, almost upon the watershed, wind, rain and cold are all more excessive than in the maritime plains or the Jordan valley. Although the winter's cold is severely felt, on account of its coinciding with the days of heaviest rainfall (cf Ezr **10** 9), and also because of the dwellings and clothes of the inhabitants being suited for enduring heat more than cold, the actual lowest cold recorded is only 25° F., and frost occurs only on perhaps a dozen nights in an average year. During the rainless summer months the mean temperature rises steadily until August, when it reaches 73.6° F., but the days of greatest heat, with temperature over 100° F. in the shade at times, occur commonly in September. In midsummer the cool northwest breezes, which generally blow during the afternoons and early night, do much to make life healthy. The most unpleasant days occur in May and from the middle of September until the end of October, when the dry southeast winds—the sirocco—blow hot and stifling from over the deserts, carrying with them at times fine dust sufficient in quantity to produce a marked haze in the atmosphere. At such times all vegetation droops, and most human beings, esp. residents not brought up under such conditions, suffer more or less from depression and physical discomfort; malarial, "sandfly," and other fevers are apt to be peculiarly prevalent. "At that time shall it be said . . . . to Jerus, A hot wind from the bare heights in the wilderness toward the daughter of my people, not to winnow, nor to cleanse" (Jer **4** 11).

During the late summer—except at spells of sirocco—heavy "dews" occur at night, and at the end of September or beginning of October the "former" rains fall—not uncommonly in tropical downpours accompanied by thunder. After this there is frequently a dry spell of several weeks, and then the winter's rain falls in December, January and February. In some seasons an abundant rainfall in March gives peculiar satisfaction to the inhabitants by filling up the cisterns late in the season and by producing an abundant harvest. The average rainfall is about 26 in., the maximum recorded in the city being 42.95 in. in the season 1877–78, and the minimum being 12.5 in. in 1869–70. An abundant rainfall is not only important for storage, for replenishment of the springs and for the crops, but as the city's sewage largely accumulates in the very primitive drains all through the dry season, it requires a considerable force of water to remove it. Snow falls heavily in some seasons, causing considerable destruction to the badly built roofs and to the trees; in the winter of 1910–11 a fall of 9 in. occurred.

There is only one actual spring in the Jerus area, and even to this some authorities would deny the

3. The Natural Springs

name of true spring on account of the comparatively shallow source of its origin; this is the intermittent spring known today as *'Ain Umm ed deraj* (lit. "spring of the mother of the steps"), called by the native Christians *'Ain Sitti Miriam* (the "spring of the Lady Mary"), and by Europeans commonly called "The Virgin's Fount." All the archaeological evidence points to this as the original source of attraction of earliest occupants of the site; in the OT this spring is known as Gihon (q.v.). The water arises in the actual bottom, though apparent west side, of the Kidron valley some 300 yds. due S. of the south wall of the *Haram*. The approach to the spring is down two flights of steps, an upper of 16 leading to a small level platform, covered by a modern arch, and a lower, narrower flight of 14 steps, which ends at the mouth of a small cave. The water has its actual source in a long cleft (perhaps 16 ft. long) running E. and

W. in the rocky bottom of the Kidron valley, now many feet below the present surface. The western or higher end of the cleft is at the very entrance of the cave, but most of the water gushes forth from the lower and wider part which lies underneath the steps. When the water is scanty, the women of Siloam creep down into the cavity under the steps and fill their water-skins there; at such times no water at all finds its way into the cave. At the far end of the cave is the opening of that system of ancient tunnel-aqueducts which is described in VI, below. This spring is "intermittent," the water rising rapidly and gushing forth with considerable force, several times in the 24 hours after the rainy season, and only once or twice in the dry. This "intermittent" condition of springs is not uncommon in Pal, and is explained by the accumulation of the underground water in certain cavities or cracks in the rock, which together make up a reservoir which empties itself by syphon action. Where the accumulated water reaches the bend of the syphon, the overflow commences and continues to run until the reservoir is emptied. Such a phenomenon is naturally attributed to supernatural agency by the ignorant—in this case, among the modern *fellahin*, to a dragon—and natives, specially Jews, visit the source, even today, at times of its overflow, for healing. Whether this intermittent condition of the fountain is very ancient it is impossible to say, but, as Jerome (*Comm. in Esa*, 86) speaks of it, it was probably present in NT times, and if so we have a strong argument for finding here the "Pool of Bethesda." See BETHESDA.

In ancient times all the water flowed down the open, rocky valley, but at an early period a wall was constructed to bank up the water and convert the source into a pool. Without such an arrangement no water could find its way into the cave and the tunnels. The tunnels, described below (VI), were constructed for the purpose (1) of reaching the water supply from within the city walls, and (2) of preventing the enemies of the Jews from getting at the water (2 Ch **32** 4). The water of this source, though used for all purposes by the people of Siloam, is brackish to the taste, and contains a considerable percentage of sewage; it is quite unfit for drinking. This condition is doubtless due to the wide distribution of sewage, both intentionally (for irrigation of the gardens) and unintentionally (through leaking sewers, etc), over the soil overlying the rocks from which the water flows. In earlier times the water was certainly purer, and it is probable, too, that the fountain was more copious, as now hundreds of cisterns imprison the waters which once found their way through the soil to the deep sources of the spring.

The waters of the Virgin's Fount find their way through the Siloam tunnel and out at *ʽAin Silwân* (the "spring" of Siloam), into the Pool of Siloam, and from this source descend into the Kidron valley to water the numerous vegetable gardens belonging to the village of Siloam (see SILOAM).

The second source of water in Jerus is the deep well known as *Bîr Eyyûb*, "Job's well," which is situated a little below the point where the Kidron valley and Hinnom meet. In all probability it derives its modern name from a legend in the Ḳorân (*Sura* **38** 5.40–41) which narrates that God commanded Job to stamp with his foot, whereupon a spring miraculously burst up. The well, which had been quite lost sight of, was rediscovered by the Crusaders in 1184 AD, and was by them cleaned out. It is 125 ft. deep. The supply of water in this well is practically inexhaustible, although the quality is no better than that of the "Virgin's Fount"; after several days of heavy rain the water overflows underground and bursts out a few yards lower down the valley as a little stream. It continues to run for a few days after a heavy fall of rain is over, and this "flowing Kidron" is a great source of attraction to the native residents of Jerus, who pour forth from the city to enjoy the rare sight of running water. Somewhere in the neighborhood of *Bîr Eyyûb* must have lain *ʽEn-Rogel*, but if that were once an actual spring, its source is now buried under the great mass of rubbish accumulated here (see EN-ROGEL).

Nearly 600 yds. S. of *Bîr Eyyûb* is a small gravelly basin where, when the *Bîr Eyyûb* overflows, a small spring called *ʽAin el Lozêh* (the "spring of the almond") bursts forth. It is not a true spring, but is due to some of the water of Job's well which finds its way along an ancient rock-cut aqueduct on the west side of the *Wâdy en Nâr*, bursting up here.

The only other possible site of a spring in the Jerus area is the *Ḥammâm esh Shefâ*, "the bath of healing." This is an underground rock-basin in the Tyropœon valley, within the city walls, in which water collects by percolation through the débris of the city. Though once a reservoir with probably rock-cut channels conducting water to it, it is now a deep well with arches erected over it at various periods, as the rubbish of the city gradually accumulated through the centuries. There is no evidence whatever of there being any natural fountain, and the water is, in the dry season, practically pure sewage, though used in a neighboring Turkish bath.

G. A. Smith thinks that the JACKAL'S WELL (q.v.) mentioned by Nehemiah (**2** 13), which must have been situated in the Valley of Hinnom, may possibly have been a temporary spring arising there for a few years in consequence of an earthquake, but it is extremely likely that any well sunk then would tap water flowing along the bed of the valley. There is no such "spring" or "well" there today.

III. The Natural Site.—Modern Jerus occupies a situation defined geographically as 31° 46′ 45″ N. lat., by 35° 13′ 25″ E. long. It lies in the midst of a bare and rocky plateau, the environs being one of the most stony and least fruitful districts in the habitable parts of Pal, with shallow, grey or reddish soil and many outcrops of bare limestone. Like all the hill slopes with a southeasterly aspect, it is so thoroughly exposed to the full blaze of the summer sun that in its natural condition the site would be more or less barren. Today, however, as a result of diligent cultivation and frequent watering, a considerable growth of trees and shrubs has been produced in the rapidly extending suburbs. The only fruit tree which reaches perfection around Jerus is the olive.

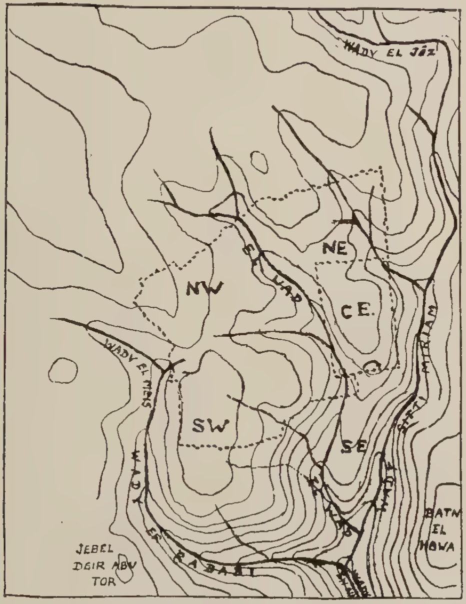
1. The Mountains Around

The site of Jerus is shut in by a rough triangle of higher mountain ridges: to the W. runs the main ridge, or water parting, of Judaea, which here makes a sweep to the westward. From this ridge a spur runs S.E. and E., culminating due E. of the city in the MOUNT OF OLIVES (q.v.), nearly 2,700 ft. above sea-level and about 300 ft. above the mean level of the ancient city. Another spur, known as *Jebel Deir abu Tōr*, 2,550 ft. high, runs E. from the plateau of *el Buḳeiʽa* and lies S.W. of the city; it is the traditional "Hill of Evil Counsel." The city site is thus dominated on all sides by these higher ranges—"the mountains [that] are round about Jerus" (Ps **125** 2)—so that while on the one hand the ancient city was hidden, at any considerable distance, from any direction except the S.E., it is only through this open gap toward the desert and the mountains of Moab that any wide outlook is obtainable. This strange vision of wilderness and distant mountain wall—often of exquisite loveliness in the light of the setting sun—must all through the ages have been the most familiar and the most potent of scenic influences to the inhabitants of Jerus.

Within the enfolding hills the city's proper site is demarked by two main valleys. That on the W.

2. The Valleys

and S.W. commences in a hollow occupied by the Moslem cemetery around the pool *Birket Mamilla.* The valley runs due E. toward the modern Jaffa Gate, and there bends S., being known in this upper part of its course as the *Wâdy el Mês.* In this southern course it is traversed by a great dam, along which the modern Bethlehem road runs, which converts a large area of the valley bed into a great pool, the *Birket es Sultân.* Below this the valley—under the name of *Wâdy er Râbâbi*—bends S.E., then E., and finally S.E. again, until near *Bîr Eyyûb* it joins the western valley to form the *Wâdy en Nâr,* 670 ft. below its origin. This valley has been very generally identified as the Valley of Hinnom (see Hinnom).



Hills and Valleys of Jerusalem with Modern Names.

The eastern valley takes a wider sweep. Commencing high up in the plateau to the N. of the city, near the great water-parting, it descends as a wide and open valley in a southeasterly direction until, where it is crossed by the Great North Road, being here known as *Wâdy el Jôz* (the "Valley of the Walnuts"), it turns more directly E. It gradually curves to the S., and as it runs E. of the city walls, it receives the name of *Wâdy Sitti Miriam* (the "Valley of the Lady Mary"). Below the S.E. corner of the temple-area, near the traditional "Tomb of Absalom," the valley rapidly deepens and takes a direction slightly to the W. of S. It passes the "Virgin's Fount," and a quarter of a mile lower it is joined by *el Wād* from the N., and a little farther on by the *Wâdy er Râbâbi* from the W. South of *Bîr Eyyûb,* the valley formed by their union is continued under the name of *Wâdy en Nâr* to the Dead Sea. This western valley is that commonly known as the Brook Kidron, or, more shortly, the "Brook" (*naḥal*), or ravine (see Kidron), but named from the 5th cent. onward by Christians the Valley of Jehoshaphat (q.v.). The rocky tongue of land inclosed between these deep ravines, an area, roughly speaking, a little over one mile long by half a mile wide, is further subdivided into a number of distinct hills by some shallower valleys. The most prominent of these—indeed the only one noticeable to the superficial observer today—is the great central valley known to modern times by the single name *el Wād,* "the valley." It commences in a slight depression of the ground a little N. of the modern "Damascus Gate," and after entering the city at this gate it rapidly deepens—a fact largely disguised today by the great accumulation of rubbish in its course. It traverses the city with the *Ḥaram* to its east, and the Christian and Moslem quarters on rapidly rising ground to its west. Its course is observed near the *Bâb es Silseleh,* where it is crossed by an ancient causeway, but farther S. the valley reappears, having the walls of the *Ḥaram* (near the "wailing place" and "Robinson's arch") on the E., and steep cliffs crossed by houses of the Jewish quarter on the W. It leaves the city at the "Dung Gate," and passes with an open curve to the E., until it reaches the Pool of Siloam, below which it merges in the *Wâdy Sitti Miriam.* This is the course of the main valley, but a branch of great importance in the ancient topography of the city starts some 50 yds. to the W. of the modern Jaffa Gate and runs down the *Suwaikat Allûn,* generally known to travelers as "David's Street," and thus easterly, along the *Tarîk bâb es Silseleh,* until it merges in the main valley. The main valley is usually considered to be the Tyropœon, or "Cheesemongers' Valley" of Jos, but some writers have attempted to confine the name esp. to this western arm of it.

Another interior valley, which is known rather by the rock contours, than by surface observations, being largely filled up today, cuts diagonally across the N.E. corner of the modern city. It has no modern name, though it is sometimes called "St. Anne's Valley." It arises in the plateau near "Herod's Gate," known as *es Ṣahra,* and entering the city about 100 yds. to the E. of that gate, runs S.S.E., and leaves the city between the N.E. angle of the *Ḥaram* and the Golden Gate, joining the Kidron valley farther S.E. The *Birket Israēl* runs across the width of this valley, which had far more influence in determining the ancient topography of the city than has been popularly recognized. There is an artificially made valley between the *Ḥaram* and the buildings to its north, and there is thought by many to be a valley between the S.E. hill, commonly called "Ophel" and the temple-area. Such, then, are the valleys, great and small, by which the historic hills on which the city stood are defined. All of them, particularly in their southern parts, were considerably deeper in ancient times, and in places the accumulated débris is 80 ft. or more. All of them were originally torrent beds, dry except immediately after heavy rain. The only perennial outflow of water is the scanty and intermittent stream which overflows from the Pool of Siloam, and is used to irrigate the gardens in the *Wâdy Sitti Miriam.*

The E. and W. valleys isolate a roughly quadrilateral tongue of land running from N.W.W. to

3. The Hills

S.S.E., and tilted so as to face S.E. This tongue is further subdivided by *el Wād* into two long ridges, which merge into each other in the plateau to the N. The western ridge has its actual origin considerably N. of the modern wall, being part of the high ground lying between the modern Jaffa road to the W., and the commencement of the Kidron valley to the E. Within the city walls it rises as high as 2,581 ft. near the northwestern corner. It is divided by the west branch of the Tyropœon valley into two parts: a northern part—the northwestern hill—on which is situated today the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the greater part of the "Christian quarter" of the city, and a southern hill—

the southwestern—which is connected with the northwestern hill by but a narrow saddle—50 yds. wide—near the Jaffa Gate. This hill sustains the citadel (the so-called "Tower of David"), the barracks and the Armenian quarter within the walls, and the Coenaculum and adjacent buildings outside the walls. This hill is from 2,500 to 2,350 ft. high along its summit, but drops rapidly on its southwestern, southern and southeastern sides. In its central part it falls much more gently toward the eastern hill across the now largely filled valley *el Wād*.

The eastern ridge may be reckoned as beginning at the rocky hill *el-Edhemîyeh*—popularly known as Gordon's Calvary—but the wide trench made here by quarrying somewhat obscures this fact. The ridge may for convenience be regarded as presenting three parts, the northeastern, central or central-eastern, and southeastern summits. The northeastern hill within the modern wall supports the Moslem quarter, and rises in places to a height of over 2,500 ft.; it narrows to a mere neck near the "Ecce Homo" arch, where it is joined to the barracks, on the site of the ancient Antonia. Under the present surface it is here separated from the temple summit by a deep rocky trench.

The central, or central-eastern, summit is that appearing as *es Sakhra*, the sacred temple rock, which is 2,404 ft. high. This is the highest point from which the ground rapidly falls E., W., and S., but the natural contours of the adjacent ground are much obscured by the great substructures which have been made to sustain the temple platform.

The sloping, southeastern, hill, S. of the temple-area appears today, at any rate, to have a steady fall of from 2,350 ft. just S. of the *Ḥaram* southern wall to a little over 2,100 ft. near the Pool of Siloam. It is a narrow ridge running in a somewhat curved direction, with a summit near 200 ft. above the Kidron and 100 ft. above the bed of the Tyropœon. In length it is not more than 600 yds., in width, at its widest, only 150 yds., but its chief feature, its natural strength, is today greatly obscured on account of the rubbish which slopes down its sides and largely fills up its surrounding valleys. In earlier times, at least three of its sides were protected by deep valleys, and probably on quite two-thirds of its circumference its summit was surrounded by natural rocky scarps. According to Professor Guthe, this hill is divided from the higher ground to the N. by a depression 12 ft. deep and 30–50 yds. wide, but this has not been confirmed by other observers. The city covering so hilly a site as this must ever have consisted, as it does today, of houses terraced on steep slopes with stairways for streets.

IV. General Topography of Jerusalem.—From the foregoing description of the "natural site," it will be seen that we have to deal with 5 natural subdivisions or hills, two on the western and three on the eastern ridges.

In discussing the topography it is useful to commence with the description of Jos, wherein he gives to these 5 areas the names common in his day (*BJ*, V, iv, 1,2). He says: "The city was built upon two hills which are opposite to one another and have a valley to divide them asunder. . . . . Now the Valley of the Cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam" (ib, V, iv, 1). Here we get the first prominent physical feature, the bisection of the city-site into two main hills. Farther on, however, in the same passage—one, it must be admitted, of some obscurity—Jos distinguishes 5 distinct regions:

1. Description of Josephus

(1) *The Upper City or Upper Market Place:* (The hill) "which sustains the upper city is much higher and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called the citadel (φρούριον, *phroúrion*) of King David . . . . but it is by us called the Upper Market Place." This is without dispute the southwestern hill.

(2) *Akra and Lower City:* "The other hill, which was called Akra, and sustains the lower city, was double-curved" (ἀμφίκυρτος, *amphíkurtos*). The description can apply only to the semicircular shape of the southeastern hill, as viewed from the "upper city." These names, "Akra" and "Lower City," are, with reservations, therefore, to be applied to the southeastern hill.

(3) *The Temple Hill:* Josephus' description here is curious, on account of its indefiniteness, but there can be no question as to which hill he intends. He writes: "Over against this is a third hill, but naturally lower than the Akra and parted formerly from the other by a flat valley. However, in those times when the Hasmoneans reigned, they did away with this valley, wishing to connect the city with the temple; and cutting down the summit of the Akra, they made it lower, so that the temple might be visible over it." Comparison with other passages shows that this "third hill" is the central-eastern—the "Temple Hill."

(4) *Bezetha:* "It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall (i.e. the third wall) which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the Temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill which is in number the fourth, and is called 'Bezetha,' to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose. . . . . This new-built part of the city was called 'Bezetha' in our language, which, if interpreted in the Gr language, may be called the 'New City.'" This is clearly the northeastern hill.

(5) *The Northern Quarter of the City:* From the account of the walls given by Jos, it is evident that the northern part of his "first wall" ran along the northern edge of the southwestern hill; the second wall inclosed the inhabited part of the northwestern hill. Thus Jos writes: "The second wall took its beginning from the gate which they called Gennath in the first wall, and inclosing the northern quarter only reached to the Antonia." This area is not described as a separate hill, as the inhabited area, except on the S., was defined by no natural valleys, and besides covering the northwestern hill, must have extended into the Tyropœon valley.

2. Summary of Names of the Five Hills

Here then we have Josephus' names for these five districts: (1) *Southwestern Hill*, "Upper City" and "Upper Market Place"; also the *Phrourion*, or "fortress of David." From the 4th cent. AD, this hill has also been known as "Zion," and on it today is the so-called "Tower of David," built on the foundations of two of Herod's great towers.

(2) *Northwestern Hill:* "The northern quarter of the city." This district does not appear to have had any other name in OT or NT, though some of the older authorities would place the "Akra" here (see *infra*). Today it is the "Christian quarter" of Jerus, which centers round the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

(3) *Northeastern Hill:* "Bezetha" or "New City," even now a somewhat sparsely inhabited area, has no name in Bib. literature.

(4) *Central-eastern Hill:* The "third hill" of Jos, clearly the site of the Temple which, as Jos says (*BJ*, V, v), "was built upon a strong hill." In

earlier times it was the "threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite." On the question whether it has any claims to be the Moriah of Gen **22** 2, as it is called in 2 Ch **3** 1, see MORIAH. The temple hill is also in many of the Heb writings called Zion, on which point see ZION.

(5) *Southeastern Hill:* This Jos calls "Akra" and "Lower City," but while on the one hand these names require some elucidation, there are other names which have at one period or another come to be applied to this hill, viz. "City of David," "Zion" and "Ophel." These names for this hill we shall now deal with in order.

3. The Akra

In spite of the very definite description of Jos, there has been considerable difference of opinion regarding the situation of the "Akra." Various parts of the northwestern, the northeastern, the southeastern hills, and even the central-eastern itself, have been suggested by earlier authorities, but instead of considering the various arguments, now largely out of date, for other proposed sites, it will be better to deal with the positive arguments for the southeastern hill. Jos states that in his day the term "Akra" was applied to the southeastern *hill*, but in references to the earlier history it is clear that the Akra was not a whole hill, but a definite fortress (ἄκρα, *ákra* = "fortress").

(1) It was situated on the site, or on part of the site, which was considered in the days of the Maccabees to have been the "City of David." Antiochus Epiphanes (168 BC), after destroying Jerus, "fortified the city of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers and it became unto them an Akra" (1 Macc **1** 33–36). The formidable fortress—known henceforth as "the Akra"—became a constant menace to the Jews, until at length, in 142 BC, it was captured by Simon, who not only razed the whole fortress, but, according to Jos (*Ant*, XIII, vi, 7; *BJ*, V, iv, 1), actually cut down the hill on which it stood. He says that "they all, labouring zealously, demolished the hill, and ceasing not from the work night and day for three whole years, brought it to a level and even slope, so that the Temple became the highest of all after the Akra and the hill upon which it was built had been removed" (*Ant*, XIII, vi, 7). The fact that at the time of Jos this hill was evidently lower than the temple hill is in itself sufficient argument against any theory which would place the Akra on the northwestern or southwestern hills. (2) The Akra was close to the temple (1 Macc **13** 52), and from its walls the garrison could actually overlook it (1 Macc **14** 36). Before the hill was cut down it obscured the temple site (ib). (3) It is identified by Jos as forming part, at least, of the lower city, which (see below) bordered upon the temple (cf *BJ*, I, i, 4; V, iv, 1; vi, 1). (4) The LXX identifies the Akra with Millo (2 S **5** 9; 1 K **9** 15–24; 2 Ch **32** 5).

Allowing that the original Akra of the Syrians was on the southeastern hill, it is still a matter of some difficulty to determine whereabouts it stood, esp. as, if the statements of Jos are correct, the natural configuration of the ground has been greatly altered. The most prominent point upon the southeastern hill, in the neighborhood of Gihon, appears to have been occupied by the Jebusite fortress of ZION (q.v.), but the site of the Akra can hardly be identical with this, for this became the "City of David," and here were the venerated tombs of David and the Judaean kings, which must have been destroyed if this hill was, as Jos states, cut down. On this and other grounds we must look for a site farther north. Sir Charles Watson (*PEFS*, 1906, 1907) has produced strong topographical and literary arguments for placing it where the *al Aḳsa* mosque is today; other writers are more inclined to put it farther south, somewhere in the neighborhood of the massive tower discovered by Warren on the "Ophel" wall (see MILLO). If the account of Jos, written two centuries after the events, is to be taken as literal, then Watson's view is the more probable.

4. The Lower City

Jos, as we have seen, identified the Akra of his day with the Lower City. This latter is not a name occurring in the Bible because, as will be shown, the OT name for this part was "City of David." That by Lower City Jos means the southeastern hill is shown by many facts. It is actually the lowest part of the city, as compared with the "Upper City," Temple Hill and the Bezetha; it is, as Jos describes, separated from the Upper City by a deep valley—the Tyropœon; this southeastern hill is "double-curved," as Jos describes, and lastly several passages in his writings show that the Lower City was associated with the Temple on the one end and the Pool of Siloam at the other (cf *Ant*, XIV, xvi, 2; *BJ*, II, xvii, 5; IV, ix, 12; VI, vi, 3; vii, 2).

In the wider sense the "Lower City" must have included, not only the section of the city covering the southeastern hill up to the temple precincts, where were the palaces (*BJ*, V, vi, 1; VI, vi, 3), and the homes of the well-to-do, but also that in the valley of the Tyropœon from Siloam up to the "Council House," which was near the northern "first wall" (cf *BJ*, V, iv, 2), a part doubtless inhabited by the poorest.

5. City of David and Zion

It is clear (2 S **5** 7; 1 Ch **11** 5) that the citadel "Zion" of the Jebusites became the "City of David," or as G. A. Smith calls it, "David's Burg," after its capture by the Hebrews. The arguments for placing "Zion" on the southeastern hill are given elsewhere (see ZION), but a few acts relevant esp. to the "City of David" may be mentioned here: the capture of the Jebusite city by means of the gutter (2 S **5** 8), which is most reasonably explained as "Warren's Shaft" (see VII); the references to David's halt on his flight (2 S **15** 23), and his sending Solomon to Gihon to be crowned (1 K **1** 33), and the common expression "up," used in describing the transference of the Ark from the City of David to the Temple Hill (1 K **8** 1; 2 Ch **5** 2; cf 1 K **9** 24), are all consistent with this view. More convincing are the references to Hezekiah's aqueduct which brought the waters of Gihon "down on the west side of the city of David" (2 Ch **32** 30); the mention of the City of David as adjacent to the Pool of Shelah (or Shiloah; cf Isa **8** 6), and the "king's garden" in Neh **3** 15, and the position of the Fountain Gate in this passage and Neh **12** 37; and the statement that Manasseh built "an outer wall to the City of David, on the west side of Gihon" in the *naḥal*, i.e. the Kidron valley (2 Ch **33** 14).

The name appears to have had a wider significance as the city grew. Originally "City of David" was only the name of the Jebusite fort, but later it became equivalent to the whole southeastern hill. In the same way, Akra was originally the name of the Syrian fort, but the name became extended to the whole southeastern hill. Jos looks upon "City of David" and "Akra" as synonymous, and applies to both the name "Lower City." For the names Ophel and Ophlas see OPHEL.

V. Excavations and Antiquities.—During the last hundred years explorations and excavations of a succession of engineers and archaeologists have furnished an enormous mass of observations for the understanding of the condition of ancient Jerus. Some of the more important are as follows:

In 1833 Messrs. Bonomi, Catherwood and Arundale made a first thorough survey of the *Ḥaram* (temple-area), a work which was the foundation of all subsequent maps for over a quarter of a century.

1. Robinson

In 1838, and again in 1852, the famous American traveler and divine, Rev. E. Robinson, D.D., visited the land as the representative of an American society, and made a series of brilliant topographical investigations of profound importance to all students of the Holy Land, even today.

In 1849 Jerus was surveyed by Lieuts. Aldrich and Symonds of the Royal Engineers, and the data acquired were used for a map constructed by Van de Vilde and published by T. Tobler.

In 1857 an American, J. T. Barclay, published another map of Jerus and its environs "from actual and minute survey made on the spot."

In 1860–63 De Vogüé in the course of some elaborate researches in Syria explored the site of the sanctuary.

2. Wilson and the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1865

In 1864–65 a committee was formed in London to consider the sanitary condition of Jerus, esp. with a view to furnishing the city with a satisfactory water-supply, and Lady Burdett-Coutts gave £500 toward a proper survey of Jerus and its environs as a preliminary step. Captain (later Lieutenant-General Sir Charles) Wilson, R.E., was lent by the Ordnance Survey Department of Great Britain for the purpose. The results of this survey, and of certain tentative excavations and observations made at the same time, were so encouraging that in 1865 "The Palestine Exploration Fund" was constituted, "for the purpose of investigating the archaeology, geography, geology, and natural history of the Holy Land."

3. Warren and Conder

During 1867–70 Captain (later Lieutenant-General Sir Charles) Warren, R.E., carried out a series of most exciting and original excavations all over the site of Jerus, esp. around the *Ḥaram*. During 1872–75 Lieutenant (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Conder, R.E., in the course of the great survey of Western Pal, made further contributions to our knowledge of the Holy City.

4. Maudslay

In 1875 Mr. Henry Maudslay, taking advantage of the occasion of the rebuilding of "Bishop Gobat's Boys' School," made a careful examination of the remarkable rock cuttings which are now more or less incorporated into the school buildings, and made considerable excavations, the results being described in *PEFS* (April, 1875).

In 1881 Professor Guthe made a series of important excavations on the southeastern hill, commonly called "Ophel," and also near the Pool of Siloam; his reports were published in *ZDPV*, 1882.

5. Schick

The same year (1881), the famous Siloam inscription was discovered and was first reported by Herr Baurath Schick, a resident in Jerus who from 1866 until his death in 1901 made a long series of observations of the highest importance on the topography of Jerus. He had unique opportunities for scientifically examining the buildings in the *Ḥaram*, and the results of his study of the details of that locality are incorporated in his wonderful Temple model. He also made a detailed report of the ancient aqueducts of the city. Most important of all were the records he so patiently and faithfully kept of the rock levels in all parts of the city's site whenever the digging of foundations for buildings or other excavations gave access to the rock. His contributions to the *PEF* and *ZDPV* run into hundreds of articles.

6. Clermont-Ganneau

M. Clermont-Ganneau, who was resident in Jerus in the French consular service, made for many years, from 1880 onward, a large number of acute observations on the archaeology of Jerus and its environs, many of which were published by the *PEF*. Another name honored in connection with the careful study of the topography of Jerus over somewhat the same period is that of Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D., for many years U.S. consul in Jerus.

7. Bliss and Dickie

In 1894–97 the Palestine Exploration Fund conducted an elaborate series of excavations with a view to determining in particular the course of the ancient southern walls under the direction of Mr. T. J. Bliss (son of Rev. Daniel Bliss, D.D., then president of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirût), assisted by Mr. A. C. Dickie as architect. After picking up the buried foundations of walls at the southeastern corner where "Maudslay's scarp" was exposed in the Protestant cemetery, Bliss and Dickie followed them all the way to the Pool of Siloam, across the Tyropœon and on to "Ophel"—and also in other directions. Discoveries of great interest were also made in the neighborhood of the Pool of Siloam (see Siloam).

Following upon these excavations a number of private investigations have been made by the Augustinians in a large estate they have acquired on the E. side of the traditional hill of Zion.

In 1909–11 a party of Englishmen, under Captain the Hon. M. Parker, made a number of explorations with very elaborate tunnels upon the hill of Ophel, immediately above the Virgin's Fount. In the course of their work, they cleaned out the whole Siloam aqueduct, finding some new passages; they reconstructed the Siloam Pool, and they completed Warren's previous investigation in the neighborhood of what has been known as "Warren's Shaft."

8. Jerusalem Archaeological Societies

There are several societies constantly engaged in observing new facts connected with the topography of ancient Jerus, notably the School of Archaeology connected with the University of St. Stephens, under the Dominicans; the American School of Archaeology; the German School of Bib. Archaeology under Professor Dalman, and the Palestine Exploration Fund.

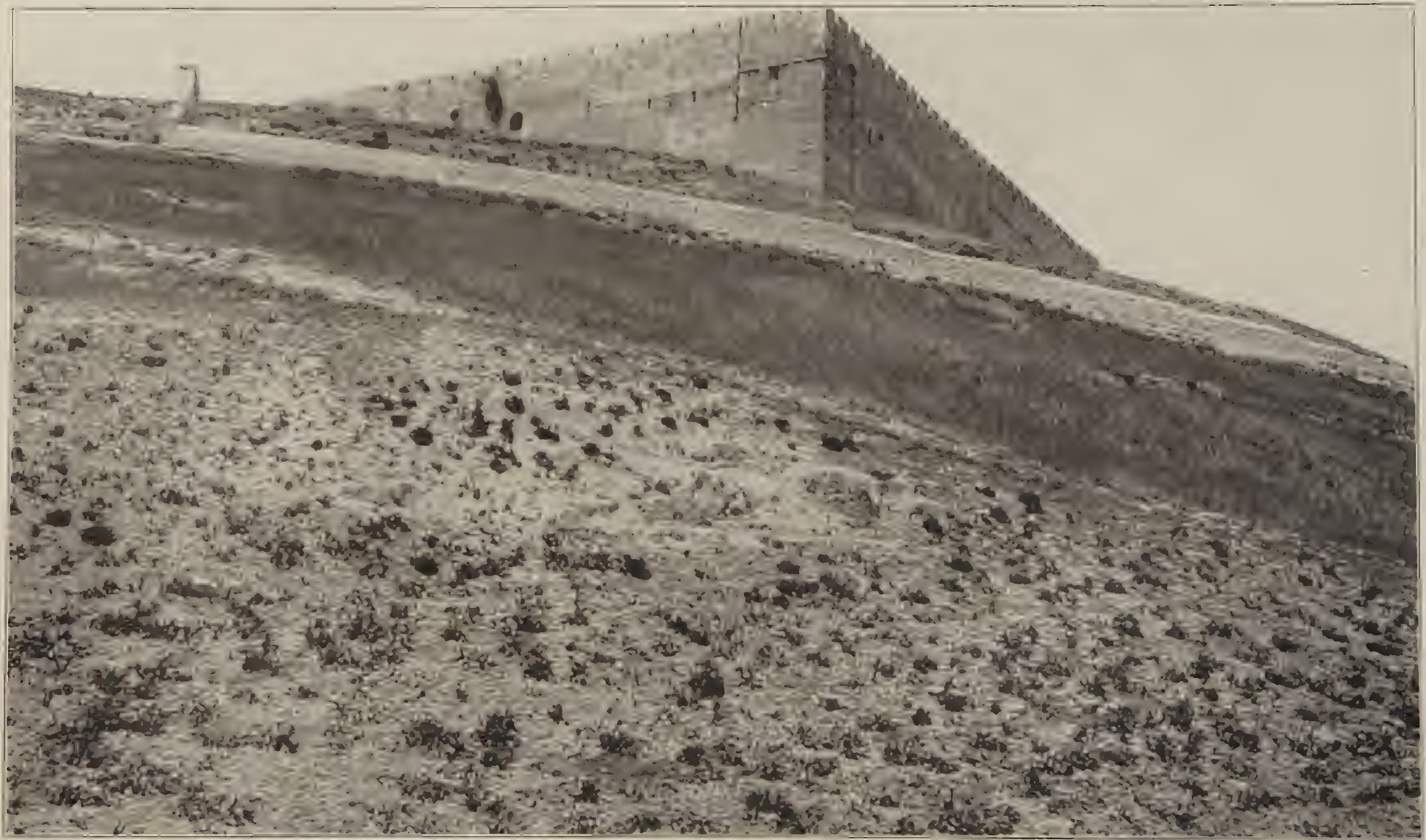
VI. The City's Walls and Gates.—Although the existing walls of Jerus go back in their present form

1. The Existing Walls

to but the days of Suleiman the Magnificent, c 1542 AD, their study is an essential preliminary to the understanding of the ancient walls. The total circuit of the modern walls is 4,326 yds., or nearly 2½ miles, their average height is 35 ft., and they have altogether 35 towers and 8 gates—one of which is walled up. They make a rough square, with the four sides facing the cardinal points of the compass. The masonry is of various kinds, and on every side there are evidences that the present walls are a patchwork of many periods. The northern wall, from near the northwestern angle to some distance E. of the "Damascus Gate," lies parallel with, though somewhat inside of, an ancient fosse, and it and the gate itself evidently follow ancient lines. The eastern and western walls, following as they do a general direction along the edges of deep valleys, must be more or less along the course of earlier walls. The eastern wall, from a little south of St. Stephen's Gate to the southeastern angle, contains many ancient courses, and the general line is at least as old as the time of Herod the Great; the stretch of western wall from the so-called "Tower of David" to the southwestern corner is certainly along an ancient line and has persisted through very many centuries. This line of wall was allowed to remain undestroyed when Titus leveled the remainder. At the northwestern angle are some remains known as *Ḳala‘at Jalûd* ("Goliath's castle"), which, though largely mediaeval, contain a rocky core and some masonry of Herodian times, which are commonly accepted as the relics of the lofty tower Psephinus.

2. Wilson's Theory

The course of the southern wall has long been a difficulty; it is certainly not the line of wall before Titus; it has none of the natural advantages of the western and eastern walls, and there are no traces of any great rock fosse, such as is to be found on the north. The eastern end is largely built upon the lower courses of Herod's southern wall for his enlarged temple-platform, and in it are still to be found walled up the triple, single and double gates which lead up to the Temple. The irregular line followed by the remainder of this wall has not until recent times received any explanation. Sir Charles Wilson (*Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*) suggests the probable explanation that the line of wall from the southwestern to the "Zion Gate" was determined by the legionary camp which stood on the part of the city now covered by the barracks and the Armenian quarter. Allowing that the remains of the first wall on the N. and W. were utilized for this fortified camp (from 70–132 AD), and supposing the camp to have occupied the area of 50 acres, as was the case with various European Rom camps, whose remains are known, the southern camp wall would have run along the line of the existing southern walls. This line of fortification having been thus selected appears to have been followed through the greater part of the succeeding centuries down to modern times. The line connecting the two ex-



CORNER OF WALL OF JERUSALEM FROM KIDRON VALLEY

tremities of the southern wall, thus determined by the temple-platform and legionary camp, respectively, was probably that first followed by the southern wall of Hadrian's city Ælia.

3. The Existing Gates

Of the 8 existing city gates, on the west side there is but one, *Bâb el Khulîl* (the "Gate of Hebron"), commonly known to travelers as the Jaffa Gate. It is probably the site of several earlier gates. On the N. there are 3 gates, *Bâb Abd'ul Ḥamîd* (named after the sultan who made it) or the "New Gate"; *Bab el ʿamûd* ("Gate of the Columns"), now commonly called the "Damascus Gate," but more anciently known as "St. Stephen's Gate," and clearly, from the existing remains, the site of an earlier gateway; and, still farther east, the *Bâb es Sāhirah* ("Gate of the Plain"), or "Herod's Gate." On the east side the only open gate is the *Bâb el ʿAsbat* ("Gate of the Tribes"), commonly called by native Christians, *Bâb Sitti Miriam* ("Gate of the Lady Mary"), but in European guide-books called "St. Stephen's Gate." A little farther S., near the northeastern corner of the *Ḥaram* is the great walled-up Byzantine Gate, known as *Bâb ed Daharīyeh* ("Gate of the Conqueror"), but to Europeans as the "Golden Gate." This structure has been variously ascribed to Justinian and Heraclius, but there are massive blocks which belong to a more ancient structure, and early Christian tradition places the "Beautiful Gate" of the Temple here. In the southern wall are two city gates; one, insignificant and mean, occupies the center of *el Wād* and is known as *Bâb el Mughāribeh* ("Gate of the Moors"), and to Europeans as the "Dung Gate"; the other, which is on the crown of the western hill, traditional Zion, is the important *Bâb Nebi Daoud* ("Gate of the Prophet David"), or the "Zion Gate."

All these gates assumed their present form at the time of the reconstruction of the walls by Suleiman the Magnificent, but the more important ones occupy the sites of earlier gates. Their names have varied very much even since the times of the Crusaders. The multiplicity of names for these various gates—they all have two or three today—and their frequent changes are worth noticing in connection with the fact that in the OT history some of the gates appear to have had two or more names.

St. Stephen's Gate.

As has been mentioned, the course of the present southern wall is the result of Rom reconstruction of the city since the time of Titus. To Warren, Guthe, Maudslay and Bliss we owe a great deal of certain knowledge of its more ancient course. These explorers have shown that in all the pre-Rom period (and at least one period since) the continuation southward of the western and eastern ridges, as well as the wide valley between—an area now but sparsely inhabited—was the site of at once the most crowded life, and the most stirring scenes in the Heb history of the city. The sanctity of the Holy Sepulchre has caused the city life to center itself more and more around that sanctuary, thereby greatly confusing the ancient topography for many centuries.

4. Buried Remains of Earlier Walls

(1) Warren's excavations revealed: (*a*) a massive masonry wall 46 ft. E. of the Golden Gate, which curved toward the W. at its northern end, following the ancient rock contours at this spot. It is probable that this was the eastern wall of the city in pre-Herodian times. Unfortunately the existence of a large Moslem cemetery outside the eastern wall of the *Ḥaram* precludes the possibility of any more excavations in this neighborhood. (*b*) More important remains in the southeastern hill, commonly known as "Ophel." Here commencing at the southeastern angle of the *Ḥaram,* Warren uncovered a wall 14½ ft. thick running S. for 90 ft. and then S.W. along the edge of the hill for 700 ft. This wall, which shows at least two periods of construction, abuts on the sanctuary wall with a straight joint. Along its course were found 4 small towers with a projection of 6 ft. and a face from 22 to 28 ft. broad, and a great corner tower projecting 41½ ft. from the wall and with a face 80 ft. broad. The face of this great tower consists of stones one to two ft. high and 2 or 3 ft. long; it is founded upon rock and stands to the height of 66 ft. Warren considers that this may be *ha-mighdāl ha-yōçē'* or "tower that standeth out" of Neh **3** 25.

(2) In 1881 Professor Guthe picked up fragmentary traces of this city-wall farther south, and in the excavations of Captain Parker (1910–11) further fragments of massive walls and a very ancient gate have been found.

(3) Maudslay's excavations were on the southwestern hill, on the site occupied by "Bishop Gobat's School" for boys, and in the adjoining Anglo-German cemetery. The school is built over a great mass of scarped rock 45 ft. sq., which rises to a height of 20 ft. from a platform which surrounds it and with which it is connected by a rock-cut stairway; upon this massive foundation must have stood a great tower at what was in ancient times the southwestern corner of the city. From this point a scarp facing westward was traced for 100 ft. northward toward the modern southwestern angle of the walls, while a rock scarp, in places 40 ft. high on the outer or southern side and at least 14 ft. on the inner face, was followed for 250 ft. eastward until it reached another great rock projection with a face of 43 ft. Although no stones were found *in situ,* it is evident that such great rock cuttings must have supported a wall and tower of extraordinary strength, and hundreds of massive squared stones belonging to this wall are now incorporated in neighboring buildings.

(4) Bliss and Dickie's work commenced at the southeastern extremity of Maudslay's scarp, where was the above-mentioned massive projection for a tower, and here were found several courses of masonry still *in situ.* This tower appears to have been the point of divergence of two distinct lines of wall, one of which ran in a direction N.E., skirting the edge of the southeastern hill, and probably joined the line of the modern walls at the ruined masonry tower known as *Burj el Kebrît,* and another running S.E. down toward the Pool of Siloam, along the edge of the *Wâdy er Râbâbi* (Hinnom). The former of these walls cannot be very ancient, because of the occurrence of late Byzantine moldings in its foundations. The coenaculum was included in the city somewhere about 435–450 AD (see IX, 55), and also in the 14th cent. Bliss considers it probable that this is the wall built in 1239

by Frederick II, and it is certainly that depicted in the map of Marino Sanuto (1321 AD). Although these masonry remains are thus comparatively late, there were some reasons for thinking that at a much earlier date a wall took a similar direction along the edge of the southwestern hill; and it is an attractive theory, though unsupported by any very definite archaeological evidence, that the wall of Solomon took also this general line. The wall running S.E. from the tower, along the edge of the gorge of Hinnom, is historically of much greater importance. Bliss's investigations showed that here were remains belonging to several periods, covering altogether considerably over a millennium. The upper line of wall was of fine masonry, with stones 1 ft. by 3 ft. in size, beautifully jointed and finely dressed; in some places this wall was founded upon the remains of the lower wall, in others a layer of débris intervened. It is impossible that this upper wall can be pre-Rom, and Bliss ascribes it to the Empress Eudoxia (see IX, 55). The lower wall rested upon the rock and showed at least 3 periods of construction. In the earliest the stones had broad margins and were carefully jointed, without mortar. This may have been the work of Solomon or one of the early kings of Judah. The later remains are evidently of the nature of repairs, and include the work of the later Judaean kings, and of Nehemiah and of all the wall-repairers, down to the destruction in 70 AD. At somewhat irregular intervals along the wall were towers of very similar projection and breadth to those found on Warren's wall on the southeastern hill. The wall foundations were traced—except for an interval where they passed under a Jewish cemetery—all the way to the mouth of the Tyropœon valley. The upper wall disappeared (the stones having been all removed for later buildings) before the Jewish cemetery was reached.

5. The Great Dam of the Tyropœon

During most periods, if not indeed in all, the wall was carried across the mouth of the Tyropœon valley upon a great dam of which the massive foundations still exist under the ground, some 50 ft. to the E. of the slighter dam which today supports the *Birket el Ḥamra* (see SILOAM). This ancient dam evidently once supported a pool in the mouth of the Tyropœon, and it showed evidences of having undergone buttressing and other changes and repairs. Although it is clear that during the greater part of Jewish history, before and after the captivity, the southern wall of Jerus crossed upon this dam, there were remains of walls found which tended to show that at one period, at any rate, the wall circled round the two Siloam pools, leaving them outside the fortifications.

6. Ruins of Ancient Gates

In the stretch of wall from "Maudslay's Scarp" to the Tyropœon valley remains of 2 city gates were found, and doubtful indications of 2 others. The ruins of the first of these gates are now included in the new extension of the Anglo-German cemetery. The gate had door sills, with sockets, of 4 periods superimposed upon each other; the width of the entrance was 8 ft. 10 in. during the earliest, and 8 ft. at the latest period. The character of the masonry tended to show that the gate belonged to the upper wall, which is apparently entirely of the Christian era. If this is so, this cannot be the "Gate of the Gai" of Neh **3** 13, although the earlier gate may have occupied this site. Bliss suggests as a probable position for this gate an interval between the two contiguous towers IV and V, a little farther to the E.

Another gate was a small one, 4 ft. 10. in. wide, marked only by the cuttings in the rock for the door sockets. It lay a little to the W. of the city gate next to be described, and both from its position and its insignificance, it does not appear to have been an entrance to the city; it may, as Bliss suggests, have given access to a tower, now destroyed.

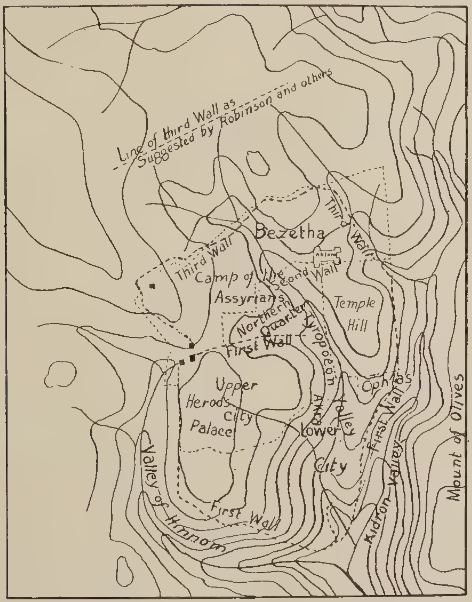
The second great city gateway was found some 200 ft. S. of the *Birket el Ḥamra,* close to the southeastern angle of the ancient wall. The existing remains are bonded into walls of the earlier period, but the three superimposed door sills, with their sockets—to be seen uncovered today *in situ*—mark three distinct periods of long duration. The gate gave access to the great main street running down the Tyropœon, underneath which ran a great rock-cut drain, which probably traversed the whole central valley of the city. During the last two periods of the gate's use, a tower was erected—at the exact southeastern angle—to protect the entrance. The earliest remains here probably belong to the Jewish kings, and it is very probable that we have here the gate called by Neh (**3** 13) the "Dung Gate." Bliss considered that it might be the "Fountain Gate" (Neh **3** 15), which, however, was probably more to the E., although Bliss could find no remains of it surviving. The repairs and alterations here have been so extensive that its disappearance is in no way surprising. The Fountain Gate is almost certainly identical with the "Gate between the Two Walls," through which Zedekiah and his men of war fled (2 K **25** 4; Jer **39** 4; **52** 7).

7. Josephus' Description of the Walls

The most definite account of the old walls is that of Jos (*BJ*, V, iv, 1, 2), and though it referred primarily to the existing walls of his day, it is a convenient one for commencing the historical survey. He describes three walls. The first wall "began on the N., at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xistus, and then joining at the Council House, ended at the western cloister of the temple." On the course of this section of the wall there is no dispute. The tower Hippicus was close to the present Jaffa Gate, and the wall ran from here almost due W. to the temple-area along the southern edge of the western arm of the Tyropœon (see III, 2, above). It is probable that the *Ḥaret ed Dawāyeh,* a street running nearly parallel with the neighboring "David Street," but high up above it, lies above the foundations of this wall. It must have crossed the main Tyropœon near the *Tarīk bāb es Silsilel,* and joined the western cloisters close to where the *Meḥkemeh,* the present "Council House," is situated.

8. First Wall

Jos traces the southern course of the first wall thus: "It began at the same place [i.e. Hippicus], and extended through a place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, when it also bends again toward the E. at Solomon's Pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called 'Ophlas,' where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple." Although the main course of this wall has now been followed with pick and shovel, several points are still uncertain. Bethso is not known, but must have been close to the southwestern angle, which, as we have seen, was situated where "Bishop Gobat's School" is today. It is very probably identical with the "Tower of the Furnaces" of Neh **3** 11, while the "Gate of the Essenes" must have been near, if not identical with, the "Gate of the Gai" of ver 13. The description of Jos certainly seems to imply that the mouth of the Siloam aqueduct ("fountain of Siloam") and the pools were both outside the fortification. We have seen from these indications in the underground remains that this was the case at one period. Solomon's Pool is very probably represented by the modern *Birket el Ḥamra*. It is clear that the wall from here to the southeastern angle of the temple-platform followed the edge of the southeastern hill, and coincided farther north with the old wall excavated by Warren. As will be shown below, this first wall was the main fortification of the city from the time of the kings of Judah onward. In the time of Jos, this first wall had 60 towers.



Probable Course of the Three Walls Described by Josephus.

The "Second Wall" was probably added in the days of the Hasmonean rulers; the "Third Wall" was commenced by Herod Agrippa I and hurriedly finished shortly before the siege by Titus.

9. Second Wall

The Second Wall of Jos "took its beginning from that gate which they called 'Gennath,' which belonged to the first wall: it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city and reached as far as the tower Antonia" (ib). In no part of Jerus topography has there been more disagreement than upon this wall, both as regards its curve and as regards its date of origin. Unfortunately, we have no idea at all where the "Gate Gennath" was. The Tower Antonia we know. The line must have passed in a curved or zigzag direction from some unknown point on the first wall, i.e. between the Jaffa Gate and the *Ḥaram* to the Antonia. A considerable number of authorities in the past and a few careful students today would identify the general course of this wall with that of the modern northern wall. The greatest objections to this view are that no really satisfactory alternative course has been laid down for the third wall (see below), and that it must have run far N. of the Antonia, a course which does not seem to agree with the description of Jos, which states that the wall "went up" to the Antonia. On the other hand, no certain remains of any city wall within the present north wall have ever been found; fragments have been reported by various observers (e.g. the piece referred to as forming the eastern wall of the so-called "Pool of Hezekiah"; see VII, ii, below), but in an area so frequently desolated and rebuilt upon—where the demand for squared stones must always have been great—it is probable that the traces, if surviving at all, are very scanty. This is the case with the south wall excavated by Bliss (see VI), and that neighborhood has for many centuries been unbuilt upon. It is quite probable that the area included within the second wall may have been quite small, merely the buildings which clustered along the sides of the Tyropœon. Its 40 towers may have been small and built close together, because the position was, from the military aspect, weak. It must be remembered that it was the unsatisfactory state of the second wall which necessitated a third wall. There is no absolute reason why it may not have excluded the greater part of the northwestern hill—and with it the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—but there is no proof that it did. The date of the second wall is unknown (see below).

10. Third Wall

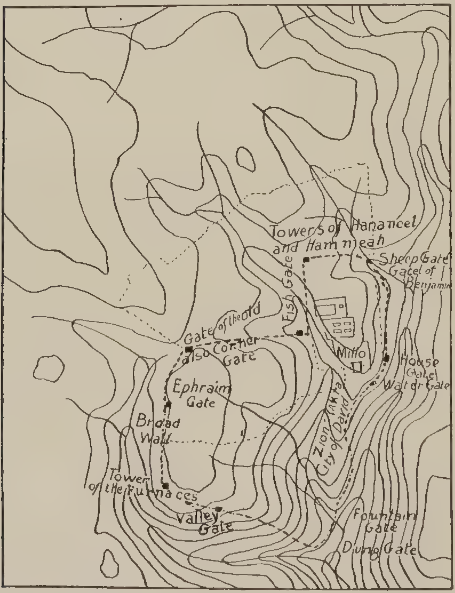
This third wall, which was commenced after the time of Christ by Herod Agrippa I, is described in more detail by Jos. It was begun upon an elaborate plan, but was not finished in its original design because Agrippa feared Claudius Caesar, "lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs" (*BJ*, V, iv, 2). It, however, at the time of the siege, was of a breadth of over 18 ft., and a height of 40 ft., and had 90 massive towers. Jos describes it as beginning at the tower Hippicus (near the Jaffa Gate), "where it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus." This mighty tower, 135 ft. high, was at the northwestern corner and overlooked the whole city. From it, according to Jos (*BJ*, V, vi, 3), there was a view of Arabia (Moab) at sunrising, and also of "the utmost limits of the Heb possessions at the Sea westward." From this corner the wall turned eastward until it came over against the monuments of Helene of Adiabene, a statement, however, which must be read in connection with another passage (*Ant*, XX, iv, 3), where it says that this tomb "was distant no more than 3 furlongs from the city of Jerus." The wall then "extended to a very great length" and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings—which may well be the so-called "Solomon's Quarries," and it then bent at the "Tower of the Corner," at a monument which is called the Monument of the Fuller (not identified), and joined to the old wall at the Kidron valley.

The commonly accepted theory is that a great part of this line of wall is that pursued by the modern north wall, and *Kal'at el Jalud*, or rather the foundation of it, that marks the site of Psephinus. The Damascus Gate is certainly on the line of some earlier gate. The "Tower of the Corner" was probably about where the modern Herod's Gate is, or a little more to the E., and the course of the wall was from here very probably along the southern edge of the "St. Anne's Valley," joining on to the N.E. corner of the *Ḥaram* a little S. of the present St. Stephen's Gate. This course of the wall fits in well with the description of Jos. If the so-called "Tombs of the Kings" are really those of Queen Helena of Adiabene and her family, then the distance given as 3 furlongs is not as far out as the distance to the modern wall; the distance is actually 3½ furlongs.

Others, following the learned Dr. Robinson, find it impossible to believe that the total circuit of the walls was so small, and would carry the third wall considerably farther north, making the general line of the modern north wall coincide with the second wall of Jos. The supporters of this view point to the description of the extensive view from Psephinus, and contend that this presupposed a site on still higher ground, e.g. where the present Russian buildings now are. They also claim that the statement that the wall came "over against" the monument of Queen Helena certainly should mean very much nearer that monument than the present walls. Dr. Robinson and others who have followed him have pointed to various fragments which they claim to have been pieces of the missing wall. The present writer, after very many years' residence in Jerus, watching the buildings which in the last 25 years have sprung up over the area across which this line of wall is claimed to have run, has never seen a trace of wall foundations or of fosse which was in the very least convincing; while on the other hand this area now being rapidly covered by the modern suburb of Jerus presents almost everywhere below the surface virgin rock. There is no evidence of any more buildings than occasional scattered Rom villas, with mosaic floors. The present writer has rather unwillingly come to the opinion that the city walls were never farther north than the line they follow today. Recent excavations in the region near Queen Helena's Tomb have brought to light what is probably the long lost third wall. The progress of discovery along this wall continually reveals the greatness of the structure. The turning of the wall southward in front of the American School of Oriental Research seems exactly in accord with the description by Jos (*Wars*, V, iv, 2). Drs. Mayer and Sukenik, it is to be hoped, will continue their work to a positive conclusion. One thing is already sure, that this was a great city wall. As a man of Jerusalem remarked, "Nobody ever built that wall around his chicken-yard" (*Bull. American Schools of Oriental Research,* Feb and Apr '27).

11. Date of Second Wall

Taking then the walls of Jerus as described by Jos, we may work backward and see how the walls ran in earlier periods. The third wall does not concern us any more, as it was built after the Crucifixion. With respect to the second wall, there is a great deal of difference of opinion regarding its origin. Some consider, like Sir Charles Watson, that it does not go back earlier than the Hasmoneans; whereas others (e.g. G. A. Smith), because of the expression in 2 Ch **32** 5 that Hezekiah, after repairing the wall, raised "another wall without," think that this wall goes back as far as this monarch. The evidence is inconclusive, but the most probable view seems to be that the "first wall," as described by Jos, was the only circuit of wall from the kings of Judah down to the 2d cent. BC, and perhaps later.



Probable Course of Walls and Position of the Principal Gates from Hezekiah till Long after Nehemiah. (The N.E. corner is necessarily doubtful.)

N.B.—The fortress Zion, renamed by David "City of David," became in later times "Akra," the fortress of the Syrians.

12. Nehemiah's Account of the Walls

The most complete Scriptural description we have of the walls and gates of Jerus is that given by Nehemiah. His account is valuable, not only as a record of what he did, but of what had been the state of the walls before the exile. It is perfectly clear that considerable traces of the old walls and gates remained, and that his one endeavor was to restore what had been before—even though it produced a city enclosure much larger than necessary at his time. The relevant passages are Neh **2** 13–15, the account of his night ride; **3** 1–32, the description of the rebuilding; and **12** 31–39, the routes of the two processions at the dedication.

13. Valley Gate

In the first account we learn that Nehemiah went out by night by the VALLEY GATE (q.v.), or Gate of the Gai, a gate (that is, opening) into the Gai Hinnom, and probably at or near the gate discovered by Bliss in what is now part of the Anglo-German cemetery; he passed from it to the Dung Gate, and from here viewed the walls of the city.

14. Dung Gate

This, with considerable assurance, may be located at the ruined foundations of a gate discovered by Bliss at the southeastern corner of the city. The line of wall clearly followed the south edge of the southwestern hill from the Anglo-German cemetery to this point. He then proceeded to the Fountain Gate, the site of which has not been recovered, but, as there must have been water running out here (as today) from the mouth of the Siloam tunnel, is very appropriately named here. Near by was the KING'S POOL (q.v.), probably the pool—now deeply buried—which is today represented by the *Birket el Ḥamra.* Here Nehemiah apparently thought of turning into the city, "but there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass" (**2** 14), so he went up by the *Naḥal* (Kidron), viewed the walls from there, and then retraced his steps to the Valley Gate. There is another possibility, and that is that the King's Pool was the pool (which certainly existed) at Gihon, in which case the Fountain Gate may also have been in that neighborhood.

15. Fountain Gate

All the archaeological evidence is in favor of the wall having crossed the mouth of the Tyropœon by the great dam at this time, and the propinquity of this structure to the Fountain Gate is seen in Neh **3** 15, where we read that Shallum built the Fountain Gate "and covered it, and set up the doors thereof . . . . and the bars thereof, and the wall of the pool of Shelah [see SILOAM] by the KING'S GARDEN [q.v.], even unto the stairs that go down from the city of David." All these localities were close together at the mouth of *el Wād.*

Passing from here we can follow the circuit of the city from the accounts of the rebuilding of the walls in Neh **3** 15 f. The wall from here was carried "over against the sepulchres of David," which we know to have stood in the original "City of David" above Gihon, past "the pool that was made," and "the house of the *Gibbōrīm*" (mighty men)—both unknown sites. It is clear that the wall is being carried along the edge of the southeastern hill toward the temple. We read of two angles in the wall—both needed by the geographical conditions—the high priest's house, of "the tower that standeth out" (supposed to have been unearthed by Warren), and the wall of the OPHEL (q.v.).

16. Water Gate

There is also mention of a Water Gate in this position, which is just where one would expect a road to lead from the temple-area down to Gihon. From the great number of companies engaged in building, it may be inferred that all along this stretch of wall from the Tyropœon to the temple, the destruction of the walls had been specially great.

17. Horse Gate

18. Sheep Gate

Proceeding N., we come to the Horse Gate. This was close to the entry to the king's house (2 K **11** 16; 2 Ch **23** 15; Jer **31** 40). The expression used, "above" the Horse Gate, may imply that the gate itself may have been uninjured; it may have been a kind of rock-cut passage or tunnel. It cannot have been far from the present southeastern angle of the city. Thence "repaired the priests, every one over against his own house"—the houses of these people being to the E. of the temple. Then comes the Gate of Hammiphkad (q.v.), the ascent (or "upper chamber," m) of the corner, and finally the Sheep Gate (q.v.), which was repaired by the goldsmiths and merchants. This last gate was the point from which the circuit of the repairs was traced. The references, Neh **3** 1.31; **12** 39, clearly show that it was at the eastern extremity of the north wall.

The details of the gates and buildings in the north wall as described by Nehemiah, are difficult, and certainty is impossible; this side must always necessarily have been the weak side for defence because it was protected by no, or at best by very little, natural valley. As has been said, we cannot be certain whether Nehemiah is describing a wall which on its western two-thirds corresponded with the first or the second wall of Jos. Taking the first theory as probable, we may plan it as follows: W. of the Sheep Gate two towers are mentioned (Neh **3** 1; **12** 39). Of these Hananel (q.v.) was more easterly than Hammeah (q.v.), and, too, it would appear from Zec **14** 10 to have been the most northerly point of the city. Probably then two towers occupied the important hill where afterward stood the fortress Baris and, later, the Antonia. At the Hammeah tower the wall would descend into the Tyropœon to join the eastern extremity of the first wall where in the time of Jos stood the Council House (*BJ*, V, iv, 2).

19. Fish Gate

It is generally considered that the Fish Gate (q.v.) (Neh **3** 3; **12** 39; Zeph **1** 10; 2 Ch **33** 14) stood across the Tyropœon in much the same way as the modern Damascus Gate does now, only considerably farther S. It was probably so called because here the men of Tyre sold their fish (Neh **13** 16). It is very probably identical with the "Middle Gate" of Jer **39** 3. With this region are associated the Mishneh (q.v.) or "second quarter" (Zeph **1** 10 m) and the Maktesh (q.v.) or "mortar" (Zeph **1** 11).

20. "Old Gate"

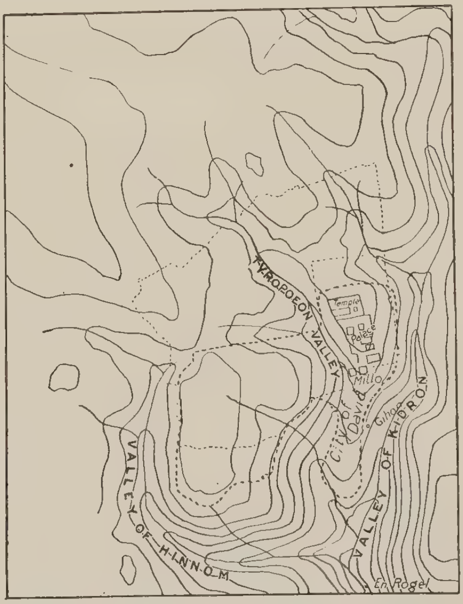
The next gate westward, after apparently a considerable interval, is tr^{d} in EV the "Old Gate" (q.v.), but is more correctly the "Gate of the old . . . ."; what the word thus qualified is, is doubtful. Neh **3** 6 m suggests "old *city*" or "old *wall*," whereas Mitchell (*Wall of Jerus according to the Book of Neh*) proposes "old *pool*," taking the pool in question to be the so-called "Pool of Hezekiah." According to the view here accepted, that the account of Neh refers only to the first wall, the expression "old wall" would be peculiarly suitable, as here must have been some part of that first wall which went back unaltered to the time of Solomon. The western wall to the extent of 400 cubits had been rebuilt after its destruction by Jehoash, king of Israel (see IX, 12, below), and Manasseh had repaired all the wall from Gihon round N. and then W. to the Fish Gate. This gate has also been identified with the *Sha'ar ha-Pinnāh*, or "Corner Gate," of 2 K **14** 13; 2 Ch **25** 23; Jer **31** 38; Zec **14** 10, and with the *Sha'ar ha-Ri'shōn*, or "First Gate," of Zec **14** 10, which is identified as the same as the Corner Gate; indeed *ri'shōn* ("first") is probably a textual error for *yāshān* ("old"). If this is so, this "Gate of the Old" or "Corner Gate" must have stood near the northwestern corner of the city, somewhere near the present Jaffa Gate.

21. Gate of Ephraim

The next gate mentioned is the Gate of Ephraim (Neh **12** 39), which, according to 2 K **14** 13; 2 Ch **25** 23, was 400 cubits or 600 ft. from the Corner Gate. This must have been somewhere on the western wall; it is scarcely possible to believe, as some writers would suggest, that there could have been no single gate between the Corner Gate near the northwestern corner and the Valley Gate on the southern wall.

22. Tower of the Furnaces

The "Broad Wall" appears to correspond to the southern stretch of the western wall as far as the "Tower of the Furnaces" or ovens, which was probably the extremely important corner tower now incorporated in "Bishop Gobat's School." This circuit of the walls satisfies fairly well all the conditions; the difficulties are chiefly on the N. and W. It is a problem how the Gate of Ephraim comes to be omitted in the account of the repairs, but G. A. Smith suggests that it may be indicated by the expression, "throne of the governor beyond the river" (Neh **3** 7). See, however, Mitchell (loc. cit.). If the theory be accepted that the second wall already existed, the Corner Gate and the Fish Gate will have to be placed farther north.



Probable Course of Solomon's Wall.

23. The Gate of Benjamin

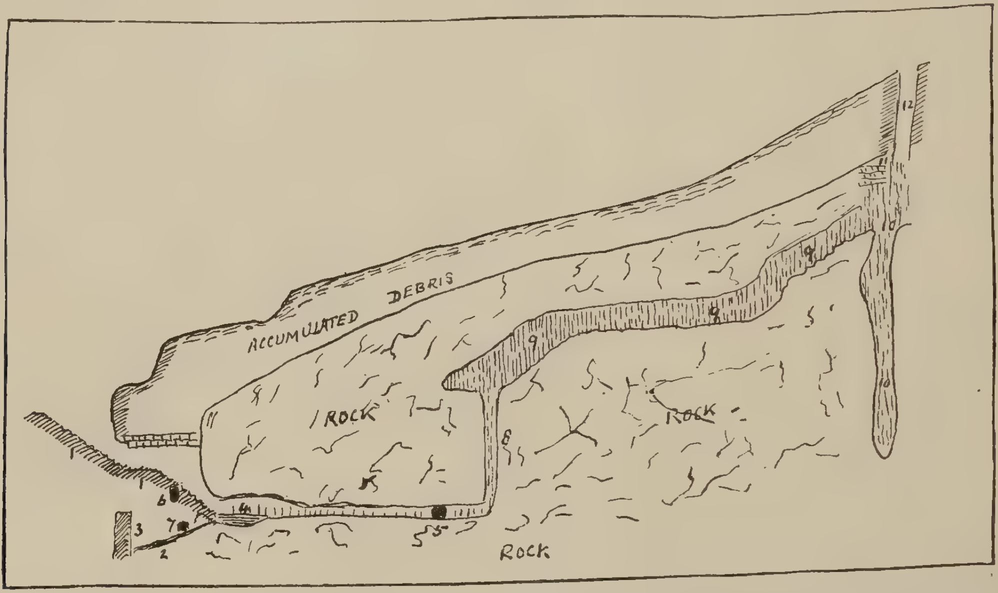
In OT as in later times, some of the gates appear to have received different names at various times. Thus the Sheep Gate, at the northeastern angle, appears to be identical with the Gate of Benjamin or Upper Gate of Benjamin (Jer **20** 2; **37** 13; **38** 7); the prophet was going, apparently, the nearest way to his home in Anathoth.

In Zec **14** 10 the breadth of the city is indicated, where the prophet writes, "She shall be lifted up, and shall dwell in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate."

24. Upper Gate of the Temple

The Upper Gate of the Temple (2 K **15** 35; 2 Ch **27** 3; cf 2 Ch **23** 20; Ezk **9** 2) is probably another name for the same gate. It must be remembered the gates were, as excavations have shown us, reduced to a minimum in fortified sites: they were sources of weakness.

The general outline of the walls and gates thus followed is in the main that existing from Nehemiah back until the early Judaean monarchy, and possibly to Solomon.



Semi-Diagrammatic Plan of "Warren's Shaft" and Other Rock Passages (Modified from Warren, *PEF*).

1. Steps leading to the Virgin's Fount (Gihon). 2. Fissure in the rocky valley bed from which spring arises. 3. Ancient wall constructed to dam up the waters. 4. Cave at the commencement of the rock acqueduct. 5. Commencement of the Siloam (Hezekiah's) aqueduct. 6, 7. Other aqueducts. 8. Perpendicular shaft 40 feet high. 9. Lofty cave-like tunnel leading to shaft. 10. The chasm, now cleared to the bottom. 11. Warren's Arch. 12. Captain Parker's Shaft.

25. The Earlier Walls

Of the various destructions and repairs which occurred during the time of the monarchy, a sufficient account is given in IX below, on the history. Solomon was probably the first to inclose the northwestern hill within the walls, and to him usually is ascribed all the northern and western stretch of the "First Wall"; whether his wall ran down to the mouth of the Tyropœon, or only skirted the summit of the northwestern hill is uncertain, but the latter view is probable. David was protected by the powerful fortifications of the Jebusites, which probably inclosed only the southeastern hill; he added to the defences the fortress Millo (q.v.). It is quite possible that the original Jebusite city had but one gate, on the N. (2 S **15** 2), but the city must have overflowed its narrow limits during David's reign and have needed an extended and powerful defence, such as Solomon made, to secure the capital. For the varied history and situation of the walls in the post-Bib. period, see IX ("History"), below.

VII. Antiquarian Remains Connected with the Water-Supply.—In a city like Jerus, where the problem of a water-supply must always have been one of the greatest, it is only natural that some of the most ancient and important works should have centered round it. The three sources of supply have been (1) springs, (2) cisterns, (3) aqueducts.

(1) *The natural springs* have been described in II, 3; but connected with them, and esp. with the city's greatest and most venerated source, the Gihon, there are certain antiquarian remains of great interest.

1. Gihon: The Natural Spring

(*a*) The "Virgin's Fount," ancient Gihon, arises, as has been described (II, 3), in a rocky cleft in the Kidron valley bottom; under natural conditions the water would run along the valley bed, now deeply buried under débris of the ancient city, and doubtless when the earliest settlers made their dwellings in the caves (which have been excavated) on the sides of the valley near the spring, they and their flocks lived on the banks of a stream of running water in a sequestered valley among waterless hills. From, however, a comparatively early period—at the least 2000 BC—efforts were made to retain some of the water, and a solid stone dam was built which converted the sources into a pool of considerable depth. Either then, or somewhat later, excavations were made in the cliffs overhanging the pool, whereby some at least of these waters were conducted, by means of a tunnel, into the heart of the southeastern hill, "Ophel," so that the source could be reached from within the city walls. There are today two systems of tunnels which are usually classed as one under the name of the "Siloam aqueduct," but the two systems are probably many centuries apart in age. The older tunnel begins in a cave near the source and then runs westward for a distance of 67 ft.; at the inner

2. The Aqueduct of the Canaanites

end of the tunnel there is a perpendicular shaft which ascends for over 40 ft. and opens into a lofty rock-cut passage which runs, with a slight lateral curvature, to the N., in the direction of the surface. The upper end has been partially destroyed, and the roof, which had fallen in, was long ago partially restored by a masonry arch. At this part of the passage the floor is abruptly interrupted across its whole width by a deep chasm which Warren partially excavated, but which Parker has since conclusively shown to end blindly. It is clear that this great gallery, which is 8 to 9 ft. wide, and in places as high or higher, was constructed (a natural cavern possibly utilized in the process) to enable the inhabitants of the walled-in city above it to reach the spring. It is in fact a similar work to the great water-passage at Gezer (q.v.), which commenced in a rock-cut pit 26 ft. deep and descended with steps, to a depth of 94 ft. 6 in. below the level of the rock surface; the sloping passage was 23 ft. high and 13 ft. broad. This passage which could be dated with certainty as before 1500 BC, and almost certainly as early as 2000 BC, was cut out with flint knives and apparently was made entirely to reach a great underground source of water.

3. Warren's Shaft

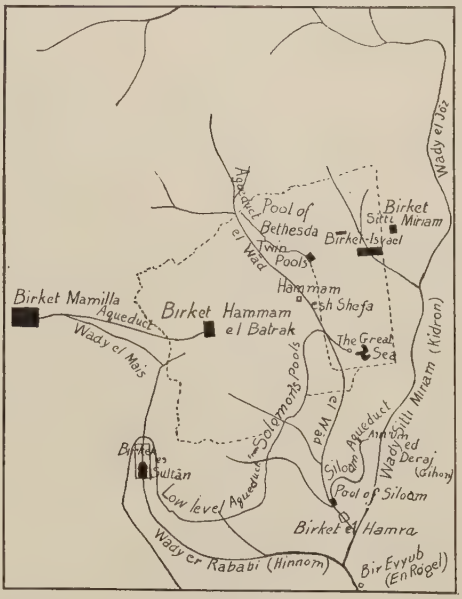
The discovery of this Gezer well-passage has thrown a flood of light upon the "Warren's Shaft" in Jerus, which would appear to have been made for an exactly similar purpose. The chasm mentioned before may have been an effort to reach the source from a higher point, or it may have been made, or later adapted, to prevent ingress by means of the system of tunnels into the city. This passage is in all probability the "watercourse" (צִנּוֹר, *çinnōr*) of 2 S **5** 8 up which, apparently, Joab and his men (1 Ch **11** 6) secretly made their way; they must have waded through the water at the source, ascended the perpendicular shaft (a feat performed in 1910 by some British officers without any assistance from ladders), and then made their way into the heart of the city along the great tunnel. Judging by the similar Gezer water tunnel, this great work may not only have existed in David's time, but may have been constructed as much as 1,000 years before.

4. Hezekiah's "Siloam" Aqueduct

The true Siloam tunnel is a considerably later work. It branches off from the older aqueduct at a point 67 ft. from the entrance, and after running an exceedingly winding course of 1,682 ft., it empties itself into the Pool of Siloam (total length 1,749 ft.). The whole canal is rock cut; it is 2 to 3 ft. wide, and varies in height from 16 ft. at the south end to 4 ft. 6 in. at the lowest point, near the middle. The condition of this tunnel has recently been greatly changed through Captain Parker's party having cleared out the accumulated silt of centuries; before this, parts of the channel could be traversed only with the greatest difficulty and discomfort. The primitive nature of this construction is shown by the many false passages made, and also by the extensive curves which greatly add to its length. This latter may also be partly due to the workmen following lines of soft strata. M. Clermont-Ganneau and others have thought that one or more of the great curves may have been made deliberately to avoid the tombs of the kings of Judah. The method of construction of the tunnel is narrated in the Siloam Inscription (see Siloam). It was begun simultaneously from each end, and the two parties met in the middle. It is a remarkable thing that there is a difference of level of only one foot at each end; but the lofty height of the southern end is probably due to a lowering of the floor here after the junction was effected. It is practically certain that this great work is that referred to in 2 K **20** 20: "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made the pool, and the conduit, and brought water into the city, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?" And in 2 Ch **32** 30: "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper spring of the waters of Gihon, and brought them straight down on the west side of the city of David."

5. Other Aqueducts at Gihon

In addition to these two conduits, which have a direct Scriptural interest, there are remains of at least two other aqueducts which take their origin at the Virgin's Fount—one a channel deeply cut in rock along the western sides of the Kidron valley, found by Captain Parker, and the other a built channel, lined with very good cement, which takes its rise at a lower level than any of the other conduits close to the before-mentioned rocky cleft from which the water rises, and runs in a very winding direction along the western side of the Kidron. This the present writer has described in *PEFS*, 1902. One of these, perhaps more probably the former, may be the conduit which is referred to as Shiloah (*shilōᵃḥ*), or "conducted" (Isa **8** 6), before the construction of Hezekiah's work (see Siloam).



The Water-Supply.

There are other caves and rock-cut channels around the ancient Gihon which cannot fully be described here, but which abundantly confirm the sanctity of the site.

6. Bîr Eyyûb

(*b*) *Bîr Eyyûb* has a depth of 125 ft.; the water collects at the bottom in a large rock-hewn chamber, and it is clear that it has been deepened at some period, because at the depth of 113 ft. there is a collecting chamber which is now replaced by the deeper one. Various rock-cut passages or staircases were found by Warren in the neighborhood of this well.

7. Varieties of Cisterns

(2) *The cisterns and tanks.*—Every ancient site in the hill country of Pal is riddled with cisterns for the storage of rain water. In Jerus for very many centuries the private resident has depended largely upon the water collected from the roof of his house for all domestic purposes. Such cisterns lie either under or alongside the dwelling. Many of the earliest of these excavations are bottle-shaped, with a comparatively narrow mouth cut through the hard *Mizzeh* and a large rounded excavation made in the underlying *Melekeh* (see II, 1 above). Other ancient cisterns are cavities hewn in the rock, of irregular shape, with a roof of harder rock and often several openings. The later forms are vaulted over, and are either cut in the rock or sometimes partially built in the superlying rubbish.

For more public purposes large cisterns were made in the *Ḥaram*, or temple-area. Some 3 dozen are known and planned; the largest is calculated to contain 3,000,000 gallons. Such structures were made largely for the religious ritual, but, as we shall see, they have been supplied by other sources than the rainfall. In many parts of the city open tanks have been constructed, such a tank being known in Arab. as a *birkeh*, or, followed by a vowel, *birket*. With most of these there is considerable doubt as to their date of construction, but probably none of them, in their present form at any rate, antedates the Rom period.

8. Birket Israël

Within the city walls the largest reservoir is the *Birket Israël* which extends from the northeastern angle of the *Ḥaram* westward for 360 ft. It is 125 ft. wide and was originally 80 ft. deep, but has in recent years been largely filled up by the city's refuse. The eastern and western ends of this pool are partially rock-cut and partly masonry, the masonry of the former being a great dam 45 ft. thick, the lower part of which is continuous with the ancient eastern wall of the temple-area. The sides of the pool are entirely masonry because this reservoir is built across the width of the valley referred to before (III, 2) as "St. Anne's Valley." Other parts of this valley are filled with débris to the depth of 100 ft. The original bottom of the reservoir is covered with a layer of about 19 in. of very hard concrete and cement. There was a great conduit at the eastern end of the pool built of massive stones, and connected with the pool by a perforated stone with three round holes 5½ in. in diameter. The position of this outlet shows that all water over a depth of 22 ft. must have flowed away. Some authorities consider this pool to have been preëxilic. By early Christian pilgrims it was identified as the "Sheep Pool" of Jn **5** 2, and at a later period, until quite recent times, it was supposed to have been the Pool of Bethesda.

9. Pool of Bethesda

The discovery, a few years ago, of the long-lost *Piscina* in the neighborhood of the "Church of St. Anne," which was without doubt the Pool of Bethesda of the 5th cent. AD, has caused this identification to be abandoned. See BETHESDA.

10. The Twin Pools

To the W. of the *Birket Israël* are the "twin pools" which extend under the roadway in the neighborhood of the "Ecce Homo" arch. The western one is 165 ft. by 20 ft. and the eastern 127 ft. by 20 ft. M. Clermont-Ganneau considers them to be identical with the Pool Struthius of Jos (*BJ*, V, xi, 4), but others, considering that they are actually made in the fosse of the Antonia, give them a later date of origin. In connection with these pools a great aqueduct was discovered in 1871, 2½–3 ft. wide and in places 12 ft. high, running from the neighborhood of the Damascus Gate—but destroyed farther north—and from the pools another aqueduct runs in the direction of the *Ḥaram*.

11. Birket Ḥammâm el Batrak

On the northwestern hill, between the Jaffa Gate and the Church of the Sepulchre there is a large open reservoir, known to the modern inhabitants of the city as *Birket Ḥammâm el Batrak*, "the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath." It is 240 ft. long (N. to S.), 144 ft. broad and 19–24 ft. deep. The cement lining of the bottom is cracked and practically useless. The eastern wall of this pool is particularly massive, and forms the base of the remarkably level street *Ḥaret en Nasara*, or "Christian Street"; it is a not improbable theory that this is actually a fragment of the long-sought "second" wall. If so, the pool, which is proved to have once extended 60 ft. farther north, may have been constructed originally as part of the fosse. On the other hand, this pool appears to have been the Amygdalon Pool, or "Pool of the Tower" (ברכת המגדלין, *b*ᵉ*rēkhath ha-mighdālīn*), mentioned by Jos (*BJ*, V, xi, 4), which was the scene of the activities of the 10th legion, and this seems inconsistent with the previous theory, as the events described seem to imply that the second wall ran outside the pool. The popular travelers' name, "Pool of Hezekiah," given to this reservoir is due to the theory, now quite discredited, that this is the pool referred to in 2 K **20** 20, "He made the pool, and the conduit, and brought water into the city." Other earlier topographists have identified it as the "upper pool" of Isa **7** 3; **36** 2.

12. Birket Mamilla

The *Birket Ḥammâm el Baṭrak* is supplied with water from the *Birket Mamilla*, about ½ mile to the W. This large pool, 293 ft. long by 193 ft. broad and 19½ ft. deep, lies in the midst of a large Moslem cemetery at the head of the *Wâdy Mês*, the first beginning of the *Wâdy er Râbâbi* (Hinnom). The aqueduct which connects the two pools springs from the eastern end of the *Birket Mamilla*, runs a somewhat winding course and enters the city near the Jaffa Gate. The aqueduct is in bad repair, and the water it carries, chiefly during heavy rain, is filthy. In the Middle Ages it was supposed that this was the "Upper Pool of Gihon" (see GIHON), but this and likewise the "highway of the FULLER'S FIELD" (q.v.) are now located elsewhere. Wilson and others have suggested that it is the "Serpent's Pool" of Jos (*BJ*, V, iii, 2). Titus leveled "all the places from Scopus to Herod's monument which adjoins the pool called that of the Serpent." Like many such identifications, there is not very much to be said for or against it; it is probable that the pool existed at the time of the siege. It is likely that this is the *Beth Memel* of the Talm (Talm Bab, *'Ērūbhīn* **51***b; Ṣanhedhrīn* **24***a; B*ᵉ*rē'shīth Rabbā'* **51**).

13. Birket es Sulṭān

The *Birket es Sulṭān* is a large pool—or, more strictly speaking, inclosure—555 ft. N. and S. by 220 ft. E. and W. It is bounded on the W. and N. by a great curve of the low-level aqueduct as it passes along and then across the *Wâdy er Râbâbi*. The southern side consists of a massive dam across the valley over which the Bethlehem carriage road runs. The name may signify either the "great" pool or be connected with the fact that it was reconstructed in the 16th cent. by the sultan Suleiman ibn Selim, as is recorded on an inscription upon a wayside fountain upon the southern wall. This pool is registered in the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre as the Lacus Germani, after the name of a knight of Germanus, who built or renovated the pool in 1176 AD. Probably a great part of the pool is a catchment area, and the true reservoir is the rock-cut *birkeh* at the southern end, which has recently been cleaned out. It is extremely difficult to believe that under any conditions any large proportion of the whole area could ever have even been filled. Today the reservoir at the lower end holds, after the rainy season, some 10 or 12 ft. of very dirty water, chiefly the street drainage of the Jaffa road, while the upper two-thirds of the inclosure is used as a cattle market on Fridays. The water is now used for sprinkling the dusty roads in dry seasons.

The Pool of Siloam and the now dry *Birket el Ḥamra* are described under SILOAM (q.v.).

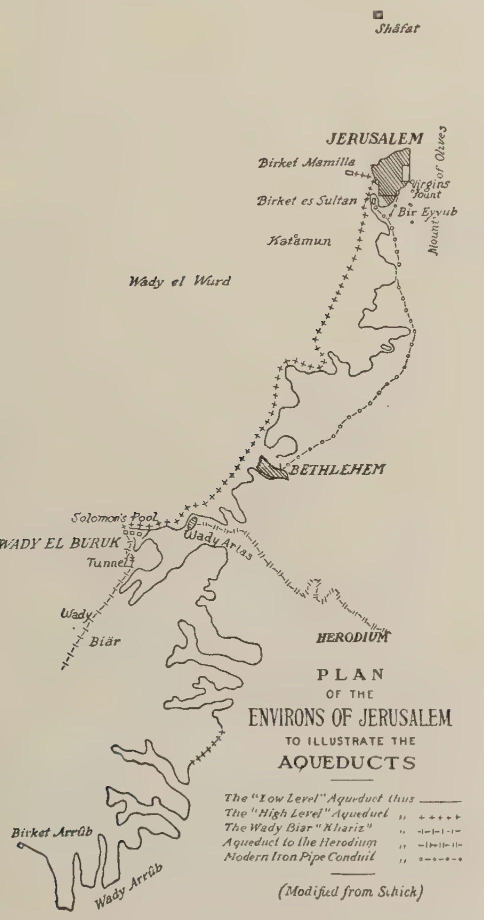
There are other tanks of considerable size in and around the city, e.g. the *Birket Sitti Miriam*, near "St. Stephen's Gate," an uncemented pool in the *Wâdy Jôz*, connected with which there is a rock-cut aqueduct and others, but they are not of sufficient historical importance to merit description here.

14. "Solomon's Pools"

(3) The *conduits* bringing water to the city from a distance are called the "high-level" and "low-level" aqueducts respectively, because they reached the city at different levels—the former probably somewhere near the present Jaffa Gate, the latter at the temple-platform.

15. Low-Level Aqueduct

The low-level aqueduct which, though out of repair, can still be followed along its whole course, conveyed water from three great pools in the *Wādy 'Artās,* 7 miles S. of Jerus. They are usually called "Solomon's pools," in reference perhaps partly to Eccl **2** 6: "I made me pools of water, to water therefrom the forest where trees were reared," but as any mighty work in Pal is apt to be referred to the wise king of Israel, much stress cannot be laid on the name. These three storage reservoirs are constructed across the breadth of the valley, the lowest and largest being 582 ft. long by 177 ft. broad and, at the lowest end, 50 ft. deep. Although the overflow waters of *'Ain es Sâleh,* commonly known as the "sealed fountain" (cf Cant **4** 12), reach the pools, the chief function was probably to collect the flood waters from the winter rains, and the water was passed from tank to tank after purification. There are in all four springs in this valley which supply the aqueduct which still conveys water to Bethlehem, where it passes through the hill by means of a tunnel and then, after running, winding along the sides of the hill, it enters another tunnel now converted into a storage tank for Jerus; from this it runs along the mountain sides and along the southern slopes of the site of Jerus to the *Haram.* The total length of this aqueduct is nearly 12 miles, but at a later date the supply was increased by the construction of a long extension of the conduit for a further 28 miles to *Wâdy 'Arrûb* on the road to Hebron, another 5 miles directly S. of the pools. Here, too, there is a reservoir, the *Birket el 'Arrûb,* for the collection of the flood-water, and also several small springs, which are conducted in a number of underground rock-cut channels to the aqueduct. The total length of the low-level aqueduct is about 40 miles, and the fall in level from *Birket el 'Arrûb* (2,645 ft. above sea-level) at its far end to *el Kâs,* the termination in the *Haram* Jerus (2,410 ft. above sea-level), is 235 ft.



PLAN OF THE ENVIRONS OF JERUSALEM TO ILLUSTRATE THE AQUEDUCTS

(Modified from Schick)

16. High-Level Aqueduct

The high-level aqueduct commences in a remarkable chain of wells connected with a tunnel, about 4 miles long, in the *Wâdy Bīār,* "the Valley of Wells." Upward of 50 wells along the valley bottom supplied each its quotient; the water thence passed through a pool where the solid matter settled, and traversed a tunnel 1,700 ft. long into the 'Artas valley. Here, where its level was 150 ft. above that of the low-level aqueduct, the conduit received the waters of the "sealed fountain," and finally "delivered them in Jerus at a level of about 20 ft. above that of the Jaffa Gate" (Wilson). The most remarkable feature of this conduit is the inverted syphon of perforated limestone blocks, forming a stone tube 15 in. in diameter, which carried the water across the valley near Rachel's Tomb.

17. Dates of Construction of These Aqueducts

On a number of these blocks, Lat inscriptions with the names of centurions of the time of Severus (195 AD) have been found, and this has led many to fix a date to this great work. So good an authority as Wilson, however, considers that these inscriptions may refer to repairs, and that the work is more probably Herodian. Unless the accounts of Jos (*BJ,* V, iv, 4; II, xvii, 9) are exaggerated, Herod must have had some means of bringing abundant running water into the city at the level obtained by this conduit. The late Dr. Schick even suggested a date as early as Hyrcanus (135–125 BC). With regard to the low-level aqueduct, we have two definite data. First Jos (*Ant,* XVIII, iii, 2) states that Pontius Pilate "undertook to bring a current of water to Jerus, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of 200 furlongs," over 22 miles; in *BJ,* II, ix, 4 he is said to have brought the water "from 400 furlongs"—probably a copyist's error. But these references must either be to restorations or to the extension from *Wâdy 'Arrûb* to *Wâdy 'Artās* (28 miles), for the low-level aqueduct from the pools to Jerus is certainly the same construction as the aqueduct from these pools to the "Frank Mountain," the Herodium, and that, according to the definite statements of Jos (*Ant,* XV, ix, 4; *BJ,* I, xxi, 10), was made by Herod the Great. On the whole the usual view is that the high-level aqueduct was the work of Severus, the low-level that of Herod, with an extension southward by Pontius Pilate.

Jerus still benefits somewhat from the low-level aqueduct which is in repair as far as Bethlehem, though all that reaches the city comes only through a solitary 4-in. pipe. The high-level aqueduct is hopelessly destroyed and can be traced only in places; the wells of *Wâdy Bīār* are choked and useless, and the long winding aqueduct to *Wâdy 'Arrûb* is quite broken.

VIII. Tombs, Antiquarian Remains, and Ecclesiastical Sites.—Needless to say all the known ancient tombs in the Jerus area have been rifled of their contents long ago. **1. The "Tombs of the Kings"** The so-called Tombs of the Kings in the *Wâdy el Jôz* are actually the monument of Queen Helena of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism (c 48 AD). Jos (*Ant*, XX, iv, 3) states that her bones, with those of members of her family, were buried "at the pyramids," which were 3 in number and distant from Jerus 3 furlongs. A Heb inscription upon a sarcophagus found here by De Saulcy ran: צרה מלכתה, (*çārāh malkᵉthāh*), "Queen Sarah," possibly the Jewish name of Queen Helena.

2. "Herod's Tomb" On the western side of the *Wâdy el Mês* (the higher part of Hinnom), is a very interesting Gr tomb containing beautifully carved sarcophagi. These are commonly known as "Herod's Tombs" (although Herod the Great was buried on the Herodium), and, according to Schick, one of the sarcophagi may have belonged to Mariamne, Herod's wife. A more probable theory is that this is the tomb of the high priest Ananias (*BJ*, V, xii, 2).

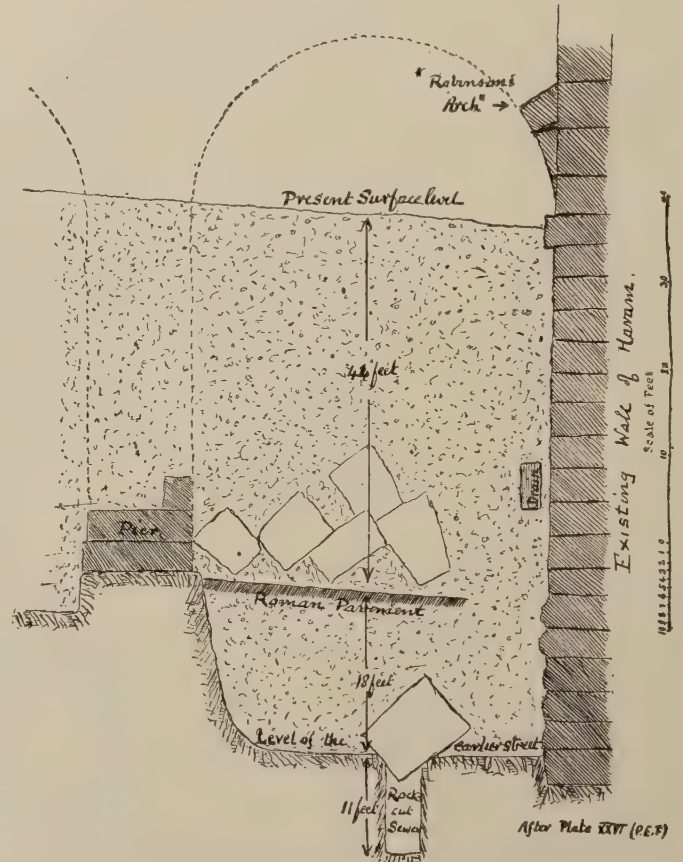
3. "Absalom's Tomb" On the eastern side of the Kidron, near the southeastern angle of the *Ḥaram*, are 3 conspicuous tombs. The most northerly, *Tanṭûr Fer'ōn*, generally called "Absalom's Tomb," is a Gr-Jewish tomb of the Hasmonean period, and, according to Conder, possibly the tomb of Alexander Jannaeus (*HDB*, art. "Jerusalem"). S. of this is the traditional "Grotto of St. James," which we know by a square Heb inscription over the pillars to be the family tomb of certain members of the priestly family (1 Ch **24** 15), of the Beni Hazīr. It may belong to the century before Christ.

The adjoining traditional tomb of Zachariah is a monolithic monument cut out of the living rock, 16 ft. sq. and 30 ft. high. It has square pilasters at the corners, Ionic pillars between, and a pyramidal top. Its origin is unknown; its traditional name is due to Our Lord's word in Mt **23** 35; Lk **11** 51 (see ZACHARIAH).

4. The "Egyptian Tomb" A little farther down the valley of the Kidron, at the commencement of the village of Siloam, is another rock-cut tomb, the so-called Egyp Tomb, or according to some, "the tomb of Solomon's Egyp wife." It is a monolith 18 ft. sq. and 11 ft. high, and the interior has at one time been used as a chapel. It is now Russian property. It probably belongs to much the same period as the three before-mentioned tombs, and, like them, shows strong Egyp influence.

The so-called "Tombs of the Judges" belong to the Rom period, as do the scores of similar excavations in the same valley. The "Tombs of the Prophets" on the western slopes of the Mount of Olives are now considered to belong to the 4th or 5th Christian century.

Near the knoll over Jeremiah's Grotto, to the W. and N.W., are a great number of tombs, mostly Christian. The more northerly members of the group are now included in the property of the Dominicans attached to the Church of St. Stephen, but one, the southernmost, has attracted a great deal of attention because it was supposed by the late General Gordon to be the tomb of Christ. **5. The "Garden Tomb"** In its condition when found it was without doubt, like its neighbors, a Christian tomb of about the 5th cent., and it was full of skeletons. Whether it may originally have been a Jewish tomb is unproved; it certainly could not have been recognized as a site of any sanctity until General Gordon promulgated his theory (see *PEFS*, 1892, 120–24; see also GOLGOTHA).



Plan Showing Results of Warren's Excavations at "Robinson's Arch."

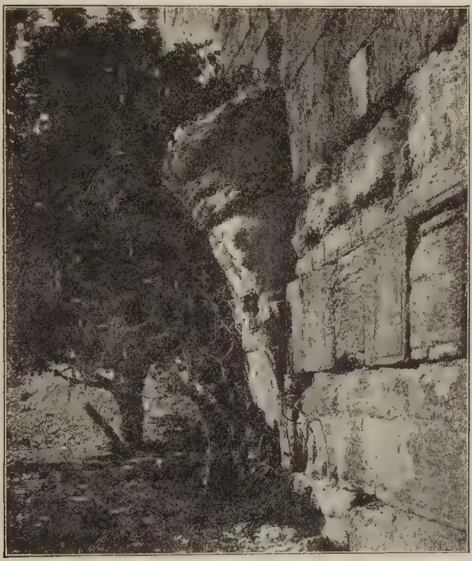
6. Tomb of "Simon the Just" The Jews greatly venerate a tomb on the eastern side of the *Wâdy el Jôz*, not far S. of the great North Road; they consider it to be the tomb of Simon the Just, but it is in all probability not a Jewish tomb at all.

7. Other Antiquities Only passing mention can here be made of certain remains of interest connected with the exterior walls of the *Ḥaram*. The foundation walls of the temple-platform are built, specially upon the E., S. and W., of magnificent blocks of smooth, drafted masonry with an average height of 3½ ft. One line, known as the "master course," runs for 600 ft. westward from the southeastern angle, with blocks 7 ft. high. Near the southeastern angle at the foundation itself, certain of the blocks were found by the Palestine Exploration Fund engineers to be marked with Phoen characters, which it was supposed by many at the time of their discovery indicated their Solomonic origin. It is now generally held that these "masons' marks" may just as well have been used in the time of Herod the Great, and on other grounds it is held that all this magnificent masonry is due to the vast reconstruction of the Temple which this great monarch initiated (see Temple). In the western wall of the *Ḥaram,* between the southwestern corner and the "Jewish wailing place," lies "Robinson's Arch." It is the spring of an arch 50 ft. wide, projecting from the temple-wall; the bridge arising from it had a span of 50 ft., and the pier on the farther side was discovered by Warren. Under the bridge ran a contemporary paved Rom street, and beneath the unbroken pavement was found, lying inside a rock aqueduct, a voussoir of an older bridge. This bridge connected the temple-inclosure with the upper city in the days of the Hasmonean kings. It was broken down in 63 BC by the Jews in anticipation of the attack of Pompey (*Ant,* XIV, iv, 2; *BJ,* I, vii, 2), but was rebuilt by Herod in 19 BC (*BJ,* VI, viii, 1; vi, 2), and finally destroyed in 70 AD.

Nearly 600 ft. farther N., along this western temple-wall is Wilson's Arch, which lies under the surface within the causeway which crosses the Tyropœon to the *Bâb es Silseleh* of the *Ḥaram;* although not itself very ancient there are here, deeper down, arches belonging to the Herodian causeway which here approached the temple-platform.

8. Ecclesiastical Sites

With regard to the common ecclesiastical sites visited by pious pilgrims little need be said here. The congeries of churches that is included under that name of Church of the Holy Sepulchre includes a great many minor sites of the scenes of the Passion which have no serious claims. Besides the Holy Sepulchre itself—which, apart from its situation, cannot be proved or disproved, as it has actually been destroyed—the only important site is that of "Mount Calvary." All that can be said is that if the Sepulchre is genuine, then the site *may* be also; it is today the hollowed-out shell of a rocky knoll incased in marble and other stones and riddled with chapels. See Golgotha.



Robinson's Arch.

The coenaculum, close to the Moslem "Tomb of David" (a site which has no serious claims), has been upheld by Professor Sanday (*Sacred Sites of the Gospels*) as one which has a very strong tradition in its favor. The most important evidence is that of Epiphanias, who states that when Hadrian visited Jerus in 130, one of the few buildings left standing was "the little Church of God, on the site where the disciples, returning after the Ascension of the Saviour from Olivet, had gone up to the Upper room, for there it had been built, that is to say in the quarter of Zion." In connection with this spot there has been pointed out from early Christian times the site of the House of Caiaphas and the site of the death of the Virgin Mary—the *Dormitio Sanctae Virginis.* It is in consequence of this latter tradition that the German Roman Catholics have now erected here their magnificent new church of the Dormition. A rival line of traditions locates the tomb of the Virgin in the Kidron valley near Gethsemane, where there is a remarkable underground chapel belonging to the Greeks.

IX. History.—*Pre-Israelite period.*—The beginnings of Jerus are long before recorded history: at various points in the neighborhood, e.g. at *el Bukei'a* to the S.W., and at the northern extremity of the Mount of Olives to the N.E., were very large settlements of Paleolithic man, long before the dawn of history, as is proved by the enormous quantities of celts scattered over the surface. It is certain that the city's site itself was occupied many centuries before David, and it is a traditional view that the city called Salem (q.v.) (Gen **14** 18), over which Melchizedek was king, was identical with Jerus.

1. Tell el-Amarna Correspondence

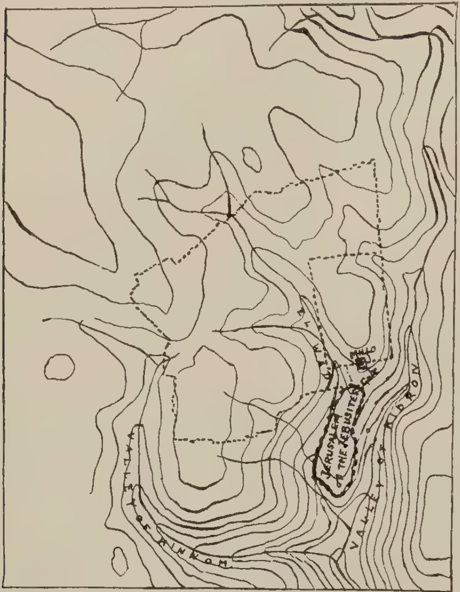
The first certain reference to this city is about 1450 BC, when the name Ur-u-salem occurs in several letters belonging to the Am Tab correspondence. In 7 of these letters occurs the name *Abd Khiba,* and it is clear that this man was "king," or governor of the city, as the representative of Pharaoh of Egypt. In this correspondence Abd Khiba represents himself as hard pressed to uphold the rights of his suzerain against the hostile forces which threaten to overwhelm him. Incidentally we may gather that the place was then a fortified city, guarded partly by mercenary Egyp troops, and there are reasons for thinking that the then ruler of Egypt, Amenhotep IV, had made it a sanctuary of his god Aten—the sun-disc. Some territory, possibly extending as far west as Ajalon, seems to have been under the jurisdiction of the governor. Professor Sayce has stated that Abd Khiba was probably a Hittite chief, but this is doubtful. The correspondence closes abruptly, leaving us in uncertainty with regard to the fate of the writer, but we know that the domination of Egypt over Pal suffered an eclipse about this time.

2. Joshua's Conquest

At the time of Joshua's invasion of Canaan, Adoni-zedek (q.v.) is mentioned (Josh **10** 1–27) as king of Jerus; he united with the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon to fight against the Gibeonites who had made peace with Joshua; the 5 kings were defeated and, being captured in hiding at the cave Makkedah, were all slain. Another king, Adoni-bezek (q.v.) (whom some identify with Adoni-zedek), was defeated by Judah after the death of Joshua, and after being mutilated was brought to Jerus and died there (Jgs **1** 1–7), after which it is recorded (ver 8) that Judah "fought against Jerus, and took it . . . . and set the city on fire." But it is clear that the city remained in the hands of the "Jebusites" for some years more (Jgs **1** 21; **19** 11), although it was theoretically reckoned on the southern border of Benjamin (Josh **15** 8; **18** 16.28). David, after he had reigned 7½ years at Hebron, determined to make the place his capital and, about 1000 BC, captured the city.

Up to this event it is probable that Jerus was like other contemporary fortified sites, a comparatively small place encircled with powerful walls, with but one or perhaps two gates; it is very generally admitted that this city occupied the ridge to the S. of the temple long incorrectly called "Ophel," and that its walls stood upon steep rocky scarps above the Kidron valley on the one side, and the Tyropœon on the other. We have every reason to believe that the great system of tunnels, known as "Warren's Shaft" (see VII, 3, above) existed all through this period.

3. Site of the Jebusite City



Jerusalem of the Jebusites, as Captured by David.

The account of the capture of Jerus by David is obscure, but it seems a probable explanation of a difficult passage (2 S **5** 6–9) if we conclude that the Jebusites, relying upon the extraordinary strength of their position, challenged David: "Thou shalt not come in hither, but the blind and the lame shall turn thee away" (ver 6 m), and that David directed his followers to go up the "watercourse" and smite the "lame and the blind"—a term he in his turn applies mockingly to the Jebusites. "And Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first, and was made chief" (1 Ch **11** 6). It seems at least probable that David's men captured the city through a surprise attack up the great tunnels (see VII, 3, above). David having captured the stronghold "Zion," renamed it the "City of David" and took up his residence there; he added to the strength of the fortifications "round about from the Millo [q.v.] and onward"; with the assistance of Phoen workmen supplied by Hiram, king of Tyre, he built himself "a house of cedar" (2 S **5** 11; cf **7** 2). The ark of Jeh was brought from the house of Obed-edom and lodged in a tent (2 S **6** 17) in the "city of David" (cf 1 K **8** 1). The threshing-floor of Araunah (2 S **24** 18), or Ornan (1 Ch **21** 15), the Jebusite, was later purchased as the future site of the temple.

4. David

The Jerus which David captured was small and compact, but there are indications that during his reign it must have increased considerably by the growth of suburbs outside the Jebusite walls. The population must have been increased from several sources. The influx of David's followers doubtless caused many of the older inhabitants to be crowded out of the walled area. There appear to have been a large garrison (2 S **15** 18; **20** 7), many officials and priests and their families (2 S **8** 16–18; **20** 23–26; **23** 8 ff), and the various members of David's own family and their relatives (2 S **5** 13–16; **14** 24.28; 1 K **1** 5.53, etc). It is impossible to suppose that all these were crowded into so narrow an area, while the incidental mention that Absalom lived two whole years in Jerus without seeing the king's face implies suburbs (2 S **14** 24.28). The new dwellings could probably extend northward toward the site of the future temple and northwestward into and up the Tyropœon valley along the great north road. It is improbable that they could have occupied much of the western hill.

5. Expansion of the City

With the accession of Solomon, the increased magnificence of the court, the foreign wives and their establishments, the new officials and the great number of work people brought to the city for Solomon's great buildings must necessarily have enormously swelled the resident population, while the recorded buildings of the city, the temple, the king's house, the House of the Daughter of Pharaoh, the House of the Forest of Lebanon, the Throne Hall and the Pillared Hall (1 K **7** 1–8) must have altered the whole aspect of the site. In consequence of these new buildings, the sanctuary together with the houses of the common folk, a new wall for the city was necessary, and we have a statement twice made that Solomon built "the wall of Jerus round about" (1 K **3** 1; **9** 15); it is also recorded that he built Millo (**9** 15.24; **11** 27), and that "he repaired the breach of the city of David his father" (**11** 27). The question of the Millo is discussed elsewhere (see Millo); the "breach" referred to may have been the connecting wall needed to include the Millo within the complete circle of fortifications, or else some part of David's fortification which his death had left incomplete.

6. Solomon

As regards the "Wall of Jerus" which Solomon built, it is practically certain that it was, on the N. and W., that described by Jos as the First Wall (see VI, 7 above). The vast rock-cut scarps at the southwestern corner testify to the massiveness of the building. Whether the whole of the southwestern hill was included is a matter of doubt. Inasmuch as there are indications at Bliss's tower (see VI, 4*d* above) of an ancient wall running northeasterly, and inclosing the summit of the southwestern hill, it would appear highly probable that Solomon's wall followed that line; in this case this wall must have crossed the Tyropœon at somewhat the line of the existing southern wall, and then have run southeasterly to join the western wall of the old city of the Jebusites. The temple and palace buildings were all inclosed in a wall of finished masonry which made it a fortified place by itself—as it appears to have been through Heb history—and these walls, where external to the rest of the city, formed part of the whole circle of fortification.

7. Solomon's City Wall

Although Solomon built so magnificent a house for Jeh, he erected in the neighborhood shrines to other local gods (1 K **11** 7.8), a lapse ascribed largely to the influence of his foreign wives and consequent foreign alliances.

The disruption of the kingdom must have been a severe blow to Jerus, which was left the capital, no longer of a united state, but of a petty tribe. The resources which were at the command of Solomon for the building up of the city were suddenly cut off by Jeroboam's avowed policy, while the long state of war which existed between

8. The Disruption (933 BC)

the two peoples—a state lasting 60 years (1 K **14** 30; **15** 6.16; **22** 44)—must have been very injurious to the growth of commerce and the arts of peace.

9. Invasion of Shishak (928 BC)

In the 5th year of Rehoboam (928), Shishak (Sheshonk) king of Egypt came up against Jerus (1 K **14** 25 ff) and took "the fenced cities of Judah" (2 Ch **12** 4 AV). It has been commonly supposed that he besieged and captured Jerus itself, but as there is no account of the destruction of fortifications and as the name of this city has not been deciphered upon the Egyp records of this campaign, it is at least as probable, and is as consistent with the Scriptural references, that Shishak was bought off with "the treasures of the house of Jeh, and the treasures of the king's house" and "all the shields of gold which Solomon had made" (1 K **14** 26).

10. City Plundered by Arabs

It is clear that by the reign of Jehoshaphat the city had again largely recovered its importance (cf 1 K **22**), but in his son Jehoram's reign (849–842 BC) Judah was invaded and the royal house was pillaged by Philis and Arabs (2 Ch **21** 16–17).

11. Hazael King of Syria Bought Off (797 BC)

Ahaziah (842 BC), Jehoram's son, came to grief while visiting his maternal relative at Jezreel, and after being wounded in his chariot near Ibleam, and expiring at Megiddo, his body was carried to Jerus and there buried (2 K **9** 27–28). Jerus was now the scene of the dramatic events which center round the usurpation and death of Queen Athaliah (2 K **11** 16; 2 Ch **23** 15) and the coronation and reforms of her grandson Joash (2 K **12** 1–16; 2 Ch **24** 1–14). After the death of the good priest Jehoiada, it is recorded (2 Ch **24** 15 ff) that the king was led astray by the princes of Judah and forsook the house of Jeh, as a consequence of which the Syrians under Hazael came against Judah and Jerus, slew the princes and spoiled the land, Joash giving him much treasure from both palace and temple (2 K **12** 17.18; 2 Ch **24** 23). Finally Joash was assassinated (2 K **12** 20.21; 2 Ch **24** 25) "at the house of Millo, on the way that goeth down to Silla."

12. Capture of the City by Jehoash of Israel

During the reign of Amaziah (797–729 BC), the murdered king's son, a victory over Edom appears to have so elated the king that he wantonly challenged Jehoash of Israel to battle (2 K **14** 8 f). The two armies met at Beth-shemesh, and Judah was defeated and "fled every man to his tent." Jerus was unable to offer any resistance to the victors, and Jehoash "brake down the wall of Jerus from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, 400 cubits" and then returned to Samaria, loaded with plunder and hostages (ver 14). Fifteen years later, Amaziah was assassinated at Lachish whither he had fled from a conspiracy; nevertheless they brought his body upon horses, and he was buried in Jerus.

13. Uzziah's Refortification (779–740 BC)

Doubtless it was a remembrance of the humiliation which his father had undergone which made Uzziah (Azariah) strengthen his position. He subdued the Philis and the Arabs in Gûr, and put the Ammonites to tribute (2 Ch **26** 7.8). He "built towers in Jerus at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turnings [LXX] of the walls, and fortified them" (ver 9). He is also described as having made in Jerus "engines, invented by skilful men, to be on the towers and upon the battlements, wherewith to shoot arrows and great stones" (ver 15). The city during its long peace with its northern neighbors appears to have recovered something of her prosperity in the days of Solomon. During his reign the city was visited by a great earthquake (Zec **14** 4; Am **1** 1; cf Isa **9** 10; **29** 6; Am **4** 11; **8** 8). Jotham, his son, built "the upper gate of the house of Jeh" (2 K **15** 35; 2 Ch **27** 3), probably the same as the "upper gate of Benjamin" (Jer **20** 2). He also built much on the wall of Ophel—probably the ancient fortress of Zion on the southeastern hill (2 Ch **27** 3); see Ophel.

14. Ahaz Allies with Assyria (736–728 BC)

His son Ahaz was soon to have cause to be thankful for his father's and grandfather's work in fortifying the city, for now its walls were successful in defence against the kings of Syria and Israel (2 K **16** 5.6); but Ahaz, feeling the weakness of his little kingdom, bought with silver and gold from the house of Jeh the alliance of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria. He met the king at Damascus and paid him a compliment by having an altar similar to his made for his own ritual in the temple (vs 10–12). His reign is darkened by a record of heathen practices, and specially by his making "his son to pass through the fire"—as a human sacrifice in, apparently, the Valley of Hinnom (1 K **16** 3–4; cf 2 Ch **28** 3).

15. Hezekiah's Great Works

Hezekiah (727–699 BC), his son, succeeded to the kingdom at a time of surpassing danger. Samaria, and with it the last of Israel's kingdom, had fallen. Assyria had with difficulty been bought off, the people were largely apostate, yet Jerus was never so great and so inviolate to prophetic eyes (Isa **7** 4 f; **8** 8.10; **10** 28 f; **14** 25–32, etc). Early in his reign, the uprising of the Chaldaean Merodach-baladan against Assyria relieved Judah of her greatest danger, and Hezekiah entered into friendly relations with this new king of Babylon, showing his messengers all his treasures (Isa **39** 1.2). At this time or soon after, Hezekiah appears to have undertaken great works in fitting his capital for the troublous times which lay before him. He sealed the waters of Gihon and brought them within the city to prevent the kings of Assyria from getting access to them (2 K **20** 20; 2 Ch **32** 4.30). See Siloam.

It is certain, if their tunnel was to be of any use, the southwestern hill must have been entirely enclosed, and it is at least highly probable that in the account (2 Ch **32** 5), he "built up all the wall that was broken down, and built towers thereon [m], and the other wall without," the last phrase may refer to the stretch of wall along the edge of the southwestern hill to Siloam. On the other hand, if that was the work of Solomon, "the other wall" may have been the great buttressed dam, with a wall across it which closed the mouth of the Tyropœon, which was an essential part of his scheme of preventing a besieging army from getting access to water. He also strengthened Millo (q.v.), on the southeastern hill. Secure in these fortifications, which made Jerus one of the strongest walled cities in Western Asia, Hezekiah, assisted, as we learn from Sennacherib's descriptions, by Arab mercenaries, was able to buy off the great Assyr king and to keep his city inviolate (2 K **18** 13–16). A second threatened attack on the city appears to be referred to in 2 K **19** 9–37.

16. His Religious Reforms

Hezekiah undertook reforms. "He removed the high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherah: and he brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made and . . . . he called it Nehushtan," i.e. a piece of brass (2 K **18** 4).

Manasseh succeeded his father when but 12, and reigned 55 years (698–643) in Jerus (2 K **21** 1). He was tributary to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, as we know from their inscriptions; in one of the latter's he is referred to as king "of the city of Judah." The king of Assyria who, it is said (2 Ch **33** 11; cf *Ant*, X, iii, 2), carried Manasseh in chains to Babylon, was probably Ashurbanipal. How thoroughly the country was permeated by Assyr influence is witnessed by the two cuneiform tablets recently found at Gezer belonging to this Assyr monarch's reign (*PEFS*, 1905, 206, etc).

17. Manasseh's Alliance with Assyria

18. His Repair of the Walls

The same influence, extending to the religious sphere, is seen in the record (2 K **21** 5) that Manasseh "built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of Jeh." There are other references to the idolatrous practices introduced by this king (cf Jer **7** 18; 2 K **23** 5.11.12, etc). He also filled Jerus from one end to the other with the innocent blood of martyrs faithful to Jeh (2 K **21** 16; cf Jer **19** 4). Probably during this long reign of external peace the population of the city much increased, particularly by the influx of foreigners from less isolated regions. Of this king's improvements to the fortifications of Jerus we have the statement (2 Ch **33** 14), "He built an outer wall to the city of David, on the west side of Gihon in the valley, even to the entrance at the fish gate." This must have been a new or rebuilt wall for the whole eastern side of the city. He also compassed about the OPHEL (q.v.) and raised it to a very great height.

Manasseh was the first of the Judahic kings to be buried away from the royal tombs. He was buried (as was his son Amon) "in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza" (2 K **21** 18). These may be the tombs referred to (Ezk **43** 7–9) as too near the temple precincts.

19. Josiah and Religious Reforms (640–609 BC)

20. Jeremiah Prophesies the Approaching Doom

In the reign of Josiah was found the "Book of the Law," and the king in consequence instituted radical reforms (2 K **22, 23**). Kidron smoked with the burnings of the Asherah and of the vessels of Baal, and Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom was defiled. At length after a reign of 31 years (2 K **23** 29.30), Josiah, in endeavoring to intercept Pharaoh-necoh from combining with the king of Babylon, was defeated and slain at Megiddo and was buried "in his own sepulchre" in Jerus—probably in the same locality where his father and grandfather lay buried. Jehoahaz, after a reign of but 3 months, was carried captive (2 K **23** 34) by Necoh to Egypt, where he died—and apparently was buried among strangers (Jer **22** 10–12). His brother Eliakim, renamed Jehoiakim, succeeded. In the 4th year of his reign, Egypt was defeated at Carchemish by the Babylonians, and as a consequence Jehoiakim had to change from subjection to Egypt to that of Babylon (1 K **23** 35 ff). During this time Jeremiah was actively foretelling in streets and courts of Jerus (**5** 1, etc) the approaching ruin of the city, messages which were received with contempt and anger by the king and court (Jer **36** 23). In consequence of his revolt against Babylon, bands of Chaldaeans, Syrians, Moabites and Ammonites came against him (2 K **24** 2), and his death was inglorious (2 K **24** 6; Jer **22** 18.19).

His son Jehoiachin, who succeeded him, went out with all his household and surrendered to the approaching Nebuchadnezzar (597), and was carried to Babylon where he passed more than 37 years (2 K **25** 27–30). Jerus was despoiled of all its treasures and all its important inhabitants. The king of Babylon's nominee, Zedekiah, after 11 years rebelled against him, and consequently Jerus was besieged for a year and a half until "famine was sore in the city." On the 9th of Ab all the men of war "fled by night by the way of the gate between the two walls, which was by the king's garden," i.e. near the mouth of the Tyropœon, and the king "went by the way of the Arabah," but was overtaken and captured "in the plains of Jericho." A terrible punishment followed his faithlessness to Babylon (2 K **25** 1–7). The city and the temple were despoiled and burnt; the walls of Jerus were broken down, and none but the poorest of the land "to be vinedressers and husbandmen" were left behind (2 K **25** 8 f; 2 Ch **36** 17 f). It is probable that the ark was removed also at this time.

21. Nebuchadnezzar Twice Takes Jerusalem (586 BC)

22. Cyrus and the First Return (538 BC)

With the destruction of their city, the hopes of the best elements in Judah turned with longing to the thought of her restoration. It is possible that some of the remnant left in the land may have kept up some semblance of the worship of Jeh at the temple-site. At length, however, when in 538 Cyrus the Persian became master of the Bab empire, among many acts of a similar nature for the shrines of Assyr and Bab gods, he gave permission to Jews to return to rebuild the house of Jeh (Ezr **1** 1 f). Over 40,000 (Ezr **1, 2**) under Sheshbazzar, prince of Judah (Ezr **1** 8.11), governor of a province, returned, bringing with them the sacred vessels of the temple. The daily sacrifices were renewed and the feasts and fasts restored (**3** 3–7), and later the foundations of the restored temple were laid (**3** 10; **5** 16), but on account of the opposition of the people of the land and the Samaritans, the building was not completed until 20 years later (**6** 15).

23. Nehemiah Rebuilds the Walls

The graphic description of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerus in 445 by Nehemiah gives us the fullest account we have of these fortifications at any ancient period. It is clear that Nehemiah set himself to restore the walls, as far as possible, in their condition before the exile. The work was done hurriedly and under conditions of danger, half the workers being armed with swords, spears and bows to protect the others, and every workman was a soldier (Neh **4** 13.16–21). The rebuilding took 52 days, but could not have been done at all had not much of the material lain to hand in the piles of ruined masonry. Doubtless the haste and limited resources resulted in a wall far weaker than that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed 142 years previously, but it followed the same outline and had the same general structure.

24. Bagohi Governor

For the next 100 years we have scarcely any historical knowledge of Jerus. A glimpse is afforded by the papyri of Elephantine where we read of a Jewish community in Upper Egypt petitioning Bagohi, the governor of Judaea, for permission to rebuild their own temple to Jeh in Egypt; incidentally they mention that they had already sent an unsuccessful petition to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues in Jerus. In another document we gather that this petition to the Pers governor was granted. These documents must date about 411–407 BC. Later, probably about 350, we have somewhat ambiguous references to the destruction of Jerus and the captivity of numbers of Jews in the time of Artaxerxes (III) Ochus (358–337 BC).

With the battle of Issus and Alexander's Palestinian campaign (c 332 BC), we are upon surer historical ground, though the details of the account (*Ant*, XI, viii, 4) of Alexander's visit to Jerus itself are considered of doubtful authenticity.

25. Alexander the Great

After his death (323 BC), Pal suffered much from its position, between the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucidae of Antioch. Each became in turn its suzerain, and indeed at one time the tribute appears to have been divided between them (*Ant*, XII, iv, 1).

26. The Ptolemaic Rule

In 321 Ptolemy Soter invaded Pal, and, it is said (*Ant*, XII, i, 1), captured Jerus by a ruse, entering the city on the Sabbath as if anxious to offer sacrifice. He carried away many of his Jewish prisoners to Egypt and settled them there. In the struggles between the contending monarchies, although Pal suffered, the capital itself, on account of its isolated position, remained undisturbed, under the suzerainty of Egypt. In 217 BC, Ptolemy (IV) Philopator, after his victory over Antiochus III at Raphia, visited the temple at Jerus and offered sacrifices; he is reported (3 Macc **1**) to have entered the "Holy of Holies." The comparative prosperity of the city during the Egyp domination is witnessed to by Hecataeus of Abdera, who is quoted by Jos; he even puts the population of the city at 120,000, which is probably an exaggeration.

27. Antiochus the Great

At length in 198, Antiochus the Great having conquered Coele-Syria in the epoch-making battle at Banias, the Jews of their own accord went over to him and supplied his army with plentiful provisions; they assisted him in besieging the Egyp garrison in the Akra (q.v.) (*Ant*, XII, iii, 3). Jos produces letters in which Antiochus records his gratification at the reception given him by the Jews and grants them various privileges (ib). We have an account of the prosperity of the city about this time (190–180 BC) by Jesus ben Sira in the Book of Ecclus; it is a city of crowded life and manifold activities. He refers in glowing terms to the great high priest, Simon ben Onias (226–199 BC), who (Ecclus **50** 1–4) had repaired and fortified the temple and strengthened the walls against a siege. The letter of Aristeas, dated probably at the close of this great man's life (c 200 BC), gives a similar picture. It is here stated that the compass of the city was 40 stadia. The very considerable prosperity and religious liberty which the Jews had enjoyed under the Egyptians were soon menaced under the new ruler; the taxes were increased, and very soon fidelity to the tenets of Judaism came to be regarded as treachery to the Seleucid rule.

28. Hellenization of the City under Antiochus Epiphanes

Under Antiochus Epiphanes the Hellenization of the nation grew apace (2 Macc **4** 9–12; *Ant*, XII, v, 1); at the request of the Hellenizing party a "place of exercise" was erected in Jerus (1 Macc **1** 14; 2 Macc **4** 7 f). The Gymnasium was built and was soon thronged by young priests; the Gr hat—the *pétasos*—became the fashionable headdress in Jerus. The Hellenistic party, which was composed of the aristocracy, was so loud in its professed devotion to the king's wishes that it is not to be wondered at that Antiochus, who, on a visit to the city, had been received with rapturous greetings, came to think that the poor and pious who resisted him from religious motives were largely infected with leanings toward his enemies in Egypt. The actual open rupture began when tidings reached Antiochus, after a victorious though politically barren campaign in Egypt, that Jerus had risen in his rear on behalf of the house of Ptolemy. Jason, the renegade high priest, who had been hiding across the Jordan, had, on the false report of the death of Antiochus, suddenly returned and re-possessed himself of the city. Only the Akra remained to Syria, and this was crowded with Menelaus and those of his followers who had escaped the sword of Jason.

29. Capture of the City (170 BC)

Antiochus lost no time; he hastened (170 BC) against Jerus with a great army, captured the city, massacred the people and despoiled the temple (1 Macc **1** 20–24; *Ant*, XII, v, 3).

30. Capture of 168 BC

Two years later Antiochus, balked by Rome in Egypt (Polyb. xxix.27; Livy xlv.12), appears to have determined that in Jerus, at any rate, he would have no sympathizers with Egypt. He sent his chief collector of tribute (1 Macc **1** 29), who attacked the city with strong force and, by means of stratagem, entered it (ver 30). After he had despoiled it, he set it on fire and pulled down both dwellings and walls. He massacred the men, and many of the women and children he sold as slaves (1 Macc **1** 31–35; 2 Macc **5** 24).

31. Attempted Suppression of Judaism

He sacrificed swine (or at least a sow) upon the holy altar, and caused the high priest himself—a Greek in all his sympathies—to partake of the impure sacrificial feasts; he tried by barbarous cruelties to suppress the ritual of circumcision (*Ant*, XII, v, 4). In everything he endeavored, in conjunction with the strong Hellenizing party, to organize Jerus as a Gr city, and to secure his position he built a strong wall, and a great tower for the Akra, and, having furnished it well with armor and victuals, he left a strong garrison (1 Macc **1** 33–35). But the Syrians had overreached themselves this time, and the reaction against persecution and attempted religious suppression produced the great uprising of the Maccabeans.

32. The Maccabean Rebellion

The defeat and retirement of the Syrian commander Lysias, followed by the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, led to an entire reversal of policy on the part of the Council of the boy-king, Antiochus V. A general amnesty was granted, with leave to restore the temple-worship in its ancestral forms. The following year (165 BC) Judas Maccabaeus found "the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest . . . . and the priests' chambers pulled down" (1 Macc **4** 38).

33. The Dedication of the Temple (165 BC)

He at once saw to the reconstruction of the altar and restored the temple-services, an event celebrated ever after as the "Feast of the Dedication," or *ḥănukkāh* (1 Macc **4** 52–59; 2 Macc **10** 1–11; *Ant*, XII, vii, 7; cf Jn **10** 22). Judas also "builded up Mt. Zion," i.e. the temple-hill, making it a fortress with "high walls and strong towers round about," and set a garrison in it (1 Macc **4** 41–61).

34. Defeat of Judas and Capture of the City

The Hellenizing party suffered in the reaction, and the Syrian garrison in the Akra, Syria's one hold on Judaea, was closely invested, but though Judas had defeated three Syrian armies in the open, he could not expel this garrison. In 163 BC a great Syrian army, with a camel corps and many elephants, came to the relief of the hard-pressed garrison. Lysias, accompanied by the boy-king himself (Antiochus V), approached the city from the S. via Beth-zur (q.v.). At Beth-zachariah the Jews were defeated, and Judas' brother Eleazar was slain, and Jerus was soon captured. The fort on Mt. Zion which surrounded the sanctuary was surrendered by treaty, but when the king saw its strength, he broke his oath and destroyed the fortifications (1 Macc **6**

62). But even in this desperate state Judas and his followers were saved. A certain pretender, Philip, raised a rebellion in a distant part of the empire, and Lysias was obliged to patch up a truce with the nationalist Jews more favorable to Judas than before his defeat; the garrison in the Akra remained, however, to remind the Jews that they were not independent. In 161 BC another Syrian general, Nicanor, was sent against Judas, but he was at first won over to friendship and when, later, at the instigation of the Hellenistic party, he was compelled to attack Judas, he did so with hastily raised levies and was defeated at Adasa, a little N. of Jerus. Judas was, however, not long suffered to celebrate his triumph. A month later Bacchides appeared before Jerus, and in April, 161, Judas was slain in battle with him at Berea.

35. His Death (161 BC)

Both the city and the land were regarrisoned by Syrians; nevertheless, by 152, Jonathan, Judas' brother, who was residing at Michmash, was virtual ruler of the land, and by astute negotiation between Demetrius and Alexander, the rival claimants to the throne of Antioch, Jonathan gained more than any of his family had ever done. He was appointed high priest and *stratēgós*, or deputy for the king, in Judaea.

36. Jonathan's Restorations

He repaired the city and restored the temple-fortress with squared stones (1 Macc **10** 10–11). He made the walls higher and built up a great part of the eastern wall which had been destroyed and "repaired that which was called Caphenatha" (1 Macc **12** 36–37; *Ant*, XIII, v, ii); he also made a great mound between the Akra and the city to isolate the Syrian garrison (ib).

37. Surrender of City to Antiochus Sidetes (134 BC)

Simon, who succeeded Jonathan, finally captured the Akra in 139, and, according to Jos (*Ant*, XIII, vi, 7), not only destroyed it, but partially leveled the very hill on which it stood (see, however, 1 Macc **14** 36.37). John Hyrcanus, 5 years later (134 BC), was besieged in Jerus by Antiochus Sidetes in the 4th year of his reign; during the siege the Syrian king raised 100 towers each 3 stories high against the northern wall—possibly these may subsequently have been used for the foundations of the second wall. Antiochus was finally bought off by the giving of hostages and by heavy tribute, which Hyrcanus is said to have obtained by opening the sepulcher of David. Nevertheless the king "broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city" (*Ant*, XIII, viii, 2–4).

38. Hasmonean Buildings

During the more prosperous days of the Hasmonean rulers, several important buildings were erected. There was a great palace on the western (southwestern) hill overlooking the temple (*Ant*, XX, viii, 11), and connected with it at one time by means of a bridge across the Tyropœon, and on the northern side of the temple a citadel—which may (see VIII, 7 above) have been the successor of one here in preëxilic times—known as the Baris; this, later on, Herod enlarged into the Antonia (*Ant*, XV, xi, 4; *BJ*, V, v, 8).

In consequence of the quarrel of the later Hasmonean princes, further troubles fell upon the city.

39. Rome's Intervention

In 65 BC, Hyrcanus II, under the instigation of Antipas the Idumaean, rebelled against his brother Aristobulus, to whom he had recently surrendered his claim to sovereignty. With the assistance of Aretas, king of the Nabataeans, he besieged Aristobulus in the temple. The Rom general Scaurus, however, by order of Pompey, compelled Aretas to retire, and then lent his assistance to Aristobulus, who overcame his brother (*Ant*, XIV, ii, 1–3).

40. Pompey Takes the City by Storm

Two years later (63 BC) Pompey, having been met by the ambassadors of both parties, bearing presents, as well as of the Pharisees, came himself to compose the quarrel of the rival factions, and, being shut out of the city, took it by storm. He entered the "Holy of Holies," but left the temple treasures unharmed. The walls of the city were demolished; Hyrcanus II was reinstated high priest, but Aristobulus was carried a prisoner to Rome, and the city became tributary to the Rom Empire (*Ant*, XIV, iv, 1–4; *BJ*, I, vii, 1–7). The Syrian proconsul, M. Lucinius Crassus, going upon his expedition against the Parthians in 55 BC, carried off from the temple the money which Pompey had left (*Ant*, XIV, vii, 1).

41. Julius Caesar Appoints Antipater Procurator (47 BC)

In 47 BC Antipater, who for 10 years had been gaining power as a self-appointed adviser to the weak Hyrcanus, was made a Rom citizen and appointed procurator in return for very material services which he had been able to render to Julius Caesar in Egypt (*Ant*, XIV, viii, 1, 3, 5); at the same time Caesar granted to Hyrcanus permission to rebuild the walls of Jerus besides other privileges (*Ant*, XIV, x, 5). Antipater made his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Jerus, and committed Galilee to the care of his able younger son, Herod.

42. Parthian Invasion

In 40 BC Herod succeeded his father as procurator of Judaea by order of the Rom Senate, but the same year the Parthians under Pacorus and Barzapharnes captured and plundered Jerus (*Ant*, XIV, xiii, 3.4) and reëstablished Antigonus (*BJ*, I, xiii, 13). Herod removed his family and treasures to Massada and, having been appointed king of Judaea by Antony, returned, after various adventures, in 37 BC. Assisted by Sosius, the Rom proconsul, he took Jerus by storm after a 5 months' siege; by the promise of liberal reward he restrained the soldiers from sacking the city (*Ant*, XIV, xvi, 2–3).

During the reign of this great monarch Jerus assumed a magnificence surpassing that of all other ages.

43. Reign of Herod the Great (37–4 BC)

In 24 BC the king built his vast palace in the upper city on the southwestern hill, near where today are the Turkish barracks and the Armenian Quarter. He rebuilt the fortress to the N. of the temple—the ancient Baris—on a great scale with 4 lofty corner towers, and renamed it the Antonia in honor of his patron. He celebrated games in a new theater, and constructed a hippodrome (*BJ*, II, iii, 1) or amphitheater (*Ant*, XV, viii, 1).

44. Herod's Great Buildings

He must necessarily have strengthened and repaired the walls, but such work was outshone by the 4 great towers which he erected, Hippicus, Pharsael and Mariamne, near the present Jaffa Gate—the foundations of the first two are supposed to be incorporated in the present so-called "Tower of David"—and the lofty octagonal tower, Psephinus, farther to the N.W. The development of Herod's plans for the reconstruction of the temple was commenced in 19 BC, but they were not completed till 64 AD (Jn **2** 20; Mt **24** 1.2; Lk **21** 5.6). The sanctuary itself was built by 1,000 specially trained priests within a space of 18 months (11–10 BC). The conception was magnificent, and resulted in a mass of buildings of size and beauty far surpassing anything that had stood there before. Practically all the remains of the foundations of the temple-enclosure now surviving in connection with the *Ḥaram* belong to this period. In 4 BC—the year of the Nativity—occurred the disturbances following upon the destruction of the Golden Eagle which Herod had erected over the great gate of the temple, and shortly afterward Herod died, having previously shut up many of the leading Jews in the hippodrome with orders that they should be slain when he passed away (*BJ*, I, xxxiii, 6). The accession of Archelaus was signalized by Passover riots which ended in the death of 3,000, an after-result of the affair of the Golden Eagle.

Tomb of David.

45. Herod Archelaus (4 BC–6 AD)

Thinking that order had been restored, Archelaus set out for Rome to have his title confirmed. During his absence Sabinus, the Rom procurator, by mismanagement and greed, raised the city about his ears, and the next Passover was celebrated by a massacre, street fighting and open robbery. Varus, the governor of Syria, who had hastened to the help of his subordinate, suppressed the rebellion with ruthless severity and crucified 2,000 Jews. Archelaus returned shortly afterward as ethnarch, an office which he retained until his exile in 6 AD. During the procuratorship of Coponius (6–10 AD) another Passover riot occurred in consequence of the aggravating conduct of some Samaritans.

46. Pontius Pilate

During the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate (26–37 AD) there were several disturbances, culminating in a riot consequent upon his taking some of the "corban" or sacred offerings of the temple for the construction of an aqueduct (*Ant*, XVIII, iii, 2)—probably part at least of the "low-level aqueduct" (see VII, 15, above). Herod Agrippa I inclosed the suburbs, which had grown up N. of the second wall and of the temple, by what Jos calls the "Third Wall" (see V, above).

47. King Agrippa

His son, King Agrippa, built—about 56 AD—a large addition to the old Hasmonean palace, from which he could overlook the temple-area. This act was a cause of offence to the Jews who built a wall on the western boundary of the Inner Court to shut off his view. In the quarrel which ensued the Jews were successful in gaining the support of Nero (*Ant*, XX, viii, 11). In 64 AD the long rebuilding of the temple-courts, which had been begun in 19 BC, was concluded. The 18,000 workmen thrown out of employment appear to have been given "unemployed work" in "paving the city with white stone" (*Ant*, XX, ix, 6–7).

48. Rising against Florus and Defeat of Gallus

Finally the long-smouldering discontent of the Jews against the Romans burst forth into open rebellion under the criminal incompetence of Gessius Florus, 66 AD (*Ant*, XX, xi, 1). Palaces and public buildings were fired by the angered multitude, and after but two days' siege, the Antonia itself was captured, set on fire and its garrison slain (*BJ*, II, xvii, 6–7). Cestius Gallus, hastening from Syria, was soon engaged in a siege of the city. The third wall was captured and the suburb BEZETHA (q.v.) burnt, but, when about to renew the attack upon the second wall, Gallus appears to have been seized with panic, and his partial withdrawal developed into an inglorious retreat in which he was pursued by the Jews down the pass to the Beth-horons as far as Antipatris (*BJ*, II, xix).

49. The City Besieged by Titus (70 AD)

This victory cost the Jews dearly in the long run, as it led to the campaign of Vespasian and the eventual crushing of all their national hopes. Vespasian commenced the conquest in the north, and advanced by slow and certain steps. Being recalled to Rome as emperor in the midst of the war, the work of besieging and capturing the city itself fell to his son Titus. None of the many calamities which had happened to the city are to be compared with this terrible siege. In none had the city been so magnificent, its fortifications so powerful, its population so crowded. It was Passover time, but, in addition to the crowds assembled for this event, vast numbers had hurried there, flying from the advancing Rom army. The loss of life was enormous; refugees to Titus gave 600,000 as the number dead (*BJ*, V, xiii, 7), but this seems incredible. The total population today within the walls cannot be more than 20,000, and the total population of modern Jerus, which covers a far greater area than that of those days, cannot at the most liberal estimate exceed 80,000. Three times this, or, say, a quarter of a million, seems to be the utmost that is credible, and many would place the numbers at far less.

50. Party Divisions within the Besieged Walls

The siege commenced on the 14th of Nisan, 70 AD, and ended on the 8th of Elul, a total of 134 days. The city was distracted by internal feuds. Simon held the upper and lower cities; John of Gischala, the temple and "Ophel"; the Idumaeans, introduced by the Zealots, fought only for themselves, until they relieved the city of their terrors. Yet another party, too weak to make its counsels felt, was for peace with Rome, a policy which, if taken in time, would have found in Titus a spirit of reason and mercy. The miseries of the siege and the destruction of life and property were at least as much the work of the Jews themselves as of their conquerors. On the 15th day of the siege the third wall (Agrippa's), which had been but hastily finished upon the approach of the Romans, was captured; the second wall was finally taken on the 24th day; on the 72d day the Antonia fell, and 12 days later the daily sacrifice ceased.

51. Capture and Utter Destruction of the City

On the 105th day—the ominous 9th of Ab—the temple and the lower city were burnt, and the last day found the whole city in flames. Only the three great towers of Herod, Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamne, with the western walls, were spared to protect the camp of the Xth Legion which was left to guard the site, and "in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was and how well fortified"; the rest of the city was dug up to its foundations (*BJ*, VII, i, 1).

52. Rebellion of Bar-Cochba

For 60 years after its capture silence reigns over Jerus. We know that the site continued to be garrisoned, but it was not to any extent rebuilt. In 130 AD it was visited by Hadrian, who found but few buildings standing. Two years later (132–35 AD) occurred the last great rebellion of the Jews in the uprising of Bar-Cochba ("son of a star"), who was encouraged by the rabbi Akiba. With the suppression of this last effort for freedom by Julius Severus, the remaining traces of Judaism were stamped out, and it is even said (Talm Jerus, *Ta'ănīth* 4) that the very site of the temple was ploughed up by T. Annius

Rufus. An altar of Jupiter was placed upon the temple-site, and Jews were excluded from Jerus on pain of death.

53. Hadrian Builds Ælia Capitolina

In 138 Hadrian rebuilt the city, giving it the name Ælia Capitolina. The line of the Southern wall of Ælia was probably determined by the southern fortification of the great Rom legionary camp on the western (southwestern) hill, and it is probable that it was the general line of the existing southern wall. At any rate, we know that the area occupied by the coenaculum and the traditional "Tomb of David" was outside the walls in the 4th cent. An equestrian statue of Hadrian was placed on the site of the "Holy of Holies" (Jerome, *Comm.* on Isa 2 8; Mt 24 15). An inscription now existing in the southern wall of the temple-area, in which occurs the name of Hadrian, may have belonged to this monument, while a stone head, discovered in the neighborhood of Jerus some 40 years ago, may have belonged to the statue. Either Hadrian himself, or one of the Antonine emperors, erected a temple of Venus on the northwestern hill, where subsequently was built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Euseb., *Life of Constantine*, III, 36). The habit of pilgrimage to the holy sites, which appears to have had its roots far back in the 2d cent. (see Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, I, 551, quoted by Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, 75–76), seems to have increasingly flourished in the next two centuries; beyond this we know little of the city.

54. Constantine Builds the Church of the Anastasis

In 333 AD, by order of Constantine, the new church of the Anastasis, marking the supposed site of the Holy Sepulchre, was begun. The traditions regarding this site and the Holy Cross alleged to have been found there, are recorded some time after the events and are of doubtful veracity. The building must have been magnificent, and covered a considerably larger area than that of the existing church. In 362 Julian is said to have attempted to rebuild the temple, but the work was interrupted by an explosion. The story is doubtful.

At some uncertain date before 450 the coenaculum and "Church of the Holy Zion" were incorporated within the walls. This is the condition depicted in the Madeba Mosaic and also that described by Eucherius who, writing between 345–50 AD, states that the circuit of the walls "now receives within itself Mt. Zion, which was once outside, and which, lying on the southern side, overhangs the city like a citadel." It is possible this was the work of the emperor Valentinian who is known to have done some reconstruction of the walls.

55. The Empress Eudoxia Rebuilds the Walls

In 450 the empress Eudoxia, the widow of Theodosius II, took up her residence in Jerus and rebuilt the walls upon their ancient lines, bringing the whole of the southwestern hill, as well as the Pool of Siloam, within the circuit (Evagarius, *Hist. Eccles.*, I, 22). At any rate, this inclusion of the pool existed in the walls described by Antoninus Martyr in 560 AD, and it is confirmed by Bliss's work (see above VI, 4). She also built the church of St. Stephen, that at the Pool of Siloam and others.

56. Justinian

The emperor Justinian, who was perhaps the greatest of the Christian builders, erected the great Church of St. Mary, the remains of which are now considered by some authorities to be incorporated in the *el Aḳsa* Mosque; he built also a "Church of St. Sophia" in the "Prætorium," i.e. on the site of the Antonia (see, however, PRÆTORIUM), and a hospital to the W. of the temple. The site of the temple itself appears to have remained in ruins down to the 7th cent.

57. Chosroes II Captures the City

In 614 Pal was conquered by the Pers Chosroes II, and the Jerus churches, including that of the Holy Sepulchre, were destroyed, an event which did much to prepare the way for the Moslem architects of half a century later, who freely used the columns of these ruined churches in the building of the "Dome of the Rock."

58. Heracleus Enters It in Triumph

In 629 Heracleus, having meanwhile made peace with the successor of Chosroes II, reached Jerus in triumph, bearing back the captured fragment of the cross. He entered the city through the "Golden Gate," which indeed is believed by many to have reached its present form through his restorations. The triumph of Christendom was but short. Seven years earlier had occurred the historic flight of Mohammed from Mecca (the Hegira), and in 637 the victorious followers of the Prophet appeared in the Holy City.

59. Clemency of Omar

After a short siege, it capitulated, but the khalif Omar treated the Christians with generous mercy. The Christian sites were spared, but upon the temple-site, which up to this had apparently been occupied by no important Christian building but was of peculiar sanctity to the Moslems through Mohammed's alleged visions there, a wooden mosque was erected, capable of accommodating 3,000 worshippers. This was replaced in 691 AD by the magnificent *Kubbet es Ṣahrah*, or "Dome of the Rock," built by *'Abd'ul Malek*, the 10th khalif. For some centuries the relations of the Christians and Moslems appear to have been friendly: the historian *el Muḳaddasi*, writing in 985, describes the Christians and Jews as having the upper hand in Jerus. In 969 Pal passed into the power of the Egyp dynasty, and in 1010 her ruler, the mad Hakim, burnt many of the churches, which, however, were restored in a poor way.

60. The Seljuk Turks and Their Cruelties

In 1077 Isar el Atsis, a leader of the Seljuk Turks conquered Pal from the N., drove out the Egyptians and massacred 3,000 of the inhabitants of Jerus. The cruelty of the Turks—in contrast, be it noted, with the conduct of the Arab Moslems—was the immediate cause of the Crusades. In 1098 the city was retaken by the Egyp Arabs, and the following year was again captured after a 40 days' seige by the soldiers of the First Crusade, and Godfrey de Bouillon became the first king.

61. Crusaders Capture the City in 1099

Great building activity marked the next 80 peaceful years of Lat rule: numbers of churches were built, but, until toward the end of this period, the walls were neglected. In 1177 they were repaired, but 10 years later failed to resist the arms of the victorious Saladin. The city surrendered, but the inhabitants were spared. In 1192 Saladin repaired the walls, but in 1219 they were dismantled by orders of the sultan of Damascus. In 1229 the emperor Frederick II of Germany obtained the Holy City by treaty, on condition that he did not restore the fortifications, a stipulation which, being broken by the inhabitants 10 years later, brought down upon them the vengeance of the emir of Kerak. Nevertheless, in 1243 the city was again restored to the Christians unconditionally.

62. The Kharizimians

The following year, however, the Kharizimian Tartars—a wild, savage horde from Central Asia—burst into Pal, carrying destruction before them; they seized Jerus, massacred the people, and rifled the tombs of the Lat kings. Three years later they were ejected from Pal by the Egyptians who in their turn retained it until, in 1517, they were conquered by the Ottoman Turks, who still hold it.

63. Ottoman Turks Obtain the City in 1517

The greatest of their sultans, Suleiman the Magnificent, built the present walls in 1542. In 1832 Mohammed Ali with his Egyp forces came and captured the city, but 2 years later the *fellahin* rose against his rule and for a time actually gained possession of the city, except the citadel, making their entrance through the main drain. The besieged citadel was relieved by the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha from Egypt with reinforcements. The city and land were restored to the Ottoman Turks by the Great Powers in 1840.

X. Modern Jerusalem.—The modern city of Jerus has about 75,000 inhabitants, of whom over two-thirds are Jews.

1. Jews and "Zionism"

Until about 50 years ago the city was confined within its 16th-cent. walls, the doors of its gates locked every night, and even here there were considerable areas unoccupied. Since then, and particularly during the last 25 years, there has been a rapid growth of suburbs to the N., N.W., and W. of the old city. This has been largely due to the steady stream of immigrant Jews from every part of the world, particularly from Russia, Roumania, Yemin, Persia, Bokhara, the Caucasus, and from all parts of the Turkish empire. This influx of Jews, a large proportion of whom are extremely poor, has led to settlements or "colonies" of various classes of Jews being erected all over the plateau to the N.—an area never built upon before—but also on other sides of the city. With the exception of the Bokhara Colony, which has some fine buildings and occupies a lofty and salubrious situation, most of the settlements are mean cottages or ugly almshouses. With the exception of a couple of hospitals, there is no Jewish public building of any architectural pretensions. The "Zionist" movement, which has drawn so many Jews to Jerus, cannot be called a success, as far as this city is concerned, as the settlers and their children as a rule either steadily deteriorate physically and morally—from constant attacks of malaria, combined with pauperism and want of work—or, in the case of the energetic and enlightened, they emigrate—to America esp.; this emigration has been much stimulated of late by the new law whereby Jews and Christians must now, like Moslems, do military service.

The foreign Christian population represents all nations and all sects; the Roman church is rapidly surpassing all other sects or religions in the importance of their buildings. The Russians are well represented by their extensive enclosure, which includes a large cathedral, a hospital, extensive hospice in several blocks, and a handsome residence for the consul-general, and by the churches and other buildings on the Mount of Olives. The Germans have a successful colony belonging to the "Temple" sect to the W. of Jerus near the railway sta-

2. Christian Buildings and Institutions

tion, and are worthily represented by several handsome buildings, e.g. the Protestant "Church of the Redeemer," built on the site and on the ground plan of a fine church belonging to the Knights of St. John, the new (Roman Catholic) Church of the Dormition on "Mount Zion," with an adjoining Benedictine convent, a very handsome Roman Catholic hospice outside the Damascus Gate, the Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Sanatorium on the Mount of Olives, and a Protestant *Johanniter* Hospice in the city, a large general hospital and a leper hospital, a consulate and two large schools. In influence, both secular and religious, the Germans have rapidly gained ground in the last 2 decades. British influence has much diminished, relatively. The British Ophthalmic Hospital, belonging to the "Order of the Knights of St. John," the Eng. Mission Hospital, belonging to the London Jews Society, the Bishop Gobat's School and Eng. College connected with the Church Missionary Society, 3 Anglican churches, of which the handsome St. George's Collegiate Church adjoins the residence of the Anglican bishop, and a few small schools comprise the extent of public buildings connected with British societies. France and the Roman Catholic church are worthily represented by the Dominican monastery and seminary connected with the handsome church of St. Stephen—rebuilt on the plan of an old Christian church—by the Ratisbon (Jesuit) Schools, the Hospital of St. Louis, the hospice and Church of St. Augustine, and the monastery and seminary of the "white fathers" or *Frères de la mission algérienne,* whose headquarters center round the beautifully restored Church of St. Anne. Not far from here are the convent and school of the *Sœurs de Sion*, at the Ecce Homo Church. Also inside the walls near the New Gate is the residence of the Lat Patriarch—a cardinal of the Church of Rome—with a church, the school of the *Frères de la doctrine chrétienne,* and the schools, hospital and convent of the Franciscans, who are recognized among their coreligionists as the "parish priests" in the city, having been established there longer than the numerous other orders.

Modern Jerusalem (with Pool of Hezekiah in Foreground).

All the various nationalities are under their respective consuls and enjoy extra-territorial rights. Besides the Turkish post-office, which is very inefficiently managed, the Austrians, Germans, French, Russians and Italians all have post-offices open to all, with special "Levant" stamps. The American mail is delivered at the French post-office. There are four chief banks, French, German, Ottoman and Anglo-Pal (Jewish). As may be supposed, on account of the demand for land for Jewish settlements or for Christian schools or convents, the price of such property has risen enormously. Unfortunately in recent years all owners of land—and Moslems have not been slow to copy the foreigners—have taken to inclosing their property with high and unsightly walls, greatly spoiling both the walks around the city and the prospects from many points of view. The increased development of carriage traffic has led to considerable dust in the dry season, and mud in winter, as the roads are metaled with very soft limestone. The Jerus-Jaffa Railway (a Fr. company), 54 miles long, which was opened in 1892, has steadily increased its traffic year by year, and is now a very paying concern. There is no real municipal water-supply, and no public sewers for the new suburbs—though the old city is drained by a leaking, ill-constructed mediaeval sewer, which opens just below the Jewish settlement in the Kidron and runs down the *Wâdy en Nâr*. A water-supply, new sewers, electric trams and electric lights for the streets, are all much-talked-of improvements. There are numerous hotels, besides extensive accommodations in the religious hospices, and no less than 15 hospitals and asylums.

Literature.—This is enormous, but of very unequal value and much of it out of date. For all purposes the best book of reference is *Jerus from the Earliest Times to AD 70*, 2 vols, by Principal G. A. Smith. It contains references to all the lit. To this book and to its author it is impossible for the present writer adequately to express his indebtedness, and no attempt at acknowledgment in detail has been made in this art. In supplement of the above, *Jerus*, by Dr. Selah Merrill, and *Jerus in Bible Times*, by Professor Lewis B. Paton, will be found useful. The latter is a condensed account, esp. valuable for its illustrations and its copious references. Of the arts. in the recent Bible Dictionaries on Jerus, that by Conder in *HDB* is perhaps the most valuable. Of guide-books, Baedeker's *Guide to Pal and Syria* (1911), by Socin and Benzinger, and Barnabe Meistermann's (R.C.) *New Guide to the Holy Land* (1909), will be found useful; also Hanauer's *Walks about Jerus.*

On Geology, Climate and Water-Supply: Hull's "Memoir on Physical Geography and Geology of Arabian Petraea, Pal, and Adjoining Districts," *PEF;* and Blankenhorn, "Geology of the Nearer Environs of Jerus," *ZDPV*, 1905; Chaplin, "Climate of Jerus," *PEFS*, 1883; Glaisher, "Meteorol. Observations in Pal," special pamphlet of the Palestine Exploration Fund; Hilderscheid, "Die Niederschlagsverhältnisse Pal in alter u. neuer Zeit," *ZDPV* (1902); Huntington, *Pal and Its Transformation* (1911); Andrew Watt, "Climate in Hebron," etc, *Journal of the Scottish Meteorological Society* (1900–11); Schick, "Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerus," *ZDPV*, 1878; Wilson "Water Supply of Jerus," *Proceedings of the Victoria Institute*, 1906; Masterman, in *BW*, 1905.

On Archaeology and Topography: *PEF*, vol on *Jerus*, with accompanying maps and plans; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, I, 1899 (*PEF*); William, *Holy City* (1849); Robinson, *Bib. Researches* (1856); Wilson, *Recovery of Jerus* (1871); Warren *Underground Jerus* (1876); Vincent, *Underground Jerusalem* (1911); Guthe, "Ausgrabungen in Jerus," *ZDPV*, V; Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations in Jerus* (1894-97); Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels* (1903); Mitchell, "The Wall of Jerus according to the Book of Neh," *JBL* (1903); Wilson, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre* (1906); Kuemmel, *Materialien z. Topographie des alten Jerus;* also numerous reports in the *PEFS; Zeitschrift des deutschen Pal Vereins;* and the *Revue biblique.*

On History: besides Bible, Apoc, works of Jos, and *History* of Tacitus: Besant and Palmer, *History of Jerus;* Conder, *Judas Maccabaeus* and *Latin Kingdom of Jerus;* Le Strange, *Pal under the Moslems* (1890); C. F. Kent, *Biblical Geography and History* (1911). Bevan, *Jerus under the High-Priests;* Watson, *The Story of Jerus.*

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JERUSALEM, NEW (Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινή, *Hierousalḗm kainḗ*): This name occurs in Rev **21** 2 (ver 10, "holy city"). The conception is based on prophecies which predict a glorious future to Jerus after the judgment (Isa **52** 1). In Rev, however, it is not descriptive of any actual locality on earth, but allegorically depicts the final state of the church ("the bride," "the wife of the Lamb," **21** 2.9), when the new heaven and the new earth shall have come into being. The picture is drawn from a twofold point of view: the new Jerus is a restoration of Paradise (**21** 6; **22** 1.2.14); it is also the ideal of the theocracy realized (**21** 3.12.14.22). The latter viewpoint explains the peculiar representation that the city descends "out of heaven from God" (**21** 2.10), which characterizes it as, on the one hand, a product of God's supernatural workmanship, and as, on the other hand, the culmination of the historic process of redemption. In other NT passages, where the theocratic point of view is less prominent, the antitypical Jerus appears as having its seat in heaven instead of, as here, coming down from heaven to earth (cf Gal **4** 26; He **11** 10; **12** 22). See also REVELATION OF JOHN.

GEERHARDUS VOS

JERUSHA, jē-rōō'sha (יְרוּשָׁא, *yᵉrūshā'*, "taken possession of," i.e. "married"): In 2 K **15** 33= "Jerushah" (יְרוּשָׁה, *yᵉrūshāh*, same meaning) of 2 Ch **27** 1, the mother of King Jotham of Judah. Zadok was her father's name; he may be the priest of 1 Ch **6** 12 (Heb **5** 38).

JESHAIAH, jē-shā'ya, jē-shī'a ([*a*] יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, *yᵉsha'-yāhū;* [*b*] יְשַׁעְיָה, *yᵉsha'yāh*, "deliverance of Jeh"; [2] [3] below have form [*a*], the others form [*b*]):

(1) Son of Hananiah, and grandson of Zerubbabel, according to 1 Ch **3** 21, AV "Jesaiah."

But commentators follow Heb (and RVm) in the first part of the verse, and LXX, Vulg, Syr in the second part, thus reading, "And the son of Hananiah [was] Pelatiah, and Jeshaiah [was] his son, and Arnan his son," etc, thus making J. a grandson of Hananiah.

(2) A "son" of Jeduthun, and like him a temple musician; head of the family of that name (1 Ch **25** 3.15).

(3) A Levite, ancestor of Shelemoth, one of David's treasurers (1 Ch **26** 25).

(4) A descendant of Elam; he went with Ezra from Babylon to Jerus (Ezr **8** 7)="Jesias" (RV), "Josias" (AV), 1 Esd **8** 33.

(5) A descendant of Merari and a contemporary of Ezra (Ezr **8** 19)="Osaias" of 1 Esd **8** 48.

(6) A Benjamite (Neh **11** 7), AV "Jesaiah."

DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

JESHANAH, jesh'a-na, jē-shā'na (יְשָׁנָה, *yᵉshā-nāh*): A town named with Bethel and Ephron among the places taken by Abijah from Jeroboam (2 Ch **13** 19). Most scholars are agreed that the same name should be read instead of הַשֵּׁן, *ha-shen*, in 1 S **7** 12. It is probably identical with the Ἰσάνας, *Isánas*, of Jos (*Ant*, XIV, xv, 12). It is represented by the modern *'Ain Sīnia*, 3¼ miles N. of Bethel, with a spring and interesting ancient remains.

JESHARELAH, jesh-a-rē'la (יְשַׂרְאֵלָה, *yᵉsar'ēlāh*, meaning doubtful): One of the (or probably a family of) Levitical musicians (1 Ch **25** 14), called "Asharelah" in ver 2. The names should be written "Asarelah" and "Jesarelah."

JESHEBEAB, jē-sheb'ē-ab (יֶשֶׁבְאָב, *yeshebh'ābh*, meaning uncertain): A Levite of the 14th course (1 Ch **24** 13). Kittel and Gray (*HPN*, 24) read with LXX, A, "Ishbaal"; the name is omitted in LXX, B, and the change in MT as well as the omission in LXX may be due to the word *ba'al* forming part of the name. Cf JERUBBESHETH.

JESHER, jē'shēr (יֵשֶׁר, *yēsher*, or יֶשֶׁר, *yesher*, "uprightness"): A son of Caleb (1 Ch **2** 18).

JESHIMON, jē-shē'mon, jesh'i-mon (הַיְשִׁימֹן, *ha-yᵉshīmōn*, "the desert," and in RV so trᵈ; but in AV, Nu **21** 20; **23** 28; 1 S **23** 19.24; **26** 1.3, "Jeshimon" as a place-name. In Nu LXX reads ἡ ἔρημος, *hē érēmos*, "the desert"; in 1 S LXX reads Ἰεσσαιμόν, *Iessaimón*): In these passages probably two districts are referred to: (1) The "desert" N. of the Dead Sea, which was overlooked from Pisgah (Nu **21** 20; **23** 28). This is the bare and sterile land, saturated with salt, lying on each side of the Jordan N. of the Dead Sea, where for miles practically no vegetable life can exist. (2) The sterile plateau W. of the steep cliffs bordering the western shores of the Dead Sea. Here between the lower slopes of the Judaean hills, where thousands of Bedouin live and herd their flocks, and the more fertile borders of the sea with their oases (*'Ain Feshkhah, 'Ain Jidy*, etc), is a broad strip of utterly waterless land, the soft chalky hills of which are, for all but a few short weeks, destitute of practically any vegetation. The Hill of Hachilah was on the edge of this desert (1 S **23** 19; **26** 1.3), and the Arabah was to its south (1 S **23** 24). It is possible that the references in Nu may also apply to this region.

The word "Jeshimon" (*yᵉshīmōn*) is often used as a common noun in referring to the desert of Sinai (Dt **32** 10; Ps **78** 40; **106** 14; Isa **43** 19, etc), and except in the first two of these references, when we have "wilderness," it is always trᵈ "desert." Although used in 7 passages in poetical parallelism to *midhbār*, trᵈ "wilderness," it really means a much more hopeless place; in a *midhbār* animals can be pastured, but a *yᵉshīmōn* is a desolate waste.

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JESHISHAI, je-shish'ā-ī (יְשִׁישַׁי, *yᵉshīshay*, "aged"): A Gadite chief (and family?) (1 Ch **5** 14).

JESHOHAIAH, jesh-ō-hā'ya, jesh-ō-hī'a (יְשׁוֹחָיָה, *yᵉshōḥāyāh*, meaning unknown): A prince in Simeon (1 Ch **4** 36).

JESHUA, jesh'ū-a, **JESHUAH,** je-shū'a (יֵשׁוּעַ, *yēshūᵃ'*, "Jeh is deliverance" or "opulence"; cf JOSHUA):

(1) AV "Jeshuah," head of the 9th course of priests, and possibly of "the house of Jeshua" (1 Ch **24** 11; Ezr **2** 36; Neh **7** 39).

(2) A Levite of Hezekiah's time (2 Ch **31** 15).

(3) Son of Jozadak=Joshua the high priest (Ezr **2** 2; **3** 2.8; **4** 3; **5** 2; **10** 18; Neh **7** 7; **12** 1.7.10. 26); see JOSHUA (4)="Jesus" (1 Esd **5** 48 and Sir **49** 12).

(4) A man of Pahath-moab, some of whose descendants returned from Babylon to Jerus with Zerubbabel (Ezr **2** 6; Neh **7** 11)="Jesus" (1 Esd **5** 8).

(5) Head of a Levitical house which had oversight of the workmen in the temple (Ezr **2** 40; **3** 9; Neh **7** 43). He is mentioned again in Neh **8** 7 as taking part in explaining the Torah to the people, in **9** 4 f (cf **12** 8) as leading in the worship, and in **10** 9 (Heb 10) as sealing the covenant; this J. is called son of Azaniah (Neh **10** 9). To these references should be added probably Neh **12** 24, where commentators read, "Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel" for "Jeshua the son of Kadmiel." Perhaps Jozabad (Ezr **8** 33) is a "son" of this same Jeshua; cf Ezr **8** 33=1 Esd **8** 63, where AV is "Jesu," RV "Jesus." He is the same as Jessue (AV), Jesus (RV) (1 Esd **5** 26).

(6) Father of Ezer, a repairer of the wall (Neh **3** 19).

(7) JOSHUA, son of Nun (Neh **8** 17) (q.v.).

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JESHUA, jesh'ū-a, jē-shū'a (יֵשׁוּעַ, *yēshūᵃ'*): A place occupied by the children of Judah after their return from captivity (Neh **11** 26), evidently, from the places named with it, in the extreme S. of Judah. It may correspond with the Shema of Josh **15** 26, and possibly to the Sheba of **19** 2. The site may be *Khirbet Sā'weh*, a ruin upon a prominent hill, *Tell es Sā'weh*, 12 miles E.N.E. of Beersheba. The hill is surrounded by a wall of large blocks of stone. *PEF*, III, 409–10, Sh XXV.

JESHURUN, jė-shū'run, jesh'û-run (יְשֻׁרוּן, *y^{e}shurūn*, "upright one," Dt **32** 15; **33** 5.26; Isa **44** 2): LXX tr^s it "the beloved one" (*ἠγαπημένος*, *ēgapēménos*, the perf. part. passive of *agapáō*), and in Isa **44** 2 adds "Israel"; Vulg has *dilectus* in Dt **32** 15, elsewhere *rectissimus;* Aq., Symm., Theod. have "upright." For the form, Duhm compares זְבֻלוּן, *z^{e}bhulūn*, Zebulun. (1) The name used to be explained as a diminutive form, a pet name, and some, e.g. Cornill, Schultz (*OT Theol.*, ET, II, 29, n.12) still explain it so, "the righteous little people." But there is no evidence that the ending *-ūn* had a diminutive force. (2) Most moderns take it as a poetical or ideal title of Israel, derived from יָשָׁר, *yāshār*, "upright"; it is held to contain a tacit reference to the word Israel (יִשְׂרָאֵל, *yisrā'ēl*), of which the first three consonants are almost the same as those of "Jeshurun"; in Nu **23** 10 the term "the righteous ones" (יְשָׁרִים, *y^{e}shārīm*) is supposed to contain a similar reference. Most commentators compare also "the Book of Jashar," and it has been held that "Jashar" is similarly a name by which Israel is called. See JASHAR.

Following Bacher (*ZATW*, 1885, 161 ff), commentators hold that in Isa this new name, a coinage due to the author of Second Isaiah and adopted in Dt, stands in contrast to Jacob, "the supplanter," as his name was explained by the Hebrews (cf Hos **12** 2–4). Israel is here given a new name, "the upright, pious one," and with the new name goes a new chance in life, to live up to its meaning. Driver (*Dt*, 361) says that in Dt **32** 15 "where the context is of declension from its ideal [it is] applied reproachfully. 'Nomen Recti pro Israele ponens, ironice eos perstringit qui a rectitudine defecerant' (Calv.). Elsewhere it is used as a title of honor." AV has "Jesurun" in Isa **44** 2.

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JESIAH, jė-sī'a (1 Ch **23** 20 AV). See ISSHIAH.

JESIAS, jė-sī'as (**Ἰεσίας**, *Iesías;* AV **Josias** [1 Esd **8** 33]): Corresponding to Jeshaiah, son of Athaliah (Ezr **8** 7).

JESIMIEL, jė-sim'i-el (יְשִׂימִאֵל, *y^{e}sīmi'ēl*, "God establishes"): A prince of Simeon (1 Ch **4** 36).

JESSE, jes'ē (יִשַׁי, *yishay*, meaning doubtful; according to Gesenius it = "wealthy"; Olshausen, *Gram.*, §§ 277 f, conjectures יֵשׁ יָה, *yēsh yāh*, "Jeh exists"; Wellhausen [1 S **14** 49] explains it as אֲבִישַׁי, *'ăbhīshay* [see ABISHAI]; **Ἰεσσαί**, *Iessaí;* Ruth **4** 17.22; 1 S **16; 17; 20; 22; 25** 10; 2 S **20** 1; **23** 1; 1 K **12** 16; 1 Ch **10** 14; **12** 18; Ps **72** 20; Isa **11** 1.10 [= Rom **15** 12]); Mt **1** 5.6; Acts **13** 22): Son of Obed, grandson of Boaz, and father of King David. The grouping of the references to J. in 1 S is bound up with that of the grouping of the whole narrative of David and Saul. See SAMUEL, BOOKS OF. There seem to be three main veins in the narrative, so far as J. is concerned.

(1) In 1 S **16** 1–13, where J. is called the Bethlehemite. Samuel is sent to seek among J.'s sons a successor to Saul.

Both Samuel and J. fail to discern at first Jeh's choice, Samuel thinking that it would be the eldest son (ver 6), while J. had not thought it worth while to call the youngest to the feast (ver 11).

(2) (*a*) In 1 S **16** 14–23, Saul is mentally disturbed, and is advised to get a harpist. David "the son of J. the Bethlehemite" is recommended by a courtier, and Saul sends to J. for David.

"And J. took ten loaves [so emend and translate, and not as RV, "an ass *laden* with bread"], and a [skin] bottle of wine, and a kid, and sent them" to Saul as a present with David, who becomes a courtier of Saul's with his father's consent.

(*b*) The next mention of J is in three contemptuous references by Saul to David as "the son of J." in **20** 27.30.31, part of the quarrel-scene between Saul and Jonathan. (But it is not quite certain if ch **20** belongs to the same source as **16** 14–23.) In answer to the first reference, Jonathan calls his friend "David," and Saul repeats the phrase "the son of J.," abusing Jonathan personally (ver 30, where the meaning is uncertain). The reference to David as "the son of J." here and in the following verse is contemptuous, not because of any reproach that might attach itself to J., but, as Budde remarks, because "an upstart is always contemptuously referred to under his father's name" in courts and society. History repeats itself!

(*c*) Further references of a like kind are in the passage, **22** 6–23, viz. in vs 7.8.13 by Saul, and repeated by Doeg in ver 9.

(*d*) The final one of this group is in **25** 10, where Nabal sarcastically asks "Who is David? and who is the son of J.?"

(3) The parts of **17**—**18** 5 which are omitted by LXX B, i.e. **17** 12–31.41.48*b*.50.55—**18** 6*a*. Here J. is mentioned as "an Ephrathite of Beth-lehem-judah" (ver 12, not "that" Ephrathite, which is a grammatically impossible tr of the MT), Ephrath or Ephrathah being another name for Bethlehem, or rather for the district. He is further said to have eight sons (ver 12), of whom the three eldest had followed Saul to the war (ver 13).

J. sends David, the shepherd, to his brothers with provisions (ver 17). Afterward David, on being brought to Saul and asked who he is, answers, "I am the son of thy servant J. the Bethlehemite" (ver 58). J. is also described (ver 12) as being "in the days of Saul an old man, advanced in years" (so emend and translate, not as RV, "stricken *in years* among men"). The mention of his having 8 sons in ver 12 is not in agreement with 1 Ch **2** 13–15, which gives only 7 sons with two sisters, but where Syr gives 8, adding, from **27** 18, Elihu which MT has there probably by corruption (Curtis, *Ch*, 88). 1 S **16** 10 should be tr^d "and J. made his 7 sons to pass before Samuel" (not as RV, AV, "seven of his sons"). Budde (*Kurz. Hand-Komm.*, "Samuel," 114) holds **16** 1–13 to be a late Midr, and (ib, 123 f) omits (*a*) "that" in **17** 12; (*b*) also "and he had 8 sons" as due to a wrong inference from **16** 10; (*c*) the names of the 3 eldest in **17** 13; (*d*) ver 14*b;* he then changes 15*a*, and reads thus: (12) "Now D. was the son of an Ephrathite of Bethlehem-Judah, whose name was J., who was . . . . [years] old at the time of Saul. (13) And the 3 eldest sons of J. had marched with Saul to the war, (14) and David was the youngest, (15) and David had remained to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem. (16) Now the Philis came," etc.

According to all these narratives in 1 S, whether all 3 be entirely independent of one another or not, J. had land in Bethlehem, probably outside the town wall, like Boaz (see BOAZ) his grandfather (Ruth **4** 17). In **22** 3.4 David intrusts his father and mother to the care of the king of Moab, but from **20** 29 some have inferred that J. was dead (although most critics assign **22** 3 at any rate to the same stratum as ch **20**).

Jonathan tells Saul that David wanted to attend a family sacrificial feast at Bethlehem (**20** 29). MT reads, "And he, my brother, has commanded me," whereas we should probably read with LXX, "and my brethren have commanded me," i.e. the members of the clan, as we have farther on in the verse, "Let me get away, I pray thee, and see my brethren." As to J.'s daughters, see ABIGAIL; NAHASH.

(4) Of the other references to J., the most noteworthy is that in Isa **11** 1: "There shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of

his roots shall bear fruit," i.e. out of Jesse's roots (cf Rev **5** 5). "Why J. and not David?" asks Duhm; and he answers, "Because the Messiah will be a second David, rather than a descendant of David." Marti explains it to mean that he will be, not from David, but from a collateral line of descent. Duhm's explanation suggests a parallelism between David and Christ, of whom the former may be treated as a type similar to Aaron and Melchizedek in He. Saul might pour contempt upon "the son of J.," but Isaiah has given J. here a name above all Heb names, and thus does Providence mock "society." See also Root of Jesse.

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JESTING, jest′ing: Used from Tindale down as the tr of *εὐτραπελία, eutrapelía* (Eph **5** 4). Aristotle uses the original in his *Ethics* iv.14 as an equivalent of "quick-witted," from its root meaning "something easily turned," adding that, since the majority of people love excessive jesting, the word is apt to be degraded. This is the case here, where it clearly has a flavor of the coarse or licentious.

JESUI, jes′ū-ī. See Ishvi.

JESUITES, jes′ū-īts. See Ishvi.

JESURUN, jĕ-sū′run, jes′ū-run. See Jeshurun.

JESUS, jē′zus (**Ἰησοῦς,** *Iēsoús,* for יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *yehōshua'*):

(1) Joshua, son of Nun (AV Acts **7** 45; He **4** 8; cf 1 Macc **2** 55; 2 Esd **7** 37).
(2) (3) High priest and Levite. See Jeshua, 2, 5.
(4) Son of Sirach. See Sirach.
(5) An ancestor of Jesus (Lk **3** 29, AV "Jose").
(6) (7) See the next three articles.

JESUS CHRIST, jē′zus krīst (**Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,** *Iēsoús Christós*):

I. The Names
II. Order of Treatment

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  2. Capernaum Incidents
    a) Cure of the Paralytic
    b) Call and Feast of Matthew
  3. The Unnamed Jerusalem Feast
    a) The Healing at Bethesda
    b) Son and Father
    c) The Threefold Witness
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  1. The Sermon on the Mount
    a) The Blessings
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   a) Galilee Revisited
   b) Cure of Demoniac—Discourse on Blasphemy
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IV. From the Crossing to Gadara to the Mission of the Twelve—A Third Circuit
1. Crossing of the Lake—Stilling of the Storm
   a) Aspirants for Discipleship
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2. The Gadarene (Gerasene) Demoniac
3. Jairus' Daughter Raised—Woman with Issue of Blood
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5. The Twelve Sent Forth—Discourse of Jesus
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Second Period—After the Mission of the Twelve till the Departure from Galilee

I. From the Death of the Baptist till the Discourse on the Bread of Life
1. The Murder of the Baptist and Herod's Alarms
2. The Feeding of the Five Thousand
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4. Gennesaret—Discourse on the Bread of Life
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II. From Disputes with the Pharisees till the Transfiguration
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2. Retirement to Tyre and Sidon—the Syrophoenician Woman
3. At Decapolis—New Miracles
   a) The Deaf Man
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4. Leaven of the Pharisees, etc—Cure of Blind Man
5. At Caesarea Philippi—the Great Confession—First Announcement of Passion
6. The Transfiguration—the Epileptic Boy

III. From Private Journey through Galilee till Return from the Feast of Tabernacles
1. Galilee and Capernaum
   a) Second Announcement of the Passion
   b) The Temple Tax
   c) Discourse on Greatness and Forgiveness
      (1) Greatness in Humility
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      (4) Parable of Unmerciful Servant
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   c) The Woman Taken in Adultery
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D. LAST JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM—JESUS IN PERAEA

I. From Leaving Galilee till the Feast of the Dedication
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2. Mission of the Seventy
3. The Lawyer's Question—Parable of Good Samaritan
4. Discourses, Parables, and Miracles
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   b) The Infirm Woman—the Dropsied Man
   c) Parable of the Great Supper
   d) Counting the Cost
5. Martha and Mary
6. Feast of the Dedication

II. From the Abode at Bethabara till the Raising of Lazarus
1. Parables of Lost Sheep, Lost Piece of Silver and Prodigal Son
2. Parables of the Unjust Steward and the Rich Man and Lazarus
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III. From the Retirement to Ephraim till the Arrival at Bethany
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4. Pharisaic Questionings
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5. The Spirit of the Kingdom
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E. THE PASSION WEEK—BETRAYAL, TRIAL, AND CRUCIFIXION

I. The Events Preceding the Last Supper
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2. The Anointing at Bethany
3. The Entry into Jerusalem
   Jesus Weeping over Jerusalem—Return to Bethany
4. Cursing of the Fig Tree—Second Cleansing of the Temple
   Were There Two Cleansings?
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      (1) The Two Sons—the Wicked Husbandmen
      (2) The Marriage of the King's Son
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      (1) Tribute to Caesar—the Resurrection—the Great Commandment
      (2) David's Son and Lord
   c) The Great Denunciation
   d) The Widow's Offering
   e) The Visit of the Greeks
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II. From the Last Supper till the Cross
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   a) Agony in the Garden
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   Legal and Historical Aspects
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   c) The Attitude of Jesus

III. The Crucifixion and Burial
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   b) Between the Thieves—the Superscription—the Seamless Robe
   c) The Mocking—the Penitent Thief—Jesus and His Mother
   d) The Great Darkness—the Cry of Desertion
   e) Last Words and Death of Jesus
   f) The Spear-Thrust—Earthquake and Rending of the Veil
2. The Burial
   a) The New Tomb
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F. THE RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION

The Resurrection a Fundamental Fact
1. The Resurrection
   a) The Easter Morning—the Open Tomb
      (1) The Angel and the Keepers
      (2) Visit of the Women
      (3) The Angelic Message
   b) Visit of Peter and John—Appearance to Mary
   Report to the Disciples—Incredulity
   c) Other Easter-Day Appearances (Emmaus, Jerusalem)
   d) The Second Appearance to the Eleven—the Doubt of Thomas
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      (1) At the Sea of Tiberias—the Draught of Fishes—Peter's Restoration
      (2) On the Mountain—the Great Commission—Baptism
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   g) The Last Meeting
2. The Ascension

Part IV. Epilogue: The Apostolic Teaching

1. After the Ascension
2. Revelation through the Spirit
3. Gospels and Epistles
4. Fact of Christ's Lordship

5. Significance of Christ's Person
6. Significance of the Cross and Resurrection
7. Hope of the Advent

LITERATURE

Jesus Christ: The Founder of the Christian religion; the promised Messiah and Saviour of the world; the Lord and Head of the Christian church.

1. Jesus

I. The Names.—(1) "Jesus" (*Iēsous*) is the Gr equivalent of the Heb "Joshua" (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *yᵉhōshuᵃʿ*), meaning "Jehovah is salvation." It stands therefore in the LXX and Apoc for "Joshua," and in Acts **7** 45 and He **4** 8 likewise represents the OT Joshua; hence in RV is in these passages rendered "Joshua." In Mt **1** 21 the name is commanded by the angel to be given to the son of Mary, "for it is he that shall save his people from their sins" (see below on "Nativity"). It is the personal name of the Lord in the Gospels and the Acts, but generally in the Epistles appears in combination with "Christ" or other appellative (alone in Rom **3** 26; **4** 24; 1 Cor **12** 3; 2 Cor **11** 4; Phil **2** 10; 1 Thess **4** 14; He **7** 22; **10** 19, etc).

2. Christ

(2) "Christ" (*Christos*) is the Gr equivalent of the Heb "Messiah" (מָשִׁיחַ, *māshīᵃḥ;* cf in the NT, Jn **1** 41; **4** 25, "Messiah"), meaning "anointed" (see MESSIAH). It designates Jesus as the fulfiller of the Messianic hopes of the OT and of the Jewish people. It will be seen below that Jesus Himself made this claim. After the resurrection it became the current title for Jesus in the apostolic church. Most frequently in the Epistles He is called "Jesus Christ," sometimes "Christ Jesus" (Rom **8** 1.2.39; 1 Cor **1** 2.30; **4** 15; Eph **1** 1; Phil **1** 1; Col **1** 4.28 AV; 1 Thess **2** 14, etc), often "Christ" alone (Rom **1** 16 AV; **5** 6.8; **6** 4.8.9; **8** 10, etc). In this case "Christ" has acquired the force of a proper name. Very frequently the term is associated with "Lord" (*kúrios*)—"the [or "our"] Lord Jesus Christ" (Acts **11** 17; **15** 11 AV; **16** 31 AV; **20** 21; **28** 31; Rom **1** 7; **5** 1.11; **13** 14; 1 Cor **16** 23, etc).

II. Order of Treatment.—In studying, as it is proposed to do in this art., the earthly history of Jesus and His place in the faith of the apostolic church, it will be convenient to pursue the following order:

First, as introductory to the whole study, certain questions relating to the sources of our knowledge of Jesus, and to the preparation for, and circumstances of, His historical appearance, invite careful attention (Part I).

Next, still as preliminary to the proper narrative of the life of Jesus, it is desirable to consider certain problems arising out of the presentation of that life in the Gospels with which modern thought is more specially concerned, as determining the attitude in which the narratives are approached. Such are the problems of the miracles, the Messiahship, the sinless character and supernatural claims of Jesus (Part II).

The way is then open for treatment in order of the actual events of Christ's life and ministry, so far as recorded. These fall into many stages, from His nativity and baptism till His death, resurrection and ascension (Part III).

A final division will deal with Jesus as the exalted Lord in the aspects in which He is presented in the teaching of the Epistles and remaining writings of the NT (Part IV).

PART I. INTRODUCTORY

1. In General

I. The Sources.—The principal, and practically the only sources for our knowledge of Jesus Christ are the four Canonical Gospels—distinction being made in these between the first three (Synoptic) Gospels, and the Gospel of John. Nothing, either in the few notices of Christ in non-Christian authors, or in the references in the other books of the NT, or in later Christian lit., adds to the information which the Gospels already supply. The so-called apocryphal Gospels are worthless as authorities (see s.v.); the few additional sayings of Christ (cf Acts **20** 35) found in outside writings are of doubtful genuineness (cf a collection of these in Westcott's *Intro to the Study of the Gospels,* Appendix C; see also LOGIA).

2. Denial of Existence of Jesus

It marks the excess to which skepticism has gone that writers are found in recent years who deny the very existence of Jesus Christ (Kalthoff, *Das Christus-Problem,* and *Die Entstehung des Christenthums;* Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos,* I; Drews, *Die Christusmythe;* cf on Kalthoff, Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus,* ET, 313 ff; Jensen is reviewed in the writer's *The Resurrection of Jesus,* ch ix). The extravagance of such skepticism is its sufficient refutation.

3. Extra-Christian Notices

Of notices outside the Christian circles the following may be referred to.

(1) *Josephus.*—There is the famous passage in Jos, *Ant,* XVIII, iii, 3, commencing, "Now there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man," etc. It is not unlikely that Jos had some reference to Jesus, but most agree that the passage in question, if not entirely spurious, has been the subject of Christian interpolation (on the lit. and different views, see Schürer, *Jewish People in the Time of Christ,* Div II, vol II, 143 ff; in support of interpolation, Edersheim on "Josephus," in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*).

(2) *Tacitus.*—The Rom historian, Tacitus, in a well-known passage relating to the persecution of Nero (*Ann.* xv.44), tells how the Christians, already "a great multitude" (*ingens multitudo*), derived their name "from one Christus, who was executed in the reign of Tiberius by the procurator of Judaea, Pontius Pilate."

(3) *Suetonius* also, in his account of Claudius, speaks of the Jews as expelled from Rome for the raising of tumults at the instigation of one "Chrestus" (*impulsore Chresto*), plainly a mistake for "Christus." The incident is doubtless that referred to in Acts **18** 2.

4. The Gospels

The four Gospels, then, with their rich contents, remain as our primary sources for the knowledge of the earthly life of Jesus.

(1) *The Synoptics.*—It may be taken for granted as the result of the best criticism that the first three Gospels (Mt, Mk, Lk) all fall well within the apostolic age (cf Harnack, *Altchr. Lit.,* Pref; see GOSPELS). The favorite theory at present of the relations of these Gospels is, that Mk is an independent Gospel, resting on the teaching of Peter; that Mt and Lk have as sources the Gospel of Mk and a collection of discourses, probably attributable to the apostle Matthew (now commonly called Q); and that Lk has a third, well-authenticated source (Lk **1** 1–4) peculiar to himself. The present writer is disposed to allow more independence to the evangelists in the embodying of a tradition common to all; in any case, the sources named are of unexceptionable authority, and furnish a strong guaranty for the reliability of the narratives. The supreme guaranty of their trustworthiness, however, is found in the narratives themselves; for who in that (or any) age could imagine a figure so unique and perfect as that of Jesus, or invent the incomparable sayings and parables that proceeded from His lips? Much of Christ's teaching is high as heaven above the minds of men still.

(2) *The Fourth Gospel.*—The Fourth Gospel stands apart from the Synoptics in dealing mainly with another set of incidents (the Jerusalem ministry), and discourses of a more private and intimate kind than those belonging to the Galilean teaching. Its aim, too, is doctrinal—to show that Jesus is "the Son of God," and its style and mode of conception are very different from those of the Synoptic Gospels. Its contents touch their narratives in only a few points (as in Jn **6** 4–21). Where they do, the resemblance is manifest. It is obvious that the reminiscences which the Gospel contains have been long brooded over by the apostle, and that a certain interpretative element blends with his narration of incidents and discourses. This, however, does not warrant us in throwing doubt, with so many, on the genuineness of the Gospel, for which the external evidence is exceptionally strong (cf Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel;* Drummond, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel;* and see JOHN, GOSPEL OF). The Gospel is accepted here as a genuine record of the sayings and doings of Jesus which it narrates.

II. The Preparation.—In the Gospels and throughout the NT Jesus appears as the goal of OT revelation, and the point to which all providential developments tended.

1. Both Gentile and Jewish

He came, Paul says, in "the fulness of the time" (Gal **4** 4). It has often been shown how, politically, intellectually, morally, everything in the Graeco-Roman world was ready for such a universal religion as Jesus brought into it (cf Baur's *Hist of the Church in the First Three Cents.*, ET, ch i). The preparation in Israel is seen alike in God's revelations to, and dealings with, the chosen people in the patriarchal, Mosaic, monarchical and prophetic periods, and in the developments of the Jewish mind in the centuries immediately before Christ.

2. OT Preparation

As special lines in the OT preparation may be noted the ideas of the Messianic king, a ruler of David's house, whose reign would be righteous, perpetual, universal (cf Isa **7** 13—**9** 7; **32** 1.2; Jer **33** 15.16; Ps **2** 1–10, etc); of a Righteous Sufferer (Ps **22**, etc), whose sufferings are in Isa **53** declared to have an expiatory and redeeming character; and of a Messianic kingdom, which, breaking the bounds of nationalism, would extend through the whole earth and embrace all peoples (cf Isa **60**; Ps **87**; Dnl **2** 44; **7** 27, etc). The kingdom, at the same time, is now conceived of under a more spiritual aspect. Its chief blessings are forgiveness and righteousness.

3. Post-exilian Preparation

The age succeeding the return from exile witnessed a manifold preparation for the advent of Christ. Here may be observed the decentralization of the Jewish religious ideals through the rise of synagogue worship and the widespread dispersion of the race; the contact with Hellenic culture (as in Philo); but esp. the marked sharpening of Messianic expectations. Some of these were of a crude apocalyptic character (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OT); many were political and revolutionary; but some were of a purer and more spiritual kind (cf Lk **2** 25.38). To these purer elements Jesus attached Himself in His preaching of the kingdom and of Himself as its Lord. Even in the gentile world, it is told, there was an expectation of a great One who about this time would come from Judaea (Tac. *Hist.* v.13; Suet. *Vespas.* 4).

III. The Outward Situation.—Of all lands Pal was the most fitted to be the scene of the culminating revelation of God's grace in the person and work of Jesus Christ, as before it was fitted to be the abode of the people chosen to receive and preserve the revelations that prepared the way for that final manifestation.

1. The Land

At once central and secluded—at the junction of the three great continents of the Old World, Asia, Africa and Europe—the highway of nations in war and commerce—touching mighty powers on every hand, Egypt, Syria, Assyria, kingdoms of Asia Minor, as formerly more ancient empires, Hittite and Babylonian, now in contact with Greece and Rome, yet singularly inclosed by mountain, desert, Jordan gorge, and Great Sea, from ready entrance of foreign influences, Pal has a place of its own in the history of revelation, which only a Divine wisdom can have given it (cf Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine,* Part II, ch ii; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land,* Book I, chs i, ii; Lange, *Life of Christ,* I, 246 ff).

Its divisions.—Pal, in the Rom period, was divided into four well-defined provinces or districts—Judaea, with Jerus as its center, in the S., the stronghold of Jewish conservatism; Samaria, in the middle, peopled from Assyrian times by mixed settlers (2 K **17** 24–34), preponderatingly heathen in origin, yet now professing the Jewish religion, claiming Jewish descent (cf Jn **4** 12), possessing a copy of the law (Sam Pent), and a temple of their own at Gerizim (the original temple, built by Manasseh, c 409 BC, was destroyed by John Hyrcanus, 109 BC); Galilee —"Galilee of the Gentiles" (Mt **4** 15; cf Isa **9** 1) —in the N., the chief scene of Christ's ministry, freer and more cosmopolitan in spirit, through a large infusion of gentile population, and contact with traders, etc, of varied nationalities: these in Western Pal, while on the E., "beyond Jordan," was Peraea, divided up into Peraea proper, Batanaea, Gaulonitis, Ituraea, Trachonitis, Decapolis, etc (cf Mt **4** 25; **19** 1; Lk **3** 1). The feeling of bitterness between Jews and Samaritans was intense (Jn **4** 9). The language of the people throughout was ARAMAIC (q.v.), but a knowledge of the Gr tongue was widely diffused, especially in the N., where intercourse with Gr-speaking peoples was habitual (the NT writings are in Gr). Jesus doubtless used the native dialect in His ordinary teaching, but it is highly probable that He also knew Gr, and was acquainted with OT Scriptures in that language (the LXX). In this case He may have sometimes used it in His preaching (cf Roberts, *Discussions on the Gospels*).

2. Political Situation

The miserable story of the vicissitudes of the Jewish people in the cent. succeeding the great persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabean revolt—a story made up of faction, intrigue, wars, murders, massacres, of growing degeneracy of rulers and nation, of repeated sackings of Jerus and terrible slaughters—till Herod, the Idumaean, misnamed "the Great," ascended the throne by favor of the Romans (37 BC), must be read in the books relating to the period (Ewald, *Hist of Israel,* V; Milman, *Hist of Jews;* Schürer, *Hist of the Jewish People in Time of Christ,* Div I, Vol I; Stanley, *Jewish Church,* III, etc). Rome's power, first invited by Judas Maccabaeus (161 BC), was finally established by Pompey's capture of Jerus (63 BC). Herod's way to the throne was tracked by crime and bloodshed, and murder of those most nearly related to him marked every step in his advance. His taste for splendid buildings—palace, temple (Mt **24** 1; Jn **2** 20), fortresses, cities (Sebaste, Caesarea, etc)—and lavish magnificence of his royal estate and administration, could not conceal the hideousness of his crafty, unscrupulous selfishness, his cold-blooded cruelty, his tyrannous oppression of his subjects. "Better be Herod's hog than his son," was the comment of Augustus, when he heard of the dying king's unnatural doings.

Changes in territory.—At the time of Christ's birth, the whole of Pal was united under Herod's rule, but on Herod's death, after a long reign of 37 (or, counting from his actual accession, 34) years, his dominions were, in accordance with his will, confirmed by Rome, divided. Judaea and Samaria (a few towns excepted) fell to his son Archelaus (Mt **2** 22), with the title of "ethnarch"; Galilee and Peraea were given to Herod Antipas, another son, with the title of "tetrarch" (Mt **14** 1; Lk **3** 1.19; **23** 7; Acts **13** 1); Herod Philip, a third son, received Ituraea, Trachonitis, and other parts of the northern trans-Jordanic territory, likewise as "tetrarch" (Lk **3** 1; cf Mt **14** 3; Mk **6** 17). A few years later, the tyranny of Archelaus provoked an appeal of his subjects to Augustus, and Archelaus, summoned to Rome, was banished to Gaul (7 AD). Thereafter Judaea, with Samaria, was governed by a Roman procurator, under the oversight of the prefect of Syria.

3. The Religious Sects

In the religious situation the chief fact of interest is the place occupied and prominent part played by the religious sects—the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and (though unmentioned in the Gospels, these had an important influence on the early history of the church) the Essenes. The rise and characteristics of these sects can here only be alluded to (see special arts.).

(1) *The scribes.*—From the days of Ezra zealous attention had been given to the study of the law, and an order of men had arisen—the "scribes"—whose special business it was to guard, develop and expound the law. Through their labors, scrupulous observance of the law, and, with it, of the innumerable regulations intended to preserve the law, and apply it in detail to conduct (the so-called "tradition of the elders," Mt **15** 2 ff), became the ideal of righteousness. The sects first appear in the Maccabean age. The Maccabean conflict reveals the existence of a party known as the "Assidaeans" (Heb *ḥăṣīdhīm*), or "pious" ones, opposed to the lax Hellenizing tendencies of the times, and staunch observers of the law. These in the beginning gave brave support to Judas Maccabaeus, and doubtless then embraced the best elements of the nation.

(2) *The Pharisees.*—From them, by a process of deterioration too natural in such cases, developed the party of legalists known in the Gospels as the "Pharisees" ("separated"), on which Christ's sternest rebukes fell for their self-righteousness, ostentation, pride and lack of sympathy and charity (Mt **6** 2 ff; **23**; Lk **18** 9–14). They gloried in an excessive scrupulosity in the observance of the externals of the law, even in trivialities. To them the multitude that knew not the law were "accursed" (Jn **7** 49). To this party the great body of the scribes and rabbis belonged, and its powerful influence was eagerly sought by contending factions in the state.

(3) *The Sadducees.*—Alongside of the Pharisees were the "Sadducees" (probably from "Zadok")—rather a political and aristocratic clique than a religious sect, into whose possession the honors of the high-priesthood and other influential offices hereditarily passed. They are first met with by name under John Hyrcanus (135–106 BC). The Sadducees received only the law of Moses, interpreted it in a literal, secularistic spirit, rejected the Pharisaic traditions and believed in neither resurrection, angel nor spirit (Acts **23** 8). Usually in rivalry with the Pharisees, they are found combining with these to destroy Jesus (Mt **26** 3–5.57).

(4) *The Essenes.*—The third party, the "Essenes," differed from both (some derive also from the Assidaeans) in living in fraternities apart from the general community, chiefly in the desert of Engedi, on the N.W. shore of the Dead Sea, though some were found also in villages and towns; in rejecting animal sacrifices, etc, sending only gifts of incense to the temple; in practising celibacy and community of goods; in the wearing of white garments; in certain customs (as greeting the sunrise with prayers) suggestive of oriental influence. They forbade slavery, war, oaths, were given to occult studies, had secret doctrines and books, etc. As remarked, they do not appear in the Gospel, but on account of certain resemblances, some have sought to establish a connection between them and John the Baptist and Jesus. In reality, however, nothing could be more opposed than Essenism to the essential ideas and spirit of Christ's teaching (cf Schürer, as above, Div II, Vol II, 188 ff; Kuenen, Hibbert Lects on *National Religions and Universal Religions*, 199–208; Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 114–79).

IV. The Chronology.—The leading chronological questions connected with the life of Jesus are discussed in detail elsewhere (CHRON OF THE NT; QUIRINIUS, etc); here it is sufficient to indicate the general scheme of dating adopted in the present art., and some of the grounds on which it is preferred. The chief questions relate to the dates of the birth and baptism of Jesus, the duration of the ministry and the date of the crucifixion.

1. Date of the Birth of Jesus

Though challenged by some (Caspari, Bosanquet, Conder, etc, put it as late as 1 BC) the usual date for the death of Herod the Great, March, 4 BC (year of Rome 750), may be assumed as correct (for grounds of this dating, see Schürer, op. cit., Div I, Vol I, 464–67). The birth of Jesus was before, and apparently not very long before, this event (Mt **2**). It may therefore be placed with probability in the latter part of the previous year (5 BC), the ordinary dating of the commencement of the Christian era being thus, as is generally recognized, four years too late. There is no certainty as to the month or day of the birth. The Christmas date, December 25, is first met with in the W. in the 4th cent. (the eastern date was January 6), and was then possibly borrowed from a pagan festival. December, in the winter season, seems unlikely, as unsuitable for the pasturing of flocks (Lk **2** 8), though this objection is perhaps not decisive (Andrews, Conder). A more probable date is a couple of months earlier. The synchronism with Quirinius (Lk **2** 2) is considered in connection with the nativity. The earlier datings of 6, 7, or even 8 BC, suggested by Ramsay, Mackinlay and others, on grounds of the assumed Rom census, astronomical phenomena, etc, appear to leave too long an interval before the death of Herod, and conflict with other data, as Lk **3** 1 (see below).

2. Date of Baptism

John is said by Luke to have begun to preach and baptize "in the fifteenth year of Tiberius" (Lk **3** 1), and Jesus "was about thirty years of age" (ver 23) when He was baptized by John, and entered on His ministry. If the 15th year of Tiberius is dated, as seems most likely, from his association with Augustus as colleague in the government, 765 AUC, or 12 AD (Tac. *Ann.* i.3; Suet. on Augustus, 97), and if Jesus may be supposed to have been baptized about 6 months after John commenced his work, these data combine in bringing us to the year 780 AUC, or 27 AD, as the year of Our Lord's baptism, in agreement with our former conclusion as to the date of His birth in 5 BC. To place the birth earlier is to make Jesus 32 or 33 years of age at His baptism—an unwarrantable extension of the "about." In accord with this is the statement in Jn **2** 20 that the temple had been 46 years in building (it began in 20–19 BC) at the time of Christ's first Passover; therefore in

780 AUC, or 27 AD (cf Schürer, op. cit., Div I, Vol I, 410).

The determination of the precise duration of Our Lord's ministry involves more doubtful elements.

3. Length of Ministry

Setting aside, as too arbitrary, schemes which would, with some of the early Fathers, compress the whole ministry into little over a single year (Browne, Hort, etc)—a view which involves without authority the rejection of the mention of the Passover in Jn **6** 4—there remains the choice between a *two* years' and a *three* years' ministry. Both have able advocates (Turner in art. "Chronology," and Sanday in art. "Jesus Christ," in *HDB*, advocate the two years' scheme; Farrar, Ramsay, D. Smith, etc, adhere to the three years' scheme). An important point is the view taken of the unnamed "feast" in Jn **5** 1. John has already named a Passover—Christ's first—in **2** 13.23; another, which Jesus did not attend, is named in **6** 4; the final Passover, at which He was crucified, appears in all the evangelists. If the "feast" of Jn **5** 1 (the art. is probably to be omitted) is also, as some think, a Passover, then John has four Passovers, and a three years' ministry becomes necessary. It is claimed, however, that in this case the "feast" would almost certainly have been named. It still does not follow, even if a minor feast—say Purim—is intended, that we are shut up to a two years' ministry. Mr. Turner certainly goes beyond his evidence in affirming that "while two years *must*, not more than two years *can*, be allowed for the interval from Jn **2** 13.23 to Jn **11** 55." The two years' scheme involves, as will be seen on consideration of details, a serious overcrowding and arbitrary transposition of incidents, which speak to the need of longer time. We shall assume that the ministry lasted for three years, reserving reasons till the narrative is examined.

4. Date of Christ's Death

On the hypothesis now accepted, the crucifixion of Jesus took place at the Passover of 30 AD. On the two years' scheme it would fall a year earlier. On both sides it is agreed that it occurred on the Friday of the week of the Passover, but it is disputed whether this Friday was the 14th or the 15th day of the month. The Gospel of John is pleaded for the former date, the Synoptics for the latter. The question will be considered in connection with the time of the Last Supper. Meanwhile it is to be observed that, if the 15th is the correct date, there seems reason to believe that the 15th of Nisan fell on a Friday in the year just named, 783 AUC, or 30 AD. We accept this provisionally as the date of the crucifixion.

PART II. THE PROBLEMS OF THE LIFE OF JESUS

1. The "Modern" Attitude

I. The Miracles.—Everyone is aware that the presence of miracle in the Gospels is a chief ground of the rejection of its history by the representatives of the "modern" school. It is not questioned that it is a supernatural person whose picture is presented in the Gospels. There is no real difference between the Synoptics and John in this respect. "Even the oldest Gospel," writes Bousset, "is written from the standpoint of faith; already for Mark, Jesus is not only the Messiah of the Jewish people, but the miraculous eternal Son of God, whose glory shone in the world" (*Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 54, 57). But the same writer, interpreting the "modern" spirit, declares that no account embracing supernatural events can be accepted as historical. "The main characteristic of this modern mode of thinking," he says, "rests upon the determination to try to explain everything that takes place in the world by natural causes, or—to express it in another form—it rests on the determined assertion of universal laws to which all phenomena, natural and spiritual, are subject" (*What Is Religion?* ET, 283).

2. Supernatural in the Gospels

With such an assumption it is clear that the Gospels are condemned before they are read. Not only is Jesus there a supernatural person, but He is presented as supernatural in character, in works, in claims (see below); He performs miracles; He has a supernatural birth, and a supernatural resurrection. All this is swept away. It may be allowed that He had remarkable gifts of healing, but these are in the class of "faith-cures" (thus Harnack), and not truly supernatural. When one seeks the justification for this self-confident dogmatism, it is difficult to discover it, except on the ground of a pantheistic or monistic theory of the universe which excludes the personal God of Christianity. If God is the Author and Sustainer of the natural system, which He rules for moral ends, it is impossible to see why, for high ends of revelation and redemption, a supernatural economy should not be engrafted on the natural, achieving ends which could not otherwise be attained. This does not of course touch the question of evidence for any particular miracle, which must be judged of from its connection with the person of the worker, and the character of the apostolic witnesses. The well-meant effort to explain all miracles through the action of unknown natural laws—which is what Dr. Sanday calls "making both ends meet" (*Life of Christ in Recent Research,* 302)—breaks down in the presence of such miracles as the instantaneous cleansing of the leper, restoration of sight to the blind, the raising of the dead, acts which plainly imply an exercise of creative power. In such a life as Christ's, transcendence of the ordinary powers of Nature is surely to be looked for.

1. Reserve of Jesus and Modern Criticism

II. The Messiahship.—A difficulty has been found in the fact that in all the Gospels Jesus knew Himself to be the Messiah at least from the time of His baptism, yet did not, even to His disciples, unreservedly announce Himself as such till after Peter's great confession at Caesarea Philippi (Mt **16** 13 ff). On this seeming secrecy the bold hypothesis has been built that Jesus in reality never made the claim to Messiahship, and that the passages which imply the contrary in Mk (the original Gospel) are unhistorical (Wrede; cf on this and other theories, Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus,* ET; Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*). So extreme an opinion is rejected by most; but modern critics vie with each other in the freedom with which they treat the testimony of the evangelists on this subject. Baldensperger, e.g., supposes that Jesus did not attain full certainty on His Messiahship till near the time of Peter's confession, and arbitrarily transposes the earlier sections in which the title "Son of Man" occurs till after that event (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu,* 2d ed, 246). Bousset thinks that Jesus adopted the Messianic rôle as the only one open to Him, but bore it as a "burden" (cf his *Jesus*). Schweitzer connects it with apocalyptic ideas of a wildly fantastic character (op. cit., ch xix).

2. A Growing Revelation

There is, however, no need for supposing that Peter's confession marks the first dawn of this knowledge in the minds of the apostles. Rather was it the exalted expression of a faith already present, which had long been maturing. The baptism and temptation, with the use of the title "Son of Man," the tone of authority in His teaching, His miracles, and many special incidents, show, as clearly as do the discourses in John, that Jesus was from the beginning fully conscious of His vocation, and His reserve in the use of the title sprang, not from any doubt in His own mind as to His right to it, but from His desire to avoid false associations till the true nature of His Messiahship should be revealed. The Messiahship was in process of self-revelation throughout to those who had eyes to see it (cf Jn **6** 66–71). What it involved will be seen later.

III. Kingdom and Apocalypse.—Connected with the Messiahship is the idea of the "Kingdom of God" or "of heaven," which some in modern times would interpret in a purely eschatological sense, in the light of Jewish apocalyptic conceptions (Johannes Weiss, Schweitzer, etc). The kingdom is not a thing of the present, but wholly a thing of the future, to be introduced by convulsions of Nature and the *Parousia* of the Son of Man. The language of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy kingdom come," is quoted in support of this contention, but the next petition should guard against so violent an inference. "Thy will be done," Jesus teaches His disciples to pray, "as in heaven, so on earth" (Mt **6** 10). The kingdom is the reign of God in human hearts and lives in this world as well as in the next. It would not be wrong to define it as consisting essentially in the supremacy of God's will in human hearts and human affairs, and in every department of these affairs. As Jesus describes the kingdom, it has, in the plain meaning of His words, a present being on earth, though its perfection is in eternity. The parables in Mt **13** and elsewhere exhibit it as founded by the sowing of the word of truth (Sower), as a mingling of good and evil elements (Tares), as growing from small beginnings to large proportions (Mustard Seed), as gradually leavening humanity (Leaven), as of priceless value (Treasure; Pearl; cf Mt **6** 33); as terminating in a judgment (Tares, Dragnet); as perfected in the world to come (Mt **13** 43). It was a kingdom spiritual in nature (Lk **17** 20.21), universal in range (Mt **8** 11; **21** 43, etc), developing from a principle of life within (Mk **4** 26–29), and issuing in victory over all opposition (Mt **21** 44).

1. The Kingdom—Present or Future?

2. Apocalyptic Beliefs

It is difficult to pronounce on the extent to which Jesus was acquainted with current apocalyptic beliefs, or allowed these to color the imagery of parts of His teachings. These beliefs certainly did not furnish the substance of His teaching, and it may be doubted whether they more than superficially affected even its form. Jewish apocalyptic knew nothing of a death and resurrection of the Messiah and of His return in glory to bring in an everlasting kingdom. What Jesus taught on these subjects sprang from His own Messianic consciousness, with the certainty He had of His triumph over death and His exaltation to the right hand of God. It was in OT prophecy, not in late Jewish apocalypse, that His thoughts of the future triumph of His kingdom were grounded, and from the vivid imagery of the prophets He borrowed most of the clothing of these thoughts. Isa **53**, e.g., predicts not only the rejection and death of the Servant of Jehovah (vs 3.7–9.12), but the prolongation of His days and His victorious reign (vs 10–12). Dnl, not the Book of En, is the source of the title, "Son of Man," and of the imagery of coming on the clouds of heaven (Dnl **7** 13). The ideas of resurrection, etc, have their ground in the OT (see ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OT). With the extravagant, unspiritual forms into which these conceptions were thrown in the Jewish apocalyptic books His teaching had nothing in common. The new apocalyptic school represented by Schweitzer reduces the history of Jesus to folly, fanaticism and hopeless disillusionment.

1. Denial of Christ's Moral Perfection

IV. The Character and Claims.—Where the Gospels present us in Jesus with the image of a flawless character—in the words of the writer to the Hebrews, "holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners" (He **7** 26)—modern criticism is driven by an inexorable necessity to deprive Jesus of His sinless perfection, and to impute to Him the error, frailty, and moral infirmity that belong to ordinary mortals. In Schweitzer's portraiture (cf op. cit.), He is an apocalyptic enthusiastic, ruled by illusory ideals, deceiving Himself and others as to who He was, and as to the impending end of the world. Those who show a more adequate appreciation of Christ's spiritual greatness are still prevented by their humanitarian estimate of His person and their denial of the supernatural in history from recognizing the possibility of His sinlessness. It may confidently be said that there is hardly a single writer of the modern school who grants Christ's moral perfection. To do so would be to admit a miracle in humanity, and we have heard that miracle is by the highest rational necessity excluded. This, however, is precisely the point on which the modern so-called "historical-critical" mode of presentation most obviously breaks down. The ideal of perfect holiness in the Gospels which has fascinated the conscience of Christendom for 18 cents., and attests itself anew to every candid reader, is not thus lightly to be got rid of, or explained away as the invention of a church gathered out (without the help of the ideal) promiscuously from Jews and Gentiles. It was not the church—least of all such a church—that created Christ, but Christ that created the church.

(1) *The sinlessness assured.*—The sinlessness of Jesus is a *datum* in the Gospels. Over against a sinful world He stands as a Saviour who is Himself without sin. His is the one life in humanity in which is presented a perfect knowledge and unbroken fellowship with the Father, undeviating obedience to His will, unswerving devotion under the severest strain of temptation and suffering to the highest ideal of goodness. The ethical ideal was never raised to so absolute a height as it is in the teaching of Jesus, and the miracle is that, high as it is in its unsullied purity, the character of Jesus corresponds with it, and realizes it. Word and life for once in history perfectly agree. Jesus, with the keenest sensitiveness to sin in thought and feeling as in deed, is conscious of no sin in Himself, confesses no sin, disclaims the presence of it, speaks and acts continually on the assumption that He is without it. Those who knew Him best declared Him to be without sin (1 Pet **2** 22; 1 Jn **3** 5; cf 2 Cor **5** 21). The Gospels must be rent in pieces before this image of a perfect holiness can be effaced from them.

(2) *What this implies.*—How is this phenomenon of a sinless personality in Jesus to be explained? It is itself a miracle, and can only be made credible by a creative miracle in Christ's origin. It may be argued that a Virgin Birth does not of itself secure sinlessness, but it will hardly be disputed that at least a sinless personality implies miracle in its production. It is precisely because of this that the modern spirit feels bound to reject it. In the Gospels it is not the Virgin Birth by itself which is invoked to explain Christ's sinlessness, but the supernatural conception by the Holy Spirit (Lk **1** 35). It is because of this conception that the birth is a virgin one. No explanation of the supernatural element in Christ's Person is more rational or credible (see below on "Nativity").

2. Sinlessness and the Messianic Claim

If Jesus from the first was conscious of Himself as without sin, and if, as the converse of this, He knew Himself as standing in an unbroken filial fellowship with the Father, He must early have become conscious of His special vocation, and learnt to distinguish Himself from others as one called to bless and save them. Here is the true germ of His Messianic consciousness, from which everything subsequently is unfolded. He stood in a *rapport* with the Father which opened His spirit to a full, clear revelation of the Father's will regarding Himself, His mission, the kingdom He came to found, His sufferings as the means of salvation to the world, the glory that awaited Him when His earthly work was done. In the light of this revelation He read the OT Scriptures and saw His course there made plain. When the hour had come He went to John for baptism, and His brief, eventful ministry, which should end in the cross, began. This is the reading of events which introduces consistency and purpose into the life of Jesus, and it is this we mean to follow in the sketch now to be given.

PART III. COURSE OF THE EARTHLY LIFE OF JESUS

1. Divisions of the History

The wonderful story of the life of the world's Redeemer which we are now to endeavor to trace falls naturally into several divisions:

A. From the Nativity to the Baptism and Temptation.
B. The Early Judaean Ministry.
C. The Galilean Ministry and Visits to the Feasts.
D. The Last Journey to Jerusalem.
E. The Passion Week—Betrayal, Trial, and Crucifixion.
F. The Resurrection and Ascension.

2. Not a Complete "Life"

To avoid misconception, it is important to remember, that, rich as are the narratives of the Gospels, materials do not exist for a complete biography or "Life" of Jesus. There is a gap, broken only by a single incident, from His infancy till His 30th year; there are cycles of events out of myriads left unrecorded (Jn **21** 25); there are sayings, parables, longer discourses, connected with particular occasions; there are general summaries of periods of activity comprised in a few verses. The evangelists, too, present their materials each from his own standpoint—Matthew from the theocratic, Mark from that of Christ's practical activity, Luke from the universalistic and human-sympathetic, John from the Divine. In reproducing the history respect must be had to this focusing from distinct points of view.

A. FROM THE NATIVITY TO THE BAPTISM AND TEMPTATION

1. Hidden Piety in Judaism

I. The Nativity.—OT prophecy expired with the promise on its lips, "Behold, I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, will suddenly come to his temple; and the messenger of the covenant, whom ye desire, behold, he cometh, saith Jehovah of hosts" (Mal **3** 1). In the years immediately before Christ's birth the air was tremulous with the sense of impending great events. The fortunes of the Jewish people were at their lowest ebb. Pharisaic formalism, Sadducean unbelief, fanatical Zealotry, Herodian sycophantism, Roman oppression, seemed to have crushed out the last sparks of spiritual religion. Yet in numerous quiet circles in Judaea, and even in remote Galilee, little godly bands still nourished their souls on the promises, looking for "the consolation of Israel" and "redemption of Jerusalem" (Lk **2** 25.38). Glimpses of these are vouchsafed in Zacharias and Elisabeth, in Simeon, in Anna, in Joseph and Mary (Lk **1, 2**; Mt **1** 18 ff). It was in hearts in these circles that the stirrings of the prophetic spirit began to make themselves felt anew, preparing for the Advent (cf Lk **2** 27.36).

2. Birth of the Baptist (Lk 1)

In the last days of Herod—perhaps in the year 748 of Rome, or 6 BC—the aged priest Zacharias, of the course of Abijah (1 Ch **24** 10; cf Schürer, Div II, Vol I, 219 ff), was ministering in the temple at the altar of incense at the hour of evening prayer. Scholars have reckoned, if on somewhat precarious grounds, that the ministry of the order to which Zacharias belonged fell in this year in the month of April or in early October (cf Andrews, *Life of Our Lord*). Now a wonderful thing happened. Zacharias and his wife Elisabeth, noted for their blameless piety, were up to this time childless. On this evening an angel, appearing at the side of the altar of incense, announced to Zacharias that a son should be born to them, in whom should be realized the prediction of Malachi of one coming in the spirit and power of Elijah to prepare the way of the Lord (cf Mal **4** 5.6). His name was to be called John. Zacharias hesitated to believe, and was stricken with dumbness till the promise should be fulfilled. It happened as the angel had foretold, and at the circumcision and naming of his son his tongue was again loosed. Zacharias, filled with the Spirit, poured forth his soul in a hymn of praise—the *Benedictus* (Lk **1** 5–25.57–80; cf JOHN THE BAPTIST).

3. The Annunciation and Its Results (Lk 1:26–56; Mt 1:18–25)

Meanwhile yet stranger things were happening in the little village of Nazareth, in Galilee (now *en-Nāṣirah*). There resided a young maiden of purest character, named Mary, betrothed to a carpenter of the village (cf Mt **13** 55), called Joseph, who, although in so humble a station, was of the lineage of David (cf Isa **11** 1). Mary, most probably, was likewise of Davidic descent (Lk **1** 32; on the genealogies, see below). The fables relating to the parentage and youth of Mary in the Apocryphal Gospels may safely be discarded. To this maiden, three months before the birth of the Baptist, the same angelic visitant (Gabriel) appeared, hailing her as "highly favored" of God, and announcing to her that, through the power of the Holy Spirit, she should become the mother of the Saviour. The words "Blessed art thou among women," in AV of ver 28 are omitted by RV, though found below (ver 42) in Elisabeth's salutation. They give, in any case, no support to Mariolatry, stating simply the fact that Mary was more honored than any other woman of the race in being chosen to be the mother of the Lord.

(1) *The amazing message.*—The announcement itself was of the most amazing import. Mary herself was staggered at the thought that, as a virgin, she should become a mother (ver 34). Still more surprising were the statements made as to the Son she was to bear. Conceived of the Holy Spirit (Lk **1** 35; Mt **1** 18), He would be great, and would be called "the Son of the Most High" (Lk **1** 32)—"the Son of God" (ver 35); there would be given to Him the throne of His father David, and His reign would be eternal (vs 32.33; cf Isa **9** 6.7); He would be "holy" from the womb (ver 35). His name was to be called Jesus (ver 31; cf Mt **1** 21), denoting Him as Saviour. The holiness of Jesus is here put in connection with His miraculous conception, and surely rightly. In no case in the history of mankind has natural generation issued

in a being who is sinless, not to say superhuman. The fact that Jesus, even in His human nature, was supernaturally begotten—was "Son of God"—does not exclude the higher and eternal Sonship according to the Divine nature (Jn **1** 18). The incarnation of such a Divine Being as Paul and John depict, itself implies miracle in human origin. On the whole message being declared to her, Mary accepted what was told her in meek humility (Lk **1** 38).

(2) *The visit to Elisabeth.*—With the announcement to herself there was given to Mary an indication of what had befallen her kinswoman Elisabeth, and Mary's first act, on recovering from her astonishment, was to go in haste to the home of Elisabeth in the hill country of Judaea (vs 39 ff). Very naturally she did not rashly forestall God's action in speaking to Joseph of what had occurred, but waited in quietness and faith till God should reveal in His own way what He had done. The meeting of the two holy women was the occasion of a new outburst of prophetic inspiration. Elisabeth, moved by the Spirit, greeted Mary in exalted language as the mother of the Lord (vs 42–45)—a confirmation to Mary of the message she had received; Mary, on her part, broke forth in rhythmical utterance, "My soul doth magnify the Lord," etc (vs 46–56). Her hymn—the sublime *Magnificat* —is to be compared with Hannah's (1 S **2** 1–11), which furnishes the model of it. Mary abode with Elisabeth about three months, then returned to her own house.

(3) *Joseph's perplexity.*—Here a new trial awaited her. Mary's condition of motherhood could not long be concealed, and when Joseph first became aware of it, the shock to a man so just (Mt **1** 19) would be terrible in its severity. The disappearance of Joseph from the later gospel history suggests that he was a good deal older than his betrothed, and it is possible that, while strict, upright and conscientious, his disposition was not as strong on the side of sympathy as so delicate a case required. It is going too far to say with Lange, "He encountered the modest, but unshakably firm Virgin with decided doubt; the first Ebionite"; but so long as he had no support beyond Mary's word, his mind was in a state of agonized perplexity. His first thought was to give Mary a private "bill of divorcement" to avoid scandal (ver 19). Happily, his doubts were soon set at rest by a Divine intimation, and he hesitated no longer to take Mary to be his wife (ver 24). Luke's Gospel, which confines itself to the story of Mary, says nothing of this episode; Matthew's narrative, which bears evidence of having come from Joseph himself, supplies the lack by showing how Joseph came to have the confidence in Mary which enabled him to take her to wife, and become sponsor for her child. The trial, doubtless, while it lasted, was not less severe for Mary than for Joseph—a prelude of that sword which was to "pierce through [her] own soul" (Lk **2** 35). There is no reason to believe that Joseph and Mary did not subsequently live in the usual relations of wedlock, and that children were not born to them (cf Mt **13** 55.56, etc).

4. The Birth at Bethlehem (Mt 2:1; Lk 2:1–7)

Matthew gives no indication of where the events narrated in his first chapter took place, first mentioning Nazareth on the occasion of the return of the holy family from Egypt (**2** 23). In **2** 1 he transports us to Bethlehem as the city of Christ's birth. It is left to Luke to give an account of the circumstances which brought Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem—thus fulfilling prophecy (Mic **5** 2; Mt **2** 5.6) —at this critical hour, and to record the lowly manner of Christ's birth there.

(1) *The census of Quirinius.*—The emperor Augustus had given orders for a general enrolment throughout the empire (the fact of periodical enrolments in the empire is well established by Professor W. M. Ramsay in his *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?*), and this is stated to have been given effect to in Judaea when Quirinius was governor of Syria (Lk **2** 1.2). The difficulties connected with the enrolment or census here mentioned are discussed in the art. Quirinius. It is known that Quirinius did conduct a census in Judaea in 6 AD (cf Acts **5** 37), but the census at Christ's birth is distinguished from this by Luke as "the first enrolment." The difficulty was largely removed when it was ascertained, as it has been to the satisfaction of most scholars, that Quirinius was *twice* governor of Syria—first, after Herod's death, 4–1 BC, and again in 6–11 AD. The probability is that the census was begun under Varus, the immediate predecessor of Quirinius—or even earlier under Saturninus—but was delayed in its application to Judaea, then under Herod's jurisdiction, and was completed by Quirinius, with whose name it is officially connected. That the enrolment was made by each one going to his own city (ver 3) is explained by the fact that the census was not made according to the Rom method, but, as befitted a dependent kingdom, in accordance with Jewish usages (cf Ramsay).

(2) *Jesus born.*—It must be left undecided whether the journey of Mary to Bethlehem with Joseph was required for any purpose of registration, or sprang simply from her unwillingness to be separated from Joseph in so trying a situation. To Bethlehem, in any case, possibly by Divine monition, she came, and there, in the ancestral city of David, in circumstances the lowliest conceivable, brought forth her marvelous child. In unadorned language—very different from the embellishments of apocryphal story—Luke narrates how, when the travelers arrived, no room was found for them in the "inn"—the ordinary eastern khan or caravanserai, a square enclosure, with an open court for cattle, and a raised recess round the walls for shelter of visitors—and how, when her babe was born, Mary wrapped Him in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in a manger. The wearied pair having, according to Luke, been crowded out of, and not merely within, the inn, there is every probability that the birth took place, not, as some suppose, in the courtyard of the inn, but, as the oldest tradition asserts (Justin Martyr, *Dial. with Trypho*, 78), in a cave in the neighborhood, used for similar purposes of lodgment and housing of cattle. High authorities look favorably on the "cave of the nativity" still shown, with its inscription, *Hic de virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est*, as marking the sacred spot. In such incredibly mean surroundings was "the only begotten of the Father" ushered into the world He came to redeem. How true the apostle's word that He "emptied" Himself (Phil **2** 7)! A problem lies in the very circumstances of the entrance into time of such a One, which only the thought of a voluntary humiliation for saving ends can solve.

5. The Incidents of the Infancy (Lk 2:8–39; Mt 2:1–12)

Born, however, though Jesus was, in a low condition, the Father did not leave Him totally without witness to His Sonship. There were rifts in the clouds through which the hidden glory streamed. The scenes in the narratives of the Infancy exhibit a strange commingling of the glorious and the lowly.

(1) *The visit of the shepherds.*—To shepherds watching their flocks by night in the fields near Bethlehem the first disclosure was made. The season, one would infer, could hardly have been winter, though it is stated that there is frequently an interval of dry weather in Judaea between the middle of December and the middle of February, when such

a keeping of flocks would be possible (Andrews). The angel world is not far removed from us, and as angels preannounced the birth of Christ, so, when He actually came into the world (cf He **1** 6), angels of God made the night vocal with their songs. First, an angel appearing in the midst of the Divine glory—the "Shekinah"—announced to the sorely alarmed shepherds the birth of a "Saviour who was Christ the Lord" at Bethlehem; then a whole chorus of the heavenly host broke in with the refrain, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men in whom He is well pleased" (lit. "men of good pleasure")—since, the Christmas hymn of the generations (Lk **2** 1–14). The shepherds, guided as to how to recognize the babe (ver 12), went at once, and found it to be even as they had been told. Thence they hastened to spread abroad the tidings—the first believers, the first worshippers, the first preachers (vs 15–20). Mary cherished the sayings in the stillness of her heart.

(2) *The circumcision and presentation in the temple.*—Jewish law required that on the 8th day the male child should be circumcised, and on the same day He received His name (cf Lk **1** 59–63). Jesus, though entirely pure, underwent the rite which denoted the putting off of fleshly sin (Col **2** 11), and became bound, as a true Israelite, to render obedience to every Divine commandment. The name "Jesus" was then given Him (Lk **2** 21). On the 40th day came the ceremony of presentation in the temple at Jerus, when Mary had to offer for her purifying (Lev **12**; Mary's was the humbler offering of the poor, "a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons" [Lev **12** 8; Lk **2** 24]), and when the first-born son had to be redeemed with 5 shekels of the sanctuary (Nu **18** 15.16; about $3.60). The observance was an additional token that Christ—personally sinless—did not shrink from full identification with our race in the responsibilities of its sinful condition. Ere it was completed, however, the ceremony was lifted to a Diviner level, and a new attestation was given of the dignity of the child of Mary, by the action and inspired utterances of the holy Simeon and the aged prophetess Anna. To Simeon, a righteous and devout man, "looking for the consolation of Israel," it had been revealed that he should not die till he had seen the Lord's Christ, and, led by the Spirit into the temple at the very time when Jesus was being presented, he recognized in Him the One for whom he had waited, and, taking Him in his arms, gave utterance to the beautiful words of the *Nunc Dimittis*—"Now lettest thou thy servant depart, Lord," etc (Lk **2** 25–32). He told also how this child was set for the falling and rising of many in Israel, and how, through Him, a sword should pierce through Mary's own soul (vs 34.35). Entering at the same hour, the prophetess Anna—now in extreme old age (over 100; a constant frequenter of the temple, ver 37)—confirmed his words, and spoke of Him to all who, like herself, looked "for the redemption of Jerus."

(3) *Visit of the Magi.*—It seems to have been after the presentation in the temple that the incident took place recorded by Matthew of the visit of the Magi. The Magi, a learned class belonging originally to Chaldaea or Persia (see Magi), had, in course of time, greatly degenerated (cf Simon Magus, Acts **8** 9), but those who now came to seek Christ from the distant East were of a nobler order. They appeared in Jerus inquiring, "Where is He that is born King of the Jews?" and declaring that they had seen His star in the East, and had come to worship Him (Mt **2** 2). Observers of the nightly sky, any significant appearance in the heavens would at once attract their attention. Many (Kepler, Ideler, etc; cf Ramsay, op. cit., 215 ff) are disposed to connect this "star" with a remarkable conjunction—or series of conjunctions—of planets in 7–6 BC, in which case it is possible that two years may have elapsed (cf the inquiry of Herod and his subsequent action, vs 7.16) from their observation of the sign. On the other hand, the fact of the star reappearing and seeming to stand over a house in Bethlehem (ver 9) rather points to a distinct phenomenon (cf Bethlehem, Star of). The inquiry of the Magi at once awakened Herod's alarm; accordingly, having ascertained from the scribes that the Christ should be born at Bethlehem (Mic **5** 2), he summoned the Magi, questioned them as to when exactly the star appeared, then sent them to Bethlehem to search out the young child, hypocritically pretending that he also wished to worship Him (Mt **2** 7.8). Herod had faith enough to believe the Scriptures, yet was foolish enough to think that he could thwart God's purpose. Guided by the star, which anew appeared, the wise men came to Bethlehem, offered their gifts, and afterward, warned by God, returned by another road, without reporting to Herod. It is a striking picture—Herod the king, and Christ the King; Christ a power even in His cradle, inspiring terror, attracting homage! The faith of these sages, unrepelled by the lowly surroundings of the child they had discovered, worshipping, and laying at His feet their gold, frankincense and myrrh, is a splendid anticipation of the victories Christ was yet to win among the wisest as well as the humblest of our race. Herod, finding himself, as he thought, befooled by the Magi, avenged himself by ordering a massacre of all the male children of two years old, and under, in Bethlehem and its neighborhood (vs 16–19). This slaughter, if not recorded elsewhere (cf, however, Macrobius, quoted by Ramsay, op. cit., 219), is entirely in keeping with the cruelty of Herod's disposition. Meanwhile, Joseph and Mary had been withdrawn from the scene of danger (ver 17 connects the mourning of the Bethlehem mothers with Rachel's weeping, Jer **31** 15).

6. Flight to Egypt and Return to Nazareth (Mt 2:13–15.19–23)

The safety of Mary and her threatened child was provided for by a Divine warning to retire for a time to Egypt (mark the recurring expression, "the young child and his mother"—the young child taking the lead, vs 11.13.14.20.21), whither, accordingly, they were conducted by Joseph (ver 14). The sojourn was not a long one. Herod's death brought permission to return, but as Archelaus, Herod's son (the worst of them), reigned in Judaea in his father's stead (not king, but "ethnarch"), Joseph was directed to withdraw to Galilee; hence it came about that he and Mary, with the babe, found themselves again in Nazareth, where Luke anew takes up the story (**2** 39), the thread of which had been broken by the incidents in Mt. Matthew sees in the return from Egypt a refulfilling of the experiences of Israel (Hos **11** 1), and in the settling in Nazareth a connection with the OT prophecies of Christ's lowly estate (Isa **11** 1, *nēçer*, "branch"; Zec **3** 8; **6** 12, etc).

7. Questions and Objections

The objections to the credibility of the narratives of the Virgin Birth have already partly been adverted to. (See further the arts. on Mary; The Virgin Birth; and the writer's volume, *The Virgin Birth of Christ.*)

(1) *The Virgin Birth.*—The narratives in Mt and Lk are attested by all MSS and VSS genuine parts of their respective Gospels, and as coming to us in their integrity. The narrative of Lk is generally recognized as resting on an Aram. basis, which, from its diction and the primitive character of its conceptions, belongs to the earliest age. While in Luke's narrative everything is presented from the standpoint of Mary, in Mt it is Joseph who is in the forefront, suggesting that the virgin mother is the source of information in the one case, and Joseph himself in the other. The narratives are complementary, not contradictory. That Mk and Jn do not contain narratives of the Virgin Birth

cannot be wondered at, when it is remembered that Mark's Gospel begins of purpose with the Baptism of John, and that the Fourth Gospel aims at setting forth the Divine descent, not the circumstances of the earthly nativity. "The Word became flesh" (Jn **1** 14)—everything is already implied in that. Neither can it be objected to that Paul does not in his letters or public preaching base upon so essentially private a fact as the miraculous conception—at a time, too, when Mary probably still lived. With the exception of the narrowest sect of the Jewish Ebionites and some of the gnostic sects, the Virgin Birth was universally accepted in the early church.

(2) *The genealogies* (*Mt* ***1*** *1–17; Lk* ***3*** *23–28*).—Difficulty is felt with the genealogies in Mt and Lk (one descending, the other ascending), which, while both professing to trace the descent of Jesus from David and Abraham (Lk from Adam), yet go entirely apart in the pedigree after David. See on this the art. GENEALOGIES OF JESUS CHRIST. A favorite view is that Mt exhibits the *legal*, Lk the *natural* descent of Jesus. There is plausibility in the supposition that though, in form, a genealogy of Joseph, Lk's is really the genealogy of Mary. It was not customary, it is true, to make out pedigrees of females, but the case here was clearly exceptional, and the passing of Joseph into the family of his father-in-law Heli would enable the list to be made out in his name. Celsus, in the 2d cent., appears thus to have understood it when he derides the notion that through so lowly a woman as the carpenter's wife, Jesus should trace His lineage up to the first man (Origen, *Con. Cel.*, ii.32; Origen's reply proceeds on the same assumption. Cf art. on "Genealogies" in Kitto, II).

II. The Years of Silence—the Twelfth Year.—With the exception of one fragment of incident—

1. The Human Development (Lk 2:40. 52)

that of the visit to Jerus and the Temple in His 12th year—the Canonical Gospels are silent as to the history of Jesus from the return to Nazareth till His baptism by John. This long period, which the Apocryphal Gospels crowd with silly fables (see APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS), the inspired records leave to be regarded as being what it was—a period of quiet development of mind and body, of outward uneventfulness, of silent garnering of experience in the midst of the Nazareth surroundings. Jesus "grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him . . . . advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men" (Lk **2** 40.52). The incarnation was a true acceptance of humanity, with all its sinless limitations of growth and development. Not a hint is offered of that omniscience or omnipotence which theology has not infrequently imputed to Jesus even as child and boy. His schooling was probably that of the ordinary village child (He could read, Lk **4** 17 ff, and write, Jn **8** 6–8); He wrought at the carpenter's bench (cf Mk **6** 3; Justin Martyr, following tradition, speaks of Him as making "ploughs and yokes," *Dial.*, 88). His gentleness and grace of character endeared Him to all who knew Him (Lk **2** 52). No stain of sin clouded His vision of Divine things. His after-history shows that His mind was nourished on the Scriptures; nor, as He pondered psalms and prophets, could His soul remain unvisited by presentiments, growing to convictions, that He was the One in whom their predictions were destined to be realized.

Every year, as was the custom of the Jews, Joseph and Mary went, with their friends and

2. Jesus in the Temple (Lk 2:41–50)

neighbors, in companies, to Jerus to the Passover. When Jesus was 12 years old, it would seem that, for the first time, He was permitted to accompany them. It would be to Him a strange and thrilling experience. Everything He saw—the hallowed sites, the motley crowd, the service of the temple, the very shocks His moral consciousness would receive from contact with abounding scandals—would intensify His feeling of His own unique relation to the Father. Every relationship was for the time suspended and merged to His thought in this higher one. It was His Father's city whose streets He trod; His Father's house He visited for prayer; His Father's ordinance the crowds were assembled to observe; His Father's name, too, they were dishonoring by their formalism and hypocrisy. It is this exalted mood of the boy Jesus which explains the scene that follows—the only one rescued from oblivion in this interval of growth and preparation. When the time came for the busy caravan to return to Nazareth, Jesus, acting, doubtless, from highest impulse, "tarried behind" (ver 43). In the large company His absence was not at first missed, but when, at the evening halting-place, it became known that He was not with them, His mother and Joseph returned in deep distress to Jerus. Three days elapsed before they found Him in the place where naturally they should have looked first—His Father's house. There, in one of the halls or chambers where the rabbis were wont to teach, they discovered Him seated "in the midst," at the feet of the men of learning, hearing them discourse, asking questions, as pupils were permitted to do, and giving answers which awakened astonishment by their penetration and wisdom (vs 46.47). Those who heard Him may well have thought that before them was one of the great rabbis of the future! Mary, much surprised, asked in remonstrance, "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us?" evoking from Jesus the memorable reply, "How is it that ye sought me? knew ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" or "about my Father's business?" AV (vs 48.49). Here was the revelation of a self-consciousness that Mary might have been prepared for in Jesus, but perhaps, in the common intercourse of life, was tending to lose sight of. The lesson was not unneeded. Yet, once it had been given, Jesus went back with Joseph and Mary to Nazareth, and "was subject unto them"; and Mary did not forget the teaching of the incident (ver 51).

III. The Forerunner and the Baptism.—Time passed, and when Jesus was nearing His 30th year,

1. The Preaching of John (Mt 3:1–12; Mk 1:1–8; Lk 3:1–18)

Judaea was agitated by the message of a stern preacher of righteousness who had appeared in the wilderness by the Jordan, proclaiming the imminent approach of the kingdom of heaven, summoning to repentance, and baptizing those who confessed their sins. Tiberius had succeeded Augustus on the imperial throne; Judaea, with Samaria, was now a Rom province, under the procurator Pontius Pilate; the rest of Pal was divided between the tetrarchs Herod (Galilee) and Philip (the eastern parts). The Baptist thus appeared at the time when the land had lost the last vestige of self-government, was politically divided, and was in great ecclesiastical confusion. Nurtured in the deserts (Lk **1** 80), John's very appearance was a protest against the luxury and self-seeking of the age. He had been a Nazarite from his birth; he fed on the simplest products of nature—locusts and wild honey; his coarse garb of camel's hair and leathern girdle was a return to the dress of Elijah (2 K **1** 8), in whose spirit and power he appeared (Lk **1** 17) (see JOHN THE BAPTIST).

The coming Christ.—John's preaching of the kingdom was unlike that of any of the revolutionaries of his age. It was a kingdom which could be entered only through moral preparation. It availed nothing for the Jew simply that he was a son of Abraham. The Messiah was at hand. He (John) was but a voice in the wilderness sent to prepare the way for that Greater than himself. The work of the Christ would be one of judgment and of mercy. He would lay the axe at the root of the tree—would winnow the chaff from the wheat—yet would baptize with the Holy Spirit (Mt **3** 10–12; Lk **3** 15–17). Those who professed acceptance of his message, with its condition of repentance, John baptized with water at the Jordan or in its neighborhood (cf Mt **3** 6; Jn **1** 28; **3** 23).

2. Jesus Is Baptized (Mt 3:13–17; Mk 1:9–11; Lk 3:21.22)

John's startling words made a profound impression. All classes from every part of the land, including Pharisees and Sadducees (Mt **3** 7), came to his baptism. John was not deceived. He saw how little change of heart underlay it all. The Regenerator had not yet come. But one day there appeared before him One whom he intuitively recognized as different from all the rest—as, indeed, the Christ whose coming it was his to herald. John, up to this time, does not seem to have personally known Jesus (cf Jn **1** 31). He must, however, have heard of Him; he had, besides, received a sign by which the Messiah should be recognized (Jn **1** 33); and now, when Jesus presented Himself, Divinely pure in aspect, asking baptism at his hands, the conviction was instantaneously flashed on his mind, that this was He. But how should he, a sinful man, baptize this Holy One? "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" (Mt **3** 14). The question is one which forces itself upon ourselves—How should Jesus seek or receive a "baptism of repentance"? Jesus Himself puts it on the ground of *meetness*. "Suffer it now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness" (ver 15). The Head was content to enter by the same gateway as the members to His specific vocation in the service of the kingdom. In submitting to the baptism, He formally identified Himself with the expectation of the kingdom and with its ethical demands; separated Himself from the evil of His nation, doubtless with confession of its sins; and devoted Himself to His life-task in bringing in the Messianic salvation. The significance of the rite as marking His consecration to, and entrance upon, His Messianic career, is seen in what follows. As He ascended from the water, while still "praying" (Lk **3** 21), the heavens were opened, the Spirit of God descended like a dove upon Him, and a voice from heaven declared: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Mt **3** 16.17). It is needless to inquire whether anyone besides John (cf Jn **1** 33) and Jesus (Mt **3** 16; Mk **1** 10) received this vision or heard these words; it was for them, not for others, the vision was primarily intended. To Christ's consecration of Himself to His calling, there was now added the spiritual equipment necessary for the doing of His work. He went forward with the seal of the Father's acknowledgment upon Him.

1. Temptation Follows Baptism (Mt 4:1–11; Mk 1:13.14; Lk 4:1–13)

IV. The Temptation.—On the narrative of the baptism in the first three Gospels there follows at once the account of the temptation of Jesus in the wilderness. The psychological naturalness of the incident is generally acknowledged. The baptism of Jesus was a crisis in His experience. He had been plenished by the Spirit for His work; the heavens had been opened to Him, and His mind was agitated by new thoughts and emotions; He was conscious of the possession of new powers. There was need for a period of retirement, of still reflection, of coming to a complete understanding with Himself as to the meaning of the task to which He stood committed, the methods He should employ, the attitude He should take up toward popular hopes and expectations. He would *wish* to be alone. The Spirit of God led Him (Mt **4** 1; Mk **1** 12; Lk **4** 1) whither His own spirit also impelled. It is with a touch of similar motive that Buddhist legend makes Buddha to be tempted by the evil spirit Mara after he has attained enlightenment.

2. Nature of the Temptation

The scene of the temptation was the wilderness of Judaea. Jesus was there 40 days, during which, it is told, He neither ate nor drank (cf the fasts of Moses and Elijah, Ex **24** 18; **34** 28; Dt **9** 18; 1 K **19** 8). Mk adds, "He was with the wild beasts" (ver 13). The period was probably one of intense self-concentration. During the whole of it He endured temptations of Satan (Mk **1** 13); but the special assaults came at the end (Mt **4** 2 ff; Lk **4** 2 ff). We assume here a real tempter and real temptations—the question of diabolic agency being considered after. This, however, does not settle the form of the temptations. The struggle was probably an inward one. It can hardly be supposed that Jesus was literally transported by the devil to a pinnacle of the temple, then to a high mountain, then, presumably, back again to the wilderness. The narrative must have come from Jesus Himself, and embodies an ideal or parabolic element. "The history of the temptation," Lange says, "Jesus afterwards communicated to His disciples in the form of a real narrative, clothed in symbolical language" (*Comm. on Mt*, 83, ET).

The stages of the temptation were three—each in its own way a trial of the spirit of obedience.

3. Stages of the Temptation

(1) The first temptation was to *distrust*. Jesus, after His long fast, was an hungered. He had become conscious also of supernatural powers. The point on which the temptation laid hold was His sense of hunger—the most overmastering of appetites. "If thou art the Son of God, command that these stones become bread." The design was to excite distrustful and rebellious thoughts, and lead Jesus to use the powers entrusted to Him in an unlawful way, for private and selfish ends. The temptation was promptly met by a quotation from Scripture: "Man shall not live by bread alone," etc (Mt **4** 4; Lk **4** 4; cf Dt **8** 3). If Jesus was in this position, it was His Father who had brought Him there for purposes of trial. Man has a higher life than can be sustained on bread; a life, found in depending on God's word, and obeying it at whatever cost.

(2) The second temptation (in Lk the third) was to *presumption*. Jesus is borne in spirit (cf Ezk **40** 1.2) to a pinnacle of the temple. From this dizzy elevation He is invited to cast Himself down, relying on the Divine promise: "He shall give His angels charge over thee," etc (cf Ps **91** 11.12). In this way an easy demonstration of His Messiahship would be given to the crowds below. The temptation was to overstep those bounds of humility and dependence which were imposed on Him as Son; to play with signs and wonders in His work as Messiah. But again the tempter is foiled by the word: "Thou shalt not make trial of [try experiments with, propose tests, put to the proof] the Lord thy God" (Mt **4** 7; Lk **4** 12; cf Dt **6** 16).

(3) The third temptation (Lk's second) was to *worldly sovereignty*, gained by some small concession to Satan. From some lofty elevation—no place on a geographical map—the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them are flashed before Christ's mind, and all are offered to Him on condition of one little act of homage to the tempter. It was the temptation to choose the easier path by some slight pandering to falsehood, and Jesus definitely repelled it by the saying: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve" (Mt **4** 10; Lk **4** 8). Jesus had chosen His path. The Father's way of the cross would be adhered to.

Typical character.—The stages of the temptation typify the whole round of Satanic assault on man through body, mind, and spirit (Lk **4** 13; cf 1 Jn **2** 16), and the whole round of Messianic temptation. Jesus was constantly being tempted (*a*) to spare Himself; (*b*) to gratify the Jewish sign-seekers; (*c*) to gain power by sacrifice of the right. In principle the victory was gained over all at the commencement. His way was henceforth clear.

B. THE EARLY JUDAEAN MINISTRY

1. The Synoptics and John

I. The Testimonies of the Baptist.—While the Synoptics pass immediately from the temptation of Jesus to the ministry in Galilee after the imprisonment of the Baptist (Mt **4** 12; Mk **1** 14.15; Lk **4** 14), the Fourth Gospel furnishes the account, full of interest, of the earlier ministry of Jesus in Judaea while the Baptist was still at liberty.

2. Threefold Witness of the Baptist (Jn 1:19–37)

The Baptist had announced Christ's coming; had baptized Him when He appeared; it was now his privilege to testify to Him as having come, and to introduce to Jesus His first disciples.

a) First Testimony—Jesus and Popular Messianic Expectation (vs 19–28)

John's work had assumed proportions which made it impossible for the ecclesiastical authorities any longer to ignore it (cf Lk **3** 15). A deputation consisting of priests and Levites was accordingly sent to John, where he was baptizing at Bethany beyond Jordan, to put to him categorical questions about his mission. Who was he? And by what authority did he baptize? Was he the Christ? or Elijah? or the expected prophet? (cf **6** 14; **7** 4; Mt **16** 14). To these questions John gave distinct and straightforward replies. He was not the Christ, not Elijah, not the prophet. His answers grow briefer every time, "I am not the Christ"; "I am not"; "No." Who was he then? The answer was emphatic. He was but a "voice" (cf Isa **40** 3)—a preparer of the way of the Lord. In their midst already stood One—not necessarily in the crowd at that moment—with whose greatness his was not to be compared (vs 26.27). John utterly effaces himself before Christ.

b) Second Testimony—Christ and the Sin of the World (vs 29–34)

The day after the interview with the Jerus deputies, John saw Jesus coming to him—probably fresh from the temptation—and bore a second and wonderful testimony to His Messiahship. Identifying Jesus with the subject of his former testimonies, and stating the ground of his knowledge in the sign God had given him (vs 30–34), he said, "Behold, the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world" (ver 29). The words are rich in suggestion regarding the character of Jesus, and the nature, universality and efficacy of His work (cf 1 Jn **3** 5). The "Lamb" may point specifically to the description of the vicariously Suffering Servant of Jeh in Isa **53** 11.

c) Third Testimony—Christ and the Duty of the Disciple (vs 35–37)

The third testimony was borne "again on the morrow," when John was standing with two of his disciples (one Andrew, ver 40, the other doubtless the evangelist himself). Pointing to Jesus, the Baptist repeated his former words, "Behold, the Lamb of God." While the words are the same, the design was different. In the first "behold" the idea is the recognition of Christ; in the second there is a call to duty—a hint to *follow* Jesus. On this hint the disciples immediately acted (ver 37). It is next to be seen how this earliest "following" of Jesus grew.

1. Spiritual Accretion (Jn 1:37–51)

II. The First Disciples.—John's narrative shows that Jesus gathered His disciples, less by a series of distinct calls, than by a process of spiritual accretion. Men were led to Him, then accepted by Him. This process of selection left Jesus at the close of the second day with five real and true followers. The history confutes the idea that it was first toward the close of His ministry that Jesus became known to His disciples as the Messiah. In all the Gospels it was as the Christ that the Baptist introduced Jesus; it was as the Christ that the first disciples accepted and confessed Him (vs 41.45.49).

a) Andrew and John—Discipleship as the Fruit of Spiritual Converse (vs 37–40)

The first of the group were Andrew and John—the unnamed disciple of ver 40. These followed Jesus in consequence of their Master's testimony. It was, however, the few hours' converse they had with Jesus in His own abode that actually decided them. To Christ's question, "What seek ye?" their answer was practically "Thyself." "The mention of the time—the 10th hour, i.e. 10 AM—is one of the small traits that mark St. John. He is here looking back on the date of his own spiritual birth" (Westcott).

b) Simon Peter—Discipleship a Result of Personal Testimony (vs 41.42)

John and Andrew had no sooner found Christ for themselves ("We have found the Messiah," ver 41) than they hastened to tell others of their discovery. Andrew at once sought out Simon, his brother, and brought him to Jesus; so, later, Philip sought Nathanael (ver 45). Christ's unerring eye read at once the quality of the man whom Andrew introduced to Him. "Thou art Simon the son of John: thou shalt be called Cephas"—"Rock" or "Stone" (ver 42). Mt **16** 18, therefore, is not the original bestowal of this name, but the confirmation of it. The name is the equivalent of "Peter" (*Pétros*), and was given to Simon, not with any official connotation, but because of the strength and clearness of his convictions. His general steadfastness is not disproved by His one unhappy failure. (Was it thus the apostle *acquired* the name "Peter"?)

c) Philip—the Result of Scriptural Evidence (vs 43.44)

The fourth disciple, Philip, was called by Jesus Himself, when about to depart for Galilee (ver 43). Friendship may have had its influence on Philip (like the foregoing, he also was from Bethsaida of Galilee, ver 44), but that which chiefly decided him was the correspondence of what he found in Jesus with the prophetic testimonies (ver 45).

d) Nathanael—Discipleship an Effect of Heart-Searching Power (vs 45–51)

Philip sought Nathanael (of Cana of Galilee, **21** 2)—the same probably as Bartholomew the Apostle—and told him he had found Him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets had written (ver 45). Nathanael doubted, on the ground that the Messiah was not likely to have His origin in an obscure place like Nazareth (ver 46; cf **7** 52). Philip's wise answer was, "Come and see"; and when Nathanael came, the Lord met him with a word which speedily rid him of his hesitations. First, Jesus attested His seeker's sincerity ("Behold, an Israelite indeed," etc, ver 47); then, on Nathanael expressing surprise, revealed to him His knowledge of a recent secret act of meditation or devotion ("when thou wast under the fig tree," etc, ver 48). The sign was sufficient to convince Nathanael that he was in the presence of a superhuman, nay a Divine, Being, therefore, the Christ—"Son of God . . . . King of Israel" (ver 49). Jesus met his faith with further self-disclosure. Nathanael had believed on comparatively slight evidence; he would see greater things: heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man (ver 51). The allusion is to Jacob's vision (Gen **28** 10–22)—a Scripture which had possibly been the theme of Philip's meditation in his privacy. Jesus puts Himself in place of that mystic ladder as the medium of reopened communication between heaven and earth.

2. "Son of Man" and "Son of God"

The name "Son of Man"—a favorite designation of Jesus for Himself—appears here for the first time in the Gospels. It is disputed whether it was a current Messianic title (see SON OF MAN), but at least it had this force on the lips of Jesus Himself, denoting Him as the possessor of a true humanity, and as standing in a representative relation to mankind universally. It is probably borrowed from Dnl **7** 13 and appears in the Book of En (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE). The higher title, "Son of God," given to Jesus by Nathanael, could not, of course, as yet carry with it the transcendental associations of John's Prologue (**1** 1.14.18), but it evidently conveyed an idea of superhuman dignity and unique relation to God, such as the better class of minds would seem to have attributed to the Messiah (cf Jn **5** 18; **10** 33 ff; Mt **26** 63).

III. The First Events.—An interval of a few weeks is occupied by a visit of Jesus to Cana of Galilee (Jn **2** 1 ff) and a brief sojourn in Capernaum (ver 12); after which Jesus returned to Jerus to the Passover as the most appropriate place for His public manifestation of Himself as Messiah (vs 13 ff). The notes of time in Jn suggest that the Passover (beginning of April, 27 AD) took place about three months after the baptism by John (cf **1** 43; **2** 1.12).

1. The First Miracle (Jn 2:1–11)

Prior to His public manifestation, a more private unfolding of Christ's glory was granted to the disciples at the marriage feast of Cana of Galilee (cf ver 11). The marriage was doubtless that of some relative of the family, and the presence of Jesus at the feast, with His mother, brethren and disciples (as Joseph no more appears, it may be concluded that he was dead), is significant as showing that His religion is not one of antagonism to natural relations. The marriage festivities lasted seven days, and toward the close the wine provided for the guests gave out. Mary interposed with an indirect suggestion that Jesus might supply the want. Christ's reply, lit. "Woman, what is that to thee and to me?" (ver 4), is not intended to convey the least tinge of reproof (cf Westcott, in loc.), but intimates to Mary that His actions were henceforth to be guided by a rule other than hers (cf Lk **2** 51). This, however, as Mary saw (ver 5), did not preclude an answer to her desire. Six waterpots of stone stood near, and Jesus ordered these to be filled with water (the quantity was large; about 50 gallons); then when the water was drawn off it was found changed into a nobler element—a wine purer and better than could have been obtained from any natural vintage. The ruler of the feast, in ignorance of its origin, expressed surprise at its quality (ver 10). The miracle was symbolical—a "sign" (ver 11)—and may be contrasted with the first miracle of Moses—turning the water into blood (Ex **7** 20). It points to the contrast between the old dispensation and the new, and to the work of Christ as a transforming, enriching and glorifying of the natural, through Divine grace and power.

After a brief stay at Capernaum (ver 12), Jesus went up to Jerus to keep the Passover. There it was His design formally to manifest Himself. Other "signs" He wrought at the feast, leading many to believe on Him—not, however, with a deep or enduring faith (vs 23–25)—but the special act by which He signalized His appearance was His public cleansing of the temple from the irreligious trafficking with which it had come to be associated.

2. The First Passover, and Cleansing of the Temple (vs 13–25)

A like incident is related by the Synoptics at the close of Christ's ministry (Mt **21** 12.13; Mk **11** 15–18; Lk **19** 45.46), and it is a question whether the act was actually repeated, or whether the other evangelists, who do not narrate the events of the early ministry, simply record it out of its chronological order. In any case, the act was a fitting inauguration of the Lord's work. A regular market was held in the outer court of the temple. Here the animals needed for sacrifice could be purchased, foreign money exchanged, and the doves, which were the offerings of the poor, be obtained. It was a busy, tumultuous, noisy and unholy scene, and the "zeal" of Jesus burned within Him—had doubtless often done so before—as He witnessed it. Arming Himself with a scourge of cords, less as a weapon of offence, than as a symbol of authority, He descended with resistless energy upon the wrangling throng, drove out the dealers and the cattle, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and commanded the doves to be taken away. Let them not profane His Father's house (Jn **2** 14–16). No one seems to have opposed. All felt that a prophet was among them, and could not resist the overpowering authority with which He spake and acted. By and by, when their courage revived, they asked Him for a "sign" in evidence of His right to do such things. Jesus gave them no sign such as they demanded, but uttered an enigmatic word, and left them to reflect on it, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (ver 19). The authenticity of the saying is sufficiently vouched for by the perverted use made of it at Christ's trial (Mt **26** 61 ||). It is a word based on the foresight which Christ had that the conflict now commencing was to end in His rejection and death. "The true way to destroy the Temple, in the eyes of Jesus, was to slay the Messiah. . . . . If it is in the person of the Messiah that the Temple is laid in ruins, it is in His person it shall be raised again" (Godet). The disciples, after the resurrection, saw the meaning of the word (Jn **2** 22).

3. The Visit of Nicodemus (Jn 3:1–12)

As a sequel to these stirring events Jesus had a nocturnal visitor in the person of Nicodemus—a Pharisee, a ruler of the Jews, a "teacher of Israel" (ver 10); apparently no longer young (ver 4). His coming by night argues, besides some fear of man, a constitutional timidity of disposition (cf **19** 39); but the interesting thing is that he *did* come, showing that he had been really impressed by Christ's words and works. One recognizes in him a man of candor and uprightness of spirit, yet without adequate apprehensions of Christ Himself, and of the nature of Christ's kingdom. Jesus he was prepared to acknowledge as a Divinely commissioned teacher—one whose mission was accredited by miracle (ver 2). He was interested in the kingdom, but, as a morally living man, had no doubt of his fitness to enter into it. Jesus had but to teach and he would understand.

(1) *The new birth.*—Jesus in His reply laid His finger at once on the defective point in His visitor's relation to Himself and to His kingdom: "Except one be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (ver 3); "Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (ver 5). Nicodemus was staggered at this demand for a spiritual new birth. There is reason to believe that proselytes were baptized on being received into the Jewish church, and their baptism was called a "new birth." Nicodemus would therefore be familiar with the expression, but could not see that it had any applicability to him. Jesus teaches him, on the other hand, that he also needs a new birth,

and this, not through water only, but through the Spirit. The change was mysterious, yet plainly manifest in its effects (vs 7.8). If Nicodemus did not understand these "earthly things"—the evidence of which lay all around him—how should he understand "heavenly things," the things pertaining to salvation?

(2) *"Heavenly things."*—These "heavenly things" Jesus now proceeds to unfold to Nicodemus: "As Moses lifted up the serpent," etc (ver 14). The "lifting up" is a prophecy of the cross (cf **12** 32–34). The brazen serpent is the symbol of sin conquered and destroyed by the death of Christ. What follows in **3** 16–21 is probably the evangelist's expansion of this theme—God's love the source of salvation (ver 16), God's purpose not the world's condemnation, but its salvation (vs 17.18) the self-judgment of sin (vs 19 ff).

4. Jesus and John (Jn 3:22–36)

Retiring from Jerus, Jesus commenced a ministry in Judaea (ver 22). It lasted apparently about 6 months. The earlier Gospels pass over it. This is accounted for by the fact that the ministry in Judaea was still preparatory. Jesus had publicly asserted His Messianic authority. A little space is now allowed to test the result. Meanwhile Jesus descends again to the work of prophetic preparation. His ministry at this stage is hardly distinguishable from John's. He summons to the baptism of repentance. His disciples, not Himself, administer the rite (**3** 23; **4** 2); hence the sort of rivalry that sprang up between His baptism and that of the forerunner (**3** 22–26). John was baptizing at the time at Aenon, on the western side of the Jordan; Jesus somewhere in the neighborhood. Soon the greater teacher began to eclipse the less. "All men came to Him" (ver 26). John's reply showed how pure his mind was from the narrow, grudging spirit which characterized his followers. To him it was no grievance, but the fulfilment of his joy, that men should be flocking to Jesus. He was not the Bridegroom, but the friend of the Bridegroom. They themselves had heard him testify, "I am not the Christ." It lay in the nature of things that Jesus must increase; he must decrease (vs 27–30). Explanatory words follow (vs 31–36).

IV. Journey to Galilee—the Woman of Samaria.

1. Withdrawal to Galilee

—Toward the close of this Judaean ministry the Baptist appears to have been cast into prison for his faithfulness in reproving Herod Antipas for taking his brother Philip's wife (cf Jn **3** 24; Mt **14** 3–5 ‖). It seems most natural to connect the departure to Galilee in Jn **4** 3 with that narrated in Mt **3** 13 ‖, though some think the imprisonment of the Baptist did not take place till later. The motive which Jn gives was the hostility of the Pharisees, but it was the imprisonment of the Baptist which led Jesus to commence, at the time He did, an independent ministry. The direct road to Galilee lay through Samaria; hence the memorable encounter with the woman at that place.

2. The Living Water

Jesus, being wearied, paused to rest Himself at Jacob's well, near a town called Sychar, now *'Askar*. It was about the sixth hour—or 6 o'clock in the evening. The time of year is determined by ver 35 to be "four months" before harvest, i.e. December (there is no reason for not taking this literally). It suits the evening hour that the woman of Samaria came out to draw water. (Some, on a different reckoning, take the hour to be noon.) Jesus opened the conversation by asking from the woman a draught from her pitcher. The proverbial hatred between Jews and Samaritans filled the woman with surprise that Jesus should thus address Himself to her. Still greater was her surprise when, as the conversation proceeded, Jesus announced Himself as the giver of a water of which, if a man drank, he should never thirst again (vs 13.14). Only gradually did His meaning penetrate her mind, "Sir, give me this water," etc (ver 15). The request of Jesus that she would call her husband led to the discovery that Jesus knew all the secrets of her life. She was before a prophet (ver 19). As in the case of Nathanael, the heart-searching power of Christ's word convinced her of His Divine claim.

3. The True Worship

The conversation next turned upon the right place of worship. The Samaritans had a temple of their own on Mount Gerizim; the Jews, on the other hand, held to the exclusive validity of the temple at Jerus. Which was right? Jesus in His reply, while pronouncing for the Jews as the custodians of God's salvation (ver 22), makes it plain that distinction of places is no longer a matter of any practical importance. A change was imminent which would substitute a universal religion for one of special times and places (ver 20). He enunciates the great principle of the new dispensation that God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him must do so in spirit and in truth. Finally, when she spoke of the Messiah, Jesus made Himself definitely known to her as the Christ. To this poor Samaritan woman, with her receptive heart, He unveils Himself more plainly than He had done to priests and rulers (ver 26).

4. Work and Its Reward

The woman went home and became an evangelist to her people, with notable results (vs 28.39). Jesus abode with them two days and confirmed the impression made by her testimony (vs 40–42). Meanwhile, He impressed on His disciples the need of earnest sowing and reaping in the service of the Kingdom, assuring them of unfailing reward for both sower and reaper (vs 35–38). He Himself was their Great Example (ver 34).

C. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY AND VISITS TO THE FEASTS

1. The Scene

Galilee was divided into upper Galilee and lower Galilee. It has already been remarked that upper Galilee was inhabited by a mixed population—hence called "Galilee of the Gentiles" (Mt **4** 15). The highroads of commerce ran through it. It was "the way of the sea" (AV)—a scene of constant traffic. The people were rude, ignorant, and superstitious, and were densely crowded together in towns and villages. About 160 BC there were only a few Jews in the midst of a large heathen population; but by the time of Christ the Jewish element had greatly increased. The busiest portion of this busy district was round the Sea of Galilee, at the N.E. corner of which stood Capernaum—wealthy and cosmopolitan. In Nazareth, indeed, Jesus met with a disappointing reception (Lk **4** 16–30; Mt **13** 54–57; cf Jn **4** 43–45); yet in Galilee generally He found a freer spirit and greater receptiveness than among the stricter traditionalists of Judaea.

2. The Time

It is assumed here that Jesus returned to Galilee in December, 27 AD, and that His ministry there lasted till late in 29 AD (see "Chronology" above). On the two years' scheme of the public ministry, the Passover of Jn **6** 4 has to be taken as the *second* in Christ's ministry—therefore as occurring at an interval of only 3 or 4 months after the return. This seems impossible in view of the crowding of events it involves in so short a time—opening incidents, stay in Capernaum (Mt **4** 13), three circuits in "all Galilee" (Mt **4** 23–25 ‖; Lk **8** 1–4; Mt **9** 35–38; Mk **6** 6), lesser journeys and excursions (Sermon on Mount; Gadara); and the dislocations it necessitates, e.g. the plucking of ears of corn (about Passover time) must be placed after the feeding of the 5,000, etc. It is simpler to adhere to the three years' scheme.

A division of the Galilean ministry may then fitly be made into two periods—one preceding, the other succeeding the Mission of the Twelve in Mt **10** ||. One reason for this division is that after the Mission of the Twelve the order of events is the same in the first three evangelists till the final departure from Galilee.

First Period—From the Beginning of the Ministry in Galilee till the Mission of the Twelve

1. Healing of Nobleman's Son (Jn 4:43–54)

I. Opening Incidents.—From sympathetic Samaria (Jn **4** 39), Jesus had journeyed to unsympathetic Galilee, and first to Cana, where His first miracle had been wrought. The reports of His miracles in Judaea had come before Him (ver 45), and it was mainly His reputation as a miracle-worker which led a nobleman—a courtier or officer at Herod's court—to seek Him at Cana on behalf of his son, who was near to death. Jesus rebuked the sign-seeking spirit (ver 48), but, on the fervent appeal being repeated, He bade the nobleman go his way: his son lived. The man's prayer had been, "Come down"; but he had faith to receive the word of Jesus (ver 50), and on his way home received tidings of his son's recovery. The nobleman, with his whole household, was won for Jesus (ver 53). This is noted as the second of Christ's Galilean miracles (ver 54).

2. The Visit to Nazareth (Mt 4:13; Lk 4:16–30)

A very different reception awaited Him at Nazareth, "His own country," to which He next came. We can scarcely take the incident recorded in Lk **4** 16–30 to be the same as that in Mt **13** 54–58, though Matthew's habit of grouping makes this not impossible. The Sabbath had come, and on His entering the synagogue, as was His wont, the repute He had won led to His being asked to read. The Scripture He selected (or which came in the order of the day) was Isa **61** 1 ff (the fact that Jesus was able to read from the synagogue-roll is interesting as bearing on His knowledge of Heb), and from this He proceeded to amaze His hearers by declaring that this Scripture was now fulfilled in their ears (ver 21). The "words of grace" he uttered are not given, but it can be understood that, following the prophet's guidance, He would hold Himself forth as the predicted "Servant of Jehovah," sent to bring salvation to the poor, the bound, the broken-hearted, and for this purpose endowed with the fulness of the Spirit. The idea of the passage in Isa is that of the year of jubilee, when debts were canceled, inheritances restored, and slaves set free, and Jesus told them He had come to inaugurate that "acceptable year of the Lord." At first He was listened to with admiration, then, as the magnitude of the claims He was making became apparent to His audience, a very different spirit took possession of them. 'Who was this that spoke thus?' 'Was it not Joseph's son?' (ver 22). They were disappointed, too, that Jesus showed no disposition to gratify them by working before them any of the miracles of which they had heard so much (ver 23). Jesus saw the gathering storm, but met it resolutely. He told His hearers He had not expected any better reception, and in reply to their reproach that He had wrought miracles elsewhere, but had wrought none among them, quoted examples of prophets who had done the same thing (Elijah, Elisha, vs 24–28). This completed the exasperation of the Nazarenes, who, springing forward, dragged Him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, and would have thrown Him down, had something in the aspect of Jesus not restrained them. With one of those looks we read of occasionally in the Gospels, He seems to have overawed His townsmen, and, passing in safety through their midst, left the place (vs 28–30).

3. Call of the Four Disciples (Mt 4:17–22; Mk 1:16–22; Lk 5:1–11)

After leaving Nazareth Jesus made His way to Capernaum (probably *Tell Hum*), which thereafter seems to have been His headquarters. He "dwelt" there (Mt **4** 13). It is called in Mt **9** 1, "his own city." Before teaching in Capernaum itself, however, He appears to have opened His ministry by evangelizing along the shores of the Sea of Galilee (Mt **4** 18; Mk **1** 16; Lk **5** 1), and there, at Bethsaida (on topographical questions, see special arts.), He took His first step in gathering His chosen disciples more closely around Him. Hitherto, though attached to His person and cause, the pairs of fisher brothers, Simon and Andrew, James and John—these last the "sons of Zebedee"—had not been in constant attendance upon Him. Since the return from Jerus, they had gone back to their ordinary avocations. The four were "partners" (Lk **5** 10). They had "hired servants" (Mk **1** 20); therefore were moderately well off. The time had now come when they were to leave "all," and follow Jesus entirely.

a) The Draught of Fishes (Lk 5:1–9)

Luke alone records the striking miracle which led to the call. Jesus had been teaching the multitude from a boat borrowed from Simon, and now at the close He bade Simon put out into the deep, and let down his nets. Peter told Jesus they had toiled all night in vain, but he would obey His word. The result was an immense draught of fishes, so that the nets were breaking, and the other company had to be called upon for help. Both boats were filled and in danger of sinking. Peter's cry in so wonderful a presence was, "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

b) "Fishers of Men"

The miracle gave Jesus opportunity for the word He wished to speak. It is here that Mt and Mk take up the story. The boats had been brought to shore when, first to Simon and Andrew, afterward to James and John (engaged in "mending their nets," Mt **4** 21; Mk **1** 19), the call was given: "Come ye after me, and I will make you fishers of men." At once all was left—boats, nets, friends—and they followed Him. Their experience taught them to have large expectations from Christ.

4. At Capernaum (Mt 4:13; Lk 4:31)

Jesus is now found in Capernaum. An early Sabbath—perhaps the first of His stated residence in the city—was marked by notable events.

a) Christ's Teaching (Mk 1:22. 27; Lk 4:32)

The Sabbath found Jesus as usual in the synagogue—now as teacher. The manner of His teaching is specially noticed: "He taught them as having authority, and not as the scribes" (Mk **1** 22). The scribes gave forth nothing of their own. They but repeated the dicta of the great authorities of the past. It was a surprise to the people to find in Jesus One whose wisdom, like waters from a clear fountain, came fresh and sparkling from His own lips. The authority also with which Jesus spoke commanded attention. He sought support in the opinion of no others, but gave forth His statements with firmness, decision, dignity and emphasis.

b) The Demoniac in the Synagogue (Mk 1:23–27; Lk 4:33–37)

While Jesus was teaching an extraordinary incident occurred. A man in the assembly, described as possessed by "an unclean spirit" (Mk **1** 23; Lk **4** 33), broke forth in cries, addressing Jesus by name ("Jesus, thou Nazarene"), speaking of Him as "the Holy One of God," and asking "What have we to do with thee? Art thou come to destroy us?" The diseased consciousness of the sufferer bore a truer testimony to Christ's dignity, holiness and power than most of those present could have given, and instinctively, but truly, construed His coming as meaning destruction to the empire of the demons. At Christ's word, after a terrible paroxysm, from which, however, the man escaped unhurt (Lk **4** 35), the demon was cast out. More than ever the people were "amazed" at the word which had such power (Mk **1** 27).

Demon-possession—its reality.—This is the place to say a word on this terrible form of malady—demon-possession—met with so often in the Gospels. Was it a reality? or a hallucination? Did Jesus believe in it? It is difficult to read the Gospels, and not answer the last question in the affirmative. Was Jesus, then, mistaken? This also it is hard to believe. If there is one subject on which Jesus might be expected to have clear vision—on which we might trust His insight—it was His relation to the spiritual world with which He stood in so close rapport. Was He likely then to be mistaken when He spoke so earnestly, so profoundly, so frequently, of its hidden forces of evil? There is in itself no improbability—rather analogy suggests the highest probability—of realms of spiritual existence outside our sensible ken. That evil should enter this spiritual world, and that human life should be deeply implicated with that evil—that its forces should have a mind and will organizing and directing them—are not beliefs to be dismissed with scorn. The presence of such beliefs in the time of Christ is commonly attributed to Bab, Pers or other foreign influences. It may be questioned, however, whether the main cause was not something far more real—an actual and permitted "hour and the power of darkness" (Lk **22** 53) in the kingdom of evil, discovering itself in manifestations in the bodies and souls of men, that could be traced only to a supernatural cause (see DEMONIAC POSSESSION). (The present writer discusses the subject in an art. in the *Sunday School Times* for June 4, 1910. It would be presumptuous even to say that the instance in the Gospels have no modern parallels. See a striking paper in *Good Words*, edited by Dr. Norman MacLeod, for 1867, on "The English Demoniac.") It should be noted that *all* diseases are not, as is sometimes affirmed, traced to demonic influence. The distinction between other diseases and demonic possession is clearly maintained (cf Mt **4** 24; **10** 1; **11** 5, etc). Insanity, epilepsy, blindness, dumbness, etc, were frequent accompaniments of possession, but they are not identified with it.

c) Peter's Wife's Mother (Mt 8:14.15; Mk 1:29–31; Lk 4:38.39)

Jesus, on leaving the synagogue, entered the house of Peter. In Mk it is called "the house of Simon and Andrew" (**1** 29). Peter was married (cf 1 Cor **9** 5), and apparently his mother-in-law and brother lived with him in Capernaum. It was an anxious time in the household, for the mother-in-law lay "sick of a fever"—"a great fever," as Luke the physician calls it. Taking her by the hand, Jesus rebuked the fever, which instantaneously left her. The miracle, indeed, was a double one, for not only was the fever stayed, but strength was at once restored. "She rose up and ministered unto them" (Lk **4** 39).

d) The Eventful Evening (Mt 8:16; Mk 1:32–34; Lk 4:40.41)

The day's labors were not yet done; were, indeed, scarce begun. The news of what had taken place quickly spread, and soon the extraordinary spectacle was presented of 'the whole city' gathered at the door of the dwelling, bringing their sick of every kind to be healed. Demoniacs were there, crying and being rebuked, but multitudes of others as well. The Lord's compassion was unbounded. He rejected none. He labored unweariedly till every one was healed. His sympathy was individual: "He laid his hands on every one of them" (Lk **4** 40).

II. From First Galilean Circuit till Choice of the Apostles.—The chronological order in this section is to be sought in Mk and Lk; Mt groups for didactic purposes.

1. The First Circuit (Mk 1:35–45; Lk 4:42–44; cf Mt 4:23–25)

The morning after that eventful Sabbath evening in Capernaum, Jesus took steps for a systematic visitation of the towns and villages of Galilee.

The task He set before Himself was prepared for by early, prolonged, solitary *prayer* (Mk **1** 35; many instances show that Christ's life was steeped in prayer). His disciples followed Him, and reported that the multitudes sought Him. Jesus intimated to them His intention of passing to the next towns, and forthwith commenced a tour of preaching and healing "throughout all Galilee."

a) Its Scope

Even if the expression "all Galilee" is used with some latitude, it indicates a work of very extensive compass. It was a work likewise methodically conducted (cf Mk **6** 6: "went round about the villages," lit. "in a circle"). Galilee at this time was extraordinarily populous (cf Jos, *BJ*, III, iii, 2), and the time occupied by the circuit must have been considerable. Mt's condensed picture (**4** 23–25) shows that Christ's activity during this period was incredibly great. He stirred the province to its depths. His preaching and miracles drew enormous crowds after Him. This tide of popularity afterward turned, but much of the seed sown may have produced fruit at a later day.

b) Cure of the Leper (Mt 8:2–4; Mk 1:40–45; Lk 5:12–16)

The one incident recorded which seems to have belonged to this tour was a sufficiently typical one. While Jesus was in a certain city a man "full of leprosy" (Lk **5** 12) came and threw himself down before Him, seeking to be healed. The man did not even ask Jesus to heal him, but expressed his faith, "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." The man's apparent want of importunity was the very essence of his importunity. Jesus, moved by his earnestness, touched him, and the man was made whole on the spot. The leper was enjoined to keep silence—Jesus did not wish to pass for a mere miracle-worker—and bade the man show himself to the priests and offer the appointed sacrifices (note Christ's respect for the legal institutions). The leper failed to keep Christ's charge, and published his cure abroad, no doubt much to his own spiritual detriment, and also to the hindrance of Christ's work (Mk **1** 45).

2. Capernaum Incidents

His circuit ended, Jesus returned to Capernaum (Mk **2** 1; lit. "after days"). Here again His fame at once drew multitudes to see and hear Him. Among them were now persons of more unfriendly spirit. Pharisees and doctors, learning of the new rabbi, had come out of "every village of Galilee and Judaea and Jerusalem" (Lk **5** 17), to hear and judge of Him for themselves. The chief incidents of this visit are the two now to be noted.

a) Cure of the Paralytic (Mt 9:2–8; Mk 2:1–12; Lk 5:17–26)

In a chamber crowded till there was no standing room, even round the door, Jesus wrought the cure upon the paralytic man. The scene was a dramatic one. From Christ's words "son," lit. "child" (Mk **2** 5), we infer that the paralytic was young, but his disablement seems to have been complete. It was no easy matter, with the doorways blocked, to get the man brought to Jesus, but his four bearers (ver 3) were not easily daunted. They climbed the flat roof, and, removing part of the covering above where Jesus was, let down the man into the midst. Jesus, pleased with the inventiveness and perseverance of their faith, responded to their wish. But, first, that the spiritual and temporal might be set in their right relations, and the attitude of His hearers be tested, He spoke the higher words: "Son, thy sins are forgiven" (ver 5). At once the temper of the scribes was revealed. Here was manifest evasion. Anyone could say, "Thy sins are forgiven." Worse, it was blasphemy, for "who can forgive sins but one, even God?" (ver 7). Unconsciously they were conceding to Christ the Divine dignity He claimed. Jesus perceives at once the thoughts of the cavilers, and proceeds to expose their malice. Accepting their own test, He proves His right to say, "Thy sins are forgiven," by now saying to the palsied man, "Take up thy bed and walk" (vs 9.11). At once the man arose, took his bed, and went forth whole. The multitude were "amazed" and "glorified God" (ver 12).

b) Call and Feast of Matthew (Mt 9:9–13; Mk 2:13–17; Lk 5:27–32)

The call of Matthew apparently took place shortly after the cure of the paralytic man. The feast was possibly later (cf the connection with the appeal of Jairus, Mt **9** 18), but the call and the feast are best taken together, as they are in all the three narratives.

(1) *The call.*—Matthew is called "Levi" by Luke, and "Levi, the son of Alphaeus" by Mark. By occupation he was a "publican" (Lk **5** 27), collector of custom-dues in Capernaum, an important center of traffic. There is no reason to suppose that Matthew was not a man of thorough uprightness, though naturally the class to which he belonged was held in great odium by the Jews. Passing the place of toll on His way to or from the lake-side, Jesus called Matthew to follow Him. The publican must by this time have seen and heard much of Jesus, and could not but keenly feel His grace in calling one whom men despised. Without an instant's delay, he left all, and followed Jesus. From publican, Matthew became apostle, then evangelist.

(2) *The feast.*—Then, or after, in the joy of his heart, Matthew made a feast for Jesus. To this feast he invited many of his own class—"publicans and sinners" (Mt **9** 10). Scribes and Pharisees were loud in their remonstrances to the disciples at what seemed to them an outrage on all propriety. Narrow hearts cannot understand the breadth of grace. Christ's reply was conclusive: "They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick," etc (Mk **2** 17, etc).

(3) *Fasting and joy.*—Another line of objection was encountered from disciples of the Baptist. They, like the Pharisees, "fasted oft" (Mt **9** 14), and they took exception to the unconstrained way in which Jesus and His disciples entered into social life. Jesus defends His disciples by adopting a metaphor of John's own (Jn **3** 29), and speaking of Himself as the heavenly bridegroom (Mk **2** 19). Joy was natural while the bridegroom was with them; then, with a sad forecast of the end, He alludes to days of mourning when the bridegroom should be taken away (ver 20). A deeper answer follows. The spirit of His gospel is a free, spontaneous, joyful spirit, and cannot be confined within the old forms. To attempt to confine His religion within the outworn forms of Judaism would be like putting a patch of undressed cloth on an old garment, or pouring new wine into old wineskins. The garment would be rent; the wineskins would burst (vs 21.22 ||). The new spirit must make forms of its own.

3. The Unnamed Jerusalem Feast (Jn 5)

At this point is probably to be introduced the visit to Jerus to attend "a feast," or, according to another reading, "the feast" of the Jews, recorded in Jn **5**. The feast may, if the article is admitted, have been the Passover (April), though in that case one would expect it to be named; it may have been Purim (March), only this is not a feast Jesus might be thought eager to attend; it may even have been Pentecost (June). In this last case it would succeed the Sabbath controversies to be mentioned later. Fortunately, the determination of the actual feast has little bearing on the teaching of the chapter.

a) The Healing at Bethesda (vs 1–16)

Bethesda ("house of mercy") was the name given to a pool, fed by an intermittent spring, possessing healing properties, which was situated by the sheep-gate (not "market," AV), i.e. near the temple, on the E. Porches were erected to accommodate the invalids who desired to make trial of the waters (the mention of the angel, ver 4, with part of ver 3, is a later gloss, and is justly omitted in RV). On one of these porches lay an impotent man. His infirmity was of long standing—38 years. Hope deferred was making his heart sick, for he had no friend, when the waters were troubled, to put him into the pool. Others invariably got down before him. Jesus took pity on this man. He asked him if he would be made whole; then by a word of power healed him. The cure was instantaneous (vs 8.9). It was the Sabbath day, and as the man, at Christ's command, took up his bed to go, he was challenged as doing that which was unlawful. The healed man, however, rightly perceived that He who was able to work so great a cure had authority to say what should and should not be done on the Sabbath. Meeting the man after in the temple, Jesus bade him "sin no more"—a hint, perhaps, that his previous infirmity was a result of sinful conduct (ver 14).

b) Son and Father (vs 17–29)

Jesus Himself was now challenged by the authorities for breaking the Sabbath. Their strait, artificial rules would not permit even of acts of mercy on the Sabbath. This led, on the part of Jesus, to a momentous assertion of His Divine dignity. He first justified Himself by the example of His Father, who works continually in the upholding and government of the universe (ver 17)—the Sabbath is a rest *from* earthly labors, *for* Divine, heavenly labor (Westcott)—then, when this increased the offence by its suggestion of "equality" with the Father, so that His life was threatened (ver 18), He spoke yet more explicitly of His unique relationship to the Father, and of the Divine prerogatives it conferred upon Him. The Jews were right: if Jesus were not a Divine Person, the claims He made would be blasphemous. Not only was He admitted to intimacy with the Divine counsel (vs 20.21; cf Mt **11** 27), but to Him, He averred, was committed the Divine power of giving life (vs 21.26), of judgment (vs 22.27), of resurrection—spiritual resurrection now (vs 24.25), resurrection at the last day (vs 28.29). It was the Father's will that the Son should be honored even as Himself (ver 23).

c) The Threefold Witness (vs 30–47)

These stupendous claims are not made without adequate attestation. Jesus cites a threefold witness: (1) the witness of the Baptist, whose testimony they had been willing for a time to receive (vs 33.35); (2) the witness of the Father, who by Christ's works supported His witness to Himself (vs 36–38); (3) the witness of the Scriptures, for these, if read with spiritual discernment, would have led to Him (vs 39.45–47). Moses, whom they trusted, would condemn them. Their rejection of Jesus was due, not to want of light, but to the state of the heart: "I know you, that ye have not the love of God in yourselves" (ver 42); "How can ye believe," etc (ver 44).

4. Sabbath Controversies

Shortly after His return to Galilee, if the order of events has been rightly apprehended, Jesus became involved in new disputes with the Pharisees about Sabbath-keeping. Possibly we hear in these the echoes of the charges brought against Him at the feast in Judaea. Christ's conduct, and the principles involved in His replies, throw valuable light on the Sabbath institution.

a) Plucking of the Ears of Grain (Mt 12:1–8; Mk 2:23–28; Lk 6:1–5)

The first dispute was occasioned by the action of the disciples in plucking ears of grain and rubbing them in their hands as they passed through the grainfields on a Sabbath (the note of time "second-first," in Lk **6** 1 AV, is omitted in RV. In any case the ripened grain points to a time shortly after the Passover). The law permitted this liberty (Dt **23** 25), but Pharisaic rigor construed it into an offence to do the act on the Sabbath (for specimens of the minute, trivial and vexatious rules by which the Pharisees converted the Sabbath into a day of wretched constraint, see Farrar's *Life of Christ*, Edersheim's *Jesus the Messiah*, and similar works). Jesus, in defending His disciples, first quotes OT precedents (David and the showbread, an act done apparently on the Sabbath, 1 S **21** 6; the priests' service on the Sabbath—"One greater than the temple" was there, Mt **12** 6), in illustration of the truth that necessity overrides positive enactment; next, falls back on the broad principle of the *design* of the Sabbath as made for man—for his highest physical, mental, moral and spiritual well-being: "The sabbath was made for man," etc (Mk **2** 27). The claims of mercy are paramount. The end is not to be sacrificed to the means. The Son of Man, therefore, asserts lordship over the Sabbath (ver 28 ‖).

b) The Man with the Withered Hand (Mt 12:10–14; Mk 3:1–6; Lk 6:6–11)

The second collision took place on "another sabbath" (Lk **6** 6) in the synagogue. There was present a man with a withered hand. The Pharisees themselves, on this occasion, eager to entrap Jesus, seem to have provoked the conflict by a question, "Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day?" (Mt **12** 10). Jesus met them by an appeal to their own practice in permitting the rescue of a sheep that had fallen into a pit on the Sabbath day (vs 11.12), then, bidding the man stand forth, retorted the question on themselves, "Is it lawful on the sabbath day to do good, or to do harm? to save a life, or to kill?" (Mk **3** 4)—an allusion to their murderous intents. On no reply being made, looking on them with holy indignation, Jesus ordered the man to stretch forth his hand, and it was at once perfectly restored. The effect was only to inflame to "madness" (Lk **6** 11) the minds of His adversaries, and Pharisees and Herodians (the court-party of Herod) took counsel to destroy Him (Mk **3** 6 ‖).

c) Withdrawal to the Sea (Mt 12:15–21; Mk 3:7–9)

Jesus, leaving this scene of unprofitable conflict, quietly withdrew with His disciples to the shore, and there continued His work of teaching and healing. People from all the neighboring districts flocked to His ministry. He taught them from a little boat (Mk **3** 9), and healed their sick. Mt sees in this a fulfilment of the oracle which is to be found in Isa **42** 1–4.

5. The Choosing of the Twelve (Mt 10:1–4; Mk 3:13–19; Lk 6:12–16; Acts 1:13)

The work of Jesus was growing on His hands, and friends and enemies were rapidly taking sides. The time accordingly had come for selecting and attaching to His person a definite number of followers—not simply disciples—who might be prepared to carry on His work after His departure. This He did in the choice of twelve apostles. The choice was made in early morning, on the Mount of Beatitudes, after a night spent wholly in prayer (Lk **6** 12).

a) The Apostolic Function

"Apostle" means "one sent." On the special function of the apostle it is sufficient to say here that those thus set apart were chosen for the special end of being Christ's witnesses and accredited ambassadors to the world, able from personal knowledge to bear testimony to what Christ had been, said and done—to the facts of His life, death and resurrection (cf Acts **1** 22.23; **2** 22–32; **3** 15; **10** 39; 1 Cor **15** 3–15, etc); but, further, as instructed by Him, and endowed with His Spirit (cf Lk **24** 49; Jn **14** 16.17.26, etc), of being the depositaries of His truth, sharers of His authority (cf Mt **10** 1; Mk **3** 15), messengers of His gospel (cf 2 Cor **5** 18–21), and His instruments in laying broad and strong the foundations of His church (cf Eph **2** 20; **3** 5). So responsible a calling was never, before or after, given to mortal men.

b) The Lists

Four lists of the apostles are given—in Mt, Mk, Lk, and Acts (**1** 13, omitting Judas). The names are given alike in all, except that "Judas, the son [or brother] of James" (Lk **6** 16; Acts **1** 13) is called by Mt "Lebbaeus," and by Mk "Thaddaeus." The latter names are cognate in meaning, and all denote the same person. "Bartholomew" (son of Tolmai) is probably the Nathanael of Jn **1** 47 (cf **21** 2). The epithet "Cananaean" (Mt **10** 4; Mk **3** 18) marks "Simon" as then or previously a member of the party of the Zealots (Lk **6** 15). In all the lists Peter, through his gifts of leadership, stands first; Judas Iscariot, the betrayer, stands last. There is a tendency to arrangement in pairs: Peter and Andrew; James and John; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew; lastly, James, the son of Alphaeus, Judas, son or brother of James, Simon the Zealot and Judas Iscariot. The list contains two pairs of brothers (three, if "brother" be read with Judas), and at least one pair of friends (Philip and Nathanael).

c) The Men

All the apostles were men from the humbler ranks, yet not illiterate, and mostly comfortably circumstanced. All were Galileans, except the betrayer, whose name "Iscariot" i.e. "man of Kerioth," marks him as a Judaean. Of some of the apostles we know a good deal; of others very little; yet we are warranted in speaking of them all, Judas excepted, as men of honest minds, and sincere piety. The band held within it a number of men of strongly contrasted types of character. Allusion need only be made to the impetuous Peter, the contemplative John, the matter-of-fact Philip, the cautious Thomas, the zealous Simon, the conservative Matthew, the administrative Judas. The last-named—Iscariot—is the dark problem of the apostolate. We have express testimony that Jesus knew him from the beginning (Jn **6** 64). Yet He chose him. The character of Judas, when Jesus received him, was doubtless undeveloped. He could not himself suspect the dark possibilities that slept in it. His association with the apostles, in itself considered, was for his good. His peculiar gift was, for the time, of service. In choosing him, Jesus must be viewed as acting for, and under the direction of, the Father (Jn **5** 19; **17** 12). See special arts. on the several apostles.

III. From the Sermon on the Mount till the Parables of the Kingdom—a Second Circuit.—The choice of the apostles inaugurates a

1. The Sermon on the Mount

new period of Christ's activity. Its first most precious fruit was the delivery to the apostles and the multitudes who thronged Him as He came down from the mountain (Lk **6** 17) of that great manifesto of His kingdom popularly known as the Sermon on the Mount. The hill is identified by Stanley (*Sinai and Pal*, 368) and others with that known as "the Horns of Hattin," where "the level place" at the top, from which Christ would come down from one of the higher horns, exactly suits the conditions of the narrative. The sick being healed, Jesus seated Himself a little higher up, His disciples near Him, and addressed the assembly (cf Mt **7** 28.29). The season of the year is shown by the mention of the "lilies" to be the summer.

Its scope.—His words were weighty. His aim was at the outset to set forth in terms that were unmistakable the principles, aims and dispositions of His kingdom; to expound its laws; to exhibit its righteousness, both positively, and in contrast with Pharisaic formalism and hypocrisy. Only the leading ideas can be indicated here (see BEATITUDES; SERMON ON MOUNT; ETHICS OF JESUS). Matthew, as is his wont, groups material part of which is found in other connections in Lk, but it is well to study the whole in the well-ordered form in which it appears in the First Gospel.

***a*) The Blessings (Mt 5:1–6; Lk 6:20–26)**

In marked contrast with the lawgiving of Sinai, Christ's first words are those of blessing. Passing at once to the dispositions of the heart, He shows on what inner conditions the blessings of the kingdom depend. His beatitudes (poverty of spirit, mourning, meekness, hunger and thirst after righteousness, etc) reverse all the world's standards of judgment on such matters. In the possession of these graces consists true godliness of character; through them the heirs of the kingdom become the salt of the earth, the light of the world. The obligation rests on them to let their light shine (cf Mk **4** 21–23; Lk **8** 16; **11** 33).

***b*) True Righteousness—the Old and the New Law (Mt 5:17–48; Lk 6:27–36)**

Jesus defines His relation to the old law—not a Destroyer, but a Fulfiller—and proceeds to exhibit the nature of the true righteousness in contrast to Pharisaic literality and formalism. Through adherence to the latter they killed the spirit of the law. With an absolute authority—"But I say unto you"—Jesus leads everything back from the outward letter to the state of the heart. Illustrations are taken from murder, adultery, swearing, retaliation, hatred of enemies, and a spiritual expansion is given to every precept. The sinful thought or desire holds in it the essence of transgression. The world's standards are again reversed in the demands for nonresistance to injuries, love of enemies and requital of good for evil.

***c*) Religion and Hypocrisy—True and False Motive (Mt 6:1–18; cf Lk 11:1–8)**

Pursuing the contrast between the true righteousness and that of the scribes and Pharisees, Jesus next draws attention to *motive* in religion. The Pharisees erred not simply in having regard only to the letter of the Law, but in acting in morals and religion from a false motive. He had furnished the antidote to their literalism; He now assails their ostentation and hypocrisy. Illustrations are taken from almsgiving, prayer and fasting, and in connection with prayer the Lord's Prayer is given as a model (Lk introduces this in another context, **11** 1–4).

***d*) The True Good and Cure for Care (Mt 6:19–34; cf Lk 11:34–36; 12:22–34)**

The true motive in religious acts is to please God; the same motive should guide us in the choice of what is to be our supreme good. Earthly treasure is not to be put above heavenly. The kingdom of God and His righteousness are to be first in our desires. The eye is to be single. The true cure for worldly anxiety is then found in trust of the heavenly Father. His children are more to God than fowls and flowers, for whom His care in Nature is so conspicuously manifest. Seeking first the kingdom they have a pledge—no higher conceivable—that all else they need will be granted along with it (this section on trust, again, Lk places differently, **12** 22–34).

***e*) Relation to the World's Evil—the Conclusion (Mt 7:1–29; Lk 6:37–49; cf 11:9–13)**

Jesus finally proceeds to speak of the relation of the disciple to the *evil* of the world. That evil has been considered in its *hostile* attitude to the disciple (Mt **5** 38 ff); the question is now as to the disciple's free relations toward it. Jesus inculcates the duties of the disciple's bearing himself wisely toward evil—with charity, with caution, with prayer, in the spirit of ever doing as one would be done by—and of being on his guard against it. The temptation is great to follow the worldly crowd, to be misled by false teachers, to put profession for practice. Against these perils the disciple is energetically warned. True religion will ever be known by its fruits. The discourse closes with the powerful similitude of the wise and foolish builders. Again, as on an earlier occasion, Christ's auditors were astonished at His teaching, and at the authority with which He spoke (Mt **7** 28.29).

A series of remarkable incidents are next to be noticed.

2. Intervening Incidents

***a*) Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Mt 8:1.5–13; Lk 7:1–10)**

(1) The healing of the centurion's servant apparently took place on the same day as the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount (Lk **7** 1.2). It had been a day of manifold and exhausting labors for Jesus. A walk of perhaps 7 miles brought Him back to Capernaum, the crowds accompanying. Yet no sooner, on His return, does He hear a new appeal for help than His love replies, "I will come and heal him." The suppliant was a Rom centurion—one who had endeared himself to the Jews (Lk **7** 5)—and the request was for the healing of a favorite servant, paralyzed and tortured with pain. First, a deputation sought Christ's good offices, then, when Jesus was on the way, a second message came, awakening even Christ's astonishment by the magnitude of its faith. The centurion felt he was not worthy that Jesus should come under his roof, but let Jesus speak the word only, and his servant would be healed. "I have not found so great faith," Jesus said, "no, not in Israel." The word was spoken, and, on the return of the messengers, the servant was found healed.

***b*) The Widow of Nain's Son Raised (Lk 7:11–17)**

The exciting events of this day gathered so great a crowd round the house where Jesus was as left Him no leisure even to eat, and His friends, made anxious for His health, sought to restrain Him (Mk **3** 20.21). It was probably to escape from this local excitement that Jesus, "soon afterwards," is found at the little town of Nain, a few miles S.E. of Nazareth. A great multitude still followed Him. Here, as He entered the city, occurred the most wonderful of the works He had yet wrought. A young man—the only son of a widowed mother—was being carried out for burial. Jesus, in compassion, stopped the mournful procession, and, in the calm certainty of His word being obeyed, bade the young man arise. On the instant life returned, and Jesus gave the son back to his mother. The amazement of the people was tenfold intensified. They felt that the old days had come back: that God had visited His people.

It was apparently during the journey or circuit which embraced this visit to Nain, and as the result of the fame it brought to Jesus (Lk **7** 17.18; note the allusion to the dead being raised in Christ's reply to John), that the embassy was sent from the

Baptist in prison to ask of Jesus whether He was indeed He who should come, or would they look for another. It was a strange question on the lips of the forerunner, but is probably to be interpreted as the expression of perplexity rather than of actual doubt. There seems no question but that John's mind had been thrown into serious difficulty by the reports which had reached him of the work of Jesus. Things were not turning out as he expected. It was the peaceful, merciful character of Christ's work which stumbled John. The gloom of his prison wrought with his disappointment, and led him to send this message for the satisfaction of himself and his disciples.

c) Embassy of John's Disciples—Christ and His Generation (Mt 11:2–30; Lk 7:18–35)

(1) *Christ's answer to John.*—If doubt there was, Jesus treated it tenderly. He did not answer directly, but bade the two disciples who had been sent go back and tell John the things they had seen and heard—the blind receiving their sight, the lame walking, the deaf cured, the dead raised, the Gospel preached. Little doubt the Messiah had come when works like these—the very works predicted by the prophets (Isa **35** 5.6)—were being done. Blessed were those who did not find occasion of stumbling in Him. Jesus, however, did more. By his embassy John had put himself in a somewhat false position before the multitude. But Jesus would not have His faithful follower misjudged. His was no fickle spirit. Jesus nobly vindicated him as a prophet and more than a prophet; yea, a man than whom a greater had not lived. Yet, even as the new dispensation was higher than the old, one "but little" in the kingdom of heaven—one sharing Christ's humble, loving, self-denying disposition—was greater even than John (Mt **11** 11).

(2) *A perverse people—Christ's grace.*—The implied contrast between Himself and John led Jesus further to denounce the perverse spirit of His own generation. The Pharisees and lawyers (Lk **7** 30) had rejected John; they were as little pleased with Him. Their behavior was like children objecting to one game because it was merry, and to another because it was sad. The flood of outward popularity did not deceive Jesus. The cities in which His greatest works were wrought—Chorazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum—remained impenitent at heart. The heavier would be their judgment; worse even than that on Tyre and Sidon, or on Sodom itself. Over against their unbelief Jesus reasserts His dignity and declares His grace (Mt **11** 25–30). All authority was His; He alone knew and could reveal the Father (no claims in Jn are higher). Let the heavy laden come to Him, and He would give them rest (parts of these passages appear in another connection in Lk **10** 12–21).

d) The First Anointing—the Woman Who Was a Sinner (Lk 7:36–50)

Yet another beautiful incident connected with this journey is preserved by Lk—the anointing of Jesus in Simon's house by a woman who was a sinner. In Nain or some other city visited by Him, Jesus was invited to dine with a Pharisee named Simon. His reception was a cold one (vs 44–46). During the meal, a woman of the city, an outcast from respectable society—one, however, as the story implies, whose heart Jesus had reached, and who, filled with sorrow, love, shame, penitence, had turned from her life of sin, entered the chamber. There, bathing Christ's feet with her tears, wiping them with her tresses, and imprinting on them fervent kisses, she anointed them with a precious ointment she had brought with her. Simon was scandalized. Jesus could not be a right-thinking man, much less a prophet, or He would have rebuked this misbehavior from such a person. Jesus met the thought of Simon's heart by speaking to him the parable of the Two Debtors (vs 41.42). Of two men who had been freely forgiven, one 500, the other 50 shillings, which would love his creditor most? Simon gave the obvious answer, and the contrast between his own reception of Jesus and the woman's passionate love was immediately pointed out. Her greater love was due to the greater forgiveness; though, had Simon only seen it, he perhaps needed forgiveness even more than she. Her faith saved her and she was dismissed in peace. But again the question arose, "Who is this that even forgiveth sins?"

3. Second Galilean Circuit—Events at Capernaum (Lk 8:1–4. 19–21; Mt 12:22–50; Mk 3:22–35; cf Lk 11:14–36)

Luke introduces here (Lk **8** 1–4) a second Galilean circuit of Jesus, after the return from which a new series of exciting incidents took place at Capernaum.

a) Galilee Revisited (Lk 8:1–4)

The circuit was an extensive one—"went about through cities and villages [lit. "according to city and village"], preaching." During this journey Jesus was attended by the Twelve, and by devoted women (Mary Magdalene, Joanna, wife of Herod's steward, Susanna, and others), who ministered to Him of their substance (vs 2.3). At the close of this circuit Jesus returned to Capernaum.

b) Cure of Demoniac—Discourse on Blasphemy

Jesus, no doubt, wrought numerous miracles on demoniacs (cf Lk **8** 1.2; out of Mary Magdalene He is said to have cast 7 demons—perhaps a form of speech to indicate the severity of the possession). The demoniac now brought to Jesus was blind and dumb. Jesus cured him, with the double result that the people were filled with amazement: "Can this be the son of David?" (Mt **12** 23), while the Pharisees blasphemed, alleging that Jesus cast out demons by the help of Beelzebub (Gr *Beelzeboul*), the prince of the demons (see s.v.). A quite similar incident is narrated in Mt **9** 32–34; and Lk gives the discourse that follows in a later connection (**11** 14 ff). The accusation may well have been repeated more than once. Jesus, in reply, points out, first, the absurdity of supposing Satan to be engaged in warring against his own kingdom (Mt **18** 25 ff ||; here was plainly a stronger than Satan); then utters the momentous word about blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. All other blasphemies—even that against the Son of Man (Mt **12** 32)—may be forgiven, for they may proceed from ignorance and misconception; but deliberate, perverse rejection of the light, and attributing to Satan what was manifestly of God, was a sin which, when matured—and the Pharisees came perilously near committing it—admitted of no forgiveness, either in this world or the next, for the very capacity for truth in the soul was by such sin destroyed. Mk has the strong phrase, "is guilty of an eternal sin" (**3** 29). Pertinent words follow as to the root of good and evil in character (Mt **12** 33–37). See Blasphemy.

The sign of Jonah.—Out of this discourse arose the usual Jewish demand for a "sign" (Mt **12** 38; cf Lk **11** 29–32), which Jesus met by declaring that no sign would be given but the sign of the prophet Jonah—an allusion to His future resurrection. He reiterates His warning to the people of His generation for their rejection of greater light than had been enjoyed by the Ninevites and the Queen of Sheba.

Two incidents, not dissimilar in character, interrupted this discourse—one the cry of a woman in the audience (if the time be the same, Lk **11** 27. 28), "Blessed is the womb that bare thee," etc,

c) Christ's Mother and Brethren

to which Jesus replied, "Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it"; the other, a message that His mother and brethren (doubtless anxious for His safety) desired to speak with Him. To this, stretching out His hand toward His disciples, Jesus answered, "Behold, my mother and my brethren" (Mk **3** 34), etc. Kinship in the spiritual kingdom consists in fidelity to the will of God, not in ties of earthly relationship.

4. Teaching in Parables (Mt 13:1–52; Mk 4:1–34; Lk 8:4–15; 13:18–21)

On the same day on which the preceding discourses were delivered, Jesus, seeing the multitudes, passed to the shore, and entering a boat, inaugurated a new method in His public teaching. This was the speaking in parables. Similitude, metaphor, always entered into the teaching of Jesus (cf Mt **7** 24–27), and parable has once been met with (Lk **7** 41.42); now parable is systematically employed as a means of imparting and illustrating important truths, while yet veiling them from those whose minds were hostile and unreceptive (Mk **4** 10–12; Lk **8** 9.10). The parable thus at once reveals and conceals. The motive of this partially veiled teaching was the growing hostility of the Pharisees. In its nature the parable (from a verb signifying "to place side by side") is a representation in some form of earthly analogy of truths relating to Divine and eternal things (see PARABLE). The parables of the kingdom brought together in Mt **13** form an invaluable series, though not all were spoken in public (cf Mt **13** 36–52), and some may belong to a later occasion (cf Lk **13** 18–21). Mk adds the parable of the Seed Growing Secretly (**4** 26–29). Of three of the parables (the Sower, the Tares, the Dragnet), Jesus Himself gives the interpretation.

Parables of the kingdom.—In series the parables at once mirror the origin, mixed character and development of the kingdom in its present imperfect earthly condition, and the perfection which awaits it after the crisis at the end. In the parable of the Sower is represented the *origin* of the kingdom in the good seed of the word, and the varied soils on which that seed falls; in the Seed Growing Secretly, the law of *orderly growth* in the kingdom; in the parable of the Tares, the *mixed character* of the subjects of the kingdom; in those of the Mustard Seed and Leaven, the *progress* of the kingdom—external growth, internal transformative effect; in those of the Treasure and Pearl the finding and worth of the kingdom; in that of the Dragnet the *consummation* of the kingdom. Jesus compares His disciples, if they understand these things, to householders bringing out of their treasure "things new and old" (Mt **13** 52).

IV. From the Crossing to Gadara to the Mission of the Twelve—a Third Circuit.—It was on the evening of the day on which He spoke the parables—though the chronology of the incident seems unknown to Lk (**8** 22)—that Jesus bade His disciples cross over to the other side of the lake. At this juncture He was accosted by an aspirant for discipleship. Matthew gives two cases of aspirants; Luke (but in a different connection, **9** 57–62), three. Luke's connection (departure from Galilee) is perhaps preferable for the second and third; but the three may be considered together.

1. Crossing of the Lake—Stilling of the Storm (Mt 8:18–27; Mk 4:35–41; Lk 8:22–25; cf 9:57–62)

a) Aspirants for Discipleship

The three aspirants may be distinguished as, (*a*) The *forward* disciple: he who in an atmosphere of enthusiasm offered himself under impulse, without counting the cost. The zeal of this would-be follower Jesus checks with the pathetic words, "The foxes have holes," etc (Mt **8** 20; Lk **9** 58. (*b*) The *procrastinating* disciple. The first candidate needed repression; the second needs impulsion. He would follow Jesus, but *first* let him bury his father. There had come a crisis, however, when the Lord's claim was paramount: "Leave the dead to bury their own dead" (Mt **8** 22). There are at times higher claims than mere natural relationships, to which, in themselves, Jesus was the last to be indifferent. (*c*) The *wavering* disciple. The third disciple is again one who offers himself, but his heart was too evidently still with the things at home. Jesus, again, lays His finger on the weak spot, "No man, having put his hand to the plow, and looking back," etc (Lk **9** 62). As mentioned, the latter two cases tally better with a final departure from Galilee than with a temporary crossing of the lake.

b) The Storm Calmed

The inland lake was exposed to violent and sudden tempests. One of these broke on the disciples' boat as they sailed across. Everyone's life seemed in jeopardy. Jesus, meanwhile, in calmest repose, was asleep on a cushion in the stern (Mk **4** 38). The disciples woke Him almost rudely: "Teacher, carest thou not that we perish?" Jesus at once arose, and, reproving their want of faith, rebuked wind and waves ("Peace, be still"). Immediately there was a great calm. It was a new revelation to the disciples of the majesty of their Master. "Who then is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?"

2. The Gadarene (Gerasene) Demoniac (Mt 8:28–34; Mk 5:1–20; Lk 8:26–39)

The lake being crossed, Jesus and His disciples came into the country of the Gadarenes (Mt), or Gerasenes (Mk, Lk)—Gadara being the capital of the district (on the topography, cf Stanley, *Sinai and Pal*, 380–81). From the lake shore rises a mountain in which are ancient tombs. Here Jesus was met by a demoniac (Mt mentions two demoniacs: M. Henry's quaint comment is, "If there were two, there was one." Possibly one was the fiercer of the two, the other figuring only as his companion). The man, as described, was a raving maniac of the worst type (Mk **5** 3–5), dwelling in the tombs, wearing no clothes (Lk **8** 27), of supernatural strength, wounding himself, shrieking, etc. Really possessed by "an unclean spirit," his consciousness was as if he were indwelt by a "legion" of demons, and from that consciousness he addressed Jesus as the Son of God come for their tormenting. In what follows it is difficult to distinguish what belongs to the broken, incoherent consciousness of the man, and the spirit or spirits who spake through him. In the question, "What is thy name?" (Mk **5** 9) Jesus evidently seeks to arouse the victim's shattered soul to some sense of its own individuality. On Jesus commanding the unclean spirit to leave the man, the request was made that the demons might be permitted to enter a herd of swine feeding near. The reason of Christ's permission, with its result in the destruction of the herd ("rushed down the steep into the sea") need not be too closely scrutinized. It may have had an aspect of judgment on the (possibly) Jewish holders of the swine; or it may have had reference to the victim of the possession, as enabling him to realize his deliverance. Whatever the difficulties of the narrative, none of the rationalistic explanations afford any sensible relief from them. The object of the miracle may be to exclude rationalistic explanations, by giving a manifest attestation of the reality of the demon influence. When the people of the city came they found the man fully restored—"clothed and in his right mind." Yet, with fatal shortsightedness, they besought Jesus to depart from their borders. The man was sent home to declare to his friends the great things the Lord had done to him.

Repelled by the Gerasenes, Jesus received a warm welcome on His return to Capernaum on the western shore (Mk **5** 21). It was probably at this point that Matthew gave the feast formerly referred to.

3. Jairus' Daughter Raised—Woman with Issue of Blood (Mt 9:18–26; Mk 5:21–43; Lk 8:40–56)

a) Jairus' Appeal and Its Result

It was in connection with this feast, Matthew himself informs us (**9** 18), that Jairus, one of the rulers of the synagogue, made his appeal for help. His little daughter, about 12 years old (Lk **8** 42), was at the point of death; indeed, while Jesus was coming, she died. The ruler's faith, though real, was not equal to the centurion's, who believed that Jesus could heal without being present. Jesus came, and having expelled the professional mourners, in sacred privacy, only the father and mother, with Peter, James and John being permitted to enter the death-chamber, raised the girl to life. It is the second miracle on record of the raising from the dead.

b) The Afflicted Woman Cured

On the way to the ruler's house occurred another wonder—a miracle within a miracle. A poor woman, whose case was a specially distressing one, alike as regards the nature of her malady, the length of its continuance, and the fruitlessness of her application to the physicians, crept up to Jesus, confident that if she could but touch the border of His garment, she would be healed. The woman was ignorant; her faith was blended with superstition; but Jesus, reading the heart, gave her the benefit she desired. It was His will, however, that, for her own good, the woman thus cured should not obtain the blessing by stealth. He therefore brought her to open confession, and cheered her by His commendatory word.

4. Incidents of Third Circuit (Mt 9:27–38; 13:53–58; Mk 6:1–6)

At this point begins apparently a new evangelistic tour (Mt **9** 35; Mk **6** 6), extending methodically to "all the cities and villages." To it belong in the narratives the healing of two blind men (cf the case of Bartimaeus, recorded later); the cure of a demoniac who was dumb—a similar case to that in Mt **12** 22; and a second rejection at Nazareth (Mt, Mk). The incident is similar to that in Lk **4** 16–30, and shows, if the events are different, that the people's hearts were unchanged. Of this circuit Mt gives an affecting summary (**9** 35–38), emphasizing the Lord's compassion, and His yearning for more laborers to reap the abundant harvest.

5. The Twelve Sent Forth—Discourse of Jesus (Mt 10; Mk 6:7–13; Lk 9:1–6; cf Lk 10:2–24; 12:2–12, etc)

Partly with a view to the needs of the rapidly growing work and the training of the apostles, and partly as a witness to Israel (Mt **10** 6.23), Jesus deemed it expedient to send the Twelve on an independent mission. The discourse in Mt attached to this event seems, as frequently, to be a compilation. Parts of it are given by Luke in connection with the mission of the Seventy (Lk **10** 1 ff; the directions were doubtless similar in both cases); parts on other occasions (Lk **12** 2–12; **21** 12–17, etc; cf Mk **13** 9–13).

a) The Commission

The Twelve were sent out two by two. Their work was to be a copy of the Master's—to preach the gospel and to heal the sick. To this end they were endowed with authority over unclean spirits, and over all manner of sickness. They were to go forth free from all encumbrances—no money, no scrip, no changes of raiment, no staff (save that in their hand, Mk **6** 8), sandals only on their feet, etc. They were to rely for support on those to whom they preached. They were for the present to confine their ministry to Israel. The saying in Mt **10** 23, "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come," apparently has reference to the judgment on the nation, not to the final coming (cf **16** 28).

b) Counsels and Warnings

The mission of the Twelve was the first step of Christianity as an aggressive force in society. Jesus speaks of it, accordingly, in the light of the whole future that was to come out of it. He warns His apostles faithfully of the dangers that awaited them; exhorts them to prudence and circumspection ("wise as serpents," etc); holds out to them Divine promises for consolation; directs them when persecuted in one place to flee to another; points out to them from His own case that such persecutions were only to be expected. He assures them of a coming day of revelation; bids them at once fear and trust God; impresses on them the duty of courage in confession; inculcates in them supreme love to Himself. That love would be tested in the dearest relations. In itself peace, the gospel would be the innocent occasion of strife, enmity and division among men. Those who receive Christ's disciples will not fail of their reward.

When Christ had ended His discourse He proceeded with His own evangelistic work, leaving the disciples to inaugurate theirs (Mt **11** 1).

Second Period—After the Mission of the Twelve till the Departure from Galilee

1. The Murder of the Baptist and Herod's Alarms (Mt 14:1–12; Mk 6:14–29; Lk 9:7–9; cf 3:18–20)

I. From the Death of the Baptist till the Discourse on Bread of Life.—Shortly before the events now to be narrated, John the Baptist had been foully murdered in his prison by Herod Antipas at the instigation of Herodias, whose unlawful marriage with Herod John had unsparingly condemned. Jos gives as the place of the Baptist's imprisonment the fortress of Machaerus, near the Dead Sea (*Ant*, XVIII, v, 2); or John may have been removed to Galilee. Herod would ere this have killed John, but was restrained by fear of the people (Mt **14** 5). The hate of Herodias, however, did not slumber. Her relentless will contrasts with the vacillation of Herod, as Lady Macbeth in Shakespeare contrasts with Macbeth. A birthday feast gave her the opening she sought for. Her daughter Salome, pleasing Herod by her dancing, obtained from him a promise on oath to give her whatever she asked. Prompted by Herodias, she boldly demanded John the Baptist's head. The weak king was shocked, but, for his oath's sake, granted her what she craved. The story tells how the Baptist's disciples reverently buried the remains of their master, and went and told Jesus. Herod's conscience did not let him rest. When rumors reached him of a wonderful teacher and miracle-worker in Galilee, he leaped at once to the conclusion that it was John risen from the dead. Herod cannot have heard much of Jesus before. An evil conscience makes men cowards.

Another Passover drew near (Jn **6** 4), but Jesus did not on this occasion go up to the feast.

Returning from their mission, the apostles reported to Jesus what they had said and done (Lk **9** 10); Jesus had also heard of the Baptist's fate, and of Herod's fears, and now proposed to His disciples a retirement to a desert place across the

2. The Feeding of the Five Thousand (Mt 14:13–21; Mk 6:30–44; Lk 9:10–17; Jn 6:1–14)

lake, near Bethsaida (on the topography, cf Stanley, op. cit., 375, 381). As it proved, however, the multitudes had observed their departure, and, running round the shore, were at the place before them (Mk **6** 33). The purpose of rest was frustrated, but Jesus did not complain. He pitied the shepherdless state of the people, and went out to teach and heal them. The day wore on, and the disciples suggested that the fasting multitude should disperse, and seek victuals in the nearest towns and villages. This Jesus, who had already proved Philip by asking how the people should be fed (Jn **6** 5), would not permit. With the scanty provision at command—5 loaves and 2 fishes—He fed the whole multitude. By His blessing the food was multiplied till all were satisfied, and 12 baskets of fragments, carefully collected, remained over. It was a stupendous act of creative power, no rationalizing of which can reduce it to natural dimensions.

3. Walking on the Sea (Mt 14:22–33; Mk 6:45–52; Jn 6:15–21)

The enthusiasm created by this miracle was intense (Jn **6** 14). Mt and Mk relate (Lk here falls for a time out of the Synopsis) that Jesus hurriedly constrained His disciples to enter into their boat and recross the lake—this though a storm was gathering—while He Himself remained in the mountain alone in prayer. Jn gives the key to this action in the statement that the people were about to take Him by force and make Him a king (ver 15). Three hours after midnight found the disciples still in the midst of the lake, "distressed in rowing" (Mk **6** 48), deeply anxious because Jesus was not, as on a former occasion, with them. At last, at the darkest hour of their extremity, Jesus was seen approaching in a way unlooked-for—walking on the water. Every new experience of Jesus was a surprise to the disciples. They were at first terrified, thinking they saw a spirit, but straightway the well-known voice was heard, "Be of good cheer: it is I; be not afraid." In the rebound of his feelings the impulsive Peter asked Jesus to permit him to come to Him on the water (Mt). Jesus said "Come," and for the first moment or two Peter did walk on the water; then, as he realized his unwonted situation, his faith failed, and he began to sink. Jesus, with gentle chiding, caught him, and assisted him back into the boat. Once again the sea was calmed, and the disciples found themselves safely at land. To their adoring minds the miracle of the loaves was eclipsed by this new marvel (Mk **6** 52).

4. Gennesaret—Discourse on the Bread of Life (Mt 14:34–36; Mk 6:53–56; Jn 6:22–71)

On the return to Gennesaret the sick from all quarters were brought to Jesus—the commencement apparently of a new, more general ministry of healing (Mk **6** 56). Meanwhile—here we depend on Jn—the people on the other side of the lake, when they found that Jesus was gone, took boats hastily, and came over to Capernaum. They found Jesus apparently in the synagogue (ver 59). In reply to their query, "Rabbi, when camest thou hither?" Jesus first rebuked the motive which led them to follow Him—not because they had seen in His miracles "signs" of higher blessings, but because they had eaten of the loaves and were filled (ver 26)—then spoke to them His great discourse on the bread from heaven. "Work," He said, "for the food which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of man shall give unto you" (ver 27). When asked to authenticate His claims by a sign from heaven like the manna, He replied that the manna also (given not by Moses but by God) was but typical bread, and surprised them by declaring that He Himself was the true bread of life from heaven (vs 35.51). The bread was Christ's flesh, given for the life of the world; His flesh and blood must be eaten and drunk (a spiritual appropriation through faith, ver 63), if men were to have eternal life. Jesus of set purpose had put His doctrine in a strong, testing manner. The time had come when His hearers must make their choice between a spiritual acceptance of Him and a break with Him altogether. What He had said strongly offended them, both on account of the claims implied (ver 42), and on account of the doctrine taught, which, they were plainly told, they could not receive because of their carnality of heart (vs 43.44.61–64). Many, therefore, went back and walked no more with Him (vs 60.61.66); but their defection only evoked from the chosen Twelve a yet more confident confession of their faith. "Would ye also go away?"

Peter's first confession.—Peter, as usual, spoke for the rest: "Lord, to whom shall we go? . . . . We have believed and know that thou art the Holy One of God" (ver 69). Here, and not first at Caesarea Philippi (Mt **16** 16), is Peter's brave confession of his Master's Messiahship. Twelve thus confessed Him, but even of this select circle Jesus was compelled to say, "One of you [Judas] is a devil" (Jn **6** 70.71).

II. From Disputes with the Pharisees till the Transfiguration.—The discourse in Capernaum seems to mark a turning-point in the Lord's ministry in Galilee. Soon after we find Him ceasing from public teaching, and devoting Himself to the instruction of His apostles (Mt **15** 21; Mk **7** 24, etc).

1. Jesus and Tradition—Outward and Inward Purity (Mt 15:1–20; Mk 7:1–23)

Meanwhile, that Christ's work in Galilee was attracting the attention of the central authorities, is shown by the fact that scribes and Pharisees came up from Jerus to watch Him. They speedily found ground of complaint against Him in His unconventional ways and His total disregard of the traditions of the elders. They specially blamed Him for allowing His disciples to eat bread with "common," i.e. unwashen hands. Here was a point on which the Pharisees laid great stress (Mk **7** 3.4). Ceremonial ablutions (washing "diligently," Gr "with the fist"; "baptizings" of person and things) formed a large part of their religion. These washings were part of the "oral tradition" said to have been delivered to Moses, and transmitted by a succession of elders. Jesus set all this ceremonialism aside. It was part of the "hypocrisy" of the Pharisees (Mk **7** 6). When questioned regarding it, He drew a sharp distinction between God's commandment in the Scriptures and man's tradition, and accused the Pharisees (instancing **"Corban"** [q.v.], in support, vs 10–12) of making "void" the former through the latter. This led to the wider question of wherein real defilement consisted. Christ's rational position here is that it did not consist in anything outward, as in meats, but consisted in what came from within the man: as Jesus explained afterward, in the outcome of his heart or moral life: "Out of the heart of men evil thoughts proceed," etc (vs 20–23). Christ's saying was in effect the abrogation of the old ceremonial distinctions, as Mk notes: "making all meats clean" (ver 19). The Pharisees, naturally, were deeply offended at His sayings, but Jesus was unmoved. Every plant not of the Father's planting must be rooted up (ver 13).

From this point Jesus appears, in order to escape notice, to have made journeys privately from place to place. His first retreat was to the borders, or neighborhood, of Tyre and Sidon. From Mk **7** 31 it is to be inferred that He entered the heathen ter-

2. Retirement to Tyre and Sidon—the Syrophoenician Woman (Mt 15:21–28; Mk 7:24–30)

ritory. He could not, however, be hid (Mk **7** 24). It was not long ere, in the house into which He had entered, there reached Him the cry of human distress. A woman came to Him, a Greek (or Gentile, Greek-speaking), but Syrophoenician by race. Her "little daughter" was grievously afflicted with an evil spirit. Flinging herself at His feet, and addressing Him as "Son of David," she besought His mercy for her child. At first Jesus seemed—yet only *seemed*—to repel her, speaking of Himself as sent only to the lost sheep of Israel, and of the unmeetness of giving the children's loaf to the dogs (the Gr softens the expression, "the little dogs"). With a beautiful urgency which won for her the boon she sought, the woman seized on the word as an argument in her favor. "Even the dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs." The child at Jesus' word was restored.

3. At Decapolis—New Miracles (Mt 15:29–39; Mk 7:31–37; 8:1–10)

Christ's second retreat was to Decapolis—the district of the ten cities—E. of the Jordan. Here also He was soon discovered, and followed by the multitude. Sufferers were brought to Him, whom He cured (Mt **15** 30). Later, He fed the crowds.

a) The Deaf Man (Mk 7:32–37)

The miracle of the deaf man is attested only by Mk. The patient was doubly afflicted, being deaf, and having an impediment in his speech. The cure presents several peculiarities—its privacy (ver 33); the actions of Jesus in putting his fingers into his ears, etc (a mode of speech by signs to the deaf man); His "sign," accompanied with prayer, doubtless occasioned by something in the man's look; the word *Ephphathá* (ver 34)—"Be opened." The charge to those present not to blazon the deed abroad was disregarded. Jesus desired no cheap popularity.

b) Feeding of Four Thousand (Mt 15:32–39; Mk 8:1–9)

The next miracle closely resembles the feeding of the Five Thousand at Bethsaida, but the place and numbers are different; 4,000 instead of 5,000; 7 loaves and a few fishes, instead of 5 loaves and 2 fishes; 7 baskets of fragments instead of 12 (Mark's term denotes a larger basket). There is no reason for doubting the distinction of the incidents (cf Mt **16** 9.10; Mk **8** 19.20).

4. Leaven of the Pharisees, etc—Cure of Blind Man (Mt 16:1–12; Mk 8:11–26)

Returning to the plain of Gennesaret (Magdala, Mt **15** 39 AV; parts of Dalmanutha, Mk **8** 10), Jesus soon found Himself assailed by His old adversaries. Pharisees and Sadducees were now united. They came "trying" Jesus, and asking from Him a "sign from heaven"—some signal Divine manifestation. "Sighing deeply" (Mk) at their caviling spirit, Jesus repeated His word about the sign of Jonah. The times in which they lived were full of signs, if they, so proficient in weather signs, could only see them. To be rid of such questioners, Jesus anew took boat to Bethsaida. On the way He warned His disciples against the leaven of the spirit they had just encountered. The disciples misunderstood, thinking that Jesus referred to their forgetfulness in not taking bread (Mark states in his graphic way that they had only one loaf). The leaven Christ referred to, in fact, represented three spirits: (1) the Pharisaic leaven—formalism and hypocrisy; (2) the Sadducean leaven—rationalistic skepticism; (3) the Herodian leaven (Mk **8** 15)—political expediency and temporizing. Arrived at Bethsaida, a miracle was wrought on a blind man resembling in some of its features the cure of the deaf man at Decapolis. In both cases Jesus took the patients apart; in both physical means were used—the spittle ("spit on his eyes," Mk **8** 23); in both there was strict injunction not to noise the cure abroad. Another peculiarity was the *gradualness* of the cure. It is probable that the man had not been blind from his birth, else he could hardly have recognized men or trees at the first opening. It needed that Jesus should lay His hands on Him before he saw all things clearly.

5. At Caesarea Philippi—The Great Confession—First Announcement of Passion (Mt 16:13–28; Mk 8:27–30; Lk 9:18–27)

The next retirement of Jesus with His disciples was to the neighborhood of Caesarea Philippi, near the source of the Jordan. This was the northernmost point of His journeyings. Here, "on the geographical frontier between Judaism and heathenism" (Liddon), Our Lord put the momentous question which called forth Peter's historical confession.

(1) *The voices of the age and the external truth.*—The question put to the Twelve in this remote region was: "Who do men say that the Son of man is?" "Son of man," as already said, was the familiar name given by Jesus to Himself, to which a Messianic significance might or might not be attached, according to the prepossessions of His hearers. First the changeful voices of the age were recited to Jesus: "Some say John the Baptist; some, Elijah," etc. Next, in answer to the further question: "But who say ye that I am?" there rang out from Peter, in the name of all, the unchanging truth about Jesus: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." In clearness, boldness, decision, Peter's faith had attained a height not reached before. The confession embodies two truths: (1) the Divinity, (2) the Messiahship, of the Son of man. Jesus did honor to the confession of His apostle. Not flesh and blood, but the Father, had revealed the truth to him. Here at length was "rock" on which He could build a church. Reverting to Peter's original name, Simon Bar-Jonah, Jesus declared, with a play on the name "Peter" (*pétros*, "rock," "piece of rock") He had before given him (Jn **1** 42), that on this "rock" (*pétra*), He would build His church, and the gates of Hades (hostile evil powers) would not prevail against it (Mt **16** 18). The papacy has reared an unwarrantable structure of pretensions on this passage in supposing the "rock" to be Peter personally and his successors in the see of Rome (none such existed; Peter was not bishop of Rome). It is not Peter the individual, but Peter the confessing apostle—Peter as representative of all—that Christ names "rock"; that which constituted him a foundation was the truth he had confessed (cf Eph **2** 20). This is the first NT mention of a "church" (*ekklēsía*). The Christian church, therefore, is founded (1) on the truth of Christ's Divine Sonship; (2) on the truth of His Messiahship, or of His being the anointed prophet, priest and king of the new age. A society of believers confessing these truths is a church; no society which denies these truths deserves the name. To this confessing community Jesus, still addressing Peter as representing the apostolate (cf Mt **18** 18), gives authority to bind and loose—to admit and to exclude. Jesus, it is noted, bade His disciples tell no man of these things (Mt **16** 20; Mk **8** 30; Lk **9** 21).

(2) *The cross and the disciple.*—The confession of Peter prepared the way for an advance in Christ's teaching. From that time, Matthew notes, Jesus began to speak plainly of His approaching sufferings and death (**16** 21). There are in all three

solemn announcements of the Passion (Mt **16** 21–23; **17** 22.23; **20** 17–19 ‖). Jesus foresaw, and clearly foretold, what would befall Him at Jerus. He would be killed by the authorities, but on the third day would rise again. On the first announcement, following His confession, Peter took it upon him to expostulate with Jesus: "Be it far from thee, Lord," etc (Mt **16** 22), an action which brought upon him the stern rebuke of Jesus: "Get thee behind me, Satan," etc (ver 23). The Rock-man, in his fall to the maxims of a worldly expediency, is now identified with Satan, the tempter. This principle, that duty is only to be done when personal risk is not entailed, Jesus not only repudiates for Himself, but bids His disciples repudiate it also. The disciple, Jesus says, must be prepared to deny himself, and take up his cross. The cross is the symbol of anything distressing or painful to bear. There is a saving of life which is a losing of it, and what shall a man be profited if he gain the whole world, and forfeit his (true, higher) life? As, however, Jesus had spoken, not only of dying, but of rising again, so now He encourages His disciples by announcing His future coming in glory to render to every man according to His deeds. That final coming might be distant (cf Mt **24** 36); but (so it seems most natural to interpret the saying **16** 28 ‖) there were those living who would see the nearer pledge of that, in Christ's coming in the triumphs and successes of His kingdom (cf Mk **9** 1; Lk **9** 27; Mt **26** 64).

6. The Transfiguration—the Epileptic Boy (Mt 17:1–20; Mk 9:2–29; Lk 9:28–43)

About eight days after the announcement of His passion by Jesus, took place the glorious event of the transfiguration. Jesus had spoken of His future glory, and here was a pledge of it. In strange contrast with the scene of glory on the summit of the mountain was the painful sight which met Jesus and His three companions when they descended again to the plain.

a) The Glory of the Only Begotten

Tradition connects the scene of the transfiguration with Mount Tabor, but it more probably took place on one of the spurs of Mount Hermon. Jesus had ascended the mountain with Peter, James and John, for prayer. It was while He was praying the wonderful change happened. For once the veiled glory of the only begotten from the Father (Jn **1** 14) was permitted to burst forth, suffusing His person and garments, and changing them into a dazzling brightness. His face did shine as the sun; His raiment became white as light ("as snow," AV, Mk). Heavenly visitants, recognized from their converse as Moses and Elijah, appeared with Him and spoke of His decease (Lk). A voice from an enveloping cloud attested: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Little wonder the disciples were afraid, or that Peter in his confusion should stammer out: "It is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, I will make here three tabernacles [booths]." This, however, was not permitted. Earth is not heaven. Glimpses of heavenly glory are given, not to wean from duty on earth, but to prepare for the trials connected therewith.

b) Faith's Entreaty and Its Answer

The spectacle that met the eyes of Jesus and the chosen three as they descended was distressing in the extreme. A man had brought his epileptic boy—a sore sufferer and dumb—to the disciples to see if they could cast out the evil spirit that possessed him, but they were not able. Their failure, as Jesus showed, was a failure of faith; none the less did their discomfiture afford a handle to the gainsayers, who were not slow to take advantage of it (Mk **9** 14). The man's appeal was now to Jesus, "If thou canst do anything," etc (ver 22). The reply of Jesus shifted the "canst" to the right quarter, "If thou canst [believe]" (ver 23). Such little faith as the man had revived under Christ's word: "I believe; help thou mine unbelief." The multitude pressing around, there was no call for further delay. With one energetic word Jesus expelled the unclean spirit (ver 25). The first effect of Christ's approach had been to induce a violent paroxysm (ver 20); now the spirit terribly convulsed the frame it was compelled to relinquish. Jesus, taking the boy's hand, raised him up, and he was found well. The lesson drawn to the disciples was the omnipotence of faith (Mt **17** 19.20) and power of prayer (Mk **9** 28.29).

III. From Private Journey through Galilee till Return from the Feast of Tabernacles.—Soon after the last-mentioned events Jesus passed privately through Galilee (Mk **9** 30), returning later to Capernaum.

1. Galilee and Capernaum

a) Second Announcement of Passion (Mt 17:22.23; Mk 9:30–33; Lk 9:44.45)

During the Galilean journey Jesus made to His disciples His 2d announcement of His approaching sufferings and death, accompanied as before by the assurance of His resurrection. The disciples still could not take in the meaning of His words, though what He said made them "exceeding sorry" (Mt **17** 23).

b) The Temple Tax (Mt 17:24–27)

The return to Capernaum was marked by an incident which raised the question of Christ's relation to temple institutions. The collectors of tribute for the temple inquired of Peter: "Doth not your teacher pay the half-shekel?" (Gr *dídrachma*, or double drachm, worth about 32 cents or 1*s*. 4*d*.). The origin of this tax was in the half-shekel of atonement-money of Ex **30** 11–16, which, though a special contribution, was made the basis of later assessment (2 Ch **24** 4–10; in Nehemiah's time the amount was one-third of a shekel, Neh **10** 32), and its object was the upkeep of the temple worship (Schürer). The usual time of payment was March, but Jesus had probably been absent and the inquiry was not made for some months later. Peter, hasty as usual, probably reasoning from Christ's ordinary respect for temple ordinances, answered at once that He did pay the tax. It had not occurred to him that Jesus might have something to say on it, if formally challenged. Occasion therefore was taken by Jesus gently to reprove Peter. Peter had but recently acknowledged Jesus to be the Son of God. Do kings of the earth take tribute of their own sons? The half-shekel was suitable to the subject-relation, but not to the relation of a son. Nevertheless, lest occasion of stumbling be given, Jesus could well waive this right, as, in His humbled condition, He had waived so many more. Peter was ordered to cast his hook into the sea, and Jesus foretold that the fish he would bring up would have in its mouth the necessary coin (Gr *statēr*, about 64 cents or 2*s*. 8*d*.). The tax was paid, yet in such a way as to show that the payment of it was an act of condescension of the king's Son.

c) Discourse on Greatness and Forgiveness (Mt 18:1–35; Mk 9:33–50; Lk 9:46–50)

On the way to Capernaum a dispute had arisen among the disciples as to who should be greatest in the Messianic kingdom about to be set up. The fact of such disputing showed how largely even their minds were yet dominated by worldly, sensuous ideas of the kingdom. Now, in the house (Mk **9** 33), Jesus takes occasion to check their spirit of ambitious rivalry, and to inculcate much-needed lessons on greatness and kindred matters.

(1) *Greatness in humility.*—First, by the example of a little child, Jesus teaches that humility is the root-disposition of His kingdom. It alone admits to the kingdom, and conducts to honor in it. He is greatest who humbles himself most (Mt **18** 4), and is the servant of all (Mk **9** 35). He warns against slighting the "little ones," or causing them to stumble, and uses language of terrible severity against those guilty of this sin.

(2) *Tolerance.*—The mention of receiving little ones in Christ's name led John to remark that he had seen one casting out demons in Christ's name, and had forbidden him, because he was not of their company. "Forbid him not," Jesus said, "for there is no man who shall do a mighty work in my name, and be able quickly to speak evil of me. For he that is not against us is for us" (Mk **9** 39.40).

(3) *The erring brother.*—The subject of offences leads to the question of sins committed by one Christian brother against another. Here Christ inculcates kindness and forbearance; only if private representations and the good offices of brethren fail, is the matter to be brought before the church; if the brother repents he is to be unstintedly forgiven ("seventy times seven," Mt **18** 22). If the church is compelled to interpose, its decisions are valid (under condition, however, of prayer and Christ's presence, vs 18–20).

(4) *Parable of the Unmerciful Servant.*—To enforce the lesson of forgiveness Jesus speaks the parable of the Unmerciful Servant (Mt **18** 23–35). Himself forgiven much, this servant refuses to forgive his fellow a much smaller debt. His lord visits him with severest punishment. Only as we forgive others can we look for forgiveness.

2. The Feast of Tabernacles—Discourses, etc (Jn 7—10:21)

The Gospel of Jn leaves a blank of many months between chs **6** and **7**, covered only by the statement, "After these things, Jesus walked in Galilee" (**7** 1). In this year of His ministry Jesus had gone neither to the feast of the Passover nor to Pentecost. The Feast of Tabernacles was now at hand (October). To this Jesus went up, and Jn preserves for us a full record of His appearance, discourses and doings there.

a) **The Private Journey—Divided Opinions (Jn 7:1–10)**

The brethren of Jesus, still unpersuaded of His claims (ver 5), had urged Jesus to go up with them to the feast. "Go up," in their sense, included a public manifestation of Himself as the Messiah. Jesus replied that His time for this had not yet come. Afterward He went up quietly, and in the midst of the feast appeared in the temple as a teacher. The comments made about Jesus at the feast before His arrival vividly reflect the divided state of opinion regarding Him. "He is a good man," thought some. "Not so," said others, "but He leadeth the multitude astray." His teaching evoked yet keener division. While some said, "Thou hast a demon" (ver 20), others argued, "When the Christ shall come, will he do more signs?" etc (ver 31). Some declared, "This is of a truth the prophet," or "This is the Christ"; others objected that the Christ was to come out of Bethlehem, not Galilee (vs 40–42). Yet no one dared to take the step of molesting Him.

b) **The Test of Truth—Christ's Self-Witness; a Foiled Purpose (vs 14–52)**

Christ's wisdom and use of the Scriptures excited surprise. Jesus met this surprise by stating that His knowledge was from the Father, and with reference to the division of opinion about Him laid down the principle that knowledge of the truth was the result of the obedient will: "If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it is of God" (ver 17). It was objected that they knew who Jesus was, and whence He came. In a sense, Jesus replied, this was true; in a deeper sense, it was not. He came from the Father, whom they knew not (vs 28.29). The last and great day of the feast—the eighth (Nu **29** 35)—brought with it a new self-attestation. Jesus stood and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me . . . . from within him shall flow rivers of living water" (vs 37.38). The words are understood to have reference to the ceremony of pouring out a libation of water at this feast—the libation, in turn, commemorating the gift of water at the striking of the rock. The evangelist interprets the saying of the Spirit which believers should receive. Meanwhile, the chief priests and Pharisees had sent officers to apprehend Jesus (ver 32), but they returned without Him. "Why did ye not bring him?" The reply was confounding, "Never man so spake" (vs 45.46). The retort was the poor one, "Are ye also led astray?" In vain did Nicodemus, who was present, try to put in a moderating word (vs 50.51). It was clear to what issue hate like this was tending.

c) **The Woman Taken in Adultery—Continued Self-Witness (ch 8)**

The discourses at the feast are at this point interrupted by the episode of the woman taken in adultery (**8** 1–11), which, by general consent, does not belong to the original text of the Gospel. It is probably, however, an authentic incident, and illustrates, on the one hand, the eagerness of the official classes to find an accusation against Jesus, and, on the other, the Saviour's dignity and wisdom in foiling such attempts, His spirit of mercy and the action of conscience in the accusers. In His continued teaching, Jesus put forth even higher claims than in the foregoing discourse. As He had applied to Himself the water from the rock, so now He applied to Himself the symbolic meaning of the two great candelabra, which were lighted in the temple court during the feast and bore reference to the pillar of cloud and fire. "I am the light of the world," said Jesus (ver 12). Only a Divine being could put forth such a claim as that. The Jews objected that they had only His witness to Himself. Jesus replied that no other could bear adequate witness of Him, for He alone knew whence He came and whither He went (ver 14). But the Father also had borne witness of Him (ver 18). This discourse, delivered in the "treasury" of the temple (ver 20), was soon followed by another, no man yet daring to touch Him. This time Jesus warns the Jews of the fate their unbelief would entail upon them: "Ye shall die in your sins" (ver 24). Addressing Himself next specially to the Jews who believed in Him, He urged them to continuance in His word as the condition of true freedom. Resentment was again aroused at the suggestion that the Jews, Abraham's seed, were not free. Jesus made clear that the real bondage was that of sin; only the Son could make spiritually free (vs 34–36). Descent from Abraham meant nothing, if the spirit was of the devil (vs 39–41). A new conflict was provoked by the saying, "If a man keep my word, he shall never see death" (ver 51). Did Jesus make Himself greater than Abraham? The controversy that ensued resulted in the sublime utterance, "Before Abraham was born, I am" (ver 58). The Jews would have stoned Him, but Jesus eluded them, and departed.

The Feast of Tabernacles was past, but Jesus was still in Jerus. Passing by on a Sabbath (ver 14), He saw a blind man, a beggar (ver 8), well known to have been blind from his birth. The narrative of the cure and examination of this blind man is adduced by Paley as bearing in its inimitable circumstantiality every mark of personal knowledge on the part of the historian.

d) The Cure of the Blind Man (ch 9)

The man, cured in strange but symbolic fashion by the anointing of his eyes with clay (thereby apparently sealing them more firmly), then washing in the Pool of Siloam, became an object of immediate interest, and every effort was made by the Pharisees to shake his testimony as to the miracle that had been wrought. The man, however, held to his story, and his parents could only corroborate the fact that their son had been born blind, and now saw. The Pharisees themselves were divided, some reasoning that Jesus could not be of God because He had broken the Sabbath—the old charge; others, Nicodemus-like, standing on the fact that a man who was a sinner could not do such signs (vs 15.16). The healed man applied the logic of common-sense: "If this man were not from God, he could do nothing" (ver 33). The Pharisees, impotent to deny the wonder, could only cast him out of the synagogue. Jesus found him, and brought him to full confession of faith in Himself (vs 35–38).

e) The Good Shepherd (10:1–21)

Yet another address of Jesus is on record arising out of this incident. In continuation of His reply to the question of the Pharisees (**9** 40), "Are we also blind?" Jesus spoke to them His discourse on the Good Shepherd. Flocks in eastern countries are gathered at night into an inclosure surrounded by a wall or palisade. This is the "fold," which is under the care of a "porter," who opens the closely barred door to the shepherds in the morning. As contrasted with the legitimate shepherds, the false shepherds "enter not by the door," but climb over some other way. The allusion is to priests, scribes, Pharisees and generally to all, in any age, who claim an authority within the church unsanctioned by God (Godet). Jesus now gathers up the truth in its relation to Himself as the Supreme Shepherd. From His fundamental relation to the church, He is not only the Shepherd, but the Door (vs 7–14). To those who enter by Him there is given security, liberty, provision (ver 9). In his capacity as Shepherd Christ is preëminently all that a faithful shepherd ought to be. The highest proof of His love is that, as the Good Shepherd, He lays down His life for the sheep (vs 11.15.17). This laying down of His life is not an accident, but is His free, voluntary act (vs 17.18). Again there was division among the Jews because of these remarkable sayings (vs 19–21).

Chronological note.—Though John does not mention the fact, there is little doubt that, after this visit to Jerus, Jesus returned to Galilee, and at no long interval from His return, took His final departure southward. The chronology of this closing period in Galilee is somewhat uncertain. Some would place the visit to the Feast of Tabernacles before the withdrawal to Caesarea Philippi, or even earlier (cf Andrews, *Life of Our Lord*, etc); but the order adopted above appears preferable.

D. LAST JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM—JESUS IN PERAEA

Departure from Galilee

An interval of two months elapses between vs 21 and 22 in Jn **10**—from the Feast of Tabernacles (October) till the Feast of the Dedication (December). This period witnessed the final withdrawal of Jesus from Galilee. Probably while yet in Galilee He sent forth the seventy disciples to prepare His way in the cities to which He should come (Lk **10** 1). Repulsed on the borders of Samaria (Lk **9** 51–53), He passed over into Peraea ("beyond Jordan"), where he exercised a considerable ministry. The record of this period, till the entry into Jerus, belongs in great part to Luke, who seems to have had a rich special source relating to it (**9** 51—**19** 27). The discourses in Lk embrace many passages and sections found in other connections in Mt, and it is difficult, often, to determine their proper chronological place, if, as doubtless sometimes happened, portions were not repeated.

I. From Leaving Galilee till the Feast of the Dedication.—Conscious that He went to suffer and die,

1. Rejected by Samaria (Lk 9:51–55)

Jesus steadfastly set His face to go to Jerus. His route was first by Samaria —an opportunity of grace to that people—but here, at a border village, the messengers He sent before Him, probably also He Himself on His arrival, were repulsed, because of His obvious intention to go to Jerus (ver 53). James and John wished to imitate Elijah in calling down fire from heaven on the rejecters, but Jesus rebuked them for their thought (RV omits the reference to Elijah, and subsequent clauses, vs 55.56).

2. Mission of the Seventy (Lk 10:1–20)

In the present connection Luke inserts the incidents of the three aspirants formerly considered (**9** 57–62; cf p. 1645). It was suggested that the second and third cases may belong to this period.

A new and significant step was now taken by Jesus in the sending out of 70 disciples, who should go before Him, two by two, to announce His coming in the cities and villages He was about to visit. The number sent indicates how large a following Jesus had now acquired. (Some see a symbolical meaning in the number 70, but it is difficult to show what it is.) The directions given to the messengers are similar to those formerly given to the Twelve (**9** 1–5; cf Mt **10**); a passage also found in Mt in a different connection (**11** 21–24) is incorporated in this discourse, or had originally its place in it (vs 13–15). In this mission Jesus no longer made any secret of His Messianic character. The messengers were to proclaim that the kingdom of God was come nigh to them in connection with His impending visit (ver 9). The mission implies that a definite route was marked out by Jesus for Himself (cf **13** 22), but this would be subject to modification according to the reception of His emissaries (vs 10.11.16). The circuit need not have occupied a long time with so many engaged in it. The results show that it aroused strong interest. Later the disciples returned elated with their success, emphasizing their victory over the demons (ver 17). Jesus bade them rejoice rather that their names were written in heaven (ver 20). Again a passage is inserted (vs 21.22) found earlier in Mt (**11** 25–27; cf also vs 23.24, with Mt **13** 16.17).

Jesus had now passed "beyond the Jordan," i.e. into Peraea, and vast crowds waited on His teaching (cf Mt **19** 1 f; Mk **10** 1; Lk **12** 1).

3. The Lawyer's Question—Parable of Good Samaritan (Lk 10:25–37)

At one place a lawyer put what he meant to be a testing question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus referred him to the great commandments of love to God and one's neighbor, eliciting the further query, "And who is my neighbor?" In reply Jesus spoke to him the immortal parable of the Good Samaritan, and asked who proved neighbor to him who fell among the robbers. The lawyer could give but one answer, "He that showed mercy on him." "Go," said Jesus, "and do thou likewise."

The incident of Martha and Mary, which Luke inserts here (vs 38–42), comes in better later, when Jesus was nearer Bethany.

At this place Luke brings together a variety of discourses, warnings and exhortations, great parts of which have already been noticed in earlier contexts. It does not follow that Lk has not,

4. Discourses, Parables, and Miracles (Lk chs 11–14)

in many cases, preserved the original connection. This is probably the case with the Lord's Prayer (**11** 1–4), and with portions of what Mt includes in the Sermon on the Mount (e.g. **11** 9–13.33–36; **12** 22–34; cf **13** 24–27 with Mt **7** 13.14.22.23), and in other discourses (e.g. **11** 42–52 = Mt **23** 23–36; **12** 2–12 = Mt **10** 26–33; **12** 42–48 = Mt **24** 45–51; **13** 18–21, parables of Mustard Seed and Leaven = Mt **13** 31.32, etc).

a) Original to Luke

Of matter original to Lk in these chs may be noted such passages as that on the Friend at Midnight (**11** 5–8), the incident of the man who wished Jesus to bid his brother divide his inheritance with him, to whom Jesus spoke the parable of the Rich Fool (**12** 13–21), the parable of the Barren Fig Tree, called forth by the disposition to regard certain Galileans whom Pilate had slain in a tumult at the temple, and eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam had fallen, as sinners above others (**13** 1–9: "Nay," said Jesus, "but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish"), and most of the teaching in ch **14**, referred to below. In **11** 37.38, we have the mention of a Pharisee inviting Jesus to dine, and of his astonishment at the Lord's neglect of the customary ablutions before eating. Ver 53 gives a glimpse of the fury to which the scribes and Pharisees were aroused by the severity of Christ's denunciations. They "began to press upon him vehemently . . . . laying wait for him, to catch something out of his mouth." In **13** 31 ff it is told how the Pharisees sought to frighten Jesus from the district by telling Him that Herod would fain kill Him. Jesus bade them tell that "fox" that His work would go on uninterruptedly in the brief space that remained ("day" used enigmatically) till He was "perfected" (ver 32). The woe on Jerus (vs 34.35) is given by Mt in the discourse in ch **23**.

b) The Infirm Woman—the Dropsied Man

Of the miracles in this section, the casting out of the demon that was dumb (**11** 14 ff) is evidently the same incident as that already noted in Mt **12** 22 ff. Two other miracles are connected with the old accusation of Sabbath breaking. One was the healing in a synagogue on the Sabbath day of a woman bowed down for 18 years with "a spirit of infirmity" (**13** 10–17); the other was the cure on the Sabbath of a man afflicted with dropsy at a feast in the house of a ruler of the Pharisees to which Jesus had been invited (**14** 1–6). The motive of the Pharisee's invitation, as in most such cases, was hostile (ver 1). In both instances Jesus met the objection in the same way, by appealing to their own acts of humanity to their animals on the Sabbath (**13** 15.16; **14** 5).

c) Parable of the Great Supper

This feast at the Pharisee's house had an interesting sequel in the discourse it led Jesus to utter against vainglory in feasting, and on the spirit of love which would prompt to the table being spread for the helpless and destitute rather than for the selfish enjoyment of the select few, closing, in answer to a pious ejaculation of one of the guests, with the parable of the Great Supper (**14** 7–24). The parable, with its climax in the invitation to bring in the poor, and maimed, and blind, and those from the highways and hedges, was a commentary on the counsels He had just been giving, but it had its deeper lesson in picturing the rejection by the Jews of the invitation to the feast God had made for them in His kingdom, and the call that would be given to the Gentiles to take their place.

d) Counting the Cost

The injunctions to the multitudes as to the sacrifice and cross-bearing involved in discipleship are pointed by the examples of a man building a tower, and a king going to war, who count the cost before entering on their enterprises (vs 25–35).

5. Martha and Mary

At or about this time—perhaps before the incidents in Lk **14**—Jesus paid the visit to Jerus at the Feast of the Dedication described in Jn **10** 22–39. This seems the fitting place for the introduction of the episode of Martha and Mary which Luke narrates a little earlier (**10** 38–42). The "village" into which Jesus entered was no doubt Bethany (Jn **11** 1). The picture given by Luke of the contrasted dispositions of the two sisters—Martha active and "serving" (cf Jn **12** 2), Mary retiring and contemplative—entirely corresponds with that in Jn. Martha busied herself with preparations for the meal; Mary sat at Jesus' feet, and heard His word. To Martha's complaint, as if her sister were idling, Jesus gave the memorable answer, "One thing is needful: for Mary hath chosen the good part," etc (Lk **10** 42).

6. Feast of the Dedication (Jn 10: 22–39)

The Feast of the Dedication, held in December, was in commemoration of the cleansing of the temple and restoration of its worship after its profanation by Antiochus Epiphanes (164 BC). Great excitement was occasioned by the appearance of Jesus at this feast, and some asked, "How long dost thou hold us in suspense? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly." Jesus said He had told them, and His works attested His claim, but they were not of His true flock, and would not believe. To His own sheep He gave eternal life. The Jews anew wished to stone Him for claiming to be God. Jesus replied that even the law called the judges of Israel "gods" (Ps **82** 6, "I said, Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High"): how could it then be blasphemy for Him whom the Father had sanctified and sent into the world to say of Himself, "I am the Son of God"? The Jews sought to take Him, but He passed from their midst.

II. From the Abode at Bethabara till the Raising of Lazarus.—After leaving Jerus Jesus went beyond Jordan again to the place where John at first baptized (Jn **10** 40; cf **1** 28, called in AV "Bethabara," in RV "Bethany," distinct from the Bethany of ch **11**). There He "abode," implying a prolonged stay, and many resorted to Him. This spot, sacred to Jesus by His own baptism, may be regarded now as His headquarters from which excursions would be made to places in the neighborhood. Several of the incidents recorded by Luke are probably connected with this sojourn.

1. Parables of Lost Sheep, Lost Piece of Silver, Prodigal Son (Lk 15)

The stronger the opposition of scribes and Pharisees to Jesus became, the more by natural affinity did the classes regarded as outcast feel drawn to Him. He did not repel them, as the Pharisees did, but ate and drank with them. Publicans and sinners gathered to His teaching, and He associated with them. The murmuring was great: "This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them." The defence of Jesus was in parables, and the Pharisees' reproach may be thanked for three of the most beautiful parables Jesus ever spoke—the Lost Sheep (cf Mt **18** 12–14), the Lost Piece of Silver, and the Prodigal Son (ch **15**). Why does the shepherd rejoice more over the one lost sheep brought back than over the ninety-nine that have not gone astray? Why does the woman rejoice more over the recovery of her lost *drachma* than over all the coins safe in her keeping? Why does the father rejoice more over the prodigal son come back in rags and penitence from the far country than over the obedient but austere brother that had never left the home? The stories were gateways into the inmost heart of God. There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth more than over ninety-nine just persons that need no repentance (ver 7).

2. Parables of the Unjust Steward, the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk 16)

Two other parables, interspersed by discourses (in part again met with in other connections, cf **16** 13 with Mt **6** 24; ver 16 with Mt **11** 12; ver 18 with Mt **5** 32; **19** 9, etc), were spoken at this time—that of the Unjust Steward (**16** 1–9) and that of the Rich Man and Lazarus (vs 19–31). The dishonest steward, about to be dismissed, utilized his opportunities, still dishonestly, to make friends of his master's creditors; let the "children of light" better his example by *righteously* using mammon to make friends for themselves, who shall receive them into everlasting habitations. The rich man, pampered in luxury, let the afflicted Lazarus starve at his gate. At death—in Hades—the positions are reversed: the rich man is in torment, stripped of all he had enjoyed; the poor man is at rest in Abraham's bosom, compensated for all he suffered. It is character, not outward estate, that determines destiny. The unmerciful are doomed. Even a messenger from the unseen world will not save men, if they hear not Moses and the prophets (ver 31).

In this connection Lk (**17** 1–10) places exhortations to the disciples on occasions of stumbling, forgiveness, the power of faith, renunciation of merit ("We are unprofitable servants"), some of which are found elsewhere (cf Mt **18** 6.7.15.21, etc).

3. The Summons to Bethany—Raising of Lazarus (Jn 11)

While Jesus was in the trans-Jordanic Bethabara, or Bethany, or in its neighborhood, a message came to Him from the house of Martha and Mary in the Judaean Bethany (on the Mount of Olives, about 2 miles E. from Jerus), that His friend Lazarus ("he whom thou lovest") was sick. The conduct of Jesus seemed strange, for He abode still two days where He was (Jn **11** 6). As the sequel showed, this was only for the end of a yet more wonderful manifestation of His power and love, to the glory of God (ver 4). Meanwhile Lazarus died, and was buried. When Jesus announced His intention of going into Judaea, the disciples sought hard to dissuade Him (ver 8); but Jesus was not moved by the fears they suggested. He reached Bethany (a distance of between 20 and 30 miles) on the fourth day after the burial of Lazarus (ver 17), and was met on the outskirts by Martha, and afterward by Mary, both plunged in deepest sorrow. Both breathed the same plaint: "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died" (vs 21.32). To Martha Jesus gave the pledge, "Thy brother shall rise again," strengthening the faith she already had expressed in Him (ver 22) by announcing Himself as "the resurrection, and the life" (vs 25.26); at Mary's words He was deeply moved, and asked to be taken to the tomb. Here, it is recorded, "Jesus wept" (ver 35), the only other instance of His weeping in the Gospels being as He looked on lost Jerus (Lk **19** 41). The proof of love was manifest, but some, as usual, suggested blame that this miracle-worker had not prevented His friend's death (ver 37). Arrived at the rock-tomb, Jesus, still groaning in Himself, caused the stone at its mouth to be removed, and, after prayer, spoke with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth" (ver 43). The spirit returned, and the man who had been dead came forth bound with his grave-clothes. He was released and restored to his sisters.

Even this mighty deed did not alter the mind of the Pharisees, who held a council, and decided, on the advice of Caiaphas (ver 50), that for the safety of the nation it was "expedient" that this man should die.

The circumstantiality of this beautiful narrative speaks irresistibly for its historical truth, and the objections raised by critical writers center really in their aversion to the miraculous as such.

III. From the Retirement to Ephraim till the Arrival at Bethany.—The hostility of the ruling classes was now so pronounced that, in the few weeks that remained till Jesus should go up to the Passover, He deemed it advisable to abide in privacy at a city called Ephraim (situation uncertain). That He was in secrecy during this period is implied in the statement (ver 57) that if anyone knew where He was, he was to inform the chief priests and Pharisees.

1. Retreat to Ephraim (Jn 11:54–57)

2. The Journey Resumed

The retirement would be for Jesus a period of preparation for the ordeal before Him, as the wilderness had been for the commencement of His ministry. On His leaving this retreat to resume His advance to Jerus the narratives again become rich in incident and teaching.

3. Cure of the Lepers (Lk 17: 11–19)

It is not easy to define the route which brought Jesus again to the border line between Samaria and Galilee (Lk **17** 11), but, in traversing this region, He was met by ten lepers, who besought Him for a cure. Jesus bade them go and show themselves to the priests, and on the way they were cleansed. Only one of the ten, and he a Samaritan, returned to give thanks and glorify God. Gratitude appeared in the unlikely quarter.

4. Pharisaic Questionings

a) Divorce (Mt 19:3–12; Mk 10: 1–12)

At some point in this journey the Pharisees sought to entrap Jesus on the question of divorce. Was it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? (Mt **19** 3). Jesus in reply admitted the permission to divorce given by Moses (Mk **10** 3–5), but declared that this was for the hardness of their hearts, and went back to the original institution of marriage in which the two so joined were declared to be "one flesh." Only one cause is admissible as a ground of separation and remarriage (Mt **19** 9; cf **5** 31.32; Mk has not even the exception, which is probably, however, implied). Comments follow to the disciples in Mt on the subject of continence (vs 10–12). See DIVORCE.

b) Coming of the Kingdom (Lk 17: 20–37)

Another question asked by the Pharisees of Jesus was as to when the kingdom of God should come. The expectation excited by His own ministry and claims was that it was near; when should it appear? Rebuking their worldly ideas, Jesus warned them that the kingdom did not come "with observation"—was not a "Lo, there! Lo, here!"; it was "within" them, or "in their midst," though they did not perceive it. In the last decisive coming of the Son of Man there would be no dubiety as to His presence (vs 24.25). He adds exhortations as to the suddenness of His coming, and the separations that would ensue (vs 26–37), which Mt gives as part of the great discourse on the Last Things in ch **24**.

c) Parable of the Unjust Judge (Lk 18:1–8)

In close connection with the foregoing, as furnishing the ground for the certainty that this day of the Son of Man would come, Jesus spoke the parable of the Unjust Judge. This judge, though heedless of the claims of right, yet yielded to the widow's importunity, and granted her justice against her adversary. How much more surely will the righteous, long-suffering

God avenge His own elect, who cry unto Him day and night (vs 7.8)! Yet men, in that supreme hour, will almost have lost faith in His coming (ver 8).

A series of sayings and incidents at this time throw light upon the spirit of the kingdom.

5. The Spirit of the Kingdom

a) Parable of Pharisee and Publican (Lk 18:9–14)

The spirit of self-righteousness is rebuked and humble penitence as the condition of acceptance is enforced in the parable of the Pharisee and Publican. The Pharisee posing in his self-complacency at his fastings and tithes, and thanking God for his superiority to others, is set in vivid contrast to the abased publican, standing afar off, and able only to say, "God, be thou merciful to me a sinner" (ver 13). Yet it was he who went down to his house "justified" (ver 14).

b) Blessing of the Babes (Mt 19:13–15; Mk 10:13–16; Lk 18:15–17)

A similar lesson is inculcated in the beautiful incident of the blessing of the babes. The disciples rebuked the mothers for bringing their little ones, but Jesus, "moved with indignation" (Mk), received and blessed the babes, declaring that to such (to them and those of like spirit) belonged the kingdom of heaven. "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me," etc.

c) The Rich Young Ruler (Mt 19:16–30; Mk 10:17–31; Lk 18:18–30)

A third illustration—this time of the peril of covetousness—is afforded by the incident of the rich young ruler. This amiable, blameless, and evidently sincere young man ("Jesus looking upon him loved him," Mk **10** 21) knelt, and addressing Jesus as "Good Teacher," asked what he must do to inherit eternal life. Jesus first declined the term "good," in the easy, conventional sense in which it was applied, then referred the ruler to the commandments as the standard of doing. All these, however, the young man averred he had observed from his youth up. He did not know himself. Jesus saw the secret hold his riches had upon his soul, and revealed it by the searching word, "If thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell that which thou hast," etc (Mt **19** 21; cf Mk, "One thing thou lackest," etc). This was enough. The young man could not yield up his "great possessions," and went away sorrowing. Jesus bases on his refusal earnest warnings against the love of riches, and points out, in answer to a question of Peter, that loss for His sake in this life is met with overwhelmingly great compensations in the life to come.

6. Third Announcement of the Passion (Mt 20:17–19; Mk 10:32–34; Lk 18:31–33)

Not unconnected with the foregoing teachings is the third solemn announcement to the disciples, so hard to be persuaded that the kingdom was not immediately to be set up in glory, of His approaching sufferings and death, followed by resurrection. The disciples had been "amazed" and "afraid" (Mk) at something strange in the aspect and walk of Jesus as they were on the way, going to Jerus (cf Lk **9** 51). His words gave the explanation. With them should be taken what is said in a succeeding incident of His baptism of suffering (Mk **10** 38.39; cf Lk **12** 50).

7. The Rewards of the Kingdom

The spirit of the kingdom and sacrifice for the kingdom have already been associated with the idea of reward, but the principles underlying this reward are now made the subject of special teaching.

First by the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard the lesson is inculcated that reward in the kingdom is not according to any legal rule, but is governed by a Divine equity, in accordance with which the last may often be equal to, or take precedence of, the first.

a) Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Mt 20:1–17)

The laborers were hired at different hours, yet all at the end received the same wage. The murmuring at the generosity of the householder of those who had worked longest betrayed a defectiveness of spirit which may explain why they were not more highly rewarded. In strictness, the kingdom is a gift of grace, in the sum total of its blessings one and the same to all.

b) The Sons of Zebedee (Mt 20:20–28; Mk 10:35–45)

Still there are distinctions of honor in God's kingdom, but these are not arbitrarily made. This is the lesson of the reply of Jesus to the plea of the mother of the sons of Zebedee, James and John, with, apparently, the concurrence of the apostles themselves, that they might sit one on the right hand and the other on the left hand in His kingdom. It was a bold and ambitious request, and naturally moved the indignation of the other apostles. Still it had its ground in a certain nobility of spirit. For when Jesus asked if they were able to drink of His cup and be baptized with His baptism, they answered, "We are able." Jesus told them they should share that lot of suffering, but to sit on His right hand and on His left were not favors that could be arbitrarily bestowed, but would be given to those for whom it had been prepared of His Father—the preparation having regard to character and fitness, of which the Father alone was judge. Jesus went on to rebuke the spirit which led one to seek prominence over another, and laid down the essential law, "Whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister," enforcing it by His own never-to-be-forgotten example, "Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mt **20** 28; Mk **10** 45).

8. Jesus at Jericho

Accompanied by a great throng, possibly of pilgrims to the feast, Jesus drew near to the influential city of Jericho, in the Jordan valley, about 17 miles distant from Jerus. Here two notable incidents marked His progress.

a) The Cure of Bartimaeus (Mt 20:29–34; Mk 10:46–52; Lk 18:35–43)

As they approached the city (Lk) (Mt and Mk place the incident as they "went out") a blind beggar, Bartimaeus, hearing that "Jesus the Nazarene" (Mk) passed by, loudly called on Him as the "Son of David" to have mercy on him. The multitude would have restrained the man, but their rebukes only made him the more urgent in his cries. Jesus stopped in His way, called the blind man to Him, then, when he came, renewing his appeal, healed him. The cry of the beggar shows that the Davidic descent, if not the Messiahship, of Jesus was now known. Mt varies from the other evangelists in speaking of "two blind men," while Mt and Mk, as noted, make the cure take place on leaving, not on entering the city. Not improbably there are two healings, one on entering Jericho, the other on going from the city, and Matthew, after his fashion, groups them together (Luke's language is really indefinite; lit. "as they were near to Jericho").

b) Zacchaeus the Publican (Lk 19:1–10)

The entrance of Jesus into Jericho was signalized by a yet more striking incident. The chief collector of revenue in the city was Zacchaeus, rich, but held in opprobrium ("a sinner") because of his occupation. Being little of stature, Zacchaeus had climbed into the branches of a sycomore tree to see Jesus as He passed. To his amazement, and that of the crowd, Jesus stopped on His way, and called Zacchaeus by name to hasten to come down, for that day He must abide at his house. Zacchaeus joyfully received Him, and, moved to a complete change in his views of duty, declared his purpose of giving half his goods to the poor, and of restoring fourfold anything he might have taken by false accusation. It was a revolution in the man's soul, wrought by love. "Today," Jesus testified, "is salvation come to this house. . . . . For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost."

c) Parable of the Pounds (Lk 19:11–27)

The expectations of the multitude that the kingdom of God should immediately appear led Jesus to speak the parable of the Pounds, forewarning them that the consummation they looked for might be longer delayed than they thought, and impressing on them the need of loyalty, faithfulness and diligence, if that day, when it came, was not to prove disastrous to them. The nobleman went into a "far country" to receive a kingdom, and his ten servants were to trade with as many pounds (each = 100 drachmas) in his absence. On his return the faithful servants were rewarded in proportion to their diligence; the faithless one lost what he had; the rebellious citizens were destroyed. Thus Jesus foreshadowed the doom that would overtake those who were plotting against Him, and checked hopes that disregarded the moral conditions of honor in His kingdom.

Arrival at Bethany.—From Jericho Jesus moved on to Bethany, the abode of Lazarus and his sisters. To His halt here before His public entrance into Jerus the next events belong.

E. THE PASSION WEEK—BETRAYAL, TRIAL AND CRUCIFIXION

Importance of the Last Events

We reach now the closing week and last solemn events of the earthly life of Jesus. The importance attached to this part of their narratives is seen by the space the evangelists devote to it. Of the Gospels of Mt and Mk fully one-third is devoted to the events of the Passion Week and their sequel in the resurrection; Luke has several chs; John gives half his Gospel to the same period. It is obvious that in the minds of the evangelists the crucifixion of Jesus is the pivot of their whole narrative—the *dénouement* to which everything tends from the first.

1. The Chronology

I. The Events Preceding the Last Supper.—The arrival in Bethany is placed by John "six days before the Passover" (**12** 1). Assuming that the public entry into Jerus took place on the Sunday, and that the 14th of Nisan fell on the following Thursday, this would lead to the arrival being placed on the Friday or Saturday preceding, according to the mode of reckoning. It is in the highest degree unlikely that Jesus would journey from Jericho on the Jewish Sabbath; hence He may be supposed to have arrived on the Friday evening. The supper at which the anointing by Mary took place would be on the Saturday (Sabbath) evening. Mt and Mk connect it with events two days before the Passover (Mt **26** 2; Mk **14** 1), but parenthetically, in a way which leaves the other order open.

2. The Anointing at Bethany (Mt 26:6–13; Mk 14:3–9; Jn 12:1–9)

This beautiful deed occurred at a supper given in honor of Jesus at the house of one Simon, a leper (Mt and Mk)—probably cured by Jesus—at which Martha, Mary and Lazarus were guests. Martha aided in serving (Jn **12** 2). In the course of the meal, or at its close, Mary brought a costly box of nard (valued by Judas at "300 shillings," about $50, or £10; cf ARVm on Jn **6** 7), and with the perfume anointed the head (Mt, Mk) and feet (Jn) of Jesus, wiping His feet with her hair (Mt and Mk, though not mentioning the "feet," speak of the "body" of Jesus). Indignation, instigated by Judas (Jn), was at once awakened at what was deemed wanton waste. How much better had the money been given to the poor! Jesus vindicated Mary in her loving act—a prophetic anointing for His burial—and declared that wherever His gospel went, it would be spoken of for a memorial of her. It is the hearts from which such acts come that are the true friends of the poor. The chief priests were only the further exasperated at what was happening, and at the interest shown in Lazarus, and plotted to put Lazarus also to death (Jn **12** 10).

3. The Entry into Jerusalem (Mt 21:1–11; Mk 11:1–11; Lk 19:29–44; Jn 12:12–19)

On the day following—Palm Sunday—Jesus made His public entry as Messiah into Jerus. All the evangelists narrate this event. The Mount of Olives had to be crossed from Bethany, and Jesus sent two disciples to an adjacent village—probably Bethphage (this seems to have been also the name of a district)—where an ass and its colt would be found tied. These they were to bring to Him, Jesus assuring them of the permission of the owners. Garments were thrown over the colt, and Jesus seated Himself on it. In this humble fashion (as Mt and Jn note, in fulfilment of prophecy, Zec **9** 9), He proceeded to Jerus, from which a multitude, bearing palm branches, had already come out to meet Him (Jn). Throngs accompanied Him, going before and after; these, spreading their garments, and strewing branches in the way, hailed Him with hosannas as the Son of David, the King of Israel, who came in the name of the Lord. Very different were the feelings in the breasts of the Pharisees. "Behold," they said, "how ye prevail nothing; lo, the world is gone after him" (Jn **12** 19). They bade Jesus rebuke His disciples, but Jesus replied that if they were silent, the very stones would cry out (Lk **19** 40).

Jesus weeping over Jerusalem—return to Bethany.—One incident in this progress to Jerus is related only by Lk (**19** 41–44). As at a bend in the road Jerus became suddenly visible, Jesus paused and wept over the city, so blind to its day of visitation, and so near to its awful doom. Not His own sufferings, but the thought of Jerusalem's guilt and woes, filled Him with anguish. On reaching the city, Mark's testimony is explicit that He did no more than enter the temple, and 'look round on all things' (**11** 11). Then eventide having come, He returned to Bethany with the Twelve.

4. Cursing of the Fig Tree—Second Cleansing of Temple 21:12–22; Mk 11:12–26; Lk 19:45–48)

The morning of Monday found Jesus and His disciples again on their way to the city. Possibly the early hours had been spent by Jesus in solitary prayer, and, as they went, it is recorded that "he hungered." A fig tree from which, from its foliage, fruit might have been expected, stood invitingly by the wayside, but when Jesus approached it, it was found to have nothing but leaves—a striking symbol of the outwardly religious, but spiritually barren Jewish community. And in this sense Jesus used it in pronouncing on it the word of doom, "No man eat fruit from thee henceforward for ever" (Mk). Next morning (Tuesday), as the disciples passed, the tree was found withered from the roots. Mt combines the events of the cursing and the withering, placing both on the second day, but Mk more accurately distinguishes them. Jesus used the surprise of the disciples as the occasion of a lesson on the omnipotence of faith, with added counsels on prayer.

Were there two cleansings?—Pursuing His journey on the first morning, Jesus reached the temple, and there, as His first act, is stated by Mt and Mk to have cleansed the temple of the traders. It is a difficult question whether this is a second cleansing, or the same act as that recorded by John at the beginning of the ministry (Jn **2** 13–22; see above), and here narrated out of its chronological order. The acts are at least quite similar in character and significance. In favor of a second cleansing is the anger of the priests and scribes (Mk **11** 18; Lk **19** 47), and their demand next day for His authority. No other incidents are recorded of this visit to the temple, except the healing of certain blind and lame, and the praises of the children, "Hosanna to the son of David"—an echo of the previous day's proceedings (Mt **21** 14–16). In the evening He went back to Bethany.

5. The Eventful Tuesday

Far different is it with the third day of these visits of Jesus to the temple—the Tuesday of the Passion Week. This is crowded with parables, discourses, incidents, so numerous, impressive, tragical, as to oppress the mind in seeking to grasp how one short day could embrace them all. It was the last day of the appearance of Jesus in the temple (Jn **12** 36), and marks His final break with the authorities of the nation, on whom His words of denunciation (Mt **23**) fell with overwhelming force. The thread of the day's proceedings may thus be briefly traced.

a) The Demand for Authority—Parables (Mt 21:23—22:14; Mk 11:27—12:12; Lk 20:1–18)

On His first appearance in the temple on the Tuesday morning, Jesus was met by a demand from the chief priests, scribes and elders (representatives of the Sanhedrin), for the authority by which He acted as He did. Jesus met them by a counter-question, "The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men?" The dilemma was obvious. If John was Divinely accredited, why did they not accept his testimony to Jesus? Yet they feared to say his mission was of men, for John was universally esteemed a prophet. They could therefore only lamely reply: "We cannot tell" (AV). Matters had now come to an issue, and Jesus, reverting to the method of parable, set forth plainly their sin and its results to themselves and others.

The Two Sons—the Wicked Husbandmen—the Marriage of the King's Son.—The parables spoken on this occasion were: that of the Two Sons, one who said "I go not," but afterward repented and went, the other who said, "I go, sir," but went not—pointing the moral that the publicans and harlots went into the kingdom of God before the self-righteous leaders who rejected the preaching of John (Mt **21** 28–32); that of the Wicked Husbandmen, who slew the servants, and finally the son, sent to them, and were at length themselves destroyed, the vineyard being given to others—a prophecy of the transferring of the kingdom to the Gentiles (Mt, Mk, Lk); and that of the Marriage of the King's Son (Mt **22** 2–14), akin to that of the Great Supper in Lk **14** 16–24 in its gathering in of the outcasts to take the place of those who had been bidden, but distinguished from it by the feature of the wedding garment, the lack of which meant being thrust into the outer darkness. The Pharisees easily perceived that these parables were spoken of them (Mt **21** 45; Mk **12** 12; Lk **20** 19), and were correspondingly enraged, yet dared not touch Jesus for fear of the people.

The attempt was next made on the part of the Pharisees, Herodians and Sadducees—now joined in a common cause—to ensnare Jesus by captious and compromising questions. These attempts He met with a wisdom and dignity which foiled His adversaries, while He showed a ready appreciation of a candid spirit when it presented itself, and turned the point against His opponents by putting a question on the Davidic sonship of the Messiah.

b) Ensnaring Questions, etc (Mt 22:1–46; Mk 12:13–37; Lk 20:19–44)

(1) *Tribute to Caesar—the Resurrection—the Great Commandment.*—First the Pharisees with the Herodians sought to entrap Him by raising the question of the lawfulness of tribute to Caesar. By causing them to produce a denarius bearing Caesar's image and superscription, Jesus obtained from them a recognition of their acceptance of Caesar's authority, and bade them render Caesar's things to Caesar, and God's to God. The Sadducees next tried Him with the puzzle of the wife who had seven husbands, leading up to denial of the resurrection; but Jesus met them by showing that marriage relations have no place in the resurrection life, and by pointing to the implication of a future life in God's word to Moses, "I am the God of Abraham," etc. God "is not the God of the dead, but of the living," a fact which carried with it all the weight of resurrection, as needed for the completion of the personal life. The candid scribe, who came last with His question as to which commandment was first of all, had a different reception. Jesus met Him kindly, satisfied him with His answer, and pronounced him "not far from the kingdom of God" (Mk **12** 34).

(2) *David's Son and Lord.*—The adversaries were silenced, but Jesus now put to them His own question. If David in Ps **110** could say "Jeh saith unto my lord, Sit thou on my right hand," etc, how was this reconcilable with the Christ being David's son? The question was based on the acceptance of the oracle as spoken by David, or one of his house, of the Messiah, and was intended to suggest the higher nature of Christ as one with God in a Divine sovereignty. David's son was also David's Lord.

c) The Great Denunciation (Mt 23; Mk 12:38–40; Lk 20:45–47; cf Lk 11:39–52)

At this point, in audience of the multitudes and of His disciples in the temple, Jesus delivered that tremendous indictment of the scribes and Pharisees, with denunciations of woes upon them for their hypocrisy and iniquity of conduct, recorded most fully in Mt **23**. A more tremendous denunciation of a class was never uttered. While conceding to the scribes and Pharisees any authority they lawfully possessed (vs 2.3), Jesus specially dwelt on their divorce of practice from precept. They said and did not (ver 3). He denounced their perversion of the right, their tyranny, their ostentation, their keeping back others from the kingdom, their zeal in securing proselytes, only to make them, when gained, worse than themselves, their immoral casuistry, their scruples about trifles, while neglecting essentials, their exaltation of the outward at the expense of the inward, their building the tombs of the prophets, while harboring the spirit of those that killed the prophets. He declared them to be foul and corrupt to the last degree: 'sons of Gehenna' (vs 15.33). So awful a condition meant ripeness for doom. On them, through that law of retribution which binds generation with generation in guilt and penalty, would come all the righteous blood shed since the days of Abel (the allusion to "Zachariah son of Barachiah," ver 35, is unmistakably to 2 Ch **24** 21—this being the last book in the Heb Canon—but "Barachiah" seems a confusion with Zec **1** 1, perhaps through a copyist's gloss or error). At the close indignation melts into tenderness in the affecting plaint over Jerus—"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, ... how often would I have gathered thy children together," etc (vs 37–39)—words found in Lk in an earlier context (**13** 34.35), but assuredly also appropriate here. For other parts of the discourse found earlier, cf Lk **11** 39–52. All seems to have been gathered up afresh in this final accusation. It can be imagined that the anger of the Pharisees was fierce at such words, yet they did not venture openly to touch Him.

_d_) The Widow's Offering (Mk 12:41–44; Lk 21:1–4)

Before finally leaving the temple, Jesus seems to have passed from the outer court into the women's court, and there to have sat down near the receptacles provided for the gifts of the worshippers. Many who were wealthy cast of their gold and silver into the treasury, but the eye of Jesus singled out one poor widow who, creeping up, cast in two mites (Gr *leptá*, the smallest of coins), which made up but a farthing. It was little, but it was her all, and Jesus immortalized her poor offering by declaring that, out of her want, she had given more than the wealthiest there. Gifts were measured in His sight by the willingness that prompted them, and by the sacrifice they entailed.

_e_) The Visit of the Greeks (Jn 12:20–36)

It is perhaps to this crowded day, though some place it earlier in the week (on Sunday or Monday), that the incident should be referred of the request of certain Greeks to see Jesus, as related in Jn **12** 20 ff. Who these Greeks were, or whence they came, is unknown, but they were evidently proselytes to the Jewish faith, and men of a sincere spirit. Their request was made through Philip of Bethsaida, and Philip and Andrew conveyed it to Jesus. It is not said whether their wish was granted, but we can hardly doubt that it was. Jesus evidently saw in the incident a prelude of that glory that should accrue to Himself through all men being drawn to Him (vs 23.32). But He saw as clearly that this "glorifying" could only be through His death (vs 24.33), and He universalized it into a law of His Kingdom that, as a grain of wheat must fall into the earth and die if it is to be multiplied, so only through sacrifice can any life be made truly fruitful (vs 24.25). The thought of death, however, always brought trouble to the soul of Jesus (ver 27), and a voice from the Father was given to comfort Him. The multitude thought it thundered, and failed to apprehend the meaning of the voice, or His own words about being "lifted up" (vs 29.34).

_f_) Discourse on Last Things (Mt 24; Mk 13; Lk 21: 5–36)

Jesus had now bidden farewell to the temple. As He was going out, His disciples—or one of them (Mk)—called His attention to the magnificence of the buildings of the temple, eliciting from Him the startling reply that not one stone should be left upon another that should not be thrown down. Later in the evening, when seated on the Mount of Olives on their return journey, in view of the temple, Andrew, James and John (Mk) asked Him privately when these things should be, and what would be the signs of their fulfilment. In Mt the question is put more precisely, "When shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming [*parousía*], and of the end of the world?" (or "consummation of the age"). It is in answer to these complex questions that Jesus spoke His great discourse on the destruction of Jerus and His final coming, some of the strands in which it is difficult now to disentangle. In the extended report in Mt **24** certain passages appear which are given elsewhere by Luke (cf Lk **17** 20–37). It may tend to clearness if a distinction be observed between the nearer event of the destruction of Jerus—also in its way a coming of the Son of Man—and the more remote event of the final *parousia*. The former, to which vs 15–28 more specially belong, seems referred to by the "these things" in ver 34, which, it is declared, shall be fulfilled in that generation. Of the final *parousia*, on the other hand, it is declared in ver 36 that "of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only" (cf Mk **13** 32). The difficulty occasioned by the "immediately" of ver 29 is relieved by recalling the absence of perspective and grouping of future events in all apocalyptic prophecy—the consummation ever rising as the background of the immediate experience which is its prelude. The discourse then divides itself into a general part (vs 4–14), delineating the character of the entire period till the consummation (false Christs and prophets, wars, tribulations, apostasies, preaching of the gospel to all nations, etc); a special part relating to the impending destruction of the city, with appropriate warnings (vs 15–28); and a closing part (vs 32–51) relating mainly to the final *parousia*, but not without reference to preceding events in the extension of Christ's kingdom, and ingathering of His elect (vs 30.31). Warning is given of the suddenness of the coming of the Son of Man, and the need of being prepared for it (vs 37–51). The whole is a massive prophecy, resting on Christ's consciousness that His death would be, not the defeat of His mission, but the opening up of the way to His final glorification and triumph.

_g_) Parables of Ten Virgins, Talents and Last Judgment (Mt 25)

To this great discourse on the solemnities of the end, Jesus, still addressing His disciples, added three memorable parables of instruction and warning (Mt **25**)—the first, that of the Ten Virgins, picturing, under the figure of virgins who went to meet the bridegroom with insufficient provision of oil for their lamps, the danger of being taken unawares in waiting for the Son of Man; the second, that of the Talents, akin to the parable in Lk of the Pounds (**19** 11–27), emphasizing the need of diligence in the Lord's absence; the third, that of the Sheep and Goats, or Last Judgment, showing how the last division will be made according as discipleship is evinced by loving deeds done to those in need on earth—such deeds being owned by Christ the King as done to Himself. Love is thus declared to be the ultimate law in Christ's kingdom (cf 1 Cor **13**); the loveless spirit is reprobated. "These shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life" (ver 46).

6. A Day of Retirement (cf Jn 12:36)

Lk **21** 37.38 might suggest that Jesus taught in the temple every day till the Thursday of the Passover; if, however, the denunciation took place, as nearly all agree, on Tuesday, an exception must be made of the Wednesday, which Jesus probably spent in retirement in Bethany in preparation of spirit for His last great conflict (others arrange differently, and put some of the preceding events in this day). The summary in Jn **12** 36–43 connects the blindness of mind of the Pharisees with Isaiah's vision (**6** 10), and with the prophecy of the rejected Servant (**53** 1).

7. An Atmosphere of Plotting—Judas and the Priests (Mt 26:1–5. 14–16; Mk 14:1.2.10. 11; Lk 22: 1–6)

The plot for the destruction of Jesus was meanwhile maturing. Two days before the Passover (Tuesday evening), Jesus forewarned the disciples of His approaching betrayal and crucifixion (Mt **26** 2); and probably at that very hour a secret meeting of the chief priests and elders was being held in the court of the house of the high priest, Caiaphas (Mt), to consult as to the means of putting Him to death. Their resolve was that it should not be done on the feast day, lest there should be a tumult; but the appearance of Judas, who since the anointing had seemingly meditated this step, speedily changed their plans. For the paltry sum of 30 pieces of silver (shekels of the sanctuary, less than $20 or £4; the price of a slave, Ex **21** 32; cf Zec **11** 12), the recreant disciple, perhaps persuading himself that he was really forcing Jesus to an exercise of His Messianic power, agreed to betray his Lord. The covenant of infamy was made, and the traitor now only waited his opportunity to carry out his project.

II. From the Last Supper till the Cross.—A question of admitted difficulty arises in the comparison of the Synoptics and Jn as to the dates of the Last Supper and of the crucifixion.

1. The Chronology

The Synoptics seem clearly to place the Last Supper on the evening of the 14th of Nisan (in Jewish reckoning, the beginning of the 15th), and to identify it with the ordinary paschal meal (Mt **26** 17–19). The crucifixion then took place on the 15th. Jn, on the contrary, seems to place the supper on the day *before* the Passover (**13** 1), and the crucifixion on the 14th, when the Passover had not yet been eaten (**18** 28; **19** 14). Many, on this ground, affirm an irreconcilable discrepancy between Jn and the Synoptics, some (e.g. Meyer, Farrar, less decisively Sanday) preferring Jn; others (Strauss, Baur, Schmiedel, etc) using the fact to discredit Jn. By those who accept both accounts, various modes of reconciliation are proposed. A favorite opinion (early church writers; many moderns, as Godet, Westcott, Farrar) is that Jesus, in view of His death, *anticipated* the Passover, and ate His parting meal with His disciples on the evening of the 13th; others (e.g. Tholuck, Luthardt, Edersheim, Andrews, D. Smith), adhering to the Synoptics, take the view, here shared, that the apparent discrepancy is accounted for by a somewhat freer usage of terms in Jn. Details of the discussion must be sought in the works on the subject. The case for the anticipatory view is well given in Westcott, *Intro to the Study of the Gospels*, 339 ff; and in Farrar, *Life of Christ*, Excur. X; a good statement of that for the Synoptics may be seen in Andrews, *Life of Our Lord;* cf Tholuck, *Comm. on Jn*, on **13** 1; Luthardt, *Comm. on Jn*, on **13** 1; **18** 28; D. Smith, *Days of His Flesh*, App. II. The language of the Synoptists ("the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the passover," Mk **14** 12) leaves no doubt that they intended to identify the Last Supper with the regular Passover, and it is hardly conceivable that they could be mistaken on so vital a point of the apostolic tradition. This also was the view of the churches of Asia Minor, where John himself latterly resided. On the other hand, the phrase to "eat the passover" in Jn **18** 28 may very well, in John's usage, refer to participation in the special sacrifices which formed a chief feature of the proceedings on the 15th. The allusion in Jn **13** 1 need mean no more than that, the Passover now impending, Jesus, loving His disciples to the end, gave them a special token of that love during the meal that ensued. The "preparation of the passover" in Jn **19** 14.31 most naturally refers to the preparation for the Sabbath of the Passover week, alluded to also by the Synoptics (Mt **27** 62; Mk **15** 42; Lk **23** 54). The objections based on rabbinical regulations about the Sabbath are convincingly met by Tholuck (see also Andrews). We assume, therefore, that Our Lord ate the Passover with His disciples at the usual time—the evening of the 14th of Nisan (i.e. the beginning of the 15th).

In the scene in the upper chamber, at the observance of the Last Supper, we enter the holy of holies of this part of the Lord's history.

2. The Last Supper (Mt 26:17–35; Mk 14:12–31; Lk 22–7–38; Jn 13; cf 1 Cor 11:23–25)

It is difficult, in combining the narratives, to be sure of the order of all the particulars, but the main events are clear. They may be exhibited as follows:

a) The Preparation

On "the first day of unleavened bread"—Thursday, 14th of Nisan—Jesus bade two of His disciples (Lk names Peter and John) make the needful preparations for the observance of the Passover. This included the sacrificing of the lamb at the temple, and the securing of a guest-chamber. Jesus bade the disciples follow a man whom they would meet bearing a pitcher, and at the house where he stopped they would find one willing to receive them. The master of the house, doubtless a disciple, at once gave them "a large upper room furnished and ready" (Mk); there they made ready.

Evening being come, Jesus and the Twelve assembled, and took their places for the meal. We gather from Jn **13** 23 that John reclined next to Jesus (on the right), and the sequel shows that Judas and Peter were near on the other side.

b) Dispute about Precedence—Washing of the Disciples' Feet—Departure of Judas

It was probably this arrangement that gave rise to the unseemly strife for precedence among the disciples narrated in Lk **22** 24–30. The spirit thus displayed Jesus rebuked, as He had more than once had occasion to do (cf Mk **9** 33–37); then (for here may be inserted the beautiful incident in Jn **13** 1 ff), rising from the table, He gave them an amazing illustration of His own precept, "He that is chief [let him become] as he that doth serve. . . . . I am in the midst of you as he that serveth" (Lk **22** 26.27), in divesting Himself of His garments, girding Himself with a towel, and performing the act of a servant in washing His disciples' feet. Peter's exclamation must have expressed the feelings of all: "Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" The act of the Divine Master was a wonderful lesson in humility, but Jesus used it also as a parable of something higher. "If I wash thee not [i.e. if thou art not cleansed by the receiving of my word and spirit, which this washing symbolizes], thou hast no part with me"; then on Peter's further impulsive protest, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head," the word: "He that is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit" (i.e. sanctification of the inner man is once for all, but there is need for cleansing from the sins of the daily walk). Resuming His place at the table, He bade them imitate the example He had just given them.

Is it I?—An ominous word had accompanied the reply to Peter, "Ye are not all clean" (Jn **13** 10.11). As the supper proceeded, the meaning of this was made plain. Judas, who had already sold his Master, was at the table with the rest. He had permitted Jesus to wash his feet, and remained unmoved by that surpassing act of condescending love. Jesus was "troubled in spirit," and now openly declared, "One of you shall betray me" (the Gr word means lit. "deliver up": cf Lk **22** 4.6, and RVm throughout). It was an astounding announcement to the disciples, and from one and another came the trembling question, "Lord, is it I?" Jesus answered that it was one of those dipping his hand with Him in the dish (Mk), and spoke of the woe that would overtake the betrayer ("Good were it for that man if he had not been born"). John, at a sign from Peter, asked more definitely, "Who is it?" (Jn). Jesus said, but to John only, it was he to whom He would give a sop, and the sop was given to Judas. The traitor even yet sought to mask his treachery by the words, "Is it I, Rabbi?" and Jesus replied, though still not aloud, "Thou hast said" (Mt); then, as Satanic passion stirred the breast of Judas, He added, "What thou doest, do quickly" (Jn). Judas at once rose and went out—into the *night* (**13** 30). The disciples, not comprehending his abrupt departure, thought some errand had been given him for the feast or for the poor. Jesus was relieved by his departure and spoke of the glory coming to Himself and to His Father, and of love as the mark of true discipleship (**13** 31–35).

c) The Lord's Supper

The forms of the observance of the Passover by the Jews are given elsewhere (see PASSOVER). Luke alone of the NT writers speaks of 2 cups (**22** 17.20); in Jewish practice 4 cups were used. The "Western" text D omits Lk's 2d cup, from which some (cf Sanday, *HDB*) infer duplication, but this is not necessary. Lk's 1st cup (ver 17) may be that with which the paschal supper opened; the 2d cup—that mentioned by all the writers—was probably the 3d Jewish cup, known as "the cup of blessing" (cf 1 Cor **10** 16). Some, however, as Meyer, make it the 4th cup. It is implied in Mt, Mk, Jn, that by this time Judas had gone. Left thus with His own, the essentials of the paschal meal being complete, Jesus proceeded, by taking and distributing bread and wine, associating them with His body and blood, soon to be offered in death upon the cross, to institute that sacred rite in which, through all ages since (though its simplicity has often been sadly obscured) His love and sacrifice have been commemorated by His church. There are variations of phrase in the different accounts, but in the essentials of the sacramental institution there is entire agreement. Taking bread, after thanks to God, Jesus broke it, and gave it to the disciples with the words, "This is my body"; the cup, in like manner, after thanksgiving, He gave them with the words, "This is my blood of the covenant [in Lk and Paul, "the new covenant in my blood"] which is poured out for many" (Mt adds, "unto remission of sins"). Lk and Paul add what is implied in the others: "This do in remembrance of me" (Lk **22** 19; 1 Cor **11** 24). Nothing could more plainly designate the bread and wine as holy symbols of the Lord's body and blood, offered in death for man's redemption, and sealing in His blood a new covenant with God; nor, so long as the rite is observed in its Divine simplicity, as Jesus instituted it, will it be possible to expunge from His death the character of a redeeming sacrifice. In touching words Jesus intimated that He would no more drink of the fruit of the vine till He drank it new with them in their Father's Kingdom (on the doctrinal aspects, see Eucharist; Sacrament; Lord's Supper).

d) The Last Discourses—Intercessory Prayer

The Supper was over, and parting was imminent, but Jesus did not leave the holy chamber till He had poured out His inmost heart in those tender, consolatory, profoundly spiritual addresses which the beloved disciple has preserved for us in the 14th, 15th and 16th chs of his Gospel, followed by the wonderful closing intercessory prayer of ch **17**. He was leaving them, but their hearts were not to be disquieted, for they would see Him again (**14** 18; **16** 16 ff), and if, ere long, He would part with them again in visible form, it was only outwardly He would be separated from them, for He would send them the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who would take His place, to guide them into all truth, and bring all things to their remembrance that He had said to them (**14** 16.17; **15** 26; **16** 7–14). If He went away, it was to prepare a place for them, and He would come again to receive them to Himself in His Father's house (**14** 1–3); let them meanwhile show their love to Him by keeping His commandments (**14** 15.23.24). In the Spirit He Himself and the Father would dwell in the souls that loved Him (**14** 21–23). The intimacy of their union with Him would be like that of branches in the vine; only by abiding in Him could they bring forth fruit (**15** 1 ff). They would have tribulations (**15** 18 ff; **16** 1.2), but as His dying bequest He left them His own peace (**14** 27); that would sustain their hearts in all trial (**16** 33). With many such promises did He comfort them in view of the terrible ordeal through which they were soon to pass; then, addressing His Father, He prayed for their holy keeping, and their final admission to His glory (**17** 9–18.24).

e) The Departure and Warning

These solemn discourses finished, Jesus and His disciples sang a hymn (the "Hallel") and departed to go to the Mount of Olives. Comparing the evangelists, one would infer that the conversation in which Jesus foretold the denial of Peter at least commenced before they left the chamber (Lk **22** 31 ff; Jn connects it, probably through relation of subject, with the exposure of Judas, **13** 36–38); but it seems to have continued on the way (Mt, Mk). Jesus had spoken of their being "offended" in Him that night. In his exaltation of spirit, Peter declared that though all should be offended in Him, *he* would never be offended. Jesus, who had already warned Peter that Satan sought to have him, that he might sift him as wheat (Lk **22** 31; but "I made supplication for thee," etc), now told him that before the cock should crow, he would thrice deny Him. Peter stoutly maintained that he would die rather than be guilty of so base an act—so little did he or the others (Mt **26** 35; Mk **14** 31) know themselves! The enigmatic words in Lk **22** 36 about taking scrip and sword point metaphorically to the need, in the times that were coming upon them, of every lawful means of provision and self-defence; the succeeding words show that "sword" is not intended to be taken literally (ver 38).

3. Gethsemane—the Betrayal and Arrest (Mt 26:36–56; Mk 14:32–52; Lk 22:39–53; Jn 18:1–12)

Descending to the valley, Jesus and His disciples, crossing the brook Kidron ("of the cedars"), entered the "garden" (Jn) known as Gethsemane ("oil-press"), at the foot of the Mount of Olives. Here took place the agony, which is the proper commencement of the Passion, the betrayal by Judas and the arrest of Jesus.

a) Agony in the Garden

During the evening the thoughts of Jesus had been occupied mainly with His disciples; now that the hour had come when the things predicted concerning Him should have fulfilment (Lk **22** 37: "your hour, and the power of darkness," ver 53), it was inevitable that mind and spirit should concentrate on the awful bodily and mental sufferings that lay before Him. It was not the thought of physical suffering alone—from that also the pure and sensitive humanity of Jesus shrank with natural horror—but death to Him, the Holy One and Prince of Life, had an indescribably hateful character as a hostile power in humanity, due to the judgment of God on sin, and now descending upon Him through the workings of the vilest of human passions in the religious heads of His nation. What anguish to such an One, filled with love and the desire to save, to feel Himself rejected, betrayed, deserted, doomed to a malefactor's cross—alone, yet not alone, for the Father was with Him! (Jn **16** 32). The burden on His spirit when He reached Gethsemane was already, as the language used shows, all but unendurable—"amazed," "sore troubled," "My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death" (Mk). There, bidding the other disciples wait, He took with Him Peter, and James, and John, and withdrew into the recesses of the garden. Leaving these also a little behind, He sank on the ground in solitary "agony" (Lk), and "with strong crying and tears" (He **5** 7), poured out His soul in earnest supplication to His Father. "Let this cup pass away from me"—it could not be, but thus the revulsion of His nature was expressed—"howbeit not what I will, but what thou wilt." The passage in Lk (**22** 44), "His sweat became as it were great drops of blood," etc, though omitted in certain MSS, doubtless preserves a genuine trait. Returning to the three, He found them overpowered with sleep: even the support of their wakeful sympathy was denied Him! "Watch and pray," He gently admonished them, "that ye enter not into temptation." A second and third time the same thing happened—wrestling with God on His part, sleep on theirs, till, with Divine strengthening (Lk **22** 41), victory was attained, and calm restored.

"Sleep on now," He said to His disciples (the crisis is past; your help can avail no more): "Arise, let us be going" (the future has to be faced; the betrayer is at hand. See the remarkable sermon of F. W. Robertson, II, sermon 22).

b) Betrayal by Judas—Jesus Arrested

The crisis had indeed arrived. Through the darkness, even as Jesus spoke, was seen flashing the light of torches and lanterns, revealing a mingled company of armed men—Rom soldiers, temple officers (Jn), others—sent by the chief priests, scribes and elders, to apprehend Jesus. Their guide was Judas. It had been found impracticable to lay hands on Jesus in public, but Judas knew this retreat (Jn **18** 2), and had arranged, by an act of dastardly treachery, to enable them to effect the capture in privacy. The sign was to be a kiss. With an affectation of friendship, only possible to one into whose heart the devil had truly entered (Lk **22** 3; Jn **13** 27), Judas advanced, and hailing Jesus as "Master," effusively kissed Him (Mt **26** 49; Mk **14** 45m). Jesus had asked, "Betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?" (Lk); now He said, "Friend, do that for which thou art come" (Mt). The soldiers essayed to take Jesus, but on their first approach, driven back as by a supernatural power, they fell to the ground (Jn). A proof thus given of the voluntariness of His surrender (cf Mt **26** 53: "Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father," etc), Jesus, remarking only on the iniquity of secret violence when every day they had opportunity to take Him in the temple, submitted to be seized and bound. At this point Peter, with characteristic impetuosity, remembering, perhaps, his pledge to die, if need be, with Jesus, drew a sword, and cut off the right ear of the high priest's servant, Malchus (Jn gives the names). If he thought his deed justified by what Jesus had earlier said about "swords" (Lk **22** 36.38), he was speedily undeceived by Jesus' rebuke (Mt **26** 52; Jn **18** 11), and by His healing of the ear (Lk; the last miracle of Jesus before His death). How little this flicker of impulsive boldness meant is shown by the general panic that immediately followed. "All the disciples," it is related, "left him, and fled" (Mt, Mk). Mk tells of a young man who had come upon the scene with only a linen cloth cast about his naked body, and who fled, leaving the cloth behind (**14** 51.52). Not improbably the young man was Mark himself.

4. Trial before the Sanhedrin (Mt 26:57–75; 27:1–10; Mk 14:53–72; 15:1; Lk 22:54–71; Jn 18:12–27; cf Acts 1:18.19)

It would be about midnight when Jesus was arrested, and He was at once hurried to the house of Caiaphas, the high priest, where in expectation of the capture, a company of chief priests, scribes and elders—members of the Sanhedrin—were already assembled. Here the first stage in the trial of Jesus took place.

The legal and constitutional questions connected with the trial of Jesus are considered in the art. on Jesus Christ, Arrest and Trial of; see also Dr. Taylor Innes, *The Trial of Jesus Christ;* on the powers of the Sanhedrin, see Sanhedrin, and cf Schürer, *Jewish People*, etc, II, 1, pp. 163 ff. There seems little doubt that, while certain judicial forms were observed, the trial was illegal in nearly every particular. The arrest itself was arbitrary, as not founded on any formal accusation (the Sanhedrin, however, seems to have arrogated to itself powers of this kind; cf Acts **4** 1 ff); but the night session, lack of definite charge, search for testimony, interrogation of accused, haste in condemnation, were unquestionably in flagrant violation of the established rules of Jewish judicial procedure in such cases. It is to be remembered that the death of Jesus had already been decided on by the heads of the Sanhedrin, so that the trial was wholly a means to a foregone conclusion. On the historical side, certain difficulties arise. Jn seems to make the first interrogation of Jesus take place before Annas, father-in-law to Caiaphas (on Annas, see below; though deposed 15 years before, he retained, in reality, all the dignity and influence of the high-priesthood; cf Lk **3** 2; Acts **4** 6); after which He is sent to Caiaphas (Jn **18** 13.14.19–24). The narrative is simplified if either (1) vs 19–23 are regarded as a preliminary interrogatory by Annas till matters were prepared for the arraignment before Caiaphas; or (2) ver 24 is taken as retrospective (in the sense of "had sent," as in AV), and the interrogation is included in the trial by Caiaphas (cf ver 19: "the high priest"). Annas and Caiaphas may be presumed from the account of Peter's denials to have occupied the same official residence; else Annas was present on this night to be in readiness for the trial. The frequently occurring term "chief priests" denotes the high priests, with those who had formerly held this rank, and members of their families (cf Schürer, op. cit., 203 ff). They formed, with the scribes, the most important element in the Sanhedrin.

a) Before Annas and Caiaphas—the Unjust Judgment

First Jesus was led before Annas, then by him, after a brief interview, was transferred, still bound, to Caiaphas. Annas had been deposed, as above noticed, much earlier (15 AD), but still retained the name and through his sons and relations, as long as he lived, exercised much of the authority of high priest. Like all those holding this high office, he and Caiaphas were Sadducees. Annas—if he is the questioner in Jn **18** 19–23—asked Jesus concerning His disciples and His teaching. Such interrogation was unlawful, the duty of the accuser, in Jewish law, being to produce witnesses; properly, therefore, Jesus referred him to His public teaching in the temple, and bade him ask those who heard Him there. An officer standing by struck Jesus with his hand for so speaking: an indignity which Jesus endured with meek remonstrance (vs 22.23).

(1) *An illegal session.*—Meanwhile a company of the Sanhedrin had assembled (23 sufficed for a quorum), and Jesus was brought before this tribunal, which was presided over by Caiaphas. A hurried search had been made for witnesses (this, like the night session, was illegal), but even the suborned testimony thus obtained ("false witnesses") was found useless for the purpose of establishing, constructively or directly, a charge of blasphemy against Jesus. At length two witnesses were produced who gave a garbled version of the early saying of Jesus (Jn **2** 19) about destroying the temple and rebuilding it in three days. To speak against the temple might be construed as speaking against God (cf Mt **23** 16.21; Acts **6** 13.14), but here too the witnesses broke down through lack of agreement. At all costs, however, must Jesus be condemned: the unprecedented course therefore was taken of seeking a conviction from the mouth of the accused Himself. Rising from his seat, the high priest adjured Jesus by the living God to tell them whether He was the Christ, the Son of God (in Mk, "Son of the Blessed"). In using this title, Caiaphas had evidently in view, as in Jn **5** 18; **10** 33, a claim to equality with God. The supreme moment had come, and Jesus did not falter in His reply: "Thou hast said." Then, identifying Himself with the Son of Man in Daniel's vision (**7** 13.14), He solemnly added, "Henceforth [from His resurrection on] ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven." It was enough. Without even the pretense of inquiry into the truth or falsehood of the claim, the high priest rent his garments, exclaiming, "He hath spoken blasphemy," and by assent of all Jesus was adjudged worthy of death. Abuse and insult followed. The minions of the Sanhedrin were permitted to spit on the condemned One, smite Him, blindfold and mock Him, saying, "Prophesy unto us, thou Christ: who is he that struck thee?" Then, with further blows, He was led away (Mt **26** 68).

(2) *A morning confirmation.*—To give color of judicial sanction to these tumultuous and wholly irregular night proceedings, a more formal meeting of the Sanhedrin was convened as soon as day

had dawned (Mt **27** 1; Mk **15** 1; Lk **22** 66–71). Probably the irregularities were held to be excused by the urgency of the occasion and the solemnities of the feast. Jesus was again brought forward; new questions were put which He declined to answer. Possibly a new avowal of His Messiahship was made (more probably Luke includes in this scene, the only one he records, some of the particulars of the earlier proceedings). The judgment of the past night was confirmed.

b) **The Threefold Denial**

While this greatest moral tragedy of the trial and condemnation of Jesus was in process, a lesser, but still awful, tragedy in the history of a soul was being enacted in the court of the same building (from this the chamber in which the Sanhedrin sat was visible), in the threefold denial of his Master by the apostle Peter. Peter, who had followed "afar off" (Lk), had gained access to the court through an unnamed disciple, whom it is easy to identify with John (Jn **18** 15). As he stood warming himself at a fire which had been kindled, the maid who had admitted them (Jn), gazing attentively at Peter, said boldly, "Thou also wast with Jesus the Galilean" (Mt **26** 69). Unnerved, and affrighted by his surroundings, Peter took the readiest mode of escape in denial. "I know him not." His heart must have sunk within him as he framed the words, and the crowing of a cock at the moment (Mk—perhaps an hour after midnight), reminding him of his Master's warning, completed his discomfiture. Guiltily he withdrew to the porch, only a little after to be accosted by another (the maid had spoken to her neighbors, Mk), with the same charge. More afraid than ever, he declared again, "I know not this man," and, seeing he was not believed, strengthened the denial with an oath. Yet a third time, an hour later, a bystander (or several, Mk), this time founding on his Galilean speech, pronounced, "Of a truth thou art one of them." Peter, to clear himself, cursed and swore, anew disclaiming knowledge of his Lord. To this depth had the boastful apostle fallen—as low, it might seem, as Judas! But there was a difference. As Peter spoke the cock again crew—*the* cockcrow which gives its form to three of the narratives (Mk alone mentions the double cockcrowing). At the same instant, either from within, or as He was being led forth, Jesus turned and looked on His erring disciple. That look—so full of pity, sorrow, reproach—could never be forgotten! Its effect was instantaneous: "Peter went out, and wept bitterly."

c) **Remorse and Suicide of Judas**

Peter's heartfelt repentance has its counterfoil in the remorse of Judas, which, bitter as it also was, cannot receive the nobler name. First, Judas sought to return the 30 shekels paid him as the price of blood ("I betrayed innocent blood"); then, when callously rebuffed by the priests and elders, he flung down the accursed money in the sanctuary, and went and hanged himself. Mt and Acts seem to follow slightly divergent traditions as to his end and the purchase of the potter's field. The underlying facts probably are that the priests applied the money, which they could not put into the treasury (Mt), to the purchase of the field, where, either before or after the purchase, Judas destroyed himself (Acts: falling and bursting asunder), assigning it as a place to bury strangers in. Its connection with Judas is attested by its name, "Akeldama," "the field of blood."

5. Trial before Pilate (Mt 27:2.11–31; Mk 15:1–20; Lk 23:1–25; Jn 18:28–40; 19:1–16)

The Jews might condemn, but they had no power to execute sentence of death (Jn **18** 31). This power had been taken from them by the Romans, and was now vested in the Rom governor. The procurator of Judaea was Pontius Pilate, a man hated by the Jews for his ruthless tyranny (see PILATE), yet, as the Gospels show him, not without a sense of right, but vacillating and weak-willed in face of mob clamor, and risk to his own interests. His residence in Jerus ("Praetorium," ERV "palace") was probably Herod's former palace (thus Schürer, G. A. Smith, etc), on the tesselated pavement (Jn **19** 13) in the semicircular front of which was placed the tribunal (*bēma*) from which judgments were delivered. It was to this place Jesus was now brought. The events took place when it was "early" (Jn **18** 28), probably between 6 and 7 AM (cf **19** 14, Rom computation).

a) **Attitude of the Accusers**

Jesus was taken within the Praetorium, but His accusers were too scrupulous about defilement at the Passover festival (Jn **18** 28) to enter the building. Pilate therefore came out to hear their accusation. They would fain have had him endorse their condemnation without further inquiry, but this he would not do. They would not have it that it was a simple question of their law, yet had to justify their demand for a death sentence (ver 31). They based, therefore, on the alleged revolutionary character of Christ's teaching, His forbidding to pay tribute to Caesar (a false charge), His claim to be a king (Lk **23** 2.5), to all which charges Jesus answered not a word (Mk **15** 3.5). At a later stage, after Pilate, who knew very well that no mere sedition against the Rom power had called forth all this passion (witness the choice of Barabbas), had repeatedly declared that he found no crime in Jesus (Mk **15** 14; Lk **23** 4.14.22; Jn **18** 38; **19** 4.6), the real spring of their action was laid bare: "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God" (Jn **19** 7). When it was seen how this declaration made Pilate only the more unwilling to yield to their rage, return was made to the political motive, now in the form of personal threat: "If thou release this man, thou art not Caesar's friend" (ver 12). This was Pilate's weak point, and the Jews knew it. The clamor grew ever louder, "Crucify him, crucify him." Hate of Jesus and national degradation could go no farther than in the cry, "We have no king but Caesar" (ver 15).

b) **The Attitude of Pilate**

Pilate was from the first impressed with the innocence of Jesus, and was sincerely anxious, as his actions showed, to save Him from the terrible and ignominious death His implacable enemies were bent on inflicting upon Him. His crime was that, as Rom judge, he finally, against his own convictions, through fear of a charge of disloyalty to Caesar, yielded up to torture and death One whom he had pronounced guiltless, to gratify the brutal passions of a mob. By Pilate's own admissions, Christ's death was, not a punishment for any crime, but a judicial murder. First, through private examination, Pilate satisfied himself that the kingship Jesus claimed ("Thou sayest") carried with it no danger to the throne of Caesar. Jesus was a king indeed, but His kingdom was not of this world; was not, like earthly kingdoms, supported by violence; was founded on the truth, and gathered its subjects from those that received the truth (Jn **18** 36.37). The indifference to the name of truth which the jaded mind of Pilate confessed ("What is truth?") could not hide from him the nobility of soul of the Holy One who stood before him. He declared publicly, "I find no fault in this man," and thereafter sought means of saving Him, at least of shifting the responsibility of His condemnation from himself to others.

(1) *Jesus sent to Herod.*—Hearing in the clamor

round the judgment seat that Jesus was a Galilean, and remembering that Herod Antipas, who had jurisdiction in that region, was in the city, Pilate's first expedient was to send Jesus to Herod, to be examined by him (Lk **23** 6–11). This act of courtesy had the effect of making Herod and Pilate, who had been at enmity, again friends (ver 12); otherwise it failed of its object. Herod was pleased enough to see One he had so often heard about—even thought in his flippancy that a miracle might be done by Him—but when Jesus, in presence of "that fox" (Lk **13** 32), refused to open His mouth in answer to the accusations heaped upon Him, Herod, with his soldiers, turned the matter into jest, by clothing Jesus in gorgeous apparel, and sending Him back as a mock-king to Pilate.

(2) *"Not this man, but Barabbas."*—Pilate's next thought was to release Jesus in pursuance of a Jewish custom of setting free a prisoner at the feast, and to this end, having again protested that no fault had been found in Him, offered the people the choice between Jesus and a notorious robber and murderer called Barabbas, then in prison. Just then, as he sat on the judgment seat, a message from his wife regarding a dream she had ("Have thou nothing to do with that righteous man," Mt **27** 19) must strongly have influenced his superstitious mind. Pilate could hardly have conceived that the multitude would prefer a murderer to One so good and pure; but, instigated by the priests, they perpetrated even this infamy, shouting for the release of Barabbas and the crucifixion of Jesus.

(3) *"Ecce Homo."*—Pilate's weakness now began to reveal itself. He proposed to "chastise" (scourge) Jesus—why "chastise," if He was innocent?—then release Him. But this compromise, as was to be anticipated, only whetted the eagerness for blood, and the cries grew ever louder, "Crucify him." Pilate, however, as if yielding to the storm, did deliver Jesus to be scourged (scourging—a fearful infliction—preceded crucifixion), the cruelty being aggravated by the maltreatment of the soldiers, who, outstripping former mockeries, put on His head a crown of thorns, arrayed Him in a purple robe, and rained blows upon His bleeding face and form. It seems to have been a design of Pilate to awake pity, for once again he brought Jesus forth, and in this affecting guise, with new attestation of His innocence, presented Him to the people in the words, "Behold, the man!" (Jn **19** 5). How hideous the mockery, at once to declare of such an one, "I find no crime in him," and to exhibit Him to the crowd thus shamefully abused! No pity dwelt in these hearts, however, and the shouts became still angrier, "Crucify him."

(4) *A last appeal—Pilate yields.*—The words of the leaders, "He made himself the Son of God," spoken as a reason for putting Jesus to death (Jn **19** 7), struck a new fear into the heart of Pilate. It led him again to enter the Praetorium, and inquire of this strange prisoner, unlike any he had ever seen, "Whence art thou?" Jesus was silent. "Knowest thou not," asked Pilate, "that I have power to release thee, and have power to crucify thee?" Jesus answered only that he, Pilate, had no power over Him at all save what was given him of God; the greater therefore was the crime of those who had subjected Him to this abuse of Divinely given power. Again Pilate went out and sought to release Him, but was met by the fierce cries that foreboded complaint to Caesar (Jn **19** 12). A tumult seemed imminent, and Pilate succumbed. Here probably (though possibly after the choice of Barabbas) is to be placed the washing of his hands by Pilate—a vain disclaiming of his responsibility—recorded in Mt **27** 24, and the awful answer of the people, "His blood be on us, and on our children" (ver 25). Pilate now ascends the judgment seat, and, fully conscious of the iniquity of his procedure, pronounces the formal sentence which dooms Jesus to the cross. The trial over, Jesus is led again into the Praetorium, where the cruel mockery of the soldiers is resumed in intensified form. The Holy One, thorn-crowned, clad in purple, a reed thrust into His hand, is placed at the mercy of the whole band, who bow the knee in ridicule before Him ("Hail, King of the Jews"), spit upon Him in contempt, smite Him on the head with the reed (Mt, Mk). Then, stripped of the robe, His own garments are put on Him, in preparation for the end.

c) The Attitude of Jesus

In all this hideous scene of cruelty, injustice, and undeserved suffering, the conspicuous feature in the bearing of Jesus is the absolute calmness, dignity and meekness with which He endures the heaviest wrongs and insults put upon Him. The picture in Isa **53** 7.8 is startling in its fidelity: "When he was afflicted he opened not his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before its shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. By oppression and judgment he was taken away," etc. There is no return of the perturbation of Gethsemane. As if the strength won there had raised Him into a peace that nothing could shake, He passed through the frightful physical exhaustion, mental strain, agony of scourging, suffering from wounds and blows, of that terrible night and morning, with unbroken fortitude and unembittered spirit. Not a word of complaint passes His lips; He makes no reply to accusations; when reviled, He reviles not again; He takes all with submission, as part of the cup the Father has given Him to drink. It is a spectacle to move the stoniest heart. Well to remember that it is the world's sin, in which all share, that mingled the bitter draught!

1. The Crucifixion (Mt 27:31–56; Mk 15:20–41; Lk 23:26–49; Jn 19:16–37)

III. The Crucifixion and Burial.—Crucifixion was the form of punishment reserved by the Romans for slaves, foreigners and the vilest criminals, and could not be inflicted on a Rom citizen. With its prolonged and excruciating torture, it was the most agonizing and ignominious death which the cruelty of a cruel age could devise. Jewish law knew nothing of it (the 'hanging on a tree' of Dt **21** 22.23, was after death; cf Gal **3** 13), yet to it the Jewish leaders hounded Pilate on to doom their Messiah. The cross was no doubt of the usual Rom shape (see CROSS). The site of Golgotha, "the place of a skull" (in Lk "Calvary," the Latinized form), is quite uncertain. It may have been a slight mound resembling a skull (thus Meyer, Luthardt, Godet, etc), but this is not known. It is only plain that it was outside the wall, in the immediate vicinity of the city (see note below on sepulcher). The time of the crucifixion was about 9 AM (Mk **15** 25). The day (Friday) was the "preparation" for the Sabbath of the Passover week (Mt, Mk, Lk; cf Jn **19** 14.31).

a) On the Way

It was part of the torment of the victim of this horrible sentence that he had to bear his own cross (according to some only the *patibulum*, or transverse beam) to the place of execution. As Jesus, staggering, possibly fainting, under this burden, passed out of the gate, a stranger coming from the country, Simon, a man of Cyrene, was laid hold of, and compelled to carry the cross (such an one would not be punctilious about rabbinical rules of travel, especially as it was not the regular Sabbath). Jesus, however, was not wholly unpitied. In the crowd following Him were some women of Jerus, who bewailed and lamented Him. The Lord, turning, bade these weep, not for Him, but for themselves and for their children. "If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" (Lk **23** 27–31).

b) **Between the Thieves—the Superscription—the Seamless Robe**

Golgotha being reached, the crucifixion at once took place under the care of a centurion and a quaternion of soldiers. With ruthless blows, hands and feet were nailed to the wood, then the cross was reared (the perpendicular part may, as some think, have first been placed in position). As if to emphasize, from Pilate's point of view, the irony of the proceedings, two robbers were crucified with Jesus, on right and left, an undesigned fulfilment of prophecy (Isa **53** 12). It was doubtless when being raised upon the cross that Jesus uttered the touching prayer—His 1st word on the cross (its genuineness need not be questioned, though some ancient MSS omit)—"Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do" (Lk). Above His head, according to custom, was placed a tablet with His accusation, written in three languages, Heb, Gr and Lat. The chief priests took offence at the form, "This is the King of the Jews," and wished the words changed to, "He said, I am King," etc, but Pilate curtly dismissed their complaint: "What I have written I have written" (Jn). Whether Jesus still wore the crown of thorns is doubtful. The garments of the Crucified were divided among the soldiers, but for His inner garment, woven without seam, they cast lots (cf Ps **22** 18). A draught of wine mingled with an opiate (gall or myrrh), intended to dull the senses, was offered, but refused.

c) **The Mocking—the Penitent Thief—Jesus and His Mother**

The triumph of Christ's enemies now seemed complete, and their glee was correspondingly unrestrained. Their victim's helplessness was to them a disproof of His claims. Railing, and wagging their heads, they taunted Him, "If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross"; "He saved others; himself he cannot save." At first the robbers who were crucified with Him (possibly only one) joined in this reproach, but ere long there was a change. The breast of one of the malefactors opened to the impression of the holiness and meekness of Jesus, and faith took the place of scorn. He rebuked his neighbor for reviling One who had "done nothing amiss"; then, addressing Jesus, he prayed: "Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom." The reply of Jesus—His 2d word on the cross—surpassed what even the penitent in these strange circumstances could have anticipated, "Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise" (Lk). A not less touching incident followed—perhaps preceded—this rescue of a soul in its last extremity. Standing near the cross was a group of holy women, one of them the mother of Jesus Himself (Jn **19** 25: Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas—some identify the two latter—Mary Magdalene). Mary, whose anguish of spirit may be imagined, was supported by the disciple John. Beholding them—His 3d word from the cross—Jesus tenderly commended His mother to the care of John; to Mary, "Woman, behold, thy son"; to John, "Behold, thy mother." From that time Mary dwelt with John.

d) **The Great Darkness—the Cry of Desertion**

Three hours passed, and at noon mocking was hushed in presence of a startling natural change. The sun's light failed (Lk), and a deep darkness, lasting for 3 hours, settled over the land. The darkness was preternatural in its time and occasion, whatever natural agencies may have been concerned in it. The earthquake a little later (Mt) would be due to the same causes. It was as if Nature veiled itself, and shuddered at the enormity of the crime which was being perpetrated. But the outer gloom was only the symbol of a yet more awful darkness that, toward the close of this period, overspread the soul of Jesus Himself. Who shall fathom the depths of agony that lay in that awful cry—the 4th from the cross—that burst loudly from the lips of Jesus, "*Ēlī, Ēlī, lamá sabachthanī*"—"My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me" (or, "Why didst thou forsake me?")—words borrowed from Ps **22** 1! It was before remarked that death was not a natural event to Jesus, but ever had in it to His mind its significance as a judgment of God on sin. Here it was not simply death that He experienced in its most cruel form, but death bereft of the sensible comforts of the Father's presence. What explanation of that mystery can be found which does not take into account with Isa **53** (cf Jn **1** 29) His character as Sin-Bearer, even as the unbroken trust with which in His loneliness He clings to God ("My God") may be felt to have in it the element of atonement? On this, however, the present is not the place to dwell.

e) **Last Words and Death of Jesus**

The end was now very near. The victim of crucifixion sometimes lingered on in his agony for days; but the unexampled strain of body and mind which Jesus had undergone since the preceding day brought an earlier termination to His sufferings. Light was returning, and with it peace; and in the consciousness that all things were now finished (Jn **19** 28), Jesus spoke again—the 5th word—"I thirst" (Jn). A sponge filled with vinegar was raised on a reed to His lips, while some who had heard His earlier words ("*Ēlī, Ēlī*," etc), and thought He called for Elijah, said, "Let us see whether Elijah cometh to save him" (Mt). With a last effort, Jesus cried aloud—6th and memorable word—"It is finished," then, in a final utterance—the 7th—commended His spirit to God: "Father into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Lk). Following on this word, bowing His head, He surrendered Himself to death. It will be seen that of the 7 words spoken from the cross, 3 are preserved by Lk alone (1st, 2d, 7th), 3 by Jn alone (3d, 5th, 6th), while the 4th cry ("*Ēlī, Ēlī*," etc) occurs only in the first 2 evangelists (Mt and Mk, however, speak of Jesus "crying with a loud voice" at the close).

f) **The Spear-Thrust—Earthquake and Rending of the Veil**

Jesus had died; the malefactors still lived. It was now 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and it was desired that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the approaching Sabbath. Permission was therefore obtained from Pilate for the soldiers to break the legs of the crucified (*crurifragium*), and so hasten death. When it was discovered that Jesus was already dead, a soldier, possibly to make sure, pierced His side with a spear, and John, who was present, notices as a special fact that "there came out blood and water" (**19** 34). Whether this means, as Stroud and others have contended, that Jesus literally died of rupture of the heart, or what other physiological explanation may be given of the phenomenon, to which the apostle elsewhere attaches a symbolical significance (1 Jn **5** 6), need not be here discussed (see BLOOD AND WATER). This, however, was not the only startling and symbolically significant fact attending the death of Jesus. A great darkness had preluded the death; now, at the hour of His expiry, the veil of the temple (i.e. of the inner shrine) was rent from top to bottom—surely a sign that the way into the holiest of all was now opened for mankind

(He **9** 8.12)—and a great earthquake shook the city and rent the rocks. Mt connects with this the statement that from the tombs thus opened "many bodies of the saints . . . . were raised; and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many" (**27** 52.53). There is nothing in itself improbable, though none of the other evangelists mention it, in such an early demonstration being given of what the Lord's death and resurrection meant for believers. In other ways the power of the cross was revealed. A dying robber had been won to penitence; now the centurion who commanded the soldiers was brought to the avowal, "Truly this was the Son of God" (Mt, Mk; in Lk, "a righteous man"). The mood of the crowd, too, was changed since the morning; they "returned, smiting their breasts" (Lk **23** 48). "Afar off," speechless with sorrow, stood the women who had followed Jesus from Galilee, with other friends and disciples. The evangelists name Mary Magdalene, Mary, the mother of James and Joses, Salome (Mk), and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward (Lk).

2. The Burial (Mt 27:57–66; cf 28:11–15; Mk 15:42–47; Lk 23:50–56; Jn 19:38–42)

Jesus had conquered hearts on His cross; now His death reveals friends from the wealthier classes, hitherto kept back by fear (Jn **19** 38.39), who charge themselves with His honorable burial. One was Joseph of Arimathaea, a just man, "looking for the kingdom of God," of whom the interesting fact is recorded that, though a member of the Sanhedrin, "he had not consented to their counsel and deed" (Lk); the other was Nicodemus, he who came to Jesus by night (Jn **3** 1.2; **19** 39), mentioned again only in Jn **7** 50–52, where, also as a member of the Sanhedrin, he puts in a word for Jesus.

a) The New Tomb

Joseph of Arimathaea takes the lead. "Having dared," as Mk says (**15** 43, Gr), he begged the body of Jesus from Pilate, and having obtained it, bought linen cloth wherein to wrap it, and reverently buried it in a new rock-tomb of his own (Mt, Mk), "where never man had yet lain" (Lk). Jn furnishes the further particulars that the tomb was in a "garden," near where Jesus was crucified (**19** 41.42). He tells also of the munificence of Nicodemus, who brought as much as 100 pounds (about 75 lbs. avoir.) of spices—"a mixture of myrrh and aloes" (ver 39), with which to enwrap the body of Jesus. This is not to be thought of as an "anointing": rather, the spices formed a powder strewn between the folds of the linen bandages (cf Luthardt, *Comm.* on Jn **19** 40). The body, thus prepared, was then placed in the tomb, and a great stone rolled to the entrance. The burial was of necessity a very hurried one, which the holy women who witnessed it—Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses are specially mentioned (Mt, Mk)—purposed to supplement by an anointing when the Sabbath was past (cf Lk **23** 56).

b) The Guard of Soldiers (Mt)

Though Jesus was dead, the chief priests and Pharisees were far from easy in their minds about Him. Mysterious words of His had been quoted about His building of the temple in three days; possibly Judas had told something about His sayings regarding His death and rising again on the 3d day; in any case, His body was in the hands of His disciples, and they might remove it, and create the persuasion that He had risen. With this plea they went to Pilate, and asked from him a watch of soldiers to guard the tomb. To make assurance doubly sure, they sealed the tomb with the official seal. The result of their efforts was only, under Providence, to provide new evidence of the reality of the resurrection!

The uncertainty attaching to the site of Golgotha attaches also to the site of Joseph's rock-tomb. Opinion is about equally divided in favor of, and against, the traditional site, where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre now stands. A principal ground of uncertainty is whether that site originally lay within or without the second wall of the city (cf Stanley, *Sinai and Pal*, 457 ff; G. A. Smith, *Jerus*, II, 576; a good conspectus of the different opinions, with the authorities, is given in Andrews, Part VII).

F. THE RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION

The Resurrection a Fundamental Fact

The resurrection of Jesus, with its completion in the ascension, setting the seal of the Father's acceptance on His finished work on earth, and marking the decisive change from His state of humiliation to that of exaltation, may be called in a true sense the corner stone of Christianity (cf 1 Cor **15** 14.17). It was on the preaching of Christ crucified and risen that the Christian church was founded (e.g. Acts **2** 32–36; 1 Cor **15** 3.4). Professor Harnack would distinguish between "the Easter faith" (that Jesus lives with God) and "the Easter message," but the church never had any Easter faith apart from the Easter message. The subversion of the fact of the resurrection is therefore a first task to which unbelief addresses itself. The modern spirit rules it out a priori as miraculous. The historical fact is denied, and innumerable theories (imposture, theories of swoon, of hallucination, mythical theories, spiritualistic theories, etc) are invented to explain the belief. None of these theories can stand calm examination (see the writer's work, *The Resurrection of Jesus*). The objections are but small dust of the balance compared with the strength of the evidence for the fact. From the standpoint of faith, the resurrection of Jesus is the most credible of events. If Jesus was indeed such an One as the gospel history declares Him to be, it was impossible that death should hold Him (Acts **2** 24). The resurrection, in turn, confirms His claim to be the Son of God (Rom **1** 4).

1. The Resurrection (Mt 28; Mk 16; Lk 24; Jn 20, 21; 1 Cor 15:3–8)

With the narratives of the resurrection are here included, as inseparably connected, those of the appearances of Jesus in Jerus and Galilee. The accounts will show that, while the body of Jesus was a true body, identical with that which suffered on the cross (it could be seen, touched, handled), it exhibited attributes which showed that Jesus had entered, even bodily, on a new phase of existence, in which some at least of the ordinary limitations of body were transcended. Its condition in the interval between the resurrection and the ascension was an *intermediate* one—no longer simply natural, yet not fully entered into the state of glorification. "I am not yet ascended . . . . I ascend" (Jn **20** 17); in these two parts of the one saying the mystery of the resurrection body is comprised.

a) The Easter Morning—the Open Tomb

The main facts in the resurrection narratives stand out clearly. "According to all the Gospels," the arch-skeptic Strauss concedes, "Jesus, after having been buried on the Friday evening, and lain during the Sabbath in the grave, came out of it restored to life at daybreak on Sunday" (*New Life of Jesus*, I, 397, ET). Discrepancies are alleged in detail as to the time, number, and names of the women, number of angels, etc; but most of these vanish on careful examination. The Synoptics group their material, while Jn gives a more detailed account of particular events.

(1) *The angel and the keepers.*—No eye beheld the actual resurrection, which took place in the early morning, while it was still dark. Mt records that there was "a great earthquake," and tells of the descent of an angel of the Lord, who rolled away the stone, and sat upon it. Before his dazzling aspect the keepers became as dead men, and afterward fled. The chief priests bribed them to conceal the facts, and say the body had been stolen (Mt **28** 2–4.11–15).

(2) *Visit of the women.*—The first intimation of the resurrection to the disciples was the discovery of the empty tomb by the women who had come at early dawn (Mt **28** 1; Mk **16** 2; Lk **24** 1; Jn **20** 1) with spices, prepared to anoint the body of Jesus (Mk **16** 1; cf Lk **23** 56). Apparently ignorant of the guard, the women were concerned on their way as to who should roll away the stone from the door of the tomb (Mk **16** 3), and were much surprised to find the stone rolled away, and the tomb open. There is no need for supposing that the women mentioned all came together. It is much more probable that they came in different groups or companies—perhaps Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, or these with Salome, first (Mt, Mk; cf the "we" of Jn **20** 2); then Joanna and other members of the Galilean band (Lk). (On the appearance of Jesus to Mary, see below.)

(3) *The angelic message.*—As the women stood, perplexed and affrighted, at the tomb, they received a vision of angels (Mt and Mk speak only of one angel; Lk and Jn mention two; all allude to the dazzling brightness), who announced to them that Jesus had risen ("He is not here; for he is risen; . . . . come, see the place where the Lord lay"), and bade them tell His disciples that He went before them to Galilee, where they should see Him (Mt, Mk; Lk, who does not record the Galilean appearances, omits this part, and recalls the words spoken by Jesus in Galilee, concerning His death and resurrection; cf Mt **16** 21). The women departed with "trembling and astonishment" (Mk), yet "with great joy" (Mt). Here the original Mk breaks off (ver 8), the remaining vs being an appendix. But it is granted that Mk must originally have contained an account of the report to the disciples, and of an appearance of Jesus in Galilee.

b) Visit of Peter and John—Appearance to Mary (Jn; cf Mk 16:9.10; Lk 24:12.24)

The narrative in Jn enlarges in important respects those of the Synoptics. From it we learn that Mary Magdalene (no companion is named, but one at least is implied in the "we" of ver 2), concluding from the empty tomb that the body of Jesus had been removed, at once ran to carry the news to Peter and John ("They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we know not where they have laid him"). These apostles lost no time in hastening to the spot. John, who arrived first, stooping down, saw the linen cloths lying, while Peter, entering, beheld also the napkin for the head rolled up in a place by itself. After John likewise had entered ("He saw, and believed"), they returned to their home. Meanwhile Mary had come back disconsolate to the tomb, where, looking in, she, like the other women, had a vision of two angels. It was then that Jesus addressed her, "Why weepest thou?" At first she thought it was the gardener, but on Jesus tenderly naming her, "Mary," she recognized who it was, and, with the exclamation, "Rabboni" ("Teacher"), would have clasped Him, but He forbade: "Touch me not," etc (ver 17, m "Take not hold on me"), i.e. "Do not wait, but hasten to tell my disciples that I am risen, and ascend to my Father" (the ascension-life had already begun, altering earlier relations).

Report to the disciples—incredulity.—The appearance of Jesus to the other women (Mt **28** 9.10) is referred to below. It is probable that, on the way back, Mary Magdalene rejoined her sisters, and that the errand to the disciples—or such of them as could be found—was undertaken together. Their report was received with incredulity (Lk **24** 11; cf Mk **16** 11). The visit of Peter referred to in Lk **24** 12 is doubtless that recorded more precisely in Jn.

c) Other Easter-Day Appearances (Emmaus, Jerusalem)

Ten appearances of Jesus altogether after His resurrection are recorded, or are referred to; of these five were on the day of resurrection. They are the following:

(1) The first is the appearance to Mary Magdalene above described.

(2) The second is an appearance to the women as they returned from the tomb, recorded in Mt **28** 9.10. Jesus met them, saying, "All hail," and as they took hold of His feet and worshipped Him, He renewed the commission they had received for the disciples. Some regard this as only a generalization of the appearance to Mary Magdalene, but it seems distinct.

(3) An appearance to Peter, attested by both Lk (**24** 34) and Paul (1 Cor **15** 5). This must have been early in the day, probably soon after Peter's visit to the tomb. No particulars are given of this interview, so marked an act of grace of the risen Lord to His repentant apostle. The news of it occasioned much excitement among the disciples (Lk **24** 34).

(4) The fourth was an appearance to two disciples on their way from Jerus to Emmaus—a village about two hours distant (Lk **24** 12–35; Mk **16** 12.13). They were conversing on the sad events of the last few days, and on the strange tidings of the women's vision of angels, when Jesus overtook them, and entered into conversation with them. At first they did not recognize Him—a token, as in Mary's case, of change in His appearance—though their hearts burned within them as He opened to them the Scriptures about Christ's sufferings and glory. As the day was closing, Jesus abode with them to the evening meal; then, as He blessed and brake the bread, "Their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight" (Lk **24** 30.31). They hastily rose, and returned to the company of disciples at Jerus. According to Mk **16** 13, their testimony, like that of the women, was not at first believed.

(5) The fifth appearance was that to "the eleven," with others, in the evening—an appearance recorded by Luke (**24** 36 ff), and John (**20** 19–23), and alluded to by Paul (1 Cor **15** 5). The disciples from Emmaus had just come in, and found the company thrilling with excitement at the news that the Lord had appeared to Simon (Lk). The doors were closed for fear of the Jews, when suddenly Jesus appeared in their midst with the salutation, "Peace be unto you" (Lk, Jn; doubt is unnecessarily cast on Lk **24** 36.40, by their absence from some Western texts). The disciples were affrighted; they thought they had seen a spirit (Lk); "disbelieved for joy" (Lk **24** 41). To remove their fears, Jesus showed them His hands and His feet (in Jn, His side), and ate before them (Lk). He then breathed on them, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit," and renewed the commission formerly given to remit and retain sins (Jn; cf Mt **18** 17.18). The breathing was anticipative of the later affusion of the Spirit at Pentecost (cf Jn **7** 39; Acts **2**); the authority delegated depends for its validity on the possession of that Spirit, and its exercise according to the mind of Christ (cf e.g. 1 Cor **5** 3). The incident strikingly illustrates at once the reality of

Christ's risen body, and the changed conditions under which that body now existed.

d) The Second Appearance to the Eleven—the Doubt of Thomas

Eight days after this first appearance—i.e. the next Sunday evening—a second appearance of Jesus to the apostles took place in the same chamber and under like conditions ("the doors being shut"). The peculiar feature of this second meeting was the removal of the doubt of Thomas who, it is related, had not been present on the former occasion. Thomas, devoted (cf Jn **11** 16), but of naturally questioning temperament (**14** 5), refused to believe on the mere report of others that the Lord had risen, and demanded indubitable sensible evidence for himself. Jesus, at the second appearance, after salutation as before, graciously gave the doubting apostle the evidence he asked: "Reach hither thy finger, and see my hands," etc (Jn **20** 27), though, as the event proved, the sign was not needed. The faith and love of the erstwhile doubter leaped forth at once in adoring confession: "My Lord and my God." It was well; but Jesus reminded him that the highest faith is not that which waits on the evidence of sense ("Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed," ver 29).

e) The Galilean Appearances

The scene now shifts for the time to Galilee. Jesus had appointed to meet with His disciples in Galilee (Mt **26** 32; Mk **16** 7; cf Mk **14** 28). Prior, however, to this meeting—that recorded in Mt **28** 16–20, probably to be identified with the appearance "to above five hundred brethren at once," mentioned by Paul (1 Cor **15** 6)—there is another appearance of Jesus to seven disciples at the Lake of Galilee, of which the story is preserved in Jn **21** 1–23.

(1) *At the Sea of Tiberias—the draught of fishes—Peter's restoration.*—The chapter which narrates this appearance of Jesus at the Lake of Galilee ("Sea of Tiberias") is a supplement to the Gospel, but is so evidently Johannine in character that it may safely be accepted as from the pen of the beloved disciple (thus Lightfoot, Meyer, Godet, Alford, etc). The appearance itself is described as the third to the disciples (ver 14), i.e. the third to the apostles collectively, and in Jn's record seven disciples are stated to have been present, of whom five are named—Peter, Thomas, Nathanael (probably to be identified with Bartholomew), and the sons of Zebedee, James and John. The disciples had spent the night in fishing without result. In the morning Jesus—yet unrecognized—appeared on the beach, and bade them cast down their net on the right side of the boat. The draught of fishes which they took revealed to John the presence of the Master. "It is the Lord," he said to Peter, who at once flung himself into the lake to go to Jesus. On landing, the disciples found a fire of coals, with fish placed on it, and bread; and Jesus Himself, after more fish had been brought, distributed the food, and, it seems implied, Himself shared in the meal. Still a certain awe—another indication of a mysterious change in Christ's appearance—restrained the disciples from asking openly, "Who art thou?" (ver 12). It was not long, however ("when they had broken their fast"), before Jesus sufficiently disclosed Himself in the touching episode of the restoration of Peter (the three-fold question, "Lovest thou me?" answering to the three-fold denial, met by Peter's heartfelt, "Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee," with the words of reinstatement, "Feed my lambs," "Feed my sheep"). In another way, Jesus foretold that Peter would have the opportunity of taking back his denial in the death by which he should glorify God (vs 18.19; tradition says he was crucified head-downward). Curious inquiries were set aside, and attention recalled to duty, "Follow thou me" (ver 22).

(2) *On the mountain—the Great Commission—baptism.*—Though only the eleven apostles are named in Matthew's account (**28** 16), the fact of an 'appointment' for a definite time and place ("the mountain"), and the terms in which the message was given to the "disciples," suggests a collective gathering such as is implied in Paul's "above five hundred brethren at once" (1 Cor **15** 6). The company being assembled, Jesus appeared; still, at first, with that element of mystery in His appearance, which led some to doubt (ver 17). Such doubt would speedily vanish when the Lord, announcing Himself as clothed with all authority in heaven and earth, gave to the apostles the supreme commission to "make disciples of all the nations" (vs 18–20; cf Mk **16** 15, "Go ye into all the world," etc). Discipleship was to be shown by baptism "into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (*one* name, yet *threefold*), and was to be followed by instruction in Christ's commands. Behind the commission, world-wide in its scope, and binding on every age, stands the word of never-failing encouragement, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Doubts of the genuineness of these august utterances go as a rule with doubt of the resurrection itself.

It will be noticed that the Lord's Supper and Baptism are the only sacraments instituted by Jesus in His church.

f) Appearance to James

Paul records, as subsequent to the above, an appearance of Jesus to James, known as "the Lord's brother" (1 Cor **15** 7; cf Gal **1** 19). No particulars are given of this appearance, which may have occurred either in Galilee or Jerus. James, so far as known, was not a believer in Jesus before the crucifixion (cf Jn **7** 3); after the ascension he and the other brethren of Jesus are found in the company of the disciples (Acts **1** 14), and he became afterward a chief "pillar" of the church at Jerus (Gal **1** 19; **2** 9). This appearance may have marked the turning-point.

g) The Last Meeting

The final appearance of Jesus to the apostles (1 Cor **15** 7) is that which Luke in the closing verses of his Gospel (44–53), and in Acts **1** 3–12, brings into direct relation with the ascension. In the Gospel Luke proceeds without a break from the first appearance of Jesus to "the eleven" to His last words about "the promise of my Father"; but Acts **1** shows that a period of 40 days really elapsed during which Jesus repeatedly "appeared" to those whom He had chosen. This last meeting of Jesus with His apostles was mainly occupied with the Lord's exposition of the prophetic Scriptures (Lk **24** 44–46), with renewed commands to preach repentance and remission of sins in His name, "beginning from Jerus" (vs 47.48; cf Acts **1** 8), and with the injunction to tarry in Jerus till the Spirit should be given (ver 49; cf Acts **1** 4.5). Then He led them forth to Olivet, "over against Bethany," and, while blessing them, "was carried up into heaven" (vs 50.51; cf Acts **1** 10.12).

2. The Ascension (Lk 24:50–53; Acts 1:6–14; cf Mk 16:19)

Jesus had declared, "I ascend unto my Father" (Jn **20** 17), and Luke in Acts **1** narrates the circumstances of that departure. Jesus might simply have "vanished" from the sight of His disciples, as on previous occasions, but it was His will to leave them in a way which would visibly mark the final close of His association with them. They are found, as in the Gospel, "assembled" with Him at Jerus, where His final instructions are given.

Then the scene insensibly changes to Olivet, where the ascension is located (Acts **1** 12). The disciples inquire regarding the restoration of the kingdom to Israel (even yet their minds are held in these temporal conceptions), but Jesus tells them that it is not for them to know times and seasons, which the Father had set within His own authority (ver 7). Far more important was it for them to know that within the next days they should receive power from the Holy Spirit to be witnesses for Him to the uttermost part of the earth (ver 8). Even as He spake, He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight (ver 9). Then, as the apostles stood gazing upward, two heavenly messengers appeared, who comforted them with the assurance that in like manner as they had seen Jesus ascend into heaven, so also would He come again. For that return the church still prays and waits (cf Rev **22** 20). See, further, ASCENSION.

Retracing their steps to Jerus, the apostles joined the larger company of disciples in the "upper room" where their meetings seem to have been habitually held, and there, with one accord, to the number of about 120 (Acts **1** 15), they all continued stedfastly in prayer till "the promise of the Father" (Lk **24** 49; Acts **1** 4) was, at Pentecost, bestowed upon them.

PART IV. EPILOGUE: THE APOSTOLIC TEACHING

1. After the Ascension

The earthly life of Jesus is finished. With His resurrection and ascension a new age begins. Yet the work of Christ continues. As Luke expressively phrases it in Acts **1** 1.2, the Gospels are but the records of "all that Jesus *began* both to do and to teach, until the day in which he was received up." It is beyond the scope of this art. to trace the succeeding developments of Christ's activity through His church and by His Spirit; in order, however, to bring the subject to a proper close, it is necessary to glance, even if briefly, at the light thrown back by the Spirit's teachings, after the ascension, on the significance of the earthly life itself, and at the enlargement of the apostles' conceptions about Christ, consequent on this, as seen in the Epistles and the Apocalypse.

2. Revelation through the Spirit

It was the promise of Jesus that, after His departure, the Spirit would be given to His disciples, to teach them all things, and bring to their remembrance all that He had said to them (Jn **14** 26). It was not a new revelation they were to receive, but illumination and guidance of their minds into the meaning of what they had received already (Jn **16** 13–15). This promise of the Spirit was fulfilled at Pentecost (Acts **2**). Only a few personal manifestations of Jesus (Acts **7** 55.56; **22** 17.18; **23** 11) are recorded after that event—the two chief being the appearance to Paul on the way to Damascus (1 Cor **15** 8; cf Acts **9** 3 ff, etc), and the appearance in vision to John in Patmos (Rev **1** 10 ff). The rest was internal revelation (cf Gal **1** 12.16; Eph **1** 17; **3** 3–5). The immense advance in enlargement and clearness of view—aided, no doubt, by Christ's parting instructions (Lk **24** 44–48; Acts **1** 2)—is already apparent in Peter's discourses at Pentecost; but it is not to be supposed that much room was not left for after-growth in knowledge, and deepened insight into the connection of truths. Peter, e.g., had to be instructed as to the admission of the Gentiles (Acts **10** 11); the apostles had much gradually to learn as to the relations of the law (cf Acts **15**; **21** 20 ff; Gal **2**, etc); Paul received revelations vastly widening the doctrinal horizon; both John and Paul show progressive apprehension in the truth about Christ.

3. Gospels and Epistles

It is therefore a question of much interest how the apostolic conceptions thus gained stand related to the picture of Jesus we have been studying in the Gospels. It is the contention of the so-called "historical" (anti-supernaturalistic) school of the day that the two pictures do not correspond. The transcendental Christ of Paul and John has little in common, it is affirmed, with the Man of Nazareth of the Synoptic Gospels. Theories of the "origins of Christianity" are concocted proceeding on this assumption (cf Pfleiderer, Weizsäcker, Bousset, Wernle, etc). Such speculations ignore the first conditions of the problem in not accepting the self-testimony of Jesus as to who He was, and the ends of His mission into the world. When Jesus is taken at His own valuation, and the great fact of His resurrection is admitted, the alleged contradictions between the "Jesus of history" and the "Christ of faith" largely disappear.

4. Fact of Christ's Lordship

It is forgotten how great a change in the center of gravity in the conception of Christ's person and work was necessarily involved in the facts of Christ's death, resurrection and exaltation to the right hand of power. The life is not ignored—far from it. Its influence breathes in every page, e.g. of Paul's epistles. But the weakness, the limitations, the self-suppression—what Paul in Phil **2** 7 calls the "emptying"—of that earthly life have now been left behind; the rejected and crucified One has now been vindicated, exalted, has entered into His glory. This is the burden of Peter's first address at Pentecost: "God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified" (Acts **2** 36). Could anything look quite the same after that? The change is seen in the growing substitution of the name "Christ" for "Jesus" (see at beginning of art.), and in the habitual speaking of Jesus as "Lord."

5. Significance of Christ's Person

With belief in the lordship of Jesus went necessarily an enlarged conception of the significance of His person. The elements were all there in what the disciples had seen and known of Jesus while on earth (Jn **1** 14; 1 Jn **1** 1–3), but His exaltation not only threw back light upon His claims while on earth—confirmed, interpreted, completed them—but likewise showed the ultimate ground of these claims in the full Divine dignity of His person. He who was raised to the throne of Divine dominion; who was worshipped with honors due to God only; who was joined, with Father and with Holy Spirit as, coördinately, the source of grace and blessing, *must* in the fullest sense be Divine. There is not such a thing as honorary Godhead. In this is already contained in substance everything taught about Jesus in the epistles: His preëxistence (the Lord's own words had suggested this, Jn **8** 58; **17** 5, etc), His share in Divine attributes (eternity, etc), in Divine works (creation, etc, 1 Cor **8** 6; Col **1** 16.17; He **1** 2; Rev **1** 8; **3** 14, etc), in Divine worship (Phil **2** 9–11; Rev **5** 11.12, etc), in Divine names and titles (He **1** 8, etc). It is an extension of the same conception when Jesus is represented as the *end* of creation—the "Head" in whom all things are finally to be summed up (Eph **1** 10; cf He **2** 6–9). These high views of the person of Christ in the Epistles are everywhere assumed to be the possession of the readers.

Jesus had furnished His disciples with the means of understanding His death as a necessity of His Messianic vocation, endured for the salvation of the world; but it was the resurrection and exaltation which shed light on the utmost meaning of this also. Jesus died, but it was for sins. He was a propitiation for the sin of the world (Rom **3** 25;

6. Significance of the Cross and Resurrection

1 Jn **2** 2; **4** 10). He was 'made sin' for us (2 Cor **5** 21). The strain of Isa **53** runs through the NT teaching on this theme (cf 1 Pet **1** 19; **2** 22–25, etc). Jesus' own word "ransom" is reproduced by Paul (1 Tim **2** 6). The song of the redeemed is, "Thou didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe," etc (Rev **5** 9). Is it wonderful, in view of this, that in the apostolic writings—not in Paul only, but in Pet, in Jn, in He, and Rev, equally—the cross should assume the decisive importance it does? Paul only works out more fully in relation to the law and the sinner's justification a truth shared by all. He himself declares it to be the common doctrine of the churches (1 Cor **15** 3.4).

7. Hope of the Advent

The newer tendency is to read an apocalyptic character into nearly all the teaching of Jesus (cf Schweitzer, *Quest of the Historical Jesus*). This is an exaggeration, but that Jesus taught His disciples to look for His coming again, and connected with that coming the perfection of His kingdom, is plain to every reader of the Gospels. It will not be denied that the apostolic church retained this feature of the teaching of Jesus. In accordance with the promise in Acts **1** 11, it looked for the glorious reappearing of its Lord. The Epistles are full of this hope. Even Jn gives it prominence (1 Jn **2** 28; **3** 2). In looking for the *parousia* as something immediately at hand, the early believers went even beyond what had been revealed, and Paul had to rebuke harmful tendencies in this direction (2 Thess **2**). The *hope* might be cherished that the coming would not long be delayed, but in face of the express declarations of Jesus that no one, not the angels, not even the Son, knew of that day and hour (Mt **24** 36; Mk **13** 32), and that the Father had set these things in His own authority (Acts **1** 7; cf also such intimations as in Mt **13** 30; **24** 14; **25** 19; **28** 19; Lk **19** 11, etc), none could affirm this with certainty. Time has proved—proved it even in the apostolic age (2 Pet **3** 3.4)—that the Advent was not so near as many thought. In part, perhaps, the church itself may be to blame for the delay. Still to faith the Advent remains the great fixed event of the future, the event which overshadows all others—in that sense is ever near—the polestar of the church's confidence that righteousness shall triumph, the dead shall be raised, sin shall be judged and the kingdom of God shall come.

Literature.—The lit. on the life and teaching of Jesus is so voluminous, and represents such diverse standpoints, that it would be unprofitable to furnish an extended catalogue of it. It may be seen prefixed to any of the larger books. On the skeptical and rationalistic side the best account of the lit. will be found in Schweitzer's book, *From Reimarus to Wrede* (ET, *Quest of the Historical Jesus*). Of modern believing works may be specially named those of Lange, Weiss, Ellicott, Edersheim, Farrar, D. Smith. Dr. Sanday's book, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, surveys a large part of the field, and is preparatory to an extended *Life* from Dr. Sanday's own pen. His art. in *HDB* has justly attracted much attention. Schürer's *Hist of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (ET, 5 vols; a new German ed has been published) is the best authority on the external conditions. The works on NT Bib. theology (Reuss, Weiss, Schmid, Stevens, etc) deal with the teaching of Jesus; see also Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus* (ET). Works and arts. on the Chronology, on Harmony of the Gospels, on geography and topography (cf esp. Stanley, G. A. Smith) are legion. A good, comprehensive book on these topics is Andrews, *Life of Our Lord* (rev. ed). The present writer has published works on *The Virgin Birth of Christ* and *The Resurrection of Jesus*. On the relations of gospel and epistle, see J. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*. See also the various arts. in this Enc, on Gospels; The Person of Christ; Ethics of Jesus; Virgin Birth; Jesus Christ, Arrest and Trial of; Resurrection; Ascension; Pharisees; Sadducees; Herod; Jerusalem, etc.

James Orr

JESUS CHRIST, ARREST AND TRIAL OF:

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2. Difficulties of the Subject
3. Illustrations of Difficulties

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This subject is of special interest, not only on account of its inherent importance, but more particularly on account of its immediately preceding, and leading directly up to what is the greatest tragedy in human history, the crucifixion of Our Lord. It has also the added interest of being the only proceeding on record in which the two great legal systems of antiquity, the Jewish and the Roman, which have most largely influenced modern legislation and jurisprudence, each played a most important part.

1. Jewish and Roman Law

The coexistence of these two systems in Judaea, and their joint action in bringing about the tremendous results in question, were made possible by the generous policy pursued by Rome in allowing conquered nations to retain their ancient laws, institutions and usages, in so far as they were compatible with Rom sovereignty and supremacy. Not only so, but, in a large degree, they permitted these laws to be administered by the officials of the subject peoples. This privilege was not granted absolutely, but was permitted only so long as it was not abused. It might be withdrawn at any time, and the instances in which this was done were by no means rare.

Of the matters considered in this article, the arrest of Jesus and the proceedings before Annas, Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin took place professedly under Jewish law; the proceedings before Pilate and the reference to Herod, under Rom law.

2. Difficulties of the Subject

It is very difficult to construct from the materials in the four Gospels a satisfactory continuous record of the arrest, and of what may be called the twofold trial of Jesus. The Gospels were written from different viewpoints, and for different purposes, each of the writers selecting such particulars as seemed to him to be of special importance for the particular object he had in view. Their reports are all very brief, and the proper chronological order of the various events recorded in different Gospels must, in many cases, be largely a matter of conjecture. The difficulty is increased by the great irregularities and the tumultuous character of the proceedings; by our imperfect knowledge of the topography of Jerus at this time (29 AD); also by the fact that the reports are given mainly in popular and not in technical language; and when the latter form is used, the technical terms have had to be tr^{d} into Gr, either from the Heb or from the Lat.

3. Illustrations of Difficulties

For instance, opinions are divided as to where Pilate resided when in Jerus, whether in the magnificent palace built by Herod the Great, or in the castle of Antonia; as to where was the palace occupied by Herod Antipas during the Passover; whether Annas and Caiaphas occupied different portions of the same palace, or whether they lived in adjoining or different residences; whether the preliminary examination of Jesus, recorded by John, was before Annas or Caiaphas, and as to other similar matters. It is very satisfactory, however, to know that, although it is sometimes difficult to decide exactly as to the best way of harmonizing the different accounts, yet there is nothing irreconcilable or contradictory in them, and that there is no material point in the history of the very important proceedings falling within the scope of this article which is seriously affected by any of these debatable matters.

For a clear historical statement of the events of the concluding day in the life of Our Lord before His crucifixion, see the article on JESUS CHRIST. The present article will endeavor to consider the matters relating to His arrest and trial from a legal and constitutional point of view.

I. The Arrest.—During the last year of the ministry of Jesus, the hostility of the Jews to Him had greatly increased, and some six months before they finally succeeded in accomplishing their purpose, they had definitely resolved to make away with Him. At the Feast of Tabernacles they sent officers (the temple-guards) to take Him while He was teaching in the temple (Jn **7** 32); but these, after listening to His words, returned without having made the attempt, giving as a reason that "never man so spake" (ver 46).

After His raising of Lazarus, their determination to kill Him was greatly intensified. A special meeting of the council was held to consider the matter. There Caiaphas, the high priest, strongly advocated such a step on national grounds, and on the ground of expediency, quoting in support of his advice, in a cold-blooded and cynical manner, the Jewish adage that it was expedient that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. Their plans to this end were frustrated, for the time being, by Jesus withdrawing Himself to the border of the wilderness, where He remained with His disciples (Jn **11** 47–54).

On His return to Bethany and Jerus, six days before the Passover, they were deterred from carrying out their design on account of His manifest popularity with the people, as evidenced by His triumphal entry into Jerus on the first day of the Passover week (Palm Sunday), and by the crowds who thronged around Him, and listened to His teachings in the temple, and who enjoyed the discomfiture of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Herodians, as they successively sought to entangle Him in His talk.

Two days before the Passover, at a council meeting held in the palace of Caiaphas, they planned to accomplish their purpose by subtlety, but "not during the feast, lest a tumult arise among the people" (Mt **26** 3–5; Mk **14** 1.2). While they were in this state of perplexity, to their great relief Judas came to them and agreed to betray his Master for money (Mt **26** 14–16; Mk **14** 10.11).

1. Preparatory Steps

This time they determined not to rely solely upon their own temple-guards or officers to execute their warrant or order of arrest, fearing that these officials, being Jews, might again be fascinated by the strange influence which Jesus exercised over His countrymen, or that His followers might offer resistance. They therefore applied to Pilate, the Rom procurator (governor), for the assistance of a band of Rom soldiers. He granted them a cohort (Gr *speira*, 400 to 600 men) from the legion then quartered in the castle of Antonia, which adjoined and overlooked the temple-area. The final arrangements as to these would probably be completed while Judas was at the supper room. It has been suggested that the whole cohort would not go, but only a selection from them. However, it is said that Judas "received the band [cohort] of soldiers" (Jn **18** 3), and that they were under the command of a chief captain (Gr *chiliarch*, Lat *tribune*, ver 12). If there had not been more than 100 soldiers, they would not have been under the command of a captain, but the chief officer would have been a centurion. The amazing popularity of Jesus, as shown by His triumphal entry into the city, may have led the authorities to make such ample provision against any possible attempt at rescue.

The Garden of Gethsemane, in which Judas knew that Jesus would be found that night, was well known to him (Jn **18** 2); and he also knew the time he would be likely to find his Master there. Thither at the proper hour he led the band of soldiers, the temple officers and others, and also some of the chief priests and elders themselves; the whole being described as "a great multitude with swords and staves" (Mt **26** 47). Although the Easter full moon would be shining brightly, they also carried "lanterns and torches" (Jn **18** 3), in order to make certain that Jesus should not escape or fail to be recognized in the deep shade of the olive trees in the garden.

2. The Arrest in the Garden

On their arrival at the garden, Jesus came forward to meet them, and the traitor Judas gave them the appointed signal by kissing Him. As the order or warrant was a Jewish one, the temple officers would probably be in front, the soldiers supporting them as reserves. On Jesus announcing to the leaders that He was the one they sought, what the chief priests had feared actually occurred. There was something in the words or bearing of Jesus which awed the temple officers; they were panic-stricken, went backward, and fell to the ground. On their rallying, the impetuous Peter drew his sword, and cut off the ear of one of them, Malchus, the servant of the high priest (Jn **18** 6–10).

On this evidence of resistance the Rom captain and soldiers came forward, and with the assistance of the Jewish officers bound Jesus. Under the Jewish law this was not lawful before condemnation, save in exceptional cases where resistance was either offered or apprehended.

Even in this trying hour the concern of Jesus was more for others than for Himself, as witness His miracle in healing the ear of Malchus, and His request that His disciples might be allowed their liberty (Jn **18** 8). Notwithstanding His efforts, His followers were panic-stricken, probably on account of the vigorous action of the officers and soldiers after the assault by Peter, "and they all left him and fled" (Mk **14** 50).

It is worthy of note that Jesus had no word of blame or censure for the Rom officers or soldiers who were only doing their sworn duty in supporting the civil authorities; but His pungent words of reproach for not having attempted His arrest while He was teaching openly in the temple were reserved for "the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and elders" (Lk **22** 52), who had shown their inordinate zeal and hostility by taking the unusual, and for those who were to sit as judges on the case, the improper and illegal course of accompanying the officers, and themselves taking part in the arrest.

3. Taken to the City

The whole body departed with their prisoner for the city. From the first three Gospels one might infer that they went directly to the palace of Caiaphas, the high priest. In the Fourth Gospel, however, we are told that they took him first to Annas (Jn **18** 13).

Why they did so we are not informed, the only statement made being that he was the father-in-law of Caiaphas (ver 13). He had been the high priest from 7 AD to 15 AD, when he was deposed by Valerius Gratus, the Rom procurator. He was still the most influential member of the Sanhedrin, and, being of an aggressive disposition, it may be that it was he who had given instructions as to the arrest, and that they thought it their duty to report first to him.

Annas, however, sent Jesus bound to Caiaphas (ver 24). Having delivered over their prisoner, the Rom soldiers would proceed to their quarters in the castle, the temple officials retaining Jesus in their charge.

Meanwhile, the members of the Sanhedrin were assembling at the palace of the high priest, and the preliminary steps toward the first or Jewish trial were being taken.

1. The Jewish Law

II. The Jewish Trial.—It is the just boast of those countries whose jurisprudence had its origin in the common law of England, that their system of criminal law is founded upon the humane maxims that everyone is presumed to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty, and that no one is bound to criminate himself. But the Jewish law went even farther in the safeguards which it placed around an accused person. In the Pent it is provided that one witness shall not be sufficient to convict any man of even a minor offence. "One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth: at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall a matter be established" (Dt **19** 15).

2. The Mishna

These principles of the Mosaic law were elaborated and extended in the system which grew up after the return from Babylon. It was begun by the men of the Great Synagogue, and was afterward completed by the Sanhedrin which succeeded them. Up to the time of Our Lord, and for the first two centuries of the Christian era, their rules remained largely in an oral or unwritten form, until they were compiled or codified in the Mish by Rabbi Judah and his associates and successors in the early part of the 3d cent. It is generally conceded by both Jewish and Christian writers that the main provisions, therein found for the protection of accused persons, had been long incorporated in the oral law and were recognized as a part of it in the time of Annas and Caiaphas.

3. Criminal Trials

The provisions relating to criminal trials, and esp. to those in which the offence was punishable by death, were very stringent and were all framed in the interest of the accused. Among them were the following: The trial must be begun by day, and if not completed before night it must be adjourned and resumed by day; the quorum of judges in capital cases was 23, that being the quorum of the Grand Council; a verdict of acquittal, which required only a majority of one, might be rendered on the same day as the trial was completed; any other verdict could only be rendered on a subsequent day and required a majority of at least two; no prisoner could be convicted on his own evidence; it was the duty of a judge to see that the interests of the accused were fully protected.

The modern practice of an information or complaint and a preliminary investigation before a magistrate was wholly unknown to the Jewish law and foreign to its genius. The examination of the witnesses in open court was in reality the beginning of a Jewish trial, and the crime for which the accused was tried, and the sole charge he had to meet, was that which was disclosed by the evidence of the witnesses.

4. The Trial of Jesus

Let us see how far the foregoing principles and rules were followed and observed in the proceedings before the high priest in the present instance. The first step taken in the trial was the private examination of Jesus by the high priest, which is recorded only in Jn **18** 19–23. Opinions differ as to whether this examination was conducted by Annas at his residence before he sent Jesus to Caiaphas (ver 24), or by the latter after Jesus had been delivered up to him.

Caiaphas was actually the high priest at the time, and had been for some years. Annas had been deposed from the office about 14 years previously by the Rom procurator; but he was still accorded the title (Acts **4** 6). Many of the Jews did not concede the right of the procurator to depose him, and looked upon him as still the rightful high priest. He is also said to have been at this time the vice-president of the Sanhedrin. The arguments as to which of them is called the high priest by John in this passage are based largely upon two different renderings of Jn **18** 24. In AV the verse reads "Now Annas had sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest," a reading based upon the *TR* which implies that Jesus had been sent to Caiaphas before the examination. On the other hand, RV, following the Gr text adopted by Nestle and others, reads, "Annas therefore sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest," implying that Annas sent him to Caiaphas on account of what had taken place in the examination.

However, it is not material which of these two leading members of the Sanhedrin conducted the examination. The same may also be said as to the controversy regarding the residence of Annas at the time, whether it was in some part of the official palace of the high priest or elsewhere. The important matters are the fact, the time, and the manner of the examination by one or other of these leading members of the council, not the precise place where, or the particular person by whom, it was conducted.

5. The Preliminary Examination

The high priest (whether Annas or Caiaphas) proceeded to interrogate Jesus concerning His disciples and His doctrine (Jn **18** 19). Such a proceeding formed no part of a regular Jewish trial, and was, moreover, not taken in good faith; but with a view to entrapping Jesus into admissions that might be used against Him at the approaching trial before the council. It appears to have been in the nature of a private examination, conducted probably while the members of the council were assembling. The dignified and appropriate answer of Jesus pointedly brought before the judge the irregularity he was committing, and was a reminder that His trial should begin with the examination of the witnesses: "I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? Ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said" (vs 20.21 AV). The reply to this was a blow from one of the officers, an outrageous proceeding which appears to have passed unrebuked by the judge, and it was left to Jesus Himself to make the appropriate protest.

6. The Night Trial

The next proceeding was the trial before the council in the palace of Caiaphas, attended at least by the quorum of 23. This was an illegal meeting, since a capital trial, as we have seen, could not either be begun or proceeded with at night. Some of the chief priests and elders, as previously stated, had been guilty of the highly improper act for judges, of taking part in and directing the arrest of Jesus. Now, "the chief priests and the whole council" spent the time intervening between the arrest and the commencement of the trial in something even worse: they "sought false witness against Jesus, that they might put him to death" (Mt **26** 59). This, no doubt, only means that they then collected their false witnesses and instructed them as to the testimony they should give. For weeks, ever since the raising of Lazarus, they had been preparing for such a trial, as we read: "So from that day forth they took counsel that they might put him to death" (Jn **11** 53).

Caiaphas, as high priest and president of the Sanhedrin, presided at the meeting of the council. The oath administered to witnesses in a Jewish court was an extremely solemn invocation, and it makes one shudder to think of the high priest pronouncing these words to perjured witnesses, known by him to have been procured by the judges before him in the manner stated.

7. False Witnesses

But even this did not avail. Although "many bare false witness against him," yet on account of their having been imperfectly tutored by their instructors, or for other cause, "their witness agreed not together" (Mk **14** 56), and even these prejudiced and partial judges could not find the concurring testimony of two witnesses required by their law (Dt **19** 15).

The nearest approach to the necessary concurrence came at last from two witnesses, who gave a distorted report of a figurative and enigmatic statement made by Jesus in the temple during His early ministry: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (Jn **2** 19). The explanation is given: "He spake of the temple of his body" (ver 21). The testimony of the two witnesses is reported with but slight variations in the two first Gospels as follows: "This man said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days" (Mt **26** 61); and "We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands" (Mk **14** 58). Whether these slightly different statements represent the discrepancies in their testimony, or on account of some other variations or contradictions, the judges reluctantly decided that "not even so did their witness agree together" (ver 59).

8. A Browbeating Judge

Caiaphas, having exhausted his list of witnesses, and seeing the prosecution on which he had set his heart in danger of breaking down for the lack of legal evidence, adopted a blustering tone, and said to Jesus, "Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee? But Jesus held his peace" (Mt **26** 62.63), relying on the fact that the prosecution had utterly failed on account of the lack of agreement of two witnesses on any of the charges. As a final and desperate resort, Caiaphas had recourse to a bold strategic move to draw from Jesus an admission or confession on which he might base a condemnation, similar to the attempt which failed at the preliminary examination; but this time fortifying his appeal by a solemn adjuration in the name of the Deity. He said to Jesus: "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou art the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven" (vs 63.64). Caiaphas, although knowing that under the law Jesus could not be convicted on His own answers or admissions, thereupon in a tragic manner "rent his garments, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy: what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? They answered and said, He is worthy of death" (vs 65.66).

The night session then broke up to meet again after daybreak in order to ratify the decision just come to, and to give a semblance of legality to the trial and verdict. The closing scene was one of disorder, in which they spat in their prisoner's face and buffeted him (vs 67.68; Lk **22** 63–65).

9. The Morning Session

The following morning, "as soon as it was day," the council reassembled in the same place, and Jesus was led into their presence (Lk **22** 66). There were probably a number of the council present who had not attended the night session. For the benefit of these, and perhaps to give an appearance of legality to the proceeding, the high priest began the trial anew, but not with the examination of witnesses which had proved such a failure at the night session. He proceeded at once to ask substantially the same questions as had finally brought out from Jesus the night before the answer which he had declared to be blasphemy, and upon which the council had "condemned him to be worthy of death" (Mk **14** 64). The meeting is mentioned in all the Gospels, the details of the examination are related by Luke alone. When asked whether He was the Christ, He replied, "If I tell you, ye will not believe: and if I ask you, ye will not answer. But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God" (Lk **22** 67–69). This answer not being sufficient to found a verdict of blasphemy upon, they all cried out, "Art thou then the Son of God?" To this He gave an affirmative answer, "Ye say that I am. And they said, What further need have we of witness? for we ourselves have heard from his own mouth" (vs 70.71).

10. Powers of the Sanhedrin

It will be observed that neither at the night nor at the morning session was there any sentence pronounced upon Jesus by the high priest. There was on each occasion only what would be equivalent to a verdict of guilty found by a jury under our modern criminal practice, but no sentence passed upon the prisoner by the presiding judge. When Judaea lost the last vestige of its independence and became a Rom province (6 AD), the Sanhedrin ceased to have the right to inflict capital punishment or to administer the law of life and death. This jurisdiction was thenceforth transferred to the Rom procurator. The Sanhedrin submitted very reluctantly to this curtailment of its powers. A few years later it exercised it illegally and in a very riotous manner in the case of Stephen (Acts **7** 58). Annas, however, of all men, had good reason not to violate this law, as his having done so during the absence of the procurator was the cause of his being deposed from the office of high priest by Valerius Gratus (15 AD).

The proceedings may have been taken before the high priest in the hope that Pilate might be induced to accept the verdict of the Sanhedrin as conclusive that Jesus had been guilty of an offence punishable by death under the Jewish law.

11. Condemnation for Blasphemy

Now what was the precise crime or crimes for which Jesus was tried at these two sittings of the council? The first impression would probably be that there was no connection between the charge of destroying the temple and building another in three days, and His claiming to be the Son of God. And yet they were closely allied in the Jewish mind. The Jewish nation being a pure theocracy, the overthrow of the temple, the abode of the Divine Sovereign, would mean the overthrow of Divine institutions, and be an act of treason against the Deity. The profession of ability to build another temple in three days would be construed as a claim to the possession of supernatural power and, consequently, blasphemy. As to the other claim which He Himself made and confessed to the council, namely, that He was the Christ, the Son of God, none of them would have any hesitation in concurring in the verdict of the high priest that it was rank blasphemy, when made by one whom they regarded simply as a Galilean peasant.

To sum up: The Jewish trial of Our Lord was absolutely illegal, the court which condemned Him being without jurisdiction to try a capital offence,

12. Summary

which blasphemy was under the Jewish law. Even if there had been jurisdiction, it would have been irregular, as the judges had rendered themselves incompetent to try the case, having been guilty of the violation of the spirit of the law that required judges to be unprejudiced and impartial, and carefully to guard the interests of the accused. Even the letter of the law had been violated in a number of important respects. Among these may be mentioned: (1) some of the judges taking part in and directing the arrest; (2) the examination before the trial and the attempt to obtain admissions; (3) endeavors of the judges to procure the testimony of false witnesses; (4) commencing and continuing the trial at night; (5) examining and adjuring the accused in order to extort admissions from Him; (5) rendering a verdict of guilty at the close of the night session, without allowing a day to intervene; (7) holding the morning session on a feast day, and rendering a verdict at its close; and (8) rendering both verdicts without any legal evidence.

III. The Roman Trial.—Early on the morning of Friday of the Passover week, as we have already seen, "the chief priests with the elders and scribes, and the whole council" held a consultation (Mk), in the palace of the high priest; and after the examination of Jesus and their verdict that He was guilty of blasphemy, they took counsel against Him "to put him to death" (Mt), this being, in their judgment, the proper punishment for the offence of which they had pronounced Him guilty.

1. Taken before Pilate

For the reasons already mentioned, they came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to invoke the aid of the Rom power in carrying out this sentence. They thereupon bound Jesus, and led Him away and delivered Him up to Pilate, who at this time probably occupied, while in Jerus, the magnificent palace built by Herod the Great. Jesus was taken into the judgment hall of the palace or Praetorium; His accusers, unwilling to defile themselves by entering into a heathen house and thereby rendering themselves unfit to eat the Passover, remained outside upon the marble pavement.

2. Roman Law and Procedure

The proceedings thus begun were conducted under a system entirely different from that which we have thus far been considering, both in its nature and its administration. The Jewish law was a part of the religion, and in its growth and development was administered in important cases by a large body of trained men, who were obliged to follow strictly a well-defined procedure. The Rom law, on the other hand, had its origin and growth under the stern and manly virtues and the love of justice which characterized republican Rome, and it still jealously guarded the rights and privileges of Rom citizens, even in a conquered province. Striking illustrations of this truth are found in the life of St. Paul (see Acts **16** 35–39; **22** 24–29; **25** 10–12). The lives and fortunes of the natives in an imperial province like Judaea may be said to have been almost completely at the mercy of the Rom procurator or governor, who was responsible to his imperial master alone, and not even to the Rom senate. Pilate therefore was well within the mark when, at a later stage of the trial, being irritated at Jesus remaining silent when questioned by him, he petulantly exclaimed: "Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to release thee, and have power to crucify thee?" (Jn **19** 10). While, however, the procurator was not compelled in such cases to adhere strictly to the prescribed procedure, and had a wide discretion, he was not allowed to violate or depart from the established principles of the law.

3. Full Trial Not Desired

On this occasion, Pilate, respecting the scruples of the chief priests about entering the palace, went outside at their request, apparently leaving Jesus in the Praetorium. He asked them the usual formal question, put at the opening of a Rom trial: "What accusation bring ye against this man? They answered and said unto him, If he were not an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him up unto thee" (Jn **18** 29 f AV). Pilate could see at once that this was a mere attempt to evade the direct question he had asked, and was not such an accusation as disclosed any offence known to the Rom law. Affecting to treat it with disdain, and as something known only to their own law, he said, "Take him yourselves, and judge him according to your law. The Jews said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death" (ver 31).

4. Final Accusation

Perceiving that Pilate would not gratify their desire to have Jesus condemned on the verdict which they had rendered, or for an offence against their own law only, "they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king" (Lk **23** 2). This was an accusation containing three charges, much like a modern indictment containing three counts. Pilate appears to have been satisfied that there was nothing in the first two of these charges; but the third was too serious to be ignored, esp. as it was a direct charge of *majestas* or treason, the greatest crime known to the Rom law, and as to which the reigning emperor, Tiberius, and his then favorite, Sejanus, were particularly sensitive and jealous. The charges in this case were merely oral, but it would appear to have been in the discretion of the procurator to receive them in this form in the case of one who was not a Rom citizen.

5. Examination, Defence and Acquittal

The accusers having been heard, Pilate returned to the Praetorium to examine Jesus regarding the last and serious accusation. The Four Gospels give in the same words the question put to him by Pilate, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" The first three record only the final affirmative answer, "Thou sayest," which if it stood alone might have been taken as a plea of guilty; but John gives the intervening discussion which explains the matter fully. He tells us that Jesus did not answer the question directly, but asked Pilate, "Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee concerning me?" (Jn **18** 34) (apparently not having been outside when the charges were made). On being told that it came from the chief priests, He went on to explain that His kingdom was not of this world, but was a spiritual kingdom. Being again asked if He was a king, He replied in effect, that He was a king in that sense, and that His subjects were those who were of the truth and heard His voice (vs 35–37). Pilate, being satisfied with His explanation, "went out again unto the Jews," and apparently having taken Jesus with him, he mounted his judgment seat or movable tribunal, which had been placed upon the tesselated pavement, and pronounced his verdict, "I find in him no fault at all" (ver 38 AV, RV "I find no crime in him").

6. Fresh Accusations

According to the Rom law, this verdict of acquittal should have ended the trial and at once secured the discharge of Jesus; but instead it brought a volley of fresh accusations to which Jesus made no reply. Pilate hesitated, and hearing a charge that Jesus had begun His treasonable teaching in Galilee, the thought occurred to him that he might escape from his dilemma by sending Jesus for trial to Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of

Galilee, who was then in Jerus for the feast, which he accordingly did (Lk **23** 7).

7. Reference to Herod

Herod had long been desirous to see Jesus—"hoped to see some miracle done by him," and "questioned him in many words; but he answered him nothing." The chief priests and scribes, who had followed him from the Praetorium to the Maccabean palace, which Herod was then occupying, "stood, vehemently accusing" Jesus (vs 8–10). "That fox," however, as Jesus had called him (Lk **13** 32), was too astute to intermeddle in a trial for treason, which was a dangerous proceeding, and possibly he was aware that Pilate had already acquitted Him; in which case a retrial by him would be illegal. He and his soldiers, probably irritated at the refusal of Jesus to give him any answer, mocked Him, and arraying Him in a gorgeous robe, no doubt in ridicule of His claim to be a king, sent Him back to Pilate. This reference to Herod in reality formed no effective part of the trial of Jesus, as Herod declined the jurisdiction, although Pilate sought to make use of it in his subsequent discussion with the chief priests. The only result was that Herod was flattered by the courtesy of Pilate, the enmity between them ceased, and they were made friends (Lk **23** 11.12.15).

8. Jesus or Barabbas

On their return, Pilate resumed his place on the judgment seat outside. What followed, however, properly formed no part of the legal trial, as it was a mere travesty upon law as well as upon justice. Pilate resolved to make another attempt to secure the consent of the Jews to the release of Jesus. To this end he summoned not only the chief priests and the rulers, but "the people" as well (Lk **23** 13), and after mentioning the failure to prove any of the charges made against Jesus, he reminded them of the custom of releasing at the feast a prisoner selected by them, and offering as a compromise to chastise or scourge Jesus before releasing Him. At this point Pilate's anxiety to release Jesus was still further increased by the message he received from his wife concerning her disturbing dream about Jesus and warning him to "have . . . . nothing to do with that righteous man" (Mt **27** 19). Meanwhile, the chief priests and elders were busily engaged in canvassing the multitude to ask for the release of Barabbas, the notable robber, and destroy Jesus (ver 20). When Pilate urged them to release Jesus, they cried out all together, "Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas"; and upon a further appeal on behalf of Jesus they cried, "Crucify, crucify him." A third attempt on his part met with no better result (Lk **23** 18–23).

9. Behold the Man!

The Fourth Gospel alone records a final attempt on the part of Pilate to save Jesus. He scourged Him, it has been suggested, with a view to satisfying their desire for His punishment, and afterward appealing to their pity. He allowed his soldiers to repeat what they had seen done at Herod's palace, and place a crown of thorns upon His head, array Him in a purple robe, and render mock homage to Him as king of the Jews. Pilate went out to the Jews with Jesus thus arrayed and bleeding. Again declaring that he found no fault in Him, he presented Him, saying, "Behold, the man!" This was met by the former cry, "Crucify him, crucify him." Pilate replied, "Take him yourselves . . . . for I find no crime in him." The Jews referred him to their law by which He deserved death because He made Himself the Son of God. This alarmed Pilate's superstitious fears, who by this time appears to have wholly lost control of himself. He took Jesus into the palace and said to Him, "Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer." Irritated at His silence, Pilate reminded Him of his absolute power over Him. The mysterious answer of Jesus as to the source of power still further alarmed him, and he made new efforts to secure His discharge (Jn **19** 1–9).

10. Pilate Succumbs to Threats

The Jews were well aware that Pilate was arbitrary and cruel, but they had also found that he was very sensitive as to anything that might injuriously affect his official position or his standing with his master, the emperor. As a last resort they shouted to him, "If thou release this man, thou art not Caesar's friend: every one that maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar" (ver 12). The prospect of a charge of his aiding and abetting such a crime as treason, in addition to the other charges that a guilty conscience told him might be brought against him, proved too much for the vacillating procurator. He brought Jesus out, and sat down again upon the judgment seat placed upon the pavement. He made one more appeal, "Shall I crucify your King?" The chief priests gave the hypocritical answer, "We have no king but Caesar" (ver 15). Pilate finally succumbed to their threats and clamor; but took his revenge by placing upon the cross the superscription that was so galling to them, "THE KING OF THE JEWS."

11. Pilate Washes His Hands

Then occurred the closing scene of the tragedy, recorded only in the First Gospel, when Pilate washed his hands before the multitude (a Jewish custom), saying to them, "I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man; see ye to it." The reply was that dreadful imprecation, "His blood be on us, and on our children" (Mt **27** 24.25).

12. The Sentence

Pilate resumes his place upon the judgment seat, the fatal sentence at last falls from his lips, and Jesus is delivered up to be crucified.

13. Review

Now, how far were these proceedings in accordance with the Rom law under which they purported to have been taken and conducted? In the first place, Pilate, as procurator, was the proper officer to try the charges brought against Jesus. In the next place he acted quite properly in declining to entertain a charge which disclosed no offence known to the Rom law, or to pass a sentence based on the verdict of the Sanhedrin for an alleged violation of the Jewish law. He appears to have acted in accordance with the law, and indeed in a judicial and praiseworthy manner in the trial and disposition of the threefold indictment for treason (unless it be a fact that Jesus was not present when these accusations were brought against Him outside the Praetorium, which would be merely an irregularity, as they were made known to him later inside). Pilate's initial mistake, which led to all the others, was in not discharging Jesus at once, when he had pronounced the verdict of acquittal.

All the subsequent proceedings were contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the law. Although Pilate took his place upon the judgment seat, his acts, properly speaking, were not those of a judge, and had no legal force or value; but were rather the futile attempts of a weak and vacillating politician to appease an angry mob thirsting for the blood of an innocent countryman. The carrying out of a sentence imposed in such circumstances, and under such conditions, may not inaptly be described as a judicial murder.

JOHN JAMES MACLAREN

JESUS, GENEALOGY OF. See GENEALOGY OF JESUS.

JESUS JUSTUS, jē′zus jus′tus (**Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰοῦστος**, *Iēsoús ho legómenos Ioústos*, "Jesus that is called Justus," Col **4** 11): One of three friends of Paul—the others being Aristarchus and Mark—whom he associates with himself in sending salutations from Rome to the church at Colossae. Jesus Justus is not mentioned elsewhere in the NT, and there is nothing more known about him than is given in this passage in Col, viz. that he was by birth a Jew—"of the circumcision"—that he had been converted to Christ, and that he was one of the inner circle of intimate friends and associates of the apostle during his first Rom captivity.

1. A Jew by Birth

2. He Remains True to Paul

The words also contain the information that at a stage in Paul's imprisonment, when the welcome extended to him by the Christians in Rome on his arrival there had lost its first warmth, and when in consequence, probably, of their fear of persecution, most of them had proved untrue and were holding aloof from him, J. J. and his two friends remained faithful. It would be pressing this passage unduly to make it mean that out of the large number—hundreds, or perhaps even one or two thousands—who composed the membership of the church in Rome at this time, and who within the next few years proved their loyalty to Christ by their stedfastness unto death in the Neronic persecution, all fell away from their affectionate allegiance to Paul at this difficult time. The words cannot be made to signify more than that it was the Jewish section of the church in Rome which acted in this unworthy manner—only temporarily, it is to be hoped. But among these Jewish Christians, to such dimensions had this defection grown that Aristarchus, Mark and J. J. alone were the apostle's fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God. These three alone, at that particular time—from among the Jewish Christians—were helping him in the work of the gospel in Rome. That this defection refers to the Jewish section of the church and not to the converts from among the Gentiles, is evident from many considerations. It seems to be proved, for example by ver 14 of the same chapter (i.e. Col **4** 14), as well as by Philem ver 24, in both of which passages Paul names Demas and Luke as his fellow-laborers; and Luke was not a Jew by birth. But in the general failure of the Christians in Rome in their conduct toward Paul, it is with much affection and pathos that he writes concerning Aristarchus, Mark, and J. J., "These only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, men that have been a comfort unto me."

JOHN RUTHERFURD

JETHER, jē′thẽr (יֶתֶר, *yether*, "abundance"):

(1) Ex **4** 18 RVm, AVm. See JETHRO.

(2) Gideon's eldest son (Jgs **8** 20), who was called upon by his father to slay Zebah and Zalmunnah, but "feared, because he was yet a youth." The narrative there (**8** 4 ff) should be connected with that of **6** 34, where Gideon is followed by his clan, and not with that of ch **7**, where he has 300 picked men. The captives would be taken to Orpah, Gideon's home, and slain there.

(3) Father of Amasa (1 K **2** 5.32); he was an Ishmaelite according to 1 Ch **2** 17 = "Ithra, the Israelite" of 2 S **17** 25, where "the Ishmaelite" should be read for "the Israelite."

(4) A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch **2** 32 *bis*).

(5) A Judahite (1 Ch **4** 17).

(6) A man of Asher (1 Ch **7** 38) = "Ithran" of ver 37.

DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

JETHETH, jē′theth (יְתֵת, *yᵉthēth*, meaning unknown): A chief (or clan) of Edom (Gen **36** 40 ‖ 1 Ch **1** 51), but probably a mistake for "Jether" = "Ithran" (Gen **36** 26).

JETHLAH, jeth′la (יִתְלָה, *yithlāh*). See ITHLAH.

JETHRO, jeth′rō, jē′thrō (יִתְרוֹ, *yithrō*, "excellence," Ex **3** 1; **4** 18*b*; **18** 1–12 [in **4** 18*a*, probably a textual error, יֶתֶר, *yether*, "Iether," AVm, RVm]; LXX always **Ἰοθόρ**, *Iothór*): The priest of Midian and father-in-law (*ḥōthēn*) of Moses.

1. His Relation to Reuel and Hobab

It is not easy to determine the relation of J. to Reuel and Hobab. If we identify J. with Reuel as in Ex **2** 18; **3** 1 (and in *Ant*, III, iii; V, ii, 3), we must connect "Moses' father-in-law" in Nu **10** 29 immediately with "Reuel" (AV "Raguel"), and make Hobab the brother-in-law of Moses. But while it is possible that *ḥōthēn* may be used in the wider sense of a wife's relative, it is nowhere trᵈ "brother-in-law" except in Jgs **1** 16; **4** 11 ("father-in-law," AV, RVm). If we insert, as Ewald suggests (*HI*, II, 25), "Jethro son of" before "Reuel" in Ex **2** 18 (cf LXX ver 16, where the name "Jethro" is given), we would then identify J. with Hobab, the son of Reuel, in Nu **10** 29, taking "Moses' father-in-law" to refer back to Hobab. Against this identification, however, it is stated that J. went away into his own country without any effort on the part of Moses to detain him (Ex **18** 27), whereas Hobab, though at first he refused to remain with the Israelites, seems to have yielded to the pleadings of Moses to become their guide to Canaan (Nu **10** 29–32; Jgs **1** 16, where Kittel reads "Hobab the Kenite"; **4** 11). It may be noted that while the father-in-law of Moses is spoken of as a "Midianite" in Ex, he is called a "Kenite" in Jgs **1** 16; **4** 11. From this Ewald infers that the Midianites were at that time intimately blended with the Amalekites, to which tribe the Kenites belonged (*HI*, II, 44).

2. His Hearty Reception of Moses

When Moses fled from Egypt he found refuge in Midian, where he received a hearty welcome into the household of J. on account of the courtesy and kindness he had shown to the priest's 7 daughters in helping them to water their flock. This friendship resulted in J. giving Moses his daughter, Zipporah, to wife (Ex **2** 15–21). After Moses had been for about 40 years in the service of his father-in-law, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in the burning bush as he was keeping the flock at Horeb, commanding him to return to Egypt and deliver his enslaved brethren out of the hands of Pharaoh (**3** 1 ff). With J.'s consent Moses left Midian to carry out the Divine commission (**4** 18).

3. His Visit to Moses in the Wilderness

When tidings reached Midian of "all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel" in delivering them from Egyp bondage, J., with a natural pride in the achievements of his relative, set out on a visit to Moses, taking Zipporah and her two sons with him (Ex **18** 1–12). On learning of his father-in-law's arrival at the "mount of God," Moses went out to meet him, and after a cordial exchange of courtesies they retired to Moses' tent, where a pleasant interview took place between them. We are told of the interest J. felt in all the particulars of the great deliverance, how he "rejoiced for all the goodness which Jeh had done to Israel," and how the conviction was wrought within him that Jeh was "greater than all gods; yea, in the thing wherein they dealt proudly against them" (ver 11). In this condition so expressed there is evidently a reference to the element by which the Egyptians thought in their high-handed pursuit they would be able to bring back Israel into bondage, but by which they were themselves overthrown.

It is worth noting that in the religious service in which J. and Moses afterward engaged, when J., as priest, offered a burnt offering, and Aaron with all the elders of Israel partook of the sacrificial feast, prominence was given to J. over Aaron, and thus a priesthood was recognized beyond the limits of Israel.

4. His Wise Counsel

This visit of J. to Moses had important consequences for the future government of Israel (Ex **18** 13–27). The priest of Midian became concerned about his son-in-law when he saw him occupied from morning to night in deciding the disputes that had arisen among the people. The labor this entailed, J. said, was far too heavy a burden for one man to bear. Moses himself would soon be worn out, and the people, too, would become weary and dissatisfied, owing to the inability of one judge to overtake all the cases that were brought before him. J., therefore, urged Moses to make use of the talents of others and adopt a plan of gradation of judges who would dispose of all cases of minor importance, leaving only the most difficult for him to settle by a direct appeal to the will of God. Moses, recognizing the wisdom of his father-in-law's advice, readily acted upon his suggestion and appointed "able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." Thereafter, J. returned to his own country.

5. His Character and Influence

The story of J. reveals him as a man of singular attractiveness and strength, in whom a kind, considerate disposition, a deeply religious spirit, and a wise judgment all met in happy combination. And this ancient priest of Midian made Israel and all nations his debtors when he taught the distinction between the legislative and the judicial function, and the importance of securing that all law be the expression of the Divine will, and that its application be entrusted only to men of ability, piety, integrity and truth (Ex **18** 21). JAMES CRICHTON

JETUR, jē′tur (יְטוּר, *'yᵉṭūr*, meaning uncertain): A "son" of Ishmael (Gen **25** 15 ‖ 1 Ch **1** 31); against this clan the two and a half tribes warred (1 Ch **5** 18 f); they are the Ituraeans of NT times. See ITURAEA.

JEUEL, jē-ū′el, jū′el (יְעוּאֵל, *yᵉ'ū'ēl*, meaning unknown):

(1) A man of Judah (1 Ch **9** 6); the name is not found in the ‖ of Neh **11** 24.

(2) A Levite, AV "Jeiel" (2 Ch **29** 13).

(3) A companion of Ezra, AV "Jeiel" (Ezr **8** 13).

(4) The name occurs also as Kᵉthībh in 1 Ch **9** 35; 2 Ch **26** 11. See JEIEL, (2), (6).

JEUSH, jē′ush (יְעוּשׁ, *yᵉ'ūsh*, probably "he protects," "he comes to help"; see *HPN*, 109; Kᵉthībh is יְעִישׁ, *yᵉ'īsh*, in Gen **36** 5.14; 1 Ch **7** 10):

(1) A "son" of Esau (Gen **36** 5.14.18; 1 Ch **1** 35). "The name is thought by some to be identical with that of an Arabian lion-god *Yaġuṯ* . . . . , meaning 'helper,' whose antiquity is vouched for by inscriptions of Thamud" (Skinner, *Gen*, 432).

(2) A Benjamite (1 Ch **7** 10), but probably a Zebulunite. See Curtis, *Ch*, 145 ff.

(3) A descendant of King Saul, AV "Jehush" (1 Ch **8** 39).

(4) A Gershonite Levite (1 Ch **23** 10.11).

(5) A son of King Rehoboam (2 Ch **11** 19). DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

JEUZ, jē′uz (יְעוּץ, *yᵉ'ūç*, "he counsels"): The eponym of a Benjamite family (1 Ch **8** 10).

JEW, jū, jōō, **JEWESS, JEWISH**, jū′ish, jōō′ish (יְהוּדִי, *yᵉhūdhī*, pl. יְהוּדִים, *yᵉhūdhīm;* **'Ιουδαῖοι,** *Ioudaíoi;* adj. f. יְהוּדִית, *yᵉhūdhīth;* **'Ιουδαϊκός,** *Ioudaïkós*): "Jew" denotes originally an inhabitant of Judah (2 K **16** 6 applies to the two tribes of the Southern Kingdom), but later the meaning was extended to embrace all descendants of Abraham. In the OT the word occurs a few times in the sing. (Est **2** 5; **3** 4, etc; Jer **34** 9; Zec **8** 23); very frequently in the pl. in Ezr and Neh, Est, and in Jer and Dnl. The adj. in the OT applies only to the "Jews' language" or speech (2 K **18** 26.28 ‖ Neh **13** 24; Isa **36** 11.13). "Jews" (always pl.) is the familiar term for Israelites in the Gospels (esp. in Jn), Acts, Epp., etc. "Jewess" occurs in 1 Ch **4** 18; Acts **16** 1; **24** 24. In Tit **1** 14 a warning is given against "Jewish fables" (in Gr the adj. is found also in Gal **2** 14). The "Jews' religion" (*Ioudaïsmós*) is referred to in Gal **1** 13.14. On the "Jews' language," see LANGUAGES OF THE OT; on the "Jews' religion," see ISRAEL, RELIGION OF. JAMES ORR

JEWEL, jū′el, jōō′el: An ornament of gold, silver or of precious stones in the form of armlet, bracelet, anklet, nose-ring, etc. Oriental dress yields itself freely to such adornment, to which there are many allusions in Scripture. A frequent term in Heb is *kᵉlī* ("utensil," "vessel"), coupled with mention of "gold" or "silver" or both (Gen **24** 53; Ex **3** 22; **11** 2; **12** 35; **35** 22; 1 S **6** 8.15, etc; RV in 2 Ch **32** 27 trˢ "vessels"). In Cant **1** 10, where AV has "rows [of jewels]," RV has "plaits [of hair]"; in **7** 1, the word is from a root *ḥālāh*, meaning "to adorn." In 3 instances in AV "jewel" represents the Heb *nezem* (Prov **11** 22; Isa **3** 21; Ezk **16** 12); ARV changes Prov **11** 22 to "ring" (LXX here="earring"), and both ERV and ARV have "ring" in Ezk **16** 12. The familiar phrase in Mal **3** 17, "in that day when I make up my jewels," becomes in ERV, "in the day that I do make, even a peculiar treasure" (m "or, wherein I do make a peculiar treasure"), and in ARV, "even mine own possession, in the day that I make" (m "or, *do* this"). See, further, ORNAMENT; DRESS; STONES, PRECIOUS. JAMES ORR

JEWRY, jū′ri, jōō′ri: In Dnl **5** 13 AV, where RV has "Judah"; in the NT, in two places in AV, Lk **23** 5; Jn **7** 1, where RV has correctly "Judaea" (*Ioudaía*) (q.v.).

JEWS, jūz, jōōz. See JEW.

JEZANIAH, jez-a-nī′a (יְזַנְיָהוּ, *yᵉzanyāhū*, probably "Jeh hears"; cf JAAZANIAH): In Jer **40** 8, and also **42** 1 where LXX has "Azariah," as in **43** 2 (see Driver, *Jer*)=JAAZANIAH, (1) (q.v.).

JEZEBEL, jez′ĕ-bel (אִיזֶבֶל, *'īzebhel*, "unexalted," "unhusbanded" [?]; **'Ιεζάβελ,** *Iezábel;* see *BDB;* 1 K **16** 31; **18** 4.13.19; **19** 1.2; **21** 5 ff; 2 K **9** 7 ff.30 ff; Rev **2** 20): Daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians, i.e. Phoenicians, and queen of Ahab, king of Northern Israel. Ahab (c 874–853 BC) carried out a policy, which his father had perhaps started, of making alliances with other states. The alliance with the Phoenicians was cemented by his marriage with J., and he subsequently gave his daughter Athaliah in marriage to Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah. His own union with Jezebel is regarded as a sin in 1 K **16** 31, where the MT is difficult, being generally understood as a question. The LXX trˢ: "And it was not enough that he should walk in the sins of Jeroboam ben Nebat, he also took to wife Jezebel," etc. The Heb can be pointed to mean, "And it was the lightest thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam ben Nebat, he also took to wife Jezebel, and went and served Baal and worshipped him," i.e. all the other sins were light as compared with the marriage with Jezebel and the serving of Baal (cf Mic **6** 16). Is this a justifiable view to take of the marriage? One answer would be that Ahab made a wise alliance; that Baal-worship was not non-Heb, that Ahab named his children not after Baal but after Jeh (cf Ahaziah, Jehoram, Athaliah), and that he consulted the prophets of Jeh (cf 1 K **22** 6); further, that he only did what Solomon had done on a much larger scale; it may be added too that Ahab was in favor of religious toleration, and that Elijah and not the king is the persecutor. What then can be said for the unfavorable verdict of the Heb historians? That verdict is based on the results and effects of the marriage, on the life and character of J., and in that life two main incidents demand attention.

1. Persecution of Jeh's Prophets

This is not described; it is only referred to in 1 K **18** 4, "when J. cut off the prophets of Jeh"; and this shows the history of the time to be incompletely related. In 1 K **18** 19 we are further told that "450 prophets of Baal ate at her table" (commentators regard the reference to "400 prophets of the Asherah" as an addition). In 1 K **19** 1 Ahab tells J. of the slaughter of the prophets of Baal by Elijah, and then J. (**19** 2) sends a messenger to Elijah to threaten his life. This leads to the prophet's flight, an object which J. had in view, perhaps, for she would hardly dare to murder Elijah himself. 2 K **9** 7 regards the massacre of Ahab's family as a punishment for the persecution of the prophets by J.

2. Jezebel's Plot Against Naboth (1 K 21)

Ahab expresses a desire to possess the vineyard neighboring upon his palace in Jezreel, owned by Naboth, who refuses to part with the family inheritance though offered either its money value or a better vineyard in exchange. Ahab is depressed at this, and J., upon finding the cause of his melancholy feelings, asks him sarcastically if he is not king, suggesting that as king his wishes should be immediately granted by his subjects. She thereupon plots to secure him Naboth's vineyard. J. sends letters sealed in Ahab's name to the elders of Naboth's township, and bids them arrange a public fast and make Naboth "sit at the head of the people" (RVm), a phrase taken by some to mean that he is to be arraigned, while it is explained by others as meaning that Naboth is to be given the chief place. Two witnesses—a sufficient number for that purpose—are to be brought to accuse Naboth of blasphemy and treason. This is done, and Naboth is found guilty, and stoned to death. The property is confiscated, and falls to the king (vs 1–16). Elijah hears of this, and is sent to threaten Ahab with Divine vengeance; dogs shall lick his dead body (ver 19). But in vs 20–23 this prophecy is made, not concerning Ahab but against Jezebel, and ver 25 attributes the sins of Ahab to her influence over him.

The prophecy is fulfilled in 2 K **9** 30–37. Ahaziah and Jehoram had succeeded their father Ahab; the one reigned for 2 years (1 K **22** 51), the other 12 years (2 K **3** 1). Jehu heads a revolt against the house of Ahab, and one day comes to Jezreel. J. had "painted her eyes, and attired her head," and sees Jehu coming. She greets him sarcastically as his master's murderer. According to MT, Jehu asks, "Who is on my side? who?" but the text is emended by Klostermann, following LXX in the main, "Who art thou that thou shouldest find fault with me?" i.e. thou art but a murderess thyself. She is then thrown down and the horses tread upon her (reading "they trod" for "he trod" in ver 33). When search is afterward made for her remains, they are found terribly mutilated. Thus was the prophecy fulfilled. (Some comms. hold that Naboth's vineyard and Ahab's garden were in Samaria, and Naboth a Jezreelite. The words, "which was in Jezreel," of 1 K **21** 1 are wanting in LXX, which has "And Naboth had a vineyard by the threshing-floor of Ahab king of Samaria." But cf 1 K **18** 45; **21** 23; 2 K **8** 29; **9** 10.15 ff.30 ff.) See AHAB; JEHU.

3. Jezebel's Character

The character of J. is seen revived in that of her daughter, Athaliah of Judah (2 K **11**); there is no doubt that J. was a powerful personality. She brought the worship of the Phoen Baal and Astarte with her into Heb life, and indirectly introduced it into Judah as well as into the Northern Kingdom. In judging her connection with this propagation, we should bear in mind that she is not a queen of the 20th cent.; she must be judged in company with other queens famous in history. Her religious attitude and zeal might profitably be compared with that of Mary, queen of Scots. It must also be remembered that the introduction of any religious change is often resented when it comes from a foreign queen, and is apt to be misunderstood, e.g. the attitude of Greece to the proposal of Queen Olga to have an authorized edition of the Bible in modern Gr.

On the other hand, although much may be said that would be favorable to J. from the religious standpoint, the balance is heavy against her when we remember her successful plot against Naboth. It is not perhaps blameworthy in her that she upheld the religion of her native land, although the natural thing would have been to follow that of her adopted land (cf Ruth **1** 16 f). The superiority of Jeh-worship was not as clear then as it is to us today. It may also be held that Baal-worship was not unknown in Heb life (cf Jgs **6** 25 f), that Baal of Canaan had become incorporated with Jeh of Sinai, and that there were pagan elements in the worship of the latter. But against all this it must be clear that the Baal whom J. attempted to introduce was the Phoen Baal, pure and simple; he was another god, or rather in him was presented an idea of God very different from Jeh. And further, "in Phoenicia, where wealth and luxury had been enjoyed on a scale unknown to either Israel or the Canaanites of the interior, there was a refinement, if one may so speak, and at the same time a prodigality of vicious indulgences, connected with the worship of Baal and Astarte to which Israel had hitherto been a stranger. . . . It was like a cancer eating into the vitals or a head and heart sickness resulting in total decay (Isa **1** 6). In Israel, moral deterioration meant political as well as spiritual death. The weal of the nation lay in fidelity to Jeh alone, and in His pure worship" (*HPM*, §213).

The verdict of the Heb historian is thus substantiated. J. is an example—an extreme one no doubt—of the bad influence of a highly developed civilization forcing itself with all its sins upon a community less highly civilized, but possessed of nobler moral and religious conceptions. She has parallels both in family and in national life. For a parallel to Elijah's attitude toward J. cf the words of Carlyle about Knox in *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*, IV, esp. the section, "We blame Knox for his intolerance," etc.

In Rev **2** 20, we read of *Iezabel*, "the woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess"; not "thy wife" (i.e. the wife of the bishop) RVm, but as Moffat (*Expos Gr Test.*) aptly renders, "that Jezebel of a woman alleging herself a prophetess." Some members of the church at Thyatira "under the sway of an influential woman refused to separate from the local guilds where moral interests, though not ostensibly defied, were often seriously compromised. . . . Her lax principles or tendencies made for a connection with foreign and compromising associations which evidently exerted a dangerous influence upon some weaker Christians in the city." Her followers "prided themselves upon their enlightened liberalism (ver 24)." Moffat rejects both the view of Schürer (*Theol. Abhandlungen*, 39 f), that she is to be identified with the Chaldaean Sibyl at Thyatira, and also that of Selwyn making her the wife of the local asiarch. "It was not the cults but the trade guilds that formed the problem at Thyatira." See also Zahn, *Intro to the NT*, § 73, n. 7; AHAB; BAAL; ELIJAH.

DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

JEZELUS, je-zē′lus, jez′ḗ-lus (**Ἰεζήλος**, *Iezēlos*): (1) In 1 Esd **8** 32; called "Jahaziel" in Ezr **8** 5. (2) In 1 Esd **8** 35; called "Jehiel" in Ezr **8** 9.

JEZER, jē′zẽr (יֵצֶר, *yeçer*, "form" or "purpose"): A "son" of Naphtali (Gen **46** 24; Nu **26** 49; 1 Ch **7** 13).

JEZERITES, jē′zẽr-īts, **THE** (הַיִּצְרִי, *ha-yiçrī* [collective with art.]): Descendants of "Jezer" (Nu **26** 49).

JEZIAH, jḗ-zī′a. See IZZIAH.

JEZIEL, jē′zi-el, jē̇-zī′el (Kethībh is יְזוּאֵל, *yezū′ēl*, or יְזוֹאֵל, *yezō′ēl;* Ḳerē יְזִיאֵל, *yezī′ēl*=“God gathers,” perhaps): One of David’s Benjamite recruits at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 3).

JEZLIAH, jez-lī′a. See Izliah.

JEZOAR, jē̇-zō′ar. See Izhar.

JEZRAHIAH, jez-ra-hī′a. See Izrahiah.

JEZREEL, jez′rē̇-el, jez′rēl (יִזְרְעֶאל, *yizre‘e′l,* “God soweth”):

1. Territory

(1) A city on the border of the territory of Issachar (Josh **19** 18). It is named with Chesulloth and Shunem (modern *Iksāl* and *Sōlam*). It remained loyal to the house of Saul, and is mentioned as part of the kingdom over which Abner set Ish-bosheth (2 S **2** 9). From Jezreel came the tidings of Saul and Jonathan’s death on Gilboa, which brought disaster to Mephibosheth (2 S **4** 4). The city plays no important part in the history till the time of Ahab. Attracted, doubtless, by the fine position and natural charms of the place, he made it one of his royal residences, building here a palace (1 K **21** 1). This was evidently on the eastern wall; and the gate by which Jehu entered was overlooked by the quarters of Queen Jezebel (2 K **9** 30 f). The royal favor naturally enhanced the dignity of the city, and “elders” and “nobles” of Jezreel are mentioned (1 K **21** 8, etc). Under the influence of Jezebel, an institution for the worship of Baal was founded here, from which, probably, the men were drawn who figured in the memorable contest with Elijah on Carmel (2 K **10** 11). “The tower in Jezreel” was part of the defences of the city. It commanded a view of the approach up the valley from Beth-shean—the way followed by the hordes of the E., who, from time immemorial, came westward for the rich pasture of the plain (2 K **9** 17). It was necessary also to keep constant watch, as the district E. of the Jordan was always more unsettled than that on the W.; and danger thence might appear at any moment. The garden of Naboth seems to have lain to the E. of the city (2 K **9** 21), near the royal domain, to which Ahab desired to add it as a garden of herbs (1 K **21** 1 ff). See Naboth. This was the scene of the tragic meetings between Elijah and Ahab (1 K **21** 17 ff), and between Jehu and Joram and Ahaziah (2 K **9** 21). Joram had returned to Jezreel from Ramoth-gilead to be healed of his wounds (**9** 15). By the gateway the dogs devoured Jezebel’s body (vs 31 ff). Naboth had been stoned to death outside the city (1 K **21** 13). Jos lays the scene by the fountain of Jezreel, and here, he says, the dogs licked the blood washed from the chariot of Ahab (*Ant,* VIII, xv, 6). This accords with 1 K **21** 19; but **22** 38 points to the pool at Samaria.

2. Identification

The site of Jezreel must be sought in a position where a tower would command a view of the road coming up the valley from Beth-shean. It has long been the custom to identify it with the modern village, *Zer‘īn,* on the northwestern spur of Gilboa. This meets the above condition; and it also agrees with the indications in *Onom* as lying between Legio (*Lejjūn*) and Scythopolis (*Beisān*). Recently, however, Professor A. R. S. Macalister made a series of excavations here, and failed to find any evidence of ancient Israelite occupation. This casts doubt upon the identification, and further excavation is necessary before any certain conclusion can be reached. For the “fountain which is in Jezreel,” see Harod, Well of.

(2) An unidentified town in the uplands of Judah (Josh **15** 56), the home of Ahinoam (1 S **27** 3, etc).

W. Ewing

JEZREEL, VALE OF. See Esdraelon, Plain of.

JEZREELITE, jez′rē̇-el-īt, jez′rēl-īt (הַיִּזְרְעֵאלִי, *ha-yizre‘ē′lī*): Applied to Naboth, a native of Jezreel (1) (1 K **21** 1, etc).

JEZREELITESS, jez′rē̇-el-īt-es, jez′rēl-īt-es (יִזְרְעֵאלִית, *yizre‘ē′līth,* “of Jezreel,” fem.): Applied to Ahinoam, one of David’s first two wives, a native of Jezreel in Judah (1 S **27** 3; **30** 5; 2 S **2** 2; **3** 2; 1 Ch **3** 1).

JEZRIELUS, jez-ri-ē′lus (Ἰεζριήλος, *Jezriēlos;* AV Hierielus; 1 Esd **9** 27): Corresponding to “Jehiel” in Ezr **10** 26.

JIBSAM, jib′sam. See Ibsam.

JIDLAPH, jid′laf (יִדְלָף, *yidhlāph,* perhaps “he weeps”): A “son” of Nahor (Gen **22** 22).

JIMNA, JIMNAH, jim′na (יִמְנָה, *yimnāh,* perhaps=“good fortune”): A “son” of Asher (Gen **46** 17, AV “Jimnah”; Nu **26** 44, AV “Jimna”), whereas RV has Imnah (q.v.).

JIMNITES, jim′nīts, **THE** (same as “Jimna,” only collective with the def. art.; Nu **26** 44 AV, where RV has “Imnites”): Descendants of Jimna or Imna.

JIPHTAH, jif′ta (יִפְתָּח, *yiphtāḥ*). See Iphtah.

JIPHTHAHEL, jif′tha-el. See Iphtahel.

JOAB, jō′ab (יוֹאָב, *yō′ābh,* “Jeh is father”; **Ἰωάβ,** *Iōáb*):

(1) Son of Zeruiah, David’s sister. He was “captain of the host” (cf 2 S **19** 13) under David.

1. Joab and Abner

(*a*) Joab is first introduced in the narrative of the war with Abner, who supported the claims of Ishbosheth to the throne against those of David (2 S **2** 8—**3** 1). The two armies met, and on Abner’s suggestion a tournament took place between 12 men from each side; a general engagement follows, and in this J.’s army is victorious. Asahel, J.’s brother, is killed in his pursuit of Abner, but the latter’s army is sorely pressed, and he appeals to J. for a cessation of hostilities. J. calls a halt, but declares that he would not cease had Abner not made his plea.

(*b*) 2 S **3** 12–29. Abner visits David at Hebron, and makes an alliance with David. He then leaves the town, apparently under royal protection. J. is absent at the time, but returns immediately after Abner’s departure, and expostulates with David for not avenging Asahel’s death, and at the same time attributes a bad motive to Abner’s visit. He sends a message, no doubt in the form of a royal command, for Abner to return; the chief does so, is taken aside “into the midst of the gate” (or as LXX and commentators read, “into the side of the gate,” **3** 27), and slain there by J. David proclaims his own innocence in the matter, commands J. as well as the people to mourn publicly for the dead hero (**3** 31), composes a lament for Abner, and pronounces a curse upon J. and his descendants (ver 30 is regarded as an editorial note, and commentators change ver 39).

2. The Ammonite War: Death of Uriah

(*a*) 2 S **10** 1–14; 1 Ch **19** 1–15. David sends ambassadors with his good wishes to Hanun on his ascending the throne of the Ammonites; these are ill-treated, and war follows, David’s troops being commanded by J. On finding himself placed between the Ammonites on the one hand, and their Syrian allies on the other, he divides his army, and himself leads one division against the Syrians, leaving Abishai, his brother, to fight the Ammonites; the defeat of the Syrians is followed by the rout of the Ammonites.

(*b*) 2 S **10** 15–19; 1 Ch **19** 16–19 describes a second war between Hadarezer and David. J. is not mentioned here.

(*c*) 2 S **11** 1 narrates the resumption of the war against the Ammonites; J. is in command, and the town of Rabbah is besieged. Here occurs the account of David's sin with Bathsheba, omitted by Ch. David gets J. to send Uriah, her husband, to Jerus, and when he refuses to break the soldier's vow (**11** 6–13), J. is used to procure Uriah's death in the siege, and the general then sends news of it to David (**11** 14–27). After capturing the 'water-city' of Rabbah, J. sends for David to complete the capture and lead the triumph himself (**12** 26–29).

3. Joab and Absalom

(*a*) The next scene depicts J. attempting and succeeding in his attempt to get Absalom restored to royal favor. He has noticed that "the king's heart is toward Absalom" (**14** 1), and so arranges for "a wise woman" of Tekoa to bring a supposed complaint of her own before the king, and then rebuke him for his treatment of Absalom. The plan succeeds. David sees J.'s hand in it, and gives him permission to bring Absalom to Jerus. But the rebel has to remain in his own house, and is not allowed to see his father (**14** 1–24).

(*b*) Absalom attempts to secure J.'s intercession for a complete restoration to his father's confidence. J. turns a deaf ear to the request until his field is put on fire by Absalom's command. He then sees Absalom, and gets David to receive his prodigal son back into the royal home (**14** 28–33).

(*c*) Absalom revolts, and makes Amasa, another nephew of David, general instead of J. (**17** 24 f). David flees to Mahanaim, followed by Absalom. J. is given a third of the army, the other divisions being led by Abishai and Ittai. He is informed that Absalom has been caught in a tree (or thicket), and expostulates with the informer for not having killed him. Although he is reminded of David's tender plea that Absalom be kindly dealt with, he dispatches the rebel himself, and afterward calls for a general halt of the army. When David gives vent to his feelings of grief, he is sternly rebuked by J., and the rebuke has its effect (**17**—**19** 8*a*).

4. Joab and Amasa

2 S **19** 8*b*–15. On David's return to Jerus, Amasa is made "captain of the host" instead of J. (**19** 13). Then Sheba revolts, Amasa loses time in making preparation for quelling it, and Abishai is bidden by David to take the field (**20** 6). The Syr VS reads "J." for "Abishai" in this verse, and some commentators follow it, but LXX supports MT. J. seems to have accompanied Abishai; and when Amasa meets them at Gibeon, J., on pretense of kissing his rival, kills him. He then assumes command, is followed by Amasa's men, and arranges with a woman of Abel beth-maacah to deliver to him Sheba's head. The revolt is then at an end.

5. Joab's Death

J. subsequently opposed David's suggestion of a census, but eventually carried it out (2 S **24** 1–9; 1 Ch **21** 1–6), yet 1 Ch **21** 6 and **27** 24 relate that he did not carry it out fully. He was one of Adonijah's supporters in his claim to the throne (1 K **1** 7.19.41). For this he had to pay the penalty with his life, being slain at the altar in the "Tent of Jeh" (1 K **2** 28–34) by Benaiah, who acted upon Solomon's orders. His murderer became his successor as head of the army. 1 K **2** 5 makes David advise Solomon not to forget that J. slew Abner and Amasa, and 1 K **11** 14–22 contains a reference to the dread of his name in Edom. 1 Ch **11** 6 makes him win his spurs first at the capture of Jerus, but 2 S **2**, **3** are previous in time to this event (cf 2 S **5** 6–10), and 1 Ch **11** 8 makes him repair the city, while 1 Ch **26** 28 refers to a dedication of armor by him.

6. Joab's Character

In summing up J.'s character, we must remember the stirring times in which he lived. That he was a most able general, there is no doubt. He was, however, very jealous of his position, and this accounts for Amasa's murder, if not partially for that of Abner too: if he was afraid that Abner would supplant him, that fear may be held to be justified, for Amasa, who had not been too loyal to David did take J.'s place for a time. But blood revenge for Asahel's death was perhaps the chief cause. Yet even when judged in the light of those rough times, and in the light of eastern life, the murder of Abner was a foul, treacherous deed (see Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life*, 129–31).

J. opposed the census probably because it was an innovation. His rebuke of David's great grief over Absalom's death can only be characterized as just; he is the stern warrior who, after being once merciful and forgiving, will not again spare a deceitful rebel; and yet David shows how a father's conduct toward a prodigal, rebellious son is not regulated by stern justice. J.'s unswerving loyalty to David leads one to believe that no disloyalty was meant by his support of Adonijah, who was really the rightful heir to the throne. But their plans were defeated by those of the harem, and J. had to pay the price with his life.

Taken as a whole, his life, as depicted in the very reliable narrative of 2 S and 1 K, may be said to be as characteristic of the times as that of David himself, with a truly Homeric ring about it. He was a great man, great in military prowess and also in personal revenge, in his loyalty to the king as well as in his stern rebuke of his royal master. He was the greatest of David's generals, and the latter's success and glory owed much to this noblest of that noble trio whom Zeruiah bore.

(2) A Judahite, father or founder of Ge-harashim (1 Ch **4** 14, "valley of craftsmen" RVm). See Ge-harashim.

(3) A family of returned exiles (Ezr **2** 6 ‖ Neh **7** 11; Ezr **8** 9; 1 Esd **8** 35).

(4) See Atroth-beth-joab.

David Francis Roberts

JOACHAZ, jō′a-kaz (**'Ιωχάζ**, *Iōcház*, **'Ιεχονίας**, *Iechonías*): Son of Josiah (1 Esd **1** 34). In Mt **1** 11 "Jechoniah" is the reading.

JOACIM, jō′a-sim. See Joakim.

JOADANUS, jō-a-dā′nus (**'Ιωαδάνος**, *Iōadános*): In 1 Esd **9** 19, apparently, through some corruption; the same as Gedaliah, a son of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, in Ezr **10** 18.

JOAH, jō′a (יוֹאָח, *yō'āḥ*, "Jeh is brother"):

(1) Son of Asaph and recorder under King Hezekiah (2 K **18** 18.26; Isa **36** 3.11.22); he was one of the 3 officers sent by the king to speak to the Assyr envoys at the siege of Jerus (c 701 BC).

(2) In 1 Ch **6** 21 (Heb 6); 2 Ch **29** 12, a Levite (son of Zimmah) = "Ethan" of 1 Ch **6** 42 (Heb 27).

(3) A son of Obed-edom (1 Ch **26** 4).

(4) Son of Joahaz and recorder under King Josiah (2 Ch **34** 8).

JOAHAZ, jō′a-haz (יוֹאָחָז, *yō'āḥāz*, "Jeh has grasped" = "Jehoahaz"):

(1) Father of Joah (4) (2 Ch **34** 8).

(2) RV and Heb in 2 K **14** 1 for Jehoahaz, king of Israel. See Jehoahaz.

(3) RV and Heb in 2 Ch **36** 2.4 for Jehoahaz, king of Judah (q.v.).

JOAKIM, jō'a-kim (**’Ιωακείμ,** *Iōakeím;* AV **Joacim**):

(1) Jehoiakim, king of Judah and Jerus (1 Esd **1** 37–39; Bar **1** 3).

(2) Jehoiachin, son of (1) (1 Esd **1** 43).

(3) Son of Jeshua (1 Esd **5** 5), called by mistake son of Zerubbabel; in Neh **12** 10.26 his name occurs as in 1 Esd, among the priests and Levites who returned to Jerus with Zerubbabel.

(4) High priest of Jerus in the time of Baruch (Bar **1** 7).

(5) High priest in Jerus in the days of Judith who, along with "the ancients of the children of Israel," welcomed the heroine back to the city after the death of Holofernes (Jth **4**). He cannot be identified with any of the high priests in the lists given in 1 Ch or in Jos, *Ant*, X, viii, 6. The word means "the Lord hath set up." It is probably symbolical, and tends with other names occurring in the narrative to establish the supposition that the book was a work of imagination composed to support the faith of the Jews in times of stress and difficulty.

(6) The husband of Susanna (Sus vs 1 ff), perhaps here also a symbolical name. J. Hutchison

JOANAN, jō̇-ā'nan (**’Ιωανάν** WH, *Iōanán;* **’Ιωαννᾶ** *TR*, *Iōanná;* AV **Joanna**):

(1) A grandson of Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Jesus according to St. Luke (**3** 27).

(2) The son of Eliasib (1 Esd **9** 1 AV, RV "Jonas").

JOANNA, jō̇-an'a (**’Ιωάνα,** *Iōána*, or **’Ιωάννα,** *Iōánna*): The wife of Chuzas, Herod's steward. She was one of the "women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities" which "ministered unto him [AV, i.e. Jesus, or "them" RV, i.e. Jesus and His disciples] of their substance," on the occasion of Jesus' tour through Galilee (Lk **8** 2.3). Along with other women she accompanied Jesus on His last journey from Galilee to Jerus, and was present when His body was laid in the sepulcher (Lk **23** 55). She was thus among those who prepared spices and ointments, who found the grave empty, and who "told these things unto the apostles" (Lk **23** 56—**24** 10). C. M. Kerr

JOANNES, jō̇-an'es, jō̇-an'ēz (**’Ιωάννης,** *Iōánnēs;* AV **Johannes**):

(1) Son of Acatan (1 Esd **8** 38), called also "Johanan" in Ezr **8** 12.

(2) Son of Bebai (1 Esd **9** 29), called "Jehohanan" in Ezr **10** 28.

JOARIB, jō'a-rib (**’Ιωαρίβ,** *Iōaríb;* AV **Jarib**): Ancestor of Mattathias (1 Macc **14** 29), given as "Joarib" in AV of 1 Macc **2** 1; he was chief of the first of the 24 courses of priests in the reign of David. Varieties of the name are Jarib, Joarib, and Jehoiarib (1 Ch **24** 7).

JOASH, jō'ash (יוֹאָשׁ, *yō'āsh*, "Jeh is strong" or "Jeh has bestowed"; **’Ιωάς,** *Iōás*):

(1) Father of Gideon, of the clan of Abiezer and the tribe Manasseh (Jgs **6** 11.29.30.31; **7** 14; **8** 13.29.32). Gideon declares (**6** 15) that the family is the poorest in Manasseh, words similar to those of Saul (1 S **9** 21), and not to be taken too literally. J. would be a man of standing and wealth, for Gideon was able to command 10 servants to destroy the altar and the Asherah (Jgs **6** 27.34), and also to summon the whole clan to follow him. Further, the altar that J. had was that used by the community (**6** 28), so that he would be the priest, not only of his own family *quâ paterfamilias*, but also of the community in virtue of his position as chief. When Gideon destroyed the altar and the Asherah or sacred pillar by it, J. refused to deliver his son to death, declaring that Baal, if he was a god, should avenge himself (cf Elijah in 1 K **18**).

(2) Called "the king's son" (1 K **22** 26; 2 Ch **18** 25; cf Jer **36** 26; **38** 6), or, less probably, "the son of Hammelech," RVm; perhaps a son of Ahab. Micaiah the prophet was handed over to his custody and that of Amon by Ahab.

(3) A Judahite, descendant of Shelah (1 Ch **4** 22).

(4) A Benjamite recruit of David at Ziklag. Commentators read here, "J. the son of Shemaiah [or Jehoshamai], the Gibeathite" (1 Ch **12** 3).

(5) In 2 K **11** 2, etc=Jehoash, king of Judah.

(6) In 2 K **13** 9, etc=Jehoash, king of Northern Israel. David Francis Roberts

JOASH (יוֹעָשׁ, *yō'āsh*, "Jeh has aided"):

(1) A Benjamite, or, more probably, a Zebulunite (1 Ch **7** 8).

(2) One of David's officers; J. was "over the cellars of oil" (1 Ch **27** 28).

JOATHAM, jō'a-tham (**’Ιωάθαμ,** *Iōátham*): AV for RV "Jotham" (Mt **1** 9). See Jotham (the king).

JOB, jōb (אִיּוֹב, *'īyōbh*, meaning of name doubtful; some conjecturing "object of enmity," others "he who turns," etc, to God; both uncertain guesses; **’Ιώβ,** *Iōb*): The titular hero of the Book of Job, represented as a wealthy and pious landholder who lived in patriarchal times, or at least conditions, in the land of Uz, on the borders of Idumaea. Outside of the Book of Job he is mentioned by Ezekiel (Ezk **14** 14.20) as one of 3 great personages whose representative righteousness would presumably avail, if that of any individuals could, to redeem the nation; the other two being Noah, an ancient patriarch, and Daniel, a contemporary of the prophet. It is difficult to determine whether J. was an actual personage or not. If known through legend, it must have been on account of some such experience as is narrated in the book, an experience unique enough to have become a potent household word; still, the power and influence of it is due to the masterly vigor and exposition of the story. It was the J. of literature, rather than the J. of legend, who lived in the hearts of men; a character so commanding that, albeit fictitious, it could be referred to as real, just as we refer to Hamlet or Othello. It is not the way of Heb writers, however, to evolve literary heroes from pure imagination; they crave an authentic basis of fact. It is probable that such a basis, in its essential outlines, existed under the story of Job. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that the legend or the name was known to Israel from ancient times. Job is introduced (Job **1** 1) as if he had not been known before. The writer, who throughout the book shows a wide acquaintance with the world, doubtless found the legend somewhere, and drew its meanings together for an undying message to his and all times. John Franklin Genung

JOB, BOOK OF:

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LITERATURE

I. Introductory.—The greatest production of the Heb Wisdom literature, and one of the supreme literary creations of the world. Its place in the Heb Canon corresponds to the high estimation in which it was held; it stands in the 3d section, the "writings" (*kᵉthūbhīm*) or Hagiographa, next after the two great anthologies Pss and Prov; apparently put thus near the head of the list for weighty reading and meditation. In the Gr Canon (which ours follows), it is put with the poetical books, standing at their head. It is one of 3 Scripture books, the others being Pss and Prov, for which the later Heb scholars (the Massoretes) employed a special system of punctuation to mark its poetic character.

1. Place in the Canon

The Book of Job was not one of the books designated for public reading in the synagogues, as were the Pent and the Prophets, or for occasional reading at feast seasons, as were the 5 megilloth or rolls. It was rather a book for private reading, and one whose subject-matter would appeal esp. to the more cultivated and thoughtful classes. Doubtless it was all the more intimately valued for this detachment from sanctuary associations; it was, like Prov, a people's book; and esp. among the cultivators of Wisdom it must have been from its first publication a cherished classic. At any rate, the patriarch Job (though whether from the legend or from the finished book is not clear; see JOB) is mentioned as a well-known national type by Ezk (**14** 14.20); and James, writing to Jewish Christians (**5** 11), refers to the character of the patriarch as familiar to his readers. It was as one of the great classic stories of their lit., rather than as embodying a ritual or prophetic standard, that it was so universally known and cherished.

2. Rank and Readers

II. The Literary Framework.—In view of the numerous critical questions by which the interpretation of the book has been beclouded—questions of later alterations, additions, corruptions, dislocations—it may be well to say at the outset that what is here proposed is to consider the Book of Job as we have it before us today, in its latest and presumably definitive edition. It will be time enough to remove excrescences when a fair view of the book as it is, with its literary values and relations, makes us sure that there are such; see III, below. Meanwhile, as a book that has reached a stage so fixed and finished that at any rate modern tinkering cannot materially change it, we may consider what its literary framework does to justify itself. And first of all, we may note that preëminently among Scripture books it bears the matured literary stamp; both in style and structure it is a work, not only of spiritual edification, but of finished literary art. This may best be realized, perhaps, by taking it, as from the beginning it purports to be, as a continuously maintained story, with the consistent elements of plot, character scheme, and narrative movement which we naturally associate with a work of the narrator's art.

1. Setting of Time, Place and Scene

The story of the Book of Job is laid in the far-off patriarchal age, such a time as we find elsewhere represented only in the Book of Gen; a time long before the Israelitish state, with its religious, social and political organization, existed. Its place is "the land of Uz," a little-known region S.E. of Pal, on the borders of Edom; a place remote from the ways of thinking peculiar to Israelitish lawgivers, priests and prophets. Its scene is in the free open country, among mountains, wadies, pasture-lands, and rural towns, where the relations of man and man are more elemental and primitive, and where the things of God are more intimately apprehended than in the complex affairs of city and state. It is easy to see what the writer gains by such a choice of setting. The patriarchal conditions, wherein the family is the social and communal unit, enable him to portray worship and conduct in their primal elements: religious rites of the simplest nature, with the family head the unchallenged priest and intercessor (cf **1** 4.5; **42** 8), and without the austere exactions of sanctuary or temple; to represent God, as in the old folk-stories, as communicating with men in audible voice and in tempest; and to give to the patriarch or sheikh a function of counsel and succor in the community analogous to that of the later wise man or sage (cf ch **29**). The place outside the bounds of Pal enables him to give an international or rather intercommunal tissue to his thought, as befits the character of the wisdom with which he is dealing, a strain of truth which Israel could and did share with neighbor nations. This is made further evident by the fact that in the discourses of the book, the designation of God is not Jeh (with one exception, **12** 9), but Elohim or Eloah or Shaddai, appellatives rather than names, common to the Sem peoples. The whole archaic scene serves to detach the story from complex conditions of civilization, and enables the writer to deal with the inherent and intrinsic elements of manhood.

2. Characters and Personality

All the characters of the story, J. included, are from non-Palestinian regions. The chief spokesman of the friends, Eliphaz, who is from Teman, is perhaps intended to represent a type of the standard and orthodox wisdom of the day; Teman, and Edom in general being famed for wisdom (Jer **49** 7; Ob vs 8.9). The characters of the friends, while representing in general a remarkable uniformity of tenet, are quite aptly individualized: Eliphaz as a venerable and devout sage who, with his eminent penetrativeness of insight, combines a yearning compassion; Bildad more as a scholar versed in the derived lore of tradition; and Zophar more impetuous and dogmatic, with the dogmatist's vein of intolerance. In Elihu, the young Aramaean who speaks after the others, the writer seems endeavoring to portray a young man's positiveness and absoluteness of conviction, and with it a self-conceit that quite outruns his ability. The Satan of the Prologue, who makes the wager with Jeh, is masterfully individualized, not as the malignant tempter and enemy of mankind, but as a spirit compact of impudent skepticism, who can appreciate no motive beyond self-advantage. Even the wife of J., with her peremptory disposition to make his affliction a personal issue with God, is not without an authentic touch of the elemental feminine. But high above them all is the character of J. himself, which, with all its stormy alternations of mood, range of assertion and remonstrance and growth of new conviction, remains absolutely consistent with itself. Nor can we leave unmentioned what is perhaps the hardest achievement of all, the sublime venture of giving the very words of God, in such a way that He speaks no word out of character nor measures His thought according to the standards of men.

3. Form and Style

The Prologue, chs **1** and **2**, a few verses at the beginning of ch **32** (vs 1–6*a*), and the Epilogue (**42** 7–17) are written in narrative prose. The rest of the book (except the short sentences introducing the speakers) is in poetry; a poetic tissue conforming to the type of the later *māshāl* (see under Proverb), which, in continuous series of couplets, is admirably adapted alike to imaginative sublimity and impassioned address. Beginning with J.'s curse of his day (ch **3**), J. and his three friends answer each other back and forth in three rounds of speeches, complete except that, for reasons which the subject makes apparent, Zophar, the third friend, fails to speak the third time. After the friends are thus put to silence, J. speaks three times in succession (chs **26**–**31**), and then "the words of J. are ended." At this point (ch **32**) a fourth speaker, Elihu, hitherto unmentioned, is introduced and speaks four times, when he abruptly ceases in terror at an approaching whirlwind (**37** 24). Jeh speaks from the whirlwind, two speeches, each of which J. answers briefly (**40** 3–5; **42** 1–6), or rather declines to answer. Such, which we may summarize in Prologue (chs **1**, **2**), Body of Discussion (**3**—**42** 6), and Epilogue (**42** 7–17), is the literary framework of the book. The substance of the book is in a way dramatic; it cannot, however, be called so truly a drama as a kind of forum of debate; its movement is too rigid for dramatic action, and it lacks besides the give-and-take of dialogue. In a book of mine published some years ago I ventured to call it "The Epic of the Inner Life," epic not so much in the technical sense, as in recognition of an underlying *epos* which for fundamental significance may be compared to the story underlying the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus. It will not do, however, to make too much of either of these forms as designating the Book of Job; either term has to be accommodated almost out of recognition, because the Heb literary forms were not conceived according to the Gr categories from which our terms "epic" and "dramatic" are derived. A greater limitation on our appreciation of its form, I think, is imposed by those who regard it as a mixture of forms. It is too generally divided between narrative and didactic debate. To the Heb mind it was all a continuous narrative, in which the poetic discussion, though overweighting the current of visualized action, had nevertheless the movement and value of real events. It is in this light, rather than in the didactic, that we may most profitably regard it.

III. The Course of the Story.—To divide the story of J. into 42 parts, according to the 42 numbered chapters, is in the last degree arbitrary. Nothing comes of it except convenience in reading for those who wish to take their Job in little detached bits. The chapter division was no part of the original, and a very insignificant step in the later apprehension of the original. To divide according to the speeches of the interlocutors is better; it helps us realize how the conflict of views brought the various phases of the thought to expression; but this too, with its tempting three-times-three, turns out to be merely a framework; it corresponds only imperfectly with the true inwardness of the story's movement; it is rather a scheme than a continuity. We are to bear in mind that this Book of Job is fundamentally the inner experience of one man, as he rises from the depths of spiritual gloom and doubt to a majestic table-land of new insight and faith; the other characters are but ancillary, helps and foils, whose function is subordinate and relative. Hence, mindful of this inwardness of Job's experience, I have ventured to trace the story in 5 main stages, naming them according to the landing-stage attained in each.

A) **To Job's Blessing and Curse**

1. His "Autumn Days"

The story begins (**1** 1–5) with a brief description of J. as he was before his trial began; the elements of his life, outer and inner, on which is to be raised the question of motive. A prosperous landholder of the land of Uz, distinguished far and wide as the greatest (i.e. richest) of the sons of the East, his inner character corresponds: to all appearance nothing lacking, a man "perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and turned away from evil." The typical Heb blessings of life were his to the full: wealth, honor, health, family. He is evidently set before us as the perfect example of the validity of the established Wisdom-tenet, that righteousness and Wisdom are identical (see under Proverbs, The Book of), and that this is manifest in its visible rewards. This period of his life J. describes afterward by retrospect as his "autumn days," when the friendship or intimacy (סוֹד, *ṣōdh*) of God was over his tent (see **29** 4, and the whole ch). Nor are we left without a glimpse into his heart: his constant attitude of worship, and his tender solicitude lest, in their enjoyment of the pleasures of life, his sons may have been disloyal to God (**1** 4.5). It is easy to see that not J. alone, but Wisdom as embodied in J., is postulated here for its supreme test.

2. The Wager in Heaven

Nor is the test delayed, or its ground ambiguous when it comes. Satan proposes it. Two scenes are given (**1** 6–12; **2** 1–6) from the court of God, wherever that is; for they are overheard by the reader, not seen, and of course neither J. nor any inhabitant of earth is aware of them. In these scenes the sons of God, the spirits who rejoiced over creation (**38** 7), are come together to render report, and Satan, uninvited, enters among them. He is a wandering spirit, unanchored to any allegiance, who roams through the earth, prying and criticizing. There is nothing, it would seem, in which he cannot find some flaw or discount. To Jeh's question if he has considered J., the man perfect and upright, he makes no denial of the fact, but raises the issue of motive: "Doth J. fear God for nought?" and urges that J.'s integrity is after all only a transparent bargain, a paying investment with only reward in view. It is virtually an arraignment both of God's order and of the essential human character: of God's order in connecting righteousness so intimately with gain; and of the essential human character, virtually denying that there is such a thing as disinterested, intrinsic human virtue. The sneer strikes deep, and J., the perfect embodiment of human virtue, is its designated victim. Satan proposes a wager, to the issue of which Jeh commits Himself. The trial of J. is carried out in two stages: first against his property and family, with the stipulation that it is not to touch him; and then, this failing to detach him from his allegiance, against his person in sore disease, with the stipulation that his life is to be spared. Jeh acknowledges that for once He is consenting to an injustice (**2** 3), and Satan, liar that he is, uses instrumentalities that men have ascribed to God alone: the first time, tempest and lightning (as well as murderous foray), the second time, the black leprosy, a fell disease, loathsome and deadly, which in men's minds meant the immediate punitive stroke of God. The evil is as absolute as was the reward; a complete reversal of the order in which men's wisdom had come to trust. But in the immediate result, Jeh's faith in His noblest creature is vindicated. Urged by his wife in his extremity to "curse God and die," J. remains true to his allegiance; and in his staunch utterance, "Jeh gave, and Jeh hath taken away; blessed be the name of Jeh," J., as the writer puts it, 'sinned not, nor attributed aught unbeseeming [תִּפְלָה, *tiphlāh*, lit. "tasteless"] to God.' Such is the first onset of J.'s affliction and its result. It remains to be seen what the long issue, days and months of wretchedness, will bring forth.

3. The Silent Friends

We are now to imagine the lapse of some time, perhaps several months (cf **7** 3), during which J. suffers alone, an outcast from house and society, on a leper's ash-heap. Meanwhile three friends of his who have heard of his affliction make an appointment together and come from distant regions to give him sympathy and comfort (**2** 11–13). On arriving, however, they find things different from what they had expected; perhaps the ominous nature of his disease has developed since they started. What they find is a man wretched and outcast, with a disease (elephantiasis) which to them can mean nothing but the immediate vengeance of God. The awful sight gives them pause. Instead of condoling with him, they sit silent and dismayed, and for seven days and nights no word is spoken (cf Isa **53** 3). What they were debating with themselves during that time is betrayed by the after-course of the story. How can they bless one whom God has stamped with His curse? To do so would be taking sides with the wicked. Is it not rather their duty to side with God, and be safe, and let sympathy go? By this introduction of the friends and their averted attitude, the writer with consummate skill brings a new element into the story, the element of the Wisdom-philosophy; and time will show whether as a theoretical thing, cold and intellectual, it will retain or repress the natural outwelling of human friendship. And this silence is ominous.

4. Whose Way Is Hid

The man who, in the first onset of trial, blessed Jeh and set himself to bear in silence now opens his mouth to curse. His curse is directed, not against Jeh nor against the order of things, but against the day of his birth. It is a day that has ceased to have meaning or worth for him. The day stands for life, for his individual life, a life that in the order of things should carry out the personal promise and fruitage for which it had been bestowed. And his quarrel with it is that he has lost its clue. Satan unknown to him has sneered because Jeh had hedged him round with protection and favor (**1** 10); but his complaint is that all this is removed without cause, and God has hedged him round with darkness. His way is hid (**3** 23). Why then was life given at all? In all this, it will be noted, he raises no train of introspection to account for his condition; he assumes no sinfulness, nor even natural human depravity; the opposite rather, for a baffling element of his case is his shrinking sensitiveness against evil and disloyalty (cf **3** 25.26, in which the tenses should be past, with **1** 5; see also **6** 30; **16** 17). His plight has become sharply, poignantly objective; his inner self has no part in it. Thus in this opening speech he strikes the keynote of the real, against which the friends' theories rage and in the end wreck themselves.

B) To Job's Ultimatum of Protest

1. The Veiled Impeachment

With all the gentle regret of having to urge a disagreeable truth the friends, beginning with Eliphaz, the wisest and most venerable, enter upon their theory of the case. Eliphaz covers virtually the whole ground; the others come in mainly to echo or emphasize. He veils his reproof in general and implicatory terms, the seasoned terms of wisdom in which Job himself is expert (**4** 3–5); reminds him that no righteous man perishes, but that men reap what they sow (**4** 7.8); adduces a vision that he had had which revealed to him that man, by the very fact of being mortal, is impure and iniquitous (**4** 17–19); implies that J.'s turbulence of mind precludes him from similar revelations, and jeopards his soul (**5** 1.2); advises him to commit his case to God, with the implication, however, that it is a case needing correction rather than justification, and that the result in view is restored comfort and prosperity. As J. answers with a more passionate and detailed portrayal of his wrong, Bildad, following, abandons the indirect impeachment and attributes the children's death to their sin (**8** 4), saying also that if J. were pure and upright he might supplicate and regain God's favor (**8** 5.6). He then goes on to draw a lesson from the traditional Wisdom lore, to the effect that sure destruction awaits the wicked and sure felicity the righteous (**8** 11–22). On J.'s following this with his most positive arraignment of God's order and claim for light, Zophar replies with impetuous heat, averring that J.'s punishment is less than he deserves (**11** 6), and reproving him for his presumption in trying to find the secret of God (**11** 7–12). All three of the friends, with increasing emphasis, end their admonitions in much the same way; promising J. reinstatement in God's favor, but always with the veiled implication that he must own to iniquity and entreat as a sinner.

2. Wisdom Insipid, Friends Doubtful

To the general maxims of Wisdom urged against him, with which he is already familiar (cf **13** 2), J.'s objection is not that they are untrue, but that they are insipid (**6** 6.7); they have lost their application to the case. Yet it is pain to him to think that the words of the Holy One should fail; he longs to die rather than deny them (**6** 9.10). One poignant element of his sorrow is that the intuitive sense (*tūshīyāh;* see under PROVERBS, THE BOOK OF) is driven away from him; see **6** 13. He is irritated by the insinuating way in which the friends beg the question of his guilt; longs for forthright and sincere words (**6** 25). It is this quality of their speech, in fact, which adds the bitterest drop to his cup; his friends, on whom he had counted for support, are deceitful like a dried-up brook (**6** 15–20); he feels, in his sick sensitiveness, that they are not sympathizing with him but using him for their cold, calculating purposes (**6** 27). Thus is introduced one of the most potent motives of the story, the motive of friendship; much will come of it when from the fallible friendships of earth he conquers his way by faith to a friendship in the unseen (cf **16** 19; **19** 27).

3. Crookedness of the Order of Things

With the sense that the old theories have become stale and pointless, though his discernment of the evil of things is undulled by sin (**6** 30), J. arrives at an extremely poignant realization of the hardness and crookedness of the world-order, the result both of what the friends are saying and of what he has always held in common with them. It is the view that is forced upon him by the sense that he is unjustly dealt with by a God who renders no reasons, who on the score of justice vouchsafes to man neither insight nor recourse, and whose severity is out of all proportion to man's sense of worth (**7** 17) or right (**9** 17) or claim as a creature of His hand (**10** 8–14). Ch **9**, which contains J.'s direct address to this arbitrary Being, is one of the most tremendous, not to say audacious conceptions in literature; in which a mortal on the threshold of death takes upon himself to read God a lesson in godlikeness. In this part of the story J. reaches his ultimatum of protest; a protest amazingly sincere, but not blasphemous when we realize that it is made in the interest of the Godlike.

The great lack which J. feels in his arraignment of God is the lack of mediation between Creator and creature, the Oppressor and His victim. There

4. No Mediation in Sight

is no umpire between them, who might lay his hand upon both, so that the wronged one might have a voice in the matter (**9** 32–35). The two things that an umpire might do: to remove God's afflicting hand, and to prevent God's terror from unmanning His victim (see **13** 20–22, as compared with the passage just cited), are the great need to restore normal and reciprocal relations with Him whose demand of righteousness is so inexorable. This umpire or advocate idea, thus propounded negatively, will grow to a sublime positive conviction in the next stage of J.'s spiritual progress (**16** 19; **19** 25–27).

***C*) To Job's Ultimatum of Faith**

1. Detecting the Friends' False Note

As the friends finish their first round of speeches, in which a remote and arbitrary God is urged upon him as everything, and man so corrupt and blind that he cannot but be a worm and culprit (cf **25** 4–6), J.'s eyes, which hitherto have seen with theirs, are suddenly opened. His first complaint of their professed friendship was that it was fallible; instead of sticking to him when he needed them most (**6** 14), and in spite of his bewilderment (**6** 26), they were making it virtually an article of traffic (**6** 27), as if it were a thing for their gain. It was not sincere, not intrinsic to their nature, but an expedient. And now all at once he penetrates to its motive. They are deserting him in order to curry favor with God. That motive has prevented them from seeing true; they see only their theoretical God, and are respecting His person instead of responding to the inner dictate of truth and integrity. To his honest heart this is monstrous; they ought to be afraid of taking falseness for God (**13** 3–12). Nor does his inference stop with thus detecting their false note. If they are "forgers of lies" in this respect, what of all their words of wisdom? They have been giving him "proverbs of ashes" (**13** 12); the note of false implication is in them all. From this point therefore he pays little attention to what they say; lets them go on to grossly exaggerated statement of their tenet, while he opens a new way of faith for himself, developing the germs of insight that have come to him.

2. Staking All on Integrity

Having cut loose from all countenancing of the friends' self-interested motives, J. now, with the desperate sense of taking his life in his hand and abandoning hope, resolves that come what will he will maintain his ways to God's face. This, as he believes, is not only the one course for his integrity, but his one plea of salvation, for no false one shall appear before him. How tremendous the meaning of this resolve, we can think when we reflect how he has just taken God in hand to amend His supposed iniquitous order of things; and that he is now, without mediator, pleading the privilege that a mediator would secure (**13** 20.21; see 8, above) and urging a hearing on his own charges. The whole reach of his sublime faith is involved in this.

3. "If a Man Die"

In two directions his faith is reaching out; in both negatively at first. One, the belief in an Advocate, has already been broached, and is germinating from negative to positive. The other, the question of life after death, rises here in the same tentative way: using first the analogy of the tree which sprouts again after it is cut down (**14** 7–9), and from it inquiring, 'If a man die—*might* he live again?' and dwelling in fervid imagination on the ideal solution which a survival of death would bring (**14** 13–17), but returning to his reluctant negative, from the analogy of drying waters (**14** 11) and the slow wearing down of mountains (**14** 18.19). As yet he can treat the idea only as a fancy; not yet a hope or a grounded conviction.

4. The Surviving Next of Kin

The conviction comes by a nobler way than fancy, by the way of his personal sense of the just and Godlike order. The friends in their second round of speeches have begun their lurid portrayals of the wicked man's awful fate; but until all have spoken again he is concerned with a far more momentous matter. Dismissing these for the present as an academic exercise composed in cold blood (**16** 4.5), and evincing a heart hid from understanding (**17** 4), he goes on to recount in the most bitter terms he has yet used the flagrancy of his wrong as something that calls out for expiation like the blood of Cain (**16** 18), and breaks out with the conviction that his witness and voucher who will hear his prayer for mediation is on high (**16** 19–21). Then after Bildad in a spiteful retort has matched his complaint with a description of the calamities of the wicked (an augmented echo of Eliphaz), and he has pathetically bewailed the treachery of earthly friends (**19** 13.14.21.22), he mounts, as it were, at a bound to the sublime ultimatum of his faith in an utterance which he would fain see engraved on the rock forever (**19** 23–29). "I know that my Redeemer liveth," he exclaims; lit. my Go'el (גֹּאֲלִי, *gō'ălī*), or next of kin, the person whose business in the old Heb idea was to maintain the rights of an innocent wronged one and avenge his blood. He does not recede from the idea that his wrong is from God (cf **19** 6.21); but over his dust stands his next of kin, and as the result of this one's intercession J., in his own integral person, shall see God no more a stranger. So confident is he that he solemnly warns the friends who have falsely impeached him that it is they, not he, who are in peril (**19** 28.29; cf **13** 10.11).

***D*) To Job's Verdict on Things as They Are**

1. Climax and Subsidence of the Friends' Charge

That in this conviction of a living Redeemer J.'s faith has reached firm and final ground is evident from the fact that he does not recur to his old doubts at all. They are settled, and settled right. But now, leaving them, he can attend to what the friends have been saying. Zophar, the third speaker, following, presses to vehement extreme their iterated portrayal of the wicked man's terrific woes; it seems the design of the writer to make them outdo themselves in frantic overstatement of their thesis. As Zophar ceases, and J. has thus, as it were, drawn all their fire, J. refutes them squarely, as we shall presently see. Meanwhile, in the course of his extended refutation, the friends begin a third round of speeches. Eliphaz, who has already taken alarm at the tendency of J.'s words, as those of a depraved skeptic and ruinous to devotion (**15** 4–6), now in the interests of his orthodoxy brings in his bill of particulars. It is the kind of theoretical cant that has had large prevalence in dogmatic religion, but in J.'s case atrociously false. He accuses J. of the most heartless cruelties and frauds (**22** 5–11), and of taking occasion to indulge in secret wickedness when God was not looking (**22** 12–14); to this it is that he attributes the spiritual darkness with which J. is encompassed. Then in a beautiful exhortation—beautiful when we forget its unreal condition (**22** 23)—he ends by holding open to J. the way of reinstatement and peace. This is the last word of the friends that has any weight. Bildad follows J.'s next speech indeed very briefly (ch **25**), giving a last feeble echo of their doctrine of total depravity; a reply which

J. ridicules and carries on in a kind of parody (ch **26**). Zophar does not speak a third time at all. He has nothing to say. And this silence of his is the writer's way of making the friends' theory subside ingloriously.

2. The Real Cause of Job's Dismay

The idea that J. has a defensible cause or sees farther than they is wholly lost on the friends; to them he is simply a wicked man tormented by the consciousness of guilt, and they attribute the tumult of his thoughts to a wrath, or vexation, which blinds and imperils his soul (cf **5** 2; **18** 4). That is not the cause of his dismay at all, nor is it merely that his personal fate is inscrutable (cf **23** 17 m). He is confounded rather, even to horror, because the probable facts of the world-order prove the utter falsity of all that they allege. Leaving his case, the righteous man's, out of the account, he sees the wicked just as prosperous, just as secure, just as honored in life and death, as the righteous (**21** 5–15.29–33). The friends ought to see so plain a fact as well as he (**21** 29). To all outward appearance there is absolutely no diversity of fate between righteous and wicked (**21** 23–26). The friends' cut-and-dried Wisdom-doctrine and their thrifty haste to justify God (cf **13** 7.8) have landed them in a lie; the truth is that God has left His times mysterious to men (**24** 1). They may as well own to the full the baffling fact of the impunity of wickedness; the whole of ch **24** is taken up with details of it. Wisdom, with its rigid law of reward and punishment, has failed to penetrate the secret. A hard régime of justice, work and wage, conduct and desert, does not sound the deep truth of God's dealings, either with righteous or wicked. What then? Shall Wisdom go, or shall it rise to a higher level of outlook and insight?

3. Manhood in the Ore

In some such dim inquiry as this, it would seem, J. goes on from where his friends sit silenced to figure some positive solution of things as they are. He begins with himself and his stedfastly held integrity, sealing his utterance by the solemn Heb oath (**27** 2–6), and as solemnly disavowing all part or sympathy with the wicked (**27** 7; cf **21** 16). He has already found a meaning in his own searching experience; he is being tried for a sublime assay, in which all that is permanent and precious in him shall come out as gold (**23** 10). But this thought of manhood in the ore is no monopoly of his; it may hold for all. What then of the wicked? In a passage which some have deemed the lost third speech of Zophar (**27** 8–23), and which, indeed, recounts what all the friends have seen (**27** 12), he sets forth the case of the wicked in its true light. The gist of it is that the wicked have not the joy of God (**27** 10), or the peace of a permanent hope. It is in much the same tone as the friends' diatribes, but with a distinct advance from outward disaster toward tendency and futility. The ore is not being purged for a noble assay; and this will work their woe. Then finally, in the celebrated ch **28**, comes up the summary of wisdom itself. That remains, after all this testing of motive, a thing intact and elemental; and man's part in it is just what J.'s life has been, to fear God and shun evil (**28** 28).

4. Job Reads His Indictment

As the crowning pronouncement on things as they are, J. in his final and longest speech, describes in a beautiful retrospect his past life, from his "autumn days" when the friendship of God was over his tent and he was a counselor and benefactor among men (ch **29**), through this contrasted time of his wretchedness and curse-betraying disease, when the most degraded despise him (ch **30**), until now as he draws consciously near the grave, he recounts in solemn review the principles and virtues that have guided his conduct—a noble summary of the highest Heb ideals of character (ch **31**). This he calls, in sublime irony, the indictment which his Adversary has written; and like a prince, bearing it upon his shoulder and binding it to him like a crown, he is ready to take it with him beyond the bourn to the presence of his Judge. With this tremendous proposal, sanctioned Hebrew-fashion by a final curse if it prove false, the words of J. are ended.

***E*) The Dénouement**

The friends are silenced, not enlightened. They have clung to their hard thesis to the stubborn end; postulating enough overt crime on J.'s part to kill him (**22** 5–9), and clinching their hypothesis with their theory of innate depravity (**4** 18.19; **15** 14.15; **25** 4–6) and spiritual hebetude (**5** 2; **15** 26.27; **22** 10.11); but toward J.'s higher level of honest integrity and exploring faith they have not advanced one inch; and here they lie, fossilized dogmatists, fixed and inveterate in their *odium theologicum*—a far cry from the friendship that came from afar to condole and console. J., on the other hand, staking all on the issue of his integrity, has held on his way in sturdy consistency (cf **17** 9), and stood his ground before the enigma of things as they are. Both parties have said their say; the story is evidently ready for its dénouement. J., too, is ready for the determining word, though it would seem he expects it to be spoken only in some unseen tribunal; the friends rather savagely wish that God would speak and reprove Job for his presumption (cf **11** 5.11). But how shall the solution be brought about in this land of Uz where all may see? And above all, how shall it affect the parties concerned? A skilfully told story should not leave this out.

1. The Self-constituted Interpreter

For this determining pronouncement the writer has chosen to have both parties definitely represented, apparently at their best. So, instead of proceeding at once to the summons from the whirlwind, he introduces here a new character, Elihu, a young man, who has listened with growing impatience to the fruitless discussion, and now must set both parties right or burst (**32** 19). It is like the infusion of young blood into a theodicy too arrogant in its antiquity (cf **8** 8–10; **15** 10.18; **12** 12 m, or better as question). This character of Elihu is conceived in a spirit of satire, not without a dash of grim humor. His self-confidence, not to say conceit, is strongly accentuated (**32** 11–22); he assumes the umpire function for which J. has pleaded (**33** 6.7; cf **9** 33–35; **13** 20–22); and is sure he represents the perfect in knowledge (**36** 2–4; **37** 16). He speaks four times, addressing himself alternately to J. and the friends. His words, though designedly diffuse, are not without wisdom and beauty; he makes less of J.'s deep-seated iniquity than do the friends, but blames him for speaking in the wicked man's idiom (**34** 7–9.36.37), and warns him against inclining more to iniquity than submission (**36** 21); but his positive contribution to the discussion is the view he holds of the chastening influence of dreams and visions (**33** 14–18; cf **7** 13–15), and of the pains of disease (**33** 19–28), esp. if the sufferer has an "angel [messenger] interpreter" to reveal its meaning, such a one perhaps as Elihu feels himself to be. As he proceeds in his speech, his words indicate that a storm is rising; and so long as it is distant he employs it to descant on the wonders of God in Nature, wonders which to him mean little more than arbitrary marvels of power; but as it approaches nearer and shows exceptional phenomena as of a theophany, his words become incoherent, and he breaks off with an abject attempt to disclaim his pretensions. Such is the effect, with him, of the near presence of God. It overwhelms, paralyzes, stops the presumptuous currents of life.

2. The Whirlwind and the Voice

The writer of the book has not committed the literary fatuity of describing the whirlwind, except as Elihu has seen its oncoming, first with conceit of knowledge, then with wild access of terror—a description in which his essentially vapid personality is reflected. For the readers the significance of the whirlwind is in the Voice it incloses, the thing it says. And here the writer has undertaken the most tremendous task ever attempted by the human imagination: to make the Almighty speak, and speak in character. And one fatuity at least he has escaped; he has not made God bandy arguments with men, or piece together the shifting premises of logic. The whole of the two discourses from the whirlwind is descriptive; a recounting of observable phenomena of created nature, from the great elemental things, earth and sea and light and star and storm, to the varied wonders of animal nature—all things in which the questing mind of man may share, laying hold in his degree on its meaning or mystery. Thus, as a sheer literary personation, it fails at no point of the Godlike. It begins with a peremptory dismissal of Elihu: "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?" (**38** 2). Then J. is bidden gird up his loins like a strong man, and listen and answer. The fact that J. alone, of all the company, can stand, as it were, on common terms with God is premonitory of the outcome. Of the two Divine discourses, the first (chs **38, 39**) emphasizes more especially the unsearchable wisdom of creation; and the lesson it brings home to J. is that a being who is great enough—or presumptuous enough—to criticize and censure is great enough to resolve his own criticism (**40** 2). To this, of course, J. has no answer; he has presented his plea, which he neither adds to nor takes back (**40** 3–5). Resuming, then, the Voice in the second discourse (**40** 6—**41** 34) goes on to describe two great beasts, as it were, elemental monsters of Nature: Behemoth—probably the hippopotamus—vast in resisting and overcoming power, yet unaware of it, and easily subduable by man; and Leviathan—probably the crocodile—a wonder of beautiful adaptedness to its function in Nature, yet utterly malignant, unsubduable, untamable. And the lesson brought home to J. by this strange distribution of creative power is that he, who has called in question God's right to work as He does, had better undertake to lower human pride and "tread down the wicked where they stand" (**40** 12), thus demonstrating his ability to save himself and manage mankind (**40** 14). By this illuminating thought J.'s trenchancy of demand is utterly melted away into contrition and penitence (**42** 1–6); but one inspiring effect is his, the thing indeed which he has persistently sought (cf **23** 3): God is no more a hearsay, such as the friends have defended and his Wisdom has speculated about; his eye sees Him here on earth, and in his still unremoved affliction, no stranger, but a wise and communable Friend, just as his confident faith had pictured he would, in some embodied sphere beyond suffering (**19** 27).

3. The Thing That Is Right

Two of the parties in the story have met the august theophany, and it has wrought its effect on them according to the spirit of the man. The self-constituted interpreter, Elihu, has collapsed as suddenly as he swelled up and exhibited himself. The man of integrity, J., has reached the beatific goal of his quest. What now of the friends who came from far to confirm their Wisdom, and who were so sure they were defending the mind of God? They are not left without a sufficing word, addressed straight to their spokesman Eliphaz (**42** 7); but their way to light is through the man whose honesty they outraged. Eliphaz' closing words had promised mediatorial power to Job if he would return from iniquity and acquaint himself with God (**22** 30); Job is now the mediator, though he has held consistently to the terms they reprobated. And the Divine verdict on them is: "Ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant J. hath" (**42** 7). These are the words of the Being who acknowledged that in permitting this whole trial He was 'swallowing Job up causelessly' (**2** 3). J.'s honest and immensely revelatory words, anger, remonstrance, bold arraignment of God's way and all, were "the thing that is right." There is no more tremendous Divine pronouncement in all Scripture than this.

4. The Restored Situation

Here certain myopic students of the Book of Job think the story should end. It offends them, apparently, to see Satan's work undone; if they had had the making of the story they would have left J. still suffering, as if disinterested virtue could not be its own reward without it. The author, at least the final author, evidently did not think so; in the ideals and sanctions that prevailed in his age he knew better what he was about. It is not my business to cut the book to a modern pattern, but to note what is there. J. is restored to health, to double his former wealth, to family and honor and a ripe old age. These were what the friends predicted for him on condition of his owning to guilt and calling injustice desert; but in no word of his has he intimated that worldly reinstatement was his wish or his object, the contrary rather. And what he sought he obtained, in richer measure than he sought; obtained it still in suffering, and on earth, "in the place where all may see" (cf **34** 26 m). It is no discount to the value of this, nor on the other hand is it an essential addition, to express it not only in spiritual terms, but in terms current among men. And one fundamental thing this restored situation shows, or at least takes for granted, namely, that the quarrel has not been with Wisdom itself, its essence or its sanctions, but only with its encroaching false motive. Deepened, not invaded, its Newtonian law that it is well with the righteous, ill with the wicked, remains intact, an external sanction to live by, in spite of temporal exceptions. A spiritual principle of great significance, too, seems to be indicated, as it were, furtively, in the words, "And Jeh turned the captivity of J., when he prayed for his friends." He had stood on his integrity demanding his right, and became a self-loathing penitent; out of dust and ashes he prayed for his friends, and became again such a power in health and wealth as he had been in his "autumn days."

1. Beyond the Didactic Tether

IV. The Problem and the Purpose.—If the foregoing section has rightly shown that the main thrust and interest of the Book of Job lies not in its debate but in its narrative, we have therein the best clue to its problem and its purpose. The sublime self-portrayal of a man who held fast his integrity against God and man and death and darkness tells its own story and teaches its own lesson, beyond the power of didactic propositions or deductions to compass. The book is not a sermon but a vital, throbbing uprise of the human spirit. It is warm with the life of sound manhood, the inner life with its hopes, its doubts, its convictions, its supreme affiance; to impose on this any tether of didacticism is to chill its spirit and make it dogmatic and academic. The reading of its problem which mainly holds the field today is expressed in the question, "Why does God afflict the righteous?" and so the book is resolved into a theodicy, a justification of God's ways with man. Well, the friends of J. do their best to make their interpretation a theodicy, even outraging palpable fact to do it; they monopolize the didactic element of the poem; but their chief contention is that God does not afflict the righteous but the wicked, and that J. is a flagrant case in point who adds rebellion to his sin (cf **34** 37). J. does not know why God afflicts the righteous; he only knows that it is a grievous fact, which to him seems utterly un-Godlike. God knows, undoubtedly, but He does not tell. Yet all the while an answer to the question is shaping itself in personality, in intrinsic manhood, in the sturdy truth and loyalty of J.'s spirit. So, going beyond the didactic tether, we may say that in a deeper sense God is justified after all; if such a result of desperate trial is possible in man, it is worth all the rigor of the experiment. But it is as truly an anthropodicy (excuse the word!) as a theodicy; it puts the essential man on a plane above all that Satan can prove by his lying sneers of self-interest, or the friends' poisoning of the wells by their theory of natural depravity. It comes back after all to the story of J.; he *lives* the answer to the problem, his personality is the teaching.

2. What Comes of Limiting the Purpose

It is from this point of view that we can best judge of the critical attacks that have been made on the structure and coherence of the Book of Job. The book has suffered its full share of negative disintegration at the hands of the critics; mostly subjective it seems to me, coming from a too restricted view of its problem and purpose, or from lack of that long patient induction which will not be content until it sees all the elements of its creative idea in fitting order and proportion. To limit the purpose to the issue of a debated theodicy, is to put some parts in precarious tenure; accordingly, there are those to whom the Epilogue seems a superfluity, the Prologue an afterthought, ch **28** a fugitive poem put in to fill up—not to go on to still more radical excisions. On the score of regularity of structure, too, this limitation of design has had equally grave results. Elihu has perhaps fared the worst. He must go, the critics almost universally say, because forsooth he was not formally introduced in the Prologue; and naturally enough, as soon as he has received notice to quit, the language which in one view fits him so dramatically to his part begins to bristle with Aramaisms ('of the kindred of Ram,' **32** 2) and strange locutions, the alleged marks of a later bungling hand. Then, further, Zophar must needs round out the mechanical three-times-three of structure by coming up the third time; accordingly, J. is levied upon to contribute some of his words (**27** 13–23) to help him out. I need not go into further detail. The foregoing section has done something, I hope, to justify my conviction that the book has a homogeneous design and structure just as it is. Whatever its vicissitudes since the first draft was made, it may turn out after all that the last edition is the best.

3. The Book's Own Import of Purpose

We are not left in the dark as to the large purpose of the Book of Job, if we will follow its own indications consistently. Satan's question at the beginning, "Doth Job fear God for nought?" sets us on the track of it. To give that question a Godlike and not a Satanic answer, to prove in the person of J. that man has it in him to make his life an unbought loyalty to the Divine, is a purpose large enough to include many subsidiary purposes. But behind this appears, on the part of the author, a purpose which relates his story intimately to the intellectual tendencies of his day. The book embodies, esp. in the theories of the friends, a searching epitome of the status to which the wisdom philosophy of his time had arrived. That philosophy was a nobly founded theory of life; J. himself had been and continued (cf **28** 28) thoroughly at one with it. Soundly identified with righteousness and piety, Wisdom had in religious idiom defined the elements of right and wrong living, and had in no uncertain terms fixed its sanctions of reward and penalty. But from a warm, pulsating life it had become an orthodoxy. Its rigid world had room for only two classes of men: the righteous, bound for the sure rewards of life; the wicked, bound for sure failure and destruction. It brooked no real exception to this austere law of being. But two grave evils were invading its system. One was its hard blindness to facts, or, what is as bad, its determination at all hazards to explain them away. From the psalms of the period (cf e.g. Pss **37, 49, 73**) we can see how the evident happiness and prosperity of the wicked was troubling devout minds. The other was that under this prevailing philosophy life was becoming too cold-blooded and calculable a thing, a virtual feeder of self-interest. The doubt lay very near whether conduct so sanctioned was a thing intrinsic and sincere or a thing bought and sold. This equivocal state of things could not long endure. Sooner or later Satan's question of motive must stab it to the heart; and we may be sure that to the author of the book the impulse to ask the question was not all Satanic. The interests of true wisdom, no less than of skepticism, demanded that the question of inner motive be raised and solved. Nay, Jeh Himself, whom Satan mocked as abettor of the situation, was on trial. Have we not material here, then, for a sublime purpose, a mighty epic of test and trial and victory? Out of it, not J. alone, but Wisdom must emerge purified, enlightened, spiritualized.

4. Problem of the Intrinsic Man

So much for the purpose of the book. The problem corresponds to it. If we take it as the baffling problem of suffering, or more specifically why God afflicts the righteous, the sufficing answer is, Job is why. To give such essential integrity as his its ultimate proof and occasion is worth the injustice and the unmerited pain. In other words, the problem is more deeply concerned with man's intrinsic nature than with God's mysterious dealings. When God created man in His own image, did He endow him most fundamentally with the spirit of commercialism, or with the spirit of unbought loyalty to the Godlike? And when created man was made fallible and mortal, did that mean an unescapable inherent depravity, or was the potency of noblest manhood still left at the center of his being? Here again J. is the embodied answer. The friends, perverted Calvinists before Calvin, urge depravity; they would exalt God by making man His utter contrast. But J.'s stedfast integrity proves that man, one man at least, is at heart sound and true. And if one man, then the potency of soundness exists in manhood. The book is indeed a theodicy; but still more truly it is a boldy maintained anthropodicy, a vindication of the intrinsic worth of man.

V. Considerations of Age and Setting.

1. Shadowy Contacts with History

—The questions who was the personal author of the Book of Job, and what was its age, are at best only a matter of conjecture; and my revised conjecture, arrived at since I wrote my *Epic of the Inner Life*, must go for what it is worth. It seems to me much better to regard a story so homogeneous and interrelated as in the main the composition of one mind than to distribute it, as some critics do, among various authors, supplementers, and editors. As to its age, there is so little identifiable contact with political or ecclesiastical history that its composition has been ascribed to many periods, from the time of Abraham to late in post-exilic times. The fact that its scene is laid in the patriarchal past and in a land outside of Pal indicates the author's design to dissociate it from contemporary events and conditions; such contact with these as exist, therefore, must be read between the lines. The book does not hold with full consistency to patriarchal conditions. Job's friends appeal with the complacency of wisdom-prospered men to the ancient tenure of the land (**15** 19); and yet, as Job complains, the heartless greed of the landholding class in removing landmarks and oppressing the poor (**24** 2–12) connotes the prevalence of such outrages as were denounced by Isaiah and Micah before the Assyr crisis. Such evils would not decrease under Manasseh and Jehoiakim, and might well be portrayed in reminiscence by an exilic writer. On the top of this consideration may be cited the most definite reference to a historical event that the book contains: the passage **12** 17–25, which vividly describes, by an eyewitness ("Lo, mine eye hath seen all this," **13** 1), a wholesale deportation and humiliation of eminent persons, just like that told of Jehoiachin and his court in 2 K **24** 13–15. To my mind this is illuminative for the age of the book. It seems to have been written by one who saw the Chaldaean deportation of 587 BC. May I be suffered to carry the suggestion a step farther? It will be remembered that the chief personage of that deportation was for 37 years a state prisoner in Babylon, at the end of which time he was "taken from durance and judgment" (cf Isa **53** 8 AV) and lived thenceforth honored with kings (2 K **25** 27–30=Jer **52** 31–34). I take him to have been the original of the individualized Servant of Jeh described and describing himself in Second Isa. In one of his self-descriptions he says that Jeh has given him "the tongue of them that are taught" (Isa **50** 4); in another that Jeh has made his "mouth like a sharp sword" and himself "a polished shaft" (Isa **49** 2). What he said or wrote is of course unidentifiable; but it is certain that in some cultural way he was a hidden power for good to his people. What if this Book of Job were a prison-made book, like *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Don Quixote*, but as much greater as the experience that underlay it was more momentous? I do not see but this suggestion is as probable as any that have been made; and some expressions of the book become thereby very striking, as for instance, the reference to prisoners (**3** 18.19), to the servant longing for release (**7** 2), the general sense of being despised, the several references to Job as "my servant Job" (**1** 8; **2** 3; **42** 7.8), the description of his restoration as a turned captivity, and his successful intercession for the friends (**42** 10; cf Isa **53** 12). I would merely suggest the idea, however, not press it.

2. Place in Biblical Literature

If the Book of Job is a product of the time of Jehoiachin's imprisonment, it is in worthy and congenial literary company. Isaiah, fostering the faith of a new-born spiritual "remnant," had gathered the elements of that sublime vision (Isa **1** 1) of Israel's mission among the nations which a later hand was even now, four generations after, working to supplement and finish, in a prophecy (Isa **40–66**) which, as all recognize, constitutes the closest parallel in spirited idea to our book. Seers, priests and singers had long busied themselves with the literary treasures of the past; drawing out of dusty archives and putting into popular idiom the ancient laws and counsels of Moses (Dt; see under Josiah); collecting and adapting the old Davidic psalms and composing new ones, as Hezekiah's reorganization of the worship required. Ezekiel was at Tel Abib planning for the reconstruction of the temple, and perhaps by his use of the name "Job" veiling a cryptic reference (Ezk **14** 14.20). The affiliations of the Book of Job, however, were more specifically with the wisdom literature; and long before this the "men of Hezekiah" (Prov **25** 1) had gathered their aftermath of the Solomonic proverbs, to supplement the maxims which had been the educative pabulum of the people (see under Proverbs, Book of). It was with the care and principle of this diffused instruction, now the most popular vein of literature, that the Book of Job concerned itself. That had become apparent as soon as the maxims were coördinated in an anthology, and an introduction to the collection had been composed, extolling Wisdom as the guide and savior of life. Indeed a new interpretation of Job (Cobern, *Methodist Rev* May, 1913, 419 ff) is that the behemoth and leviathan of the speech of the Lord are not zoölogical animals at all, that, indeed, there are none such—but that they are mythological animals, the last great devourers in Egyp mythology which, if passed, the soul is sure to attain immortality. Thus the Lord's assertion of absolute mastery of these creatures is a poetic and dramatic way of asserting the immortality of the soul. Though Job might belong to the Wisdom literature, it fits best in the days of Moses and pentateuchal literature.

3. Parallels and Echoes

In the amazing sureness and vigor of its message the Book of Job stands out unique and alone; but it is by no means without its lesser parallels in faith and doubt, above which it rises like a mountain above its retinue of foothills. Mention has been made above of a number of Pss (e.g. **37, 49, 73**) which with different degrees of assurance witness to the struggle of faith with the problem of the rampant and successful wicked. Ps **49**, one of the pss of the sons of Korah, is esp. noteworthy, because it expressly employs the popular *māshāl*, that is, the Wisdom vehicle, to convey a corrective lesson about unblest riches, drawing a conclusion not unlike that of Job **27** 8–23, though in milder tone. Not less noteworthy also is the note of suffering and its mysteriousness which pervades many of the pss, esp. of Asaph and Heman; Pss **88** and **102** might both have been composed with special reference to Hezekiah's sickness and set beside his ps in Isa **38**, but also they are so fully in the tone of J.'s complaint, esp. **88**, that Professor Godet, not unplausibly, conjectures that the Book of Job was written by its author Heman. Hezekiah's deadly sickness itself (Isa **38**), which was of a leprous nature, banishing him from the house of God, and which was miraculously healed—an experience regarding which Hezekiah's own writing (Isa **38** 10–20) is strikingly in the key of Job's complaint—furnishes the nearest parallel to, or adumbration of, Job's affliction; but also in the accounts of the Servant of Jeh there are hints of a similar stroke of God's judgment (cf Isa **52** 14; **53** 3). The passage Job **7** 17.18 has been called "a bitter parody" of Ps **8** 4; it may be so, but the conditions are in utter contrast, and nothing can be concluded as to which is original and which echo. As to expression, the most remarkable parallel to Job, perhaps, is the passage Jer **20** 14–18, in which, like Job, the prophet Jeremiah curses the day of his birth. This curse in Job would naturally be remembered by all readers as one of the most characteristic features of the book; and in like manner the curse in Jer may have stood out in the memory of his disciples, of whom the writer of Job may have been one, and figure in a similar literary situation. Ezekiel's naming of Job along with Noah and Daniel (Ezk **14** 14.20), as a type of atoning righteousness, is doubly remarkable if the writer of Job was a contemporary; he may have taken the name from a well-known legend, and there may have underlain it a double meaning, known to an inner circle, referring cryptically to one whose real name it might be impolitic to pronounce. Whenever written, the outline and meaning of J.'s momentous experience must have won speedily to a permanent place in the universal Heb memory; so that centuries afterward St. James could write to the twelve tribes scattered abroad (**5** 11), "Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord."

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Revised by M. G. K. JOHN FRANKLIN GENUNG

JOB, TESTAMENT OF. See APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

JOBAB, jō′bab (יוֹבָב, *yōbhābh*, perhaps "howling"; **Ἰωβάβ**, *Iōbáb*):

(1) "Son" of Joktan (Gen **10** 29; 1 Ch **1** 23). See TABLE OF NATIONS.

(2) An Edomite king (Gen **36** 33.34; 1 Ch **1** 44.45).

(3) King of Madon (Josh **11** 1).

(4) 1 Ch **8** 9; and (5) 1 Ch **8** 18, Benjamites. The name is confused with that of Job in LXX of Job **42** 17.

JOCHEBED, jok′ē-bed (יוֹכֶבֶד, *yōkhebhedh*, "Jeh is glory"): Daughter of Levi, wife of Amram and mother of Moses (Ex **6** 20; Nu **26** 59). According to Ex **6** 20, she was a sister of Kohath, Amram's father.

JOD, jod (י): *Yōdh*, the tenth letter of the Heb alphabet. See ALPHABET; JOT; YODH.

JODA, jō′da (WH, **Ἰωδά**, *Iōdá*; *TR*, **Ἰουδά**, *Ioudá*):

(1) A Levite, whose sons were "over the works of the Lord," corresponding to Sudias (1 Esd **5** 26), Hodaviah (Ezr **2** 40), Judah (Ezr **3** 9), Hodevah (Neh **7** 43).

(2) An ancestor of Jesus in Lk's genealogy (Lk **3** 26, AV "Juda").

JOED, jō′ed (יוֹעֵד, *yō'ēdh*, "Jeh is witness"): A "son" of Benjamin (Neh **11** 7), wanting in 1 Ch **9** 7.

JOEL, jō′el (יוֹאֵל, *yō'ēl*, popularly interpreted as "Jeh is God"; but see *HPN*, 153; *BDB*, 222*a*):

(1) The firstborn of Samuel (1 S **8** 2; 1 Ch **6** 33 [Heb 18], and supplied in RV of 1 Ch **6** 28, correctly).

(2) A Simeonite prince (1 Ch **4** 35).

(3) A Reubenite chief (1 Ch **5** 4.8).

(4) A Gadite chief, perhaps the same as (3) (1 Ch **5** 12). He might be the chief of "a family or clan whose members might be reckoned as belonging to either or both of the tribes" (Curtis, *Ch*, 122).

(5) A Levite ancestor of Samuel (1 Ch **6** 36 [Heb 21], called "Shaul" in ver 24 [Heb 9]).

(6) A chief of Issachar (1 Ch **7** 3).

(7) One of David's mighty men (1 Ch **11** 38), brother of Nathan. 2 S **23** 36 has "Igal son of Nathan," and LXX B has "son" in 1 Ch, a reading which Curtis adopts. See IGAL.

(8) A Levite (1 Ch **15** 7.11.17), probably the J. of 1 Ch **23** 8 and **26** 22.

(9) David's tribal chief over half of Manasseh (1 Ch **27** 20).

(10) A Levite of Hezekiah's time (2 Ch **29** 12).

(11) One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 43) = "Juel" of 1 Esd **9** 35.

(12) A Benjamite "overseer" in Jerus (Neh **11** 9).

(13) Ἰωήλ, *Iōēl*, the prophet (Joel **1** 1; Acts **2** 16). See following article.

DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

JOEL (יוֹאֵל, *yō'ēl*; **Ἰωήλ**, *Iōēl*):

- I. THE PROPHET
- II. THE BOOK
  - 1. Literary Form
  - 2. Outline of Contents
  - 3. Interpretation
    - (1) Literal
    - (2) Allegorical
  - 4. Indications of Date
    - (1) Place in the Canon
    - (2) Language and Style
    - (3) Quotations
    - (4) The Situation
      - (*a*) Political
      - (*b*) Religious
      - (*c*) Ritualistic
    - (5) Foreign Nations Mentioned or Omitted
    - (6) Some Notable Expressions
  - 5. View of Professor Merx
  - 6. Connections with the NT

LITERATURE

I. The Prophet.—The Book of Joel stands second in the collection of the Twelve Prophets in the Heb Canon. The name (יוֹאֵל, *yō'ēl*), meaning "Jeh is God," seems to have been common, as we find a dozen other persons bearing it at various periods of the Bib. history. Beyond the fact that he was the son of Pethuel, there is no intimation in the book as to his native place, date, or personal history; nor is he mentioned in any other part of the OT; so that any information on these points must be matter of inference, and the consideration of them must follow some examination of the book itself.

II. The Book.—This takes largely the form of addresses, the occasion and scope of which have to be gathered from the contents. There is no narrative, properly so called, except at one place (**2** 18), "Then was Jeh jealous for his land," etc, and even there the narrative form is not continued. Yet, though the earlier portions at least may be the transcript of actual addresses in which the speaker had his audience before him, this would not apply to the later portions, in which also the direct address is still maintained (e.g. **3** 11, "Haste ye, and come, all ye nations round about"). This form of direct address is, indeed, characteristic of the style throughout (e.g. **2** 21; **3** 4.9.13). There is this also to be said of its literary character, that "the style of Joel is bright and flowing," his "imagery and language are fine" (Driver, *LOT*); "his book is a description, clear, well arranged, and carried out with taste and vivacity, of the present distress and of the ideal future. J. may be reckoned among the classics of Heb lit. The need of a commentary for details, as is the case with Amos and Hosea, is here hardly felt" (Reuss, *Das AT*).

1. Literary Form

The book in the original consists of 4 chapters, which, however, are in our VS reduced to 3, by making the portion which constitutes ch **3** in the Heb the concluding portion (vs 28–32) of ch **2**. The book begins in gloom, and its close is bright. Up to **2** 18 there is some great trouble or a succession of troubles culminating at **2** 28–32 (ch **3** in Heb). And the concluding portion, ch **3** (ch **4** in Heb), in which the prophet projects his view into futurity, begins with judgment but ends with final blessedness. There is a progression in the thought, rising from the solid, sorely smitten earth to a region ethereal, and the stages of advance are marked by sudden, sharp calls (**1** 2.14; **3** 9), or by the blasts of the trumpet which prelude the shifting scenes (**2** 1.15).

2. Outline of Contents

Ch **1** begins with an address, sharp and peremptory, in which the oldest inhabitant is appealed to whether such a calamity as the present has ever been experienced, and all are called to take note so that the record of it may be handed down to remotest posterity. The land has suffered from a succession of disasters, the greatest that could befall an agricultural country, drought and locusts. The two are in fact inextricably connected, and the features of both are mixed up in the description of their effects. The extent of the disaster is vividly depicted by the singling out of the classes on whom the calamity has fallen, the drinkers of wine, the priests, the vine-dressers, the husbandmen; and, toward the close of the chapter, the lower animals are pathetically introduced as making their mute appeal to heaven for succor (vs 18–20). Specially to be noted is the manner in which the priests are introduced (ver 9), and how with them is associated the climax of the affliction. The prophet had just said "*my* land" (ver 6), "*my* vine" and "*my* fig-tree" (ver 7); and, though many modern expositors take the pronoun as referring to the nation or people, it would appear more appropriate, since the people is objectively addressed, to regard the prophet as identifying himself with the God in whose name he is speaking. And then the transition to ver 8 becomes intelligible, in which certainly the land is personified as a female: "Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth." The underlying idea seems to be the conception of the land as Jeh's and of Jeh as the *ba'al* "lord," or husband of people and land. This is the idea so much in evidence in the Book of Hos, and so much perverted by the people whom he addressed, who ascribed their corn and wine and oil to the Can. *ba'als*. The idea in its purer form is found in the "land Beulah," "married land" (Isa **62** 4.5). If it was this that was in J.'s mind, the mention of the priests comes naturally. The products of the land were Jeh's gifts, and the acknowledgment of His lordship was made by offerings of the produce laid on His altar. But if nothing was given, nothing could be offered; the "cutting off" of the meal and drink offerings was the mark of the widowhood and destitution of the land. Hence the pathetic longing (**2** 14) that at least so much may be left as to assure the famished land that the supreme calamity, the loss of God, has not fallen. Thus the visitation is set in a religious light: the graphic description is more than a poetic picture. It is the Lord's land that is wasted; hence the summons (**1** 14) to "cry unto Jeh," and in the vs that follow the supplication by man and beast for deliverance.

Ch **2** up to ver 17 seems to go over the same ground as ch **1,** and it has also two parts ‖ respectively to two parts of that chapter: **2** 1–11 is ‖ to **1** 2–12, and **2** 12–17 to **1** 13–20. The former part in both cases is chiefly *descriptive* of the calamity, while the latter part is more *hortatory*. Yet there is an advance; for, whereas in **1** 2–12 the attention is fixed on the devastation, in **2** 1–11 it is the devastator, the locust, that is particularly described; also, in **2** 12–17 the tone is more intensely religious: "Rend your heart, and not your garments" (ver 13). Finally it is to be noted that it is at the close of this portion that we get the first reference to external nations: "Give not thy heritage to reproach, that the nations should use a byword against them: wherefore should they say among the peoples, Where is their God?" (ver 17m). If the view given above of **1** 6–8 be correct, this is merely an expansion of the germinal idea there involved. And so it becomes a pivot on which the succeeding portion turns: "Then was Jeh jealous for his land, and had pity on his people" (**2** 18).

There is a sharp turn at **2** 18, marked by the sudden variation of the verbal forms. Just as in Am **7** 10, in the midst of the prophet's discourse, we come upon the narration, "Then Amaziah the priest of Beth-el sent to Jeroboam;" etc, so here we have obviously to take the narrative to be the sequence of the foregoing address, or, more properly speaking, we have to infer that what J. had counseled had been done. The fast had been sanctified, the solemn assembly had been called, all classes or their representatives had been gathered to the house of the Lord, the supplication had been made, and "then was Jeh jealous for his land, and had pity on his people." In point of fact, as the Heb student will perceive, all the vbs. from ver 15 may be read, with a change of the points, as simple perfects, with the exception of the vbs. for "weep" and "say" in ver 17, which might be descriptive imperfects. But no doubt the imperative forms are to be read, expressing as they do more graphically the doing of the thing prescribed. And, this sharp turn having been made, it will be noticed how the discourse proceeds on a higher gradient, forming a counterpart to the preceding context. Step by step, in inverse order, we pass the former points, beginning opposite what was last the "reproach among the nations" (ver 19; cf ver 7), passing the destruction of the great army (ver 20; cf vs 1–11), then touching upon the various kinds of vegetation affected (vs 21–24; cf **1** 12.10, etc), and ending with the reversal of the fourfold devastation with which the prophet began (ver 25; cf **1** 4). So that what at the outset was announced as a calamity unprecedented and unparalleled, now becomes a deliverance as enduring as God's presence with His people is forever assured.

Up to this point there has been an observable sequence and connection, so that, while the prophet has steadily progressed upward, we can look down from the point reached and see the whole course that has been traversed. But now in **2** 28–32 (ch **3** in Heb) he passes abruptly to what "shall come to pass afterward." And yet no doubt there was a connection of thought in his mind, of which we obtain suggestions in the new features of the description. There is "the sound of abundance of rain" (1 K **18** 41) in this pouring out of the Spirit upon all flesh; in the sons and daughters, old men and young, servants and handmaidens, we seem to recognize the representative gathering of **2** 15 f, those engaged in the priestly function of supplication here endued with prophetic gifts, "a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation" (Ex **19** 6), all the Lord's people become prophets (Nu **11** 29). Again we see the sky overcast and sun and moon darkened before the great and terrible day of the Lord, as if the prophet had said: There shall be greater things than these; a new era is coming in which God's hand will be laid more heavily upon the world, and His people will be quickened to a clearer vision of His working. The "day of Jeh" has yet to come in a fuller sense than the locust plague suggested, and there will be a more effective deliverance than from drought and dearth; but then as now there will be found safety in Mt. Zion and Jerus. This, however, implies some danger with which Jerus has been threatened; a "remnant," an "escaped" portion involves a disaster or crisis out of which new life comes. And so the prophet goes on in ch **3** (ch **4** in Heb), still speaking of "those days" and "that time," to tell us of the greater deliverance from the greater trouble to which he has been alluding. There is nothing in the antecedent chapters to indicate what "that time" and "those days" are, or what the prophet means by bringing again the captivity of Judah and Jerus. These are questions of interpretation. In the meantime, we may note the general features of the scene now set before us. A great assize is to be held in the valley of Jehoshaphat, in which "all nations" there assembled by Divine summons will be judged for offences against God's people and heritage (vs 1–8). And again, just as in chs **1, 2** the prophet exhibited the plague of locusts in two pictures, so here in vs 9–21 the picture of the great assize is transformed into a bloody picture in the same valley, not so much of battle as of slaughter, a treading of the wine-press. There is a confused multitude in "the valley of decision"; sun and moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining; the "day of Jeh" has finally come; and, when the din is silenced and clear light again falls upon the scene, all is peace and prosperity, the last of the enemies destroyed, and the Lord dwelleth in Zion.

3. Interpretation

(1) *Literal.*—Thus the book forms a fairly intelligible and connected whole when we read in the lit. sense of the language. That is to say: a time of continued drought combined with an unprecedented visitation of locusts gives occasion to the prophet to call his people to the recognition of the Divine hand and to earnest supplication that the threatened ruin of people and land may be averted. The removal of the calamity is interpreted as a mark of restored Divine favor and an assurance of prosperity based on God's unchangeable purpose of good to His people. But these great doings of Nature's God suggest yet greater deeds of Israel's God of a more spiritual kind, the outpouring, like copious showers, of Divine blessing, so that the whole community would be set on a higher level of spiritual apprehension. And thus the prophet is led on to speak of the "last things." Judah and Jerus, highly distinguished and signally protected, are bound up with a world-wide purpose; Israel, in a word, cannot be conceived apart from non-Israel. And as non-Israel had in the past been an opposing power, in the great "day of Jeh," wrong should be at last righted, the nations judged, and Israel and Israel's God be glorified. No doubt the interpretation is not without difficulties. We may not be able to detect the motives of the sudden transitions, or to say how much of the purport of the latter part was in the prophet's mind when he was engaged on the former part. And the description of the locust is so highly poetical that there is a temptation to see in it a reference to a great invading army.

(2) *Allegorical.*—These considerations, combined with the undoubted eschatological strain of the closing part of the book, led early commentators (and they have had followers in modern times) to an allegorical interpretation of the locust, and to regard the whole book as pointing forward to future history. Thus, in Jerome's time, the 4 names of the locust in **1** 4 were supposed to designate (1) the Assyrians and Babylonians, (2) the Medes and Persians, (3) the Macedonians and Antiochus Epiphanes, and (4) the Romans. But, apart from the consideration that the analogy of prophecy would lead us to look for some actual situation or occurrence of his time as the starting-point of J.'s discourse, a close observation and acquaintance with the habits of the locust confirm the prophet's description, albeit highly figurative and poetical, as minutely accurate in all its details. It is to be observed that, though spoken of as an army (and at the present day the Oriental calls the locust the "army of God"), there is no mention of bloodshed. The designation "the northern one," which has been considered inappropriate because the locust comes from the parched plain of the *eastern* interior, need not cause perplexity; for the Heb, while it has names for the 4 cardinal points of the compass, has none for the intermediate points: Judaea might be visited by locusts coming from the N.E., or, coming from the E., they might strike the country at a point to the N. of Pal and travel southward. So the wind which destroys the locust (**2** 20) would be a northwesterly wind, driving the forepart into the Dead Sea and the hinder part into the Mediterranean.

4. Indications of Date

The Book of Joel has been assigned by different authorities to very various dates, ranging over 4 or 5 cents.; but, as will appear in the sequel, it comes to be a question whether the book is very early or very late, in fact, whether J. is perhaps the very earliest or the very last or among the last of the writing prophets. This diversity of opinion is due to the fact that there are no direct indications of date in the book itself, and that such indirect indications as it affords are held to be capable of explanation on the one view or the other. It will be noticed also that, to add to the uncertainty, many of the arguments adduced are of a negative kind, i.e. consideration of what the prophet does *not* mention or refer to, and the argument from silence is notoriously precarious. It will, therefore, be convenient to specify the indications available, and to note the arguments drawn from them in support of the respective dates.

(1) *Place in the Canon.*—An argument for a very early date is based upon the place of the book in the collection of the "twelve" minor prophets.

It stands, in the Heb Bible, between Hos and Am, who are usually spoken of as the earliest "writing prophets." It is true that, in the LXX collection, the order is different, viz. Hos, Am, Mic, Joel, Ob, Jon; which may indicate that as early as the time of the formation of the Canon of the Prophets there was uncertainty as to the place of Joel, Ob, and Jon, which contain no direct indication of their dates. But, seeing that there has evidently been a regard to some chronological order, the books being arranged according to the Assyr, Bab and Pers periods, it cannot be without significance that Joel has found a place so high up in the collection. The 3 indisputably post-exilian books stand together at the end. If Joel is late, it must be as late as the latest of these, possibly a great deal later. But if that is so, there was the greater likelihood of its date being known to the collectors. It would be a very hazardous assumption that prophetical books were not read or copied from the time of their first composition till the time they were gathered into a Canon. And, if they were so read and copied, surely the people who handled them took some interest in preserving the knowledge of their origin and authorship.

In this connection, attention is directed to the resemblances to the Book of Am before which Joel stands. These are regarded by Reuss as favoring the early date. That large and beautiful passage with which the Book of Am opens dwells upon the thought that the threatenings, which had formerly been uttered against the nations, are about to receive their fulfilment, and that Jeh could not take back His word. Now it is just such a threatening that fills the last part of the Book of Joel. Indeed Amos begins his book with the very phrase in which J. opens his closing address, "Jeh will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerus" (Am **1** 2; Joel **4** 16). At the end of Am also the happy fertility of Canaan is described in similar terms to those in Joel (Am **9** 13; Joel **3** 18). Reuss, moreover, draws attention to the remarkable expression found in Joel, and also, though in modified terms, in two Prophets of the Assyr period: "Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears," says J. (**3** 10), whereas we have the oracle in Isa **2** 4 and Mic **4** 3, "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks"; and it is suggested that, if these were current phrases, they were more likely to have been coined in the form employed by J. in earlier and less settled times, when sudden alarms of war called the peaceful husbandman to the defence of his fields and flocks. Further, it is pointed out that Amos reproaches the people of his day for impenitence, although Jeh had given them "cleanness of teeth" and "want of bread" and had "withholden the rain . . . . when there were yet three months to the harvest," and smitten them with blasting and mildew and the palmer worm (Am **4** 6–9); and all this is the more striking because J. represents the distress of his day as unprecedented in magnitude.

To all this, advocates of the late date reply that we cannot determine the date of a book by its place in the Canon; for that the collectors were guided by other considerations. As to the resemblances to Am, it may have been on the strength of these very resemblances that the Book of Joel, bearing no date in itself, was placed beside that of Am. Moreover, it is maintained, as we shall see presently, that J. has resemblances to other prophets, some of them confessedly of late date, proving that he was acquainted with writings of a very late time.

(2) *Language and style.*—Another argument for an early date is based upon the purity of the language and character of the style. The book is written in what may be described as classical Heb, and shows no trace of decadence of language. It is no doubt true that "the style is the man," as is strikingly illustrated in the very different styles of Amos and Hosea, who were practically contemporaneous; so that arguments of this kind are precarious. Still, it is to be noted, that though there is nothing archaic in the style of Joel, neither is there anything archaic in the style of Amos, who would, by the exclusion of Joel, be our earliest example of written prophecy.

The advocates of the very late date reply that the style of J. is too good to be archaic; and that his admittedly classic style is to be explained by the supposition that, living at a late time, he was a diligent student of earlier prophetic lit., and molded his style upon the classical.

(3) *Quotations.*—Here, therefore, must be mentioned an argument much relied on by the advocates of a very late date. It is said that there are so many resemblances in thought and expression to other OT books that it is incredible that so many writers posterior to the early date claimed for Joel should have quoted from this little book or expanded thoughts contained in it. A very elaborate comparison of J. with late writers has been made by Holzinger in *ZATW*, 1889, 89–131; his line of argument being that, while resemblances to undoubtedly early writers may be explained as the work of a writer in the Renaissance imitating older models, the resemblances to others known to be late, such as Jer, Ezk, II Isa, Pss, Neh, Ch, etc, cannot be so explained if Joel is taken to be early. The principal passages in question are given in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges,* "Book of Joel," by Professor Driver, who also takes the view that Joel is late.

The list is not, perhaps, so formidable as its length would imply. Both writers confess that from several of the passages no conclusion of any value can be drawn, and that there is always a difficulty in determining priority when similarities in diction are found. Many of the expressions quoted look as if they might have been commonplaces of the prophetical lit.; and, if it was possible for a very late writer to quote from so many antecedent writings, it was as possible and much easier for a number of late writers to go back to the very earliest prophets, esp. if their words were memorable and germinal. We have heard of the man who objected to Shakespeare because he was full of quotations; and there is perhaps not a line of Gray's "Elegy" that has not been quoted somewhere, while some of his lines have become household words. But the strongest objection to this argument is this: if Joel had the minute acquaintance with antecedent writers and followed them so closely as is implied, he not only varies from them in essential particulars, but falls below them, as we shall see, in his anticipations of the future.

(4) *Situation.*—We have now to look at features of a more concrete and tangible character, which promise to give more positive results. It is maintained by the advocates of the late date that the situation and immediate outlook of the prophet are not only consistent with the late date but preclude any preëxilian date altogether. The elements of the situation are these: Whereas all the prophets before the downfall of Samaria (722 BC), and even Jeremiah and Ezekiel, mention the Northern Kingdom, it is not once named or referred to in Joel; for the occurrence of the name "Israel" in **2** 27; **3** 2.16 cannot support this sense. Judah and Jerus fill our prophet's actual horizon (**2** 1.32; **3** 6.16 f. 20); no king is mentioned or implied, but the elders with the priests seem to be the prominent and ruling class. Further, the temple and its worship are central (**1** 14; **2** 15 f) and so important that the cutting off of the meal offering and drink offering is tantamount to national ruin (**1** 9.13.16; **2** 14). Again, there is no mention of the prevailing sins of preëxilian times, the high places with their corrupt worship, or indeed of any specific sin for which the people were to humble themselves, while fasting and putting on sackcloth seem to have a special virtue. All the circumstances, it is held, conform exactly to the time of the post-exilian temple and to no other time. The Northern Kingdom was no more, there was no king in Jerus, the temple was the center and rallying-point of national life, its ritual the pledge and guarantee of God's presence and favor; the period of legalism had set in. It is confidently averred that at no period prior to the régime inaugurated by Ezra and Nehemiah was there such a conjunction of circumstances.

(*a*) Political: In reply, it is urged in favor of the early date that there *was* a period in preëxilian time when such a situation existed, viz. the early years of the reign of Joash, when that prince was still an infant; for Jehoiada the priest acted practically as regent after the death of Athaliah, 836 BC (2 K **11** 1–17). This would sufficiently account for the absence of mention of a king in the book. At such a time the priesthood must have held a prominent position, and the temple would overshadow the palace in importance. The omission of the Northern Kingdom may be accounted for by the fact that at that time the two kingdoms were on friendly terms; for the two royal houses were connected by marriage, and the kingdoms were in alliance (2 K **3** 6 ff; **8** 28 ff). Or the omission may have no more significance than the fact that J. was concerned with an immediate and near present distress and had no occasion to mention the Northern Kingdom. To show how unsafe it is to draw conclusions from such silence, it may be observed that throughout the first 5 chapters of Isa, larger in bulk than the whole Book of Joel, only Judah and Jerus are mentioned; and, even if it should be maintained that a part or the whole of these chapters dates from after the deportation of the ten tribes, still it is noteworthy that, when the prophet could have made as good use of a reference to the event as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, he does not do so.

(*b*) Religious: The fact that there is no mention of specific national sins, and particularly of the worship of the high places, of which preëxilian prophets have so much to say, is made much of by advocates of the late date, Dr. A. B. Davidson, e.g., declaring it to be "doubtful whether such a state of things existed at any time prior to the restoration from exile" (*Expos*, March, 1888); but perhaps this argument proves too much. If we are to deduce the state of religion in J.'s day from what he does *not* say on the subject, it may be doubted whether at *any* time, either before or after the exile, such a condition prevailed. The post-exilian prophets certainly knew of sins in their time, sins, too, which restrained the rain and blasted the wine and oil and corn (Hag **1** 11). For all that J. says on the subject, the condition of things implied is as consistent with the time of Jehoiada as with that of Nehemiah. And what shall we say of Isaiah's *positive* description of the condition of Jerus before his time: "the faithful city . . . . she that was full of justice! righteousness lodged in her" (Isa **1** 21)? When was that? So also his promise: "I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called The city of righteousness, a faithful town" (Isa **1** 26). Higher praise could scarcely be bestowed, and there is nothing in the Book of Joel to imply that he assumed so much.

(*c*) Ritualistic: Too much has been made of the references to ritual, as if they necessarily implied a post-exilian date. It is not legitimate here to assume that the idea of centralization of worship originated in Josiah's days, and that the priestly legislation is post-exilian. The mention of "old men" or "elders" is no such indication. Wellhausen himself maintains that the expression everywhere in Joel means nothing more than "old men"; and, even if it had an official connotation, the official elders are an old tribal institution in Israel. It may be noted here again that in the first 5 chapters of Isa elders also are mentioned, and more indubitably in an official sense, although the time was that of the monarchy (Isa **3** 2.14). And as to the sanctity of the temple, it will hardly be denied that in the time of Jehoiada the Jerus temple was a place of far more importance than any supposed local shrine, and esp. when there was a call to a united national supplication (see 2 K **11**). In point of fact the alleged references to ritual are very few and in most general terms. The "fast" is not denoted by the phrases in the legal codes, and was evidently on the footing of such observances as are common and instinctive at all times and among all persons (Jgs **20** 26; 1 S **7** 6; 2 S **1** 12; Jon **3** 5 ff). And where in any law-code are priests enjoined to lie all night in sackcloth (**1** 13)? Or what prescription in any code requires young and old, bridegroom and bride, to press together into the temple (**2** 16)? And why should not any or all of these things have been done in face of a sudden emergency threatening the ruin of an agricultural people? Moreover, J., so far from ascribing virtue to these outward marks of humiliation in a legalistic spirit, immediately after mentioning them says: "Rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto Jeh your God" (**2** 13).

The only ritual references are to the meal offering and the drink offering (**1** 9.13; **2** 14), and these were not characteristically post-exilian. Indeed, they may be regarded as primitive forms of offering, the produce of the ground without which, among an agricultural people, we can hardly imagine a system of offerings to exist. They are both ancient. Amos regards the meal offering as well known (**5** 22.25), and Isaiah uses the word "vain oblations" in speaking of its abuse (Isa **1** 13). And though the noun for drink offering is not mentioned in the older prophets, Hosea knows the related vb. and the act of pouring out wine to the Lord (Hos **9** 4), and it may be asked whether it is likely that the people performed the act and had no name for the offering itself. Moreover, in an undisputed passage (2 K **16** 13.15), both offerings are mentioned in the time of Ahaz. As for the contention that our prophet regards these offerings of so much importance that the cessation of them would be fatal, if our interpretation of **1** 8 f above be correct, the earlier date would be much more appropriate. It was not because the *offering* threatened to cease, but because the *thing offered* threatened to be cut off, that J. was so perturbed. The popular view as to the relation of Jeh to His land was ancient, and had a foundation of truth; and in fact Hosea's teaching would fitly follow and complete that of Joel. Finally it is to be said that J.'s fine forecast of the outpouring of the Spirit, and of the universal extension of prophetic activity is as far removed as possible from the "legalistic" tendency that set in after the exile. And if the argument from silence is of any force at all, it is surely a very remarkable thing that in a book of post-exilian times, there should be no mention of prince or governor, or even of high priest.

(5) *Foreign nations mentioned or omitted.*—Allusions to foreign nations, or the absence of allusion, would obviously promise to afford indications of the time of the prophet; and yet here also the allusions have been adduced in support of either of the divergent dates. The facts here are as follows: In the first two chapters, where the prophet, as is generally understood, is speaking of his own time and its pressing distress, there is no mention of any foreign nation, not even the kingdom of the ten tribes. The only expression which has been taken to be significant in this connection is the word tr^d "the northern" army (**2** 20), which some refer to the Assyrians, while others explain it of a northern army in late or apocalyptic time. In ch **3**, however, when the prophet is speaking of "those days" and "that time" in the future, when the Lord "shall bring back the captivity of Judah and Jerus," there is to be a gathering of "all nations" in the valley of Jehoshaphat (**3** 1 f); and later on "all the nations" are summoned to appear in the same valley for judgment (**3** 11 f). "Tyre, and Sidon, and all the regions of Philistia" are specially reproached (ver 4) because they have carried into their temples the sacred treasures, and have sold the children of Judah and Jerus unto the "sons of the Grecians" (ver 6); in recompense for which their sons and daughters are to be sold into the hand of the children of Judah, to be sold by them to "the men of Sheba, to a nation far off" (ver 8). Finally, at the close (vs 19 f), "Egypt shall be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence done to the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land."

It is acknowledged that, on either hypothesis, there are difficulties in accounting for the presence or absence of names of foreign nations in this presentation. Those who advocate the late date point with confidence to the silence as to the kingdom of the ten tribes, or to the kingdom of Damascus, which, on their hypothesis, had passed away, and the equally significant silence as to Assyria, which had long ago been superseded by the Bab and Pers empires of the East. As to the mention of Tyre and Sidon and the coasts of Philistia (**3** 4–6), Driver says: "The particular occasion referred to by J. must remain uncertain: but the Phoenicians continued to act as slave-dealers long after the age of Amos: and the notice of Javan (Greece) suits better a later time, when Syrian slaves were in request in Greece" (*Cambridge Bible*, "Joel," 17). The same writer says on **3** 19: "There is so little that is specific in what is said in this verse with reference to either Egypt or Edom, that both countries are probably named (at a time when the Assyrians and Chaldaeans had alike ceased to be formidable to Judah) as typical examples of countries hostile to the Jews." It is pointed out, moreover, that the enmity of Edom was particularly manifest at a late period when Jerus was destroyed by the Chaldaeans, and that this was remembered and resented long afterward (Ob vs 10–16; Ezk **25** 12 ff; **35**; Ps **137** 7).

On the hypothesis of the early date, it is urged that there was no occasion to refer to the Northern Kingdom. If it was friendly, the inclusive name of Israel for the whole people was sufficient to denote this, and that it was not hostile in the early days of Joash has already been pointed out. As to Damascus, it was not till the last years of the reign of Joash that Hazael showed hostility to Jerus (2 K **12** 17 f); and danger from Assyria had not yet emerged, and appears only faintly in Am (**3** 11; **6** 14). Then it is pointed out that history records how, in the reign of Jehoram, the grandfather of Joash, "Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves" (2 K **8** 20; 2 Ch **21** 8), and the historian adds that the revolt continued "unto this day." It may well have been that in such a revolt the resident Judaeans in the land of Edom suffered the violence referred to in **3** 19. Moreover, the Chronicler mentions that, in the same reign, "Jeh stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philis, and of the Arabians that are beside the Ethiopians: and they came up against Judah, and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives," etc (2 Ch **21** 16 f). This might be what is referred to in **3** 4–6. If the royal family were carried away there would most probably be a deportation of other prisoners, who, taken by the seaboard Philis, would, through the great maritime power of the day, be sold to the distant Greeks. And here it is pointed out that Amos singles out the very nations mentioned by J.: Philis, Tyre and Sidon and Edom, and reproaches them with offences such as J. specifies (Am **1** 6–12). And then, it is added, if the book is as late as Nehemiah, why is nothing said of Samaritans, Moabites, and Ammonites, who showed such marked hostility in his days (Neh

2 19; **4** 7; **6** 1)? For Ezekiel also, from whom it is supposed J. derived his reference to the Edomites, mentions also Moabites and Ammonites as hostile to Israel (Ezk **25** 1–11). And so far were Tyre and Sidon from being hostile in the days of Nehemiah that we read of similar arrangements being made with them, as in the time of Solomon, for the supply of materials for the rebuilding of the temple (Ezr **3** 7). And why is not a word said of the Babylonians, at whose hands Israel had suffered so much? So strongly, indeed, are these objections felt by Reuss, that he declares that, should the view of the late origin come to be finally accepted as the more probable, he would decide for a date *after* the Pers domination, i.e. subsequent to 332 BC. For, he says, the names of peoples introduced at the end of the book, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Philis, Edomites, must surely in some way have had an actual significance for the author, who cannot out of caprice have passed over Syrians, Assyrians, Chaldaeans, and Persians. Accordingly, if we are to have nothing to do with the pre-Assyr period, we must come down to the late Seleucidan and Ptolemean dynasties, by whose hostile collisions Judaea was certainly involved in severe trouble. But then, how are we to account for the position of Joel so high up in the collection of prophetical writers? For, on this supposition, we should expect his book to stand in the third division of the Canon.

(6) *Some notable expressions.*—There remain to be noticed some significant expressions which have a bearing on the question of date and, at first sight, seem to indicate a late origin. And yet there is a difficulty. For there is no doubt that our familiarity with the details of the great downfall of the Jewish state leads us to think of the destruction of Jerus when we read of the captivity or scattering of the people. There is, however, a saying in the Talm that a greater distress makes a lesser one forgotten; and the question is whether there may not have been national experiences at an earlier time to which such expressions might be applicable: or, in other words, how early such phrases were coined and became current.

(*a*) "Bring back the captivity": There is, first of all, uncertainty as to the origin of the phrase "bring back the captivity." Some connect the word "captivity" (שְׁבוּת, *sh^{e}bhūth*, שְׁבִית, *sh^{e}bhīth*) with the vb. "to take captive" (שָׁבָה, *shābhāh*), while others make it the cognate noun of the vb. "to return" (שׁוּב, *shūbh*), with which it stands connected in the phrase "bring back the captivity of Judah and Jerus" (**3** 1). In the former case the reference would be to the return of captives taken in war, or the return of exiles from captivity; and that view has led to the tr in our VS. On the latter view, the expression would mean the restoration of prosperity, of which use we have an undoubted example in the words: "Jeh turned the captivity of Job" (Job **42** 10). We can conceive either of the views to have been the original, and either to be quite early. A main feature of early warfare was the carrying away of prisoners, and the return of such captives was equivalent to a restoration of prosperity. Or again, the relief from any illness or trouble might be expressed by saying that there was a restoration, as e.g. in Scotland a sick person is said to have "got the turn." As to the significance of the phrase in Joel, it is pointed out by the advocates of the early date that, in Nehemiah's time, the exile was at an end, and the captivity "brought back" (Ps **126**). On the other side it is said that, though the new order was set up at Jerus, there still remained many Israelites in foreign lands, and J., not satisfied with the meager community in Pal, looked forward to a fuller restoration; or otherwise, that the words are used in the wider and more general sense of restored prosperity. That the phrase was in early use, and in the sense of bringing back captives, is seen in Am **9** 14 and Hos **6** 11. And it may be observed that the phraseology used by Am to denote going into captivity (Am **1** 5.15; **5** 5.27; **7** 17) is employed by the Jews to denote the Bab captivity, and is even used by modern Jews to express the present dispersion. And yet Amos speaks of an "entire captivity" of people in his day (Am **1** 6.9 m).

(*b*) "Parted my land": Then again, the expression "parted my land" (**3** 2) does not seem very applicable to the breaking up of the state, for the land was not parted but absorbed in the great eastern empires; nor does J. single out Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, by whom, if by any, a post-exilian parting of the land was effected. The expression would more fitly apply to such movements as the revolt of Edom and Libnah (2 K **8** 22), and the successive losses of territory by which the great dominion of David and Solomon was reduced. This process, described as "cutting Israel short" (lit. "cutting off the ends," 2 K **10** 32 AV) is recorded as having begun in the time of Jehu, before the reign of Joash, when outlying parts of territory were smitten by Hazael of Damascus; and J., speaking in God's name, may have used the expression "my land" as referring to the whole country.

(*c*) "Scattered among the nations": Whether the expression "scattered among the nations" (**3** 2) would be applicable to the Israelite inhabitants of such conquered territories or to those sold into slavery (**3** 6) may be disputed. The expression certainly suggests rather the dispersion following the downfall of the state. And yet it is noteworthy that, if so, J. is the only prophet who uses in that sense the vb. here employed, a very strange thing if he followed and borrowed from them all; for, both in Jer and Ezk, as well as in Dt, other vbs. are used. Jer indeed uses the vb. in comparing Israel to a scattered (or isolated) sheep which the lions have driven away (**50** 17); but the only other passage in which the word is plainly used of Israel being dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of Persia is Est **3** 8.

(*d*) "Reproach of the nations": Then there is the passage: "Give not thy heritage to reproach, that the nations should rule over them" (or "use a byword against them"): "wherefore should they say among the peoples, Where is their God?" (**2** 17.19; cf m). Here it is to be noted that the idea involved is certainly much older than the time of the exile. In the time of Hezekiah, the ambassadors of Sennacherib delivered their taunting message, which is described as reproaching the living God (2 K **19** 4). It was the method of ancient warfare, as is seen in the boasting of Goliath; for it is the same word that is used in that narrative, though rendered in our VS "defy" (1 S **17** 10.25f. 36). And, if we read between the lines of the historical books, we shall see how common was this habit of "defying" or "reproaching," and how sensitive the people were to it (e.g. 1 K **20** 2 f.5 f.13. 28). All this is anterior to the earliest possible date of J., and proves that, at an early time, there was a consciousness in Israel that the fortunes of the people were bound up with the honor of the national God. It is not to be overlooked that it is in the early part of the book, when he is concerned with the drought and locust, that J. uses this expression.

(*e*) "Strangers passing through": Toward the close of the book it is predicted that, in the time of final glory, strangers shall no longer pass through Jerus (**3** 17). This again would certainly be applicable to a late time, after the land had suffered many hostile invasions. Yet it can well be understood how a prophet at a very early period, thinking of the glorification of Zion, should imagine a state in which no "stranger" or foreigner should have a footing on the sacred soil, and Israel should dwell in solitary and preëminent exclusiveness. If so, the idea again is of a more primitive kind than the late date would suggest, esp. if we postulate a prophet who had deeply studied earlier prophets, to whom Jerus of the future was the religious metropolis of the world, and Zion the place to which all nations would flow (Isa **2** 3; **56** 7).

(*f*) "Day of Jeh": A word must be said, in conclusion, in regard to the "day of Jeh" which figures so prominently in the Book of Joel. In whatever sense it may originally have been employed, whether betokening weal or woe, the expression was an ancient one; for Amos refers to it as current in his day (**5** 18); and almost all the prophets refer to it in one way or another (Am **5** 18–20; Isa **2** 12; **13** 6.9; **34** 8; Jer **46** 10; Lam **2** 22; Ezk **30** 3; Ob ver 15; Zeph **1** 8.18; **2** 2.3; Zec **14** 1; Mal **4** 5). So far as it bears upon the date of Joel the question is: How does his usage compare with those of the other prophets? We find that he uses the expression twice in connection with the visitation of the locust (**1** 15; **2** 1), once after speaking of the outpouring of the Spirit (**2** 31), and once again near the close of the book (**3** 14). Now, in regard to the earliest occurrences, it will be perceived that J. is on a lower plane than succeeding prophets. He associates the approach of the day of the Lord with a heavy visitation upon material nature, precisely as the simple Oriental of the present day, on the occurrence of an eclipse, or at a visitation of locust or pestilence, begins to talk of the end of the world. And, though the point of view is shifted, and the horizon wider, at the close, it is to be remarked that the highest point attained is the conception of the day of the Lord as the deliverance and glorification of Israel: there is not a hint of that day being a time of testing and sifting of Israel itself, as in Amos and elsewhere (Am **5** 18–20; Isa **2** 12). In fact, so far is he from going beyond the other prophets in his conception, that we may say J. leaves the matter at the point where Amos takes it up.

5. View of Professor Merx

In view of all these perplexing questions, Professor Ad. Merx had some reason for describing the Book of Joel as the "sorrow's child" (*Schmerzenskind*) of OT exegesis; and he published in 1879 a work, *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zu den Reformatoren*, in which, besides giving a history of the interpretation, he combated the method hitherto employed, and put forth a novel view of his own. Concluding, on the grounds usually maintained by the advocates of the late date, that Joel is post-exilian, he makes a comparison of the book with preceding prophetical lit., in order to show that J. derived his ideas from a study of it, and esp. that he followed step by step the prophecies of Ezekiel. Now in Ezekiel's outlook, the overflowing of Judaea by the northern people, Gog, plays an important part (Ezk **38** 2.3.16.18; **39** 11), and this explains J.'s reference in **2** 20.

As to the precise date: not only is the second temple standing, but the city is surrounded by a wall (**2** 9); and this brings us down to the government of Nehemiah, after 445 BC; and the book of Neh shows that other prophets besides Malachi lived and found acceptance in those days (Neh **6** 7.14). The circumstances were these. Not only the exile, but the restoration, is a thing of the past. We are to think of Jerus and Judah in the narrowest sense: the elders and all the inhabitants of the land are addressed, a sort of *senatus populusque Romanus*, and with them are the priests presiding over an orderly ritual service at the temple. Judah is unaffected by political movements; the conflict with the Samaritans has died down; Judah is leading a quiet life, of which nothing is recorded because there is nothing to record; and the people of the ten tribes have practically disappeared, being swallowed up among the heathen. This undisturbed period is employed in literary labor, as may be inferred from the well-known notice regarding Nehemiah's collection of books (2 Macc **2** 13 f), and from the production of such works as Est, Jon, Koheleth, Mal, Ch, Ezr-Neh, etc. The making of books (Eccl **12** 12) had not come to an end.

But now, if the older prophets were seriously studied (cf Dnl **9** 2), what impression would they make on the mind of a man like J.? Was the daily life that followed the time of Nehemiah in any degree a fulfilment of the hopes of a Deutero-Isaiah, a Jeremiah, an Ezekiel, a Zechariah? Could a member of the restored community contemplate without painful feelings the lamentable condition of existence under the Pers government, the limitation of the people to a narrow territory, the separation from those still in the Dispersion, the irritation of the worship of the half-heathen Samaritans, the mixed marriages and general low condition, as contrasted with the glowing pictures of the prophets who had spoken of the last days? Such a contradiction between prophecy and event must have disturbed the minds of the more thoughtful; and so, while some said, "It is vain to serve God" (Mal **3** 14), "They that feared Jeh spake one with another" (Mal **3** 16), waiting in hope, believing that the present restoration could not be the true and final bringing back of the captivity.

To relieve his mind, J. will write a book, the result of his study; and it must depict the full and final consummation. Living as he did, however, in quiet times, he had not, like earlier prophets, a historical situation to start from. Here, according to Merx, the genius of J. comes into play. Seeking for a type of the end of the world, which was to be the antitype, he found one in the deliverance of Israel from Egypt in the distant past. Just as at that great crisis the people were rescued from bondage and brought into a wide and fertile land, so in the end Jeh would subdue all Israel's enemies and place them in a noble land, uncontaminated by strangers, while He Himself would be enthroned in majesty on Zion. But just as that deliverance was ushered in by plagues, so also will be the "great day of Jeh"; and as a signal type of the wholesale destruction of Israel's enemies, he seizes upon the plague of locusts and models his introduction upon Ex **10** 4 ff. J. had, no doubt, seen many a visitation of locusts; but what we have before us in chs **1** and **2** is not actual description but idealized picture, the groundwork of his eschatology.

Accordingly, in the view of Merx, the whole Book of Joel is one piece. There is no historical transition at **2** 10; in fact, there is no historical element in it at all. The end of the book being apocalyptical, the beginning, which forms with it a unity, must also relate to no event in J.'s days, but moves likewise in the period at the close of time. The people addressed are not the men of J.'s day, but those who shall be alive when "that day" is imminent: in a word, the reader is at **1** 2 lifted into the air and placed at the beginning of the final judgment, at the moment when the apocalyptic locusts appear as heralds of the day.

Merx's view may be taken as an extreme and somewhat fanciful statement of the case for a late post-exilian date; and it does not seem to have found acceptance by the critics who start from a historical basis. Merx himself is fully aware that it is a revival of the allegorical and typical interpretation which had its vogue in earlier stages of exposition. But he defends himself on the ground that it was not the ancients who imposed the allegorical interpretation upon Scripture, but the original writers who were the first typologists and allegorists, as is notably seen in later books like Ezk and Dnl. Whatever opinion may be held on that subject, we must at least recognize the strongly marked eschatology of the book. But this does not of necessity imply a late date. It is no doubt true that the fully developed eschatology, as we see it in the apocalyptic literature of the extra-canonical books, came in after the cessation of prophecy proper. Yet prophecy, in its earliest phases, contemplated the distant future, and had its support in such an outlook. Professor A. B. Davidson has said: "Isaiah is the creator of the eschatology of the OT and of Christianity, and it comes from his hand in a form so perfect that his successors can hardly add a single touch to it" (*Expos T*, V, 297). The ancient oracle, found both in Isa and Mic (Isa **2** 2–4; Mic **4** 1–5), testifies to the triumphant and far-reaching hope of the older seers; and, before Isaiah's time, both Amos (**9** 11–15) and Hosea (**14** 4–8) have their outlook to the final future. The remarkable thing about J., which makes the determination of his date so difficult, is that he seems now to go beyond and now to fall short of other prophets. If he is later than Ezekiel and Jeremiah, he has nothing to say of the inclusion of Gentiles in the inheritance of Israel, but contemplates the final destruction of all Israel's enemies. If he is a contemporary of Malachi or later, he is less legalistic than that prophet; and whereas in Mal we see the beginning of the fading away of prophecy, J. looks for the time when the Spirit shall be poured out on all flesh, and the sons and daughters shall prophesy (**2** 28).

6. Connection with the NT

It is this last element in the prophecy of J. that links his book particularly with the NT, for St. Peter quoted J.'s words in this passage as fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, when the Spirit was poured forth on the assembled multitude (Acts **2** 16 ff). Yet, even as the OT prophets one after another caught up the idea, unfolding and expanding it, so the NT writers see the approach of the day of the Lord in their own time (1 Thess **5** 2; 2 Pet **3** 10); for that day is always coming, always near, though still in the future. St. Paul saw the whole creation groaning and travailing in pain, as J. did, and the pouring out of the Spirit at Pentecost was part of, and also more than, the effusion seen by J. What J. said he said truly, though he could not say all. For "that day" has grown in significance as the ages have rolled on; men have seen its approach in the various commotions and upheavals of the world, depicting its features in the colors of the changing times, now praying for it, now dreading its approach; and how far from precision are our thoughts in regard to it still! Yet, early or late, unerring is the sure word of prophecy in its essential burden. The concrete historical situations crumble away and leave the eternal truth as fresh as ever: "Jeh reigneth; let the earth rejoice" (Ps **97** 1); it is the hopeful burden of OT prophecy, for "righteousness and justice are the foundation of thy throne" (Ps **89** 14).

Literature (besides that cited above).—Credner, *Der Proph. Joel übersetzt u. erklärt* (1831); Wuensche, *Die Weissagungen des Proph. Joel übersetzt u. erklärt* (1872); the comm. on the Minor Prophets by Pusey, Orelli, Keil, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith; Meyrick in *Speaker's Commentary;* Nowack, in *Handkommentar zum AT;* Marti, in *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT.*

James Robertson

JOELAH, jō-ē′la (יוֹעֵאלָה, *yō'ē'lāh,* perhaps=יוֹעֵלָה, *yō'ēlāh,* "may he avail!"): One of David's recruits at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 7 [Heb 8]); a Benjamite or perhaps a Judaean (see Curtis, *Ch,* 195 f).

JOEZER, jō-ē′zēr (יוֹעֶזֶר, *yō'ezer,* "Jeh is help"): One of David's Benjamite recruits at Ziklag, though perhaps a Judaean (1 Ch **12** 6 [Heb 7]).

JOGBEHAH, jog′bē-hä (יָגְבְּהָה, *yoghbᵉhāh*): A city in Gilead assigned to Gad and fortified by that tribe (Nu **32** 35). It lay on the line along which Gideon chased the Midianites (Jgs **8** 11), and the indication there leaves no doubt that it is represented today by *Ajbeihāt.* The name attaches to 3 groups of ruins which date from Rom times. The position is about 7 miles N.W. of *'Ammān,* and about midway between that city and the town of *es-Salṭ.* It stands 3,468 ft. above the level of the Mediterranean.

Literature.—Oliphant, *Land of Gilead,* 232; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*

JOGLI, jog′lī (יָגְלִי, *yoghlī,* perhaps="led into exile"): Father of Bukki, a Danite chief (Nu **34** 22).

JOHA, jō′ha (יוֹחָא, *yōḥā',* meaning unknown, but perhaps=יוֹאָח, *yō'āḥ,* "Joah"; see *HPN,* 283, n. 4):

(1) A Benjamite (1 Ch **8** 16).

(2) One of David's mighty men (1 Ch **11** 45).

JOHANAN, jō-hā′nan (יוֹחָנָן, *yōḥānān,* "Jeh has been gracious"; **'Ιωανάν,** *Iōanán;* cf Jehohanan):

(1) Son of Kareah, and one of "the captains of the forces who were in the fields" (i.e. probably guerilla bands), who allied with Gedaliah, governor of Judah, after the fall of Jerus, 586 BC (2 K **25** 23; Jer **40** 7—**43** 7). He warned Gedaliah of the plot of Ishmael ben Nethaniah, who was instigated by the Ammonite king Baalis, to murder the governor; but the latter refused to believe him nor would he grant J. permission to slay Ishmael (**40** 8–16). After Ishmael had murdered Gedaliah and also 70 northern pilgrims, J. went in pursuit. He was joined by the unwilling followers of Ishmael, but the murderer escaped. Thereupon J. settled at Geruth-Chimham near Bethlehem (ch **41**). As Ishmael's plan was to take the remnant to the land of Ammon, so that of J. and his fellow-chiefs was to go to Egypt. They consulted the Divine oracle through Jeremiah, and received the answer that they should remain in Judah (ch **42**). But the prophet was accused of giving false counsel and of being influenced by Baruch. The chiefs then resolved to go to Egypt, and forced Jeremiah and Baruch to accompany them (ch **43**).

(2) The eldest son of King Josiah (1 Ch **3** 15), apparently="Jehoahaz" (2 K **23** 30–33).

(3) Son of Elioenai, and a Davidic post-exilic prince (1 Ch **3** 24).

(4) Father of the Azariah who was priest in Solomon's time (1 Ch **6** 9.10 [Heb **5** 35.36]).

(5) A Benjamite recruit of David at Ziklag, but perhaps a Judaean (1 Ch **12** 4 [Heb 5]).

(6) A Gadite recruit of David at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 12 [Heb 13]).

(7) Heb has "Jehohanan," an Ephraimite chief (2 Ch **28** 12).

(8) A returned exile (Ezr **8** 12)="Joannes" (1 Esd **8** 38, AV "Johannes").

(9) Neh **12** 22.23=Jehohanan, (3).

David Francis Roberts

JOHANNES, jō-han′es, jō-han′ēz. See Joannes.

JOHANNINE, jō-han′īn,-in, **THEOLOGY, THE:**

- I. The Antecedents
  - 1. Personality of Writer
  - 2. Earlier NT Writings
  - 3. Christian Experience and Teaching of History
  - 4. Widening Contact with Gentile World
  - 5. The Odes of Solomon
  - 6. Antagonism to Gnostic Speculation
- II. The Divine Nature
  - 1. God Is Spirit
  - 2. God Is Life
  - 3. God Is Light
  - 4. Ethical Attributes—God Is Righteous
  - 5. God Is Love
    - (1) The Love of God—
      - (*a*) Primarily a Disposition
      - (*b*) Embodied in Christ's Self-Sacrifice
      - (*c*) Love in Redemption
    - (2) Love Is God's Nature
- III. The Incarnation
  - 1. Historical Antecedents of the Logos-Doctrine
  - 2. The Logos-Doctrine in St. John
  - 3. The Incarnation as Delineated in the Fourth Gospel
  - 4. The Incarnation in the First Epistle
  - 5. Practical Implications of the Incarnation
- IV. The Holy Spirit
  - 1. The Work of the Spirit—in the Fourth Gospel Perpetuates, but also Intensifies the Consciousness of Christ
  - 2. In the First Epistle
    - (1) A Divine Teacher
    - (2) Other Aspects
  - 3. The Person of the Spirit
    - His Deity Implied
- V. Doctrine of Sin and Propitiation
  - 1. Sin
  - 2. Propitiation
    - (1) In the Gospel
    - (2) In the Epistle
    - (3) One with NT Teaching
- VI. Eternal Life
  - 1. Ethical Rather than Eschatological
  - 2. Metaphysical Aspect
    - Reply to Criticism

- 3. Development of Doctrine
  - (1) Source in God
  - (2) Mediated by Christ
  - (3) Through the Spirit
  - (4) The Divine "Begetting"
  - (5) The "Children of God"
  - (6) The Divine Abiding
- VII. HUMAN NATURE AND ITS REGENERATION
  - 1. The World
  - 2. Two Classes in the Human Race
- VIII. THE CHURCH AND SACRAMENTS
  - 1. The Church
  - 2. The Sacraments
    - (1) Baptism
    - (2) The Lord's Supper
- IX. ESCHATOLOGY
  - 1. Type of Thought Idealistic
  - 2. Yet History Not Ignored
  - 3. Nor Eschatology
  - 4. Eschatological Ideas
    - (1) Eternal Life
    - (2) Antichrist
    - (3) Resurrection
    - (4) Judgment
    - (5) The Parousia
      - (*a*) A "Manifestation"
      - (*b*) Relation to Believers

LITERATURE

The materials for the following sketch of the Johannine theology are necessarily drawn from the Fourth Gospel and the Epp., chiefly the First Ep., of St. John. The question of authorship is not here considered (see articles on the GOSPEL and on the EPP. of ST. JOHN). These writings, whether by the same or by different authors, are equally saturated with that spiritual and theological atmosphere, equally characterized by that type of thought which we call Johannine, and which presents an interpretation of Christianity scarcely less distinctive and original than Paulinism. Where there are differences in the point of view, these will be indicated.

I. The Antecedents of the Theology.—To attempt a full account of the historical sources and antecedents of the Johannine theology is beyond the scope of the present article; but they may be briefly indicated. Much must be attributed to the personality of the great anonymous writer to whom we directly owe this latest development of NT thought. Only a thinker of first rank among the idealists and mystics, a mind of the Platonic order, moving instinctively in the world of supersensuous realities, absorbed in the passion for the infinite, possessing in a superlative degree the gift of spiritual intuition, could under any conditions have evolved a system of thought having the special characteristics of this theology.

1. Personality of Writer

Yet with all his originality the builder has raised his structure upon the foundation already laid in the teaching represented by the earlier NT writings. The synoptic tradition, though freshly interpreted, is presupposed. At certain points there is a strong affinity with the Ep. to the He. In the main, however, the Johannine doctrine may be said to be a natural and inevitable development of Paulinism—the conclusion to which the earlier writer's mind is visibly moving in e.g. the Ep. to the Col.

2. Earlier NT Writings

Among the influences which have stimulated and guided this development, the first place belongs to the natural growth of Christian experience and the teaching of history. In the closing decades of the 1st cent., Christianity was compelled by the force of events to liberate itself more completely from the husk of Jewish Messianism in which its Divine seed had first been deposited. The faith of the first Christian generation in the Messiahship of Jesus and the triumph of His cause had expressed itself (necessarily so, under the historical conditions) in vivid expectation of His Second Coming. He was only waiting behind the clouds, and would speedily return to the earth for the restitution of all things (Acts **3** 21). But after the fall of Jerus this primitive apocalypticism became, with the passing years, more and more discredited; and the Christian faith had either to interpret itself afresh, both to its own consciousness and to the world, or confess itself "such stuff as dreams are made of." It would be difficult to overestimate the service which the Johannine theology must have rendered in this hazardous transition by transferring the emphasis of Christian faith from the apocalyptic to the spiritual, and leading the church to a profounder realization of its essential and inalienable resources in the new spiritual life it possessed through the ever-living Christ. Eternal life was not merely a future felicity, but a present possession; the most real coming of Christ, His coming in the Spirit. The Kingdom of God is here: the eternal is now. Such was the great message of St. John to his age, and to all ages.

3. Christian Experience and Teaching of History

In another direction, the widening contact of Christianity with the gentile world had stimulated the development of doctrine. A disentanglement from Jewish nationalism, more complete than even St. Paul had accomplished, had become a necessity. If Christianity was to find a home and a sphere of conquest in the Gr-Rom world—to recreate European thought and civilization—the person of Christ must be interpreted as having a vastly larger significance than that of the Jewish Messiah. That this necessity hastened the process of thought which reached its goal in the Logos-doctrine of St. John cannot well be doubted. The way had so far been prepared by Philo and the Jewish-Alexandrian school. And while it is probably mere coincidence that Ephesus, with which the activity of St. John's later years is associated by universal tradition, was also the city of Heraclitus, who, 500 years earlier, had used the term Logos to express the idea of an eternal and universal Reason, immanent in the world, there is as little room as there can be motive for questioning that in the Johannine theology Christian thought has been influenced and fertilized at certain points by contact with Hellenism.

4. Widening Contact with Gentile World

On the other hand it is possible that this influence has been overrated. Fresh material for the investigation of the sources and connections of the Johannine theology is furnished by the recent discovery of the Odes of Solomon (J. Rendel Harris, M.A., *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge, 1909; Adolf Harnack, *Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1910). This collection of religious poems is regarded by its discoverer, Rendel Harris, as the work of a writer who, while not a Jew, was a member of a community of Christians who were for the most part of Jewish extraction and beliefs. But though the Odes in their present form contain distinctly Christian elements (references, e.g. to the Son, the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth, the Passion, the *Descensus ad inferos*), Harnack's closer analysis tends to the conclusion that in their original form they were purely Jewish, and that they have been adapted to Christian use by a process of interpolation. For the original work Harnack gives as a possible date the beginning of the Christian era, the Christian redaction falling within the 1st cent. Harnack recognizes a possibility that the redactor may have been acquainted with the Fourth Gospel. The religious feeling of the writer is throughout individual and mystical, rather than nationalistic and Messianic. The characteristic atmosphere is strongly Johannine (we may quote in illustration only the noble sentence from the 12th ode: "The dwelling-place of the Word is man; and its truth is Love"). The Odes have, in common with the Johannine writings, such leading conceptions as "grace," "believing," "knowledge," "truth," "light," "living water," "life" (for a full exhibition of the parallelisms, see article by R. H. Strachan, *Expos T*, October, 1910). Harnack asserts deliberately (p. 99) that in the Odes we possess "the presuppositions of the Johannine theology, apart from the historical Jesus Christ, and without any Messianic doctrine." More recent criticism of the Odes, however,

5. The Odes of Solomon

has resulted in great diversity of view regarding their origin. They have been assigned to Gnosticism, and on the contrary to Montanism; and again are described (Bernard) as Christian baptismal hymns. In view of this division of critical opinion, all that can be said in the meantime is that the Odes testify to a collateral mystical development, the recognition of which necessitates a revision of the estimates which have been made regarding the extent to which the Johannine theology is indebted to Hellenistic philosophy.

6. Antagonism to Gnostic Speculation

One other factor in this theological development remains to be mentioned—antagonism to gnostic speculation. In the Gospel this has left not a few traces, in the way both of statement and omission; in the 1st Ep. scarcely any other danger to the faith and life of the church is apprehended than the spreading influence of gnostic tenets (see John, Epistles of). St. John himself has been charged with gnostic tendencies; but the truth rather is that to him Gnosticism must have been the more hateful and have seemed the more dangerous because its conceptions were at some points the caricature of his own. In it he saw the real Antichrist, the "spirit of error," giving fatally misleading solutions of those problems which the human mind can never leave alone, but regarding which the one true light is the historic Christ. Gnosticism had lost all historical sense, all touch with reality. It moved in a world of sheer mythology and speculation; history became allegory; the incarnate Christ a phantasm. St. John took his stand only the more firmly upon historical fact, insisted the more strenuously upon the verified physical reality of the Incarnation. In many of its adherents Gnosticism had lost almost completely the moral sense; St. John the more vehemently asserts the inviolable moral purity of the Divine nature and of the regenerate life which is derived from it. Gnostic dualism had set God infinitely far from men as transcendent Being; St. John brings God infinitely near to men as Love; and sweeps away the whole complicated mythology of gnostic emanations, aeons and archons, by his doctrine of the Logos, coeternal and coequal with the Father, incarnate in Jesus, through whom humanity is made to participate in the very life of God—the life of all love, purity and truth.

1. God Is Spirit

II. The Divine Nature.—One of the glories of the Johannine theology is its doctrine of God, its delineation of the Divine nature. This is given in a series of intuitional affirmations which, though the manner of statement indicates no attempt at correlation, unite to form a complete organic conception. The first of these affirmations defines what is the Divine *order of being:* God is Spirit (Jn **4** 24). The central significance of this inexhaustible saying is defined by the context. The old local worships, whether at Jerus or Samaria, had implied some special local mode of Divine presence; and this naturally suggested, if it did not necessitate, the idea of some kind of materiality in the Divine nature. But God is spirit; and true worship must be an intercourse of spirit with spirit, having relation to no local or material, but only to moral conditions. Thus the concept of the Divine spirituality is both moral and metaphysical. The religious relation to God, as it exists for Christian faith, rests upon the fact that the Supreme Being is essentially moral, but also omnipresent and omniscient—the Divine Spirit whose will and percipiency act immediately and simultaneously at every point of existence. Such a Being we utterly lack the power to comprehend. But only such a Being can be God, can satisfy our religious need—a Being of whom we are assured that nothing that is in us, good or evil, true or false, and nothing that concerns us, past, present or future, is hid from His immediate vision or barred against the all-pervading operation of His will. To realize that God is such a Being is to be assured that He can be worshipped with no mechanical ritual or formal observance: they that worship Him must worship Him "in spirit and in truth."

2. God Is Life

God, who is spirit, is further conceived as Life, Light, Righteousness and Love. Righteousness and Love are the primary ethical qualities of the Divine nature; Life the energy by which they act; Light the self-revelation in which they are manifested throughout the spiritual universe. God is Life. He is the ultimate eternal Reality. He was "in the beginning" (Jn **1** 1), or "from the beginning" (1 Jn **1** 1; **2** 13). These statements are made of the Logos, therefore *a fortiori* of God. But the Divine nature is not mere abstract being, infinite and eternal; it is being filled with that inscrutable elemental energy which we call Life. In God this energy of life is self-originating and self-sustaining ("The Father hath life in himself," Jn **5** 26), and is the source of all life (Jn **1** 3.4, RV m). For every finite being life is union with God according to its capacity.

But the lower potencies of the creative Life do not come within the scope of the Johannine theology. The term is restricted in usage to its highest ethical significance, as denoting that life of perfect, holy love which is "the eternal life," the possession of which in fellowship with God is the chief end for which every spiritual nature exists. The elements present in the conception of the Divine life are these: (1) The ethical: the life God lives is one of absolute righteousness (1 Jn **2** 29), and perfect love (1 Jn **4** 9). (2) The metaphysical: the Divine life is nothing else than the Divine nature itself regarded dynamically, as the ground and source of all its own activities, the animating principle or energy which makes Divine righteousness and love to be not mere abstractions but active realities. (3) In Johannine thought the Divine life is esp. an energy of self-reproduction. It is this by inherent moral necessity. Love cannot but seek to beget love, and righteousness to beget righteousness, in all beings capable of them. With St. John this generative activity of the Divine nature holds a place of unique prominence. It is this that constitutes the Fatherhood of God. Eternally the Father imparts Himself to the Son (Jn **5** 26), the Word whose life from the beginning consisted in His relation to the Father (1 Jn **1** 2). To men eternal life is communicated as the result of a Divine begetting (Jn **1** 13; **3** 5; 1 Jn **2** 29; **3** 9; **4** 7, etc) by which they become "children of God" (Jn **1** 12; 1 Jn **3** 1, etc). (4) But God is not only the transcendent final source, He is also the *immanent* source of life. This is clearly implied in all those passages, too numerous to be quoted, which speak of God's abiding in us and our abiding in Him. Life is maintained only through a continuous vitalizing union with Him, as of the branches with the vine (Jn **15** 1–6). It must be observed, however, that St. John nowhere merges the idea of God in that of life. God is personal; life is impersonal. The eternal life is the element common to the personality of God, of the Logos, and of those who are the "children of God." Any pantheistic manner of thinking is as foreign to St. John as to every other Bib. writer.

3. God Is Light

God is not life only; He is light also (1 Jn **1** 5). That God is life means that He is and is self-imparting; that He is light means that the Divine nature is by inward necessity self-revealing. (1) As the essential property of light is to shine, so God by His very nature of righteousness and love is necessitated to reveal Himself as being what He is, so as to become the Truth (ἡ ἀλήθεια, *hē alḗtheia*), the object of spiritual perception (γινώσκειν, *ginṓskein*), and the source of spiritual illumination to every being capable of receiving the revelation. "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." In God there is nothing that hides, nothing that is hidden. The Divine character is utterly transparent—goodness without a shadow of evil. (2) This self-revelation of God is given in its perfect form in Jesus, the incarnate Word, who is the light of men (Jn **1** 4), the light of the world (Jn **8** 12; **9** 5), the true light (Jn **1** 9; 1 Jn **2** 8). (3) It is in their illumination by this Divine light that there exists, even for the sinful, a medium of moral fellowship with God. We can "come to the light" (Jn **3** 19–21) and "walk in the light" (1 Jn **1** 7). In the translucent atmosphere of the true light, we, even while morally imperfect and impure, may come to have a common view of spiritual facts with God (1 Jn **1** 8–10; **2** 9.10). This is the basis of a spiritual religion, and distinguishes Christianity from all irrational superstitions and unethical ritualisms.

4. Ethical Attributes

In gnostic speculation the Divine nature was conceived as the ultimate spiritual essence, in eternal separation from all that is material and mutable. But while St. John also, as we have seen, conceives it in this way, with him the conception is primarily and intensely ethical. The Divine nature, the communication of which is life and the revelation of which is light, has, as its two great attributes, Righteousness and Love; and with his whole soul St. John labors to stamp on the minds of men that only in righteousness and love can they walk in the light and have fellowship in the life of God. It is characteristic of St. John's intuitional fashion of thought that there is no effort to correlate these two aspects of the ethical perfection of God; but, broadly, it may be said that they are respectively the negative and the positive. Love is the sum of all that is positively right; righteousness the antithesis of all that is wrong, in character and conduct.

God is righteous.—(1) That such righteousness—antagonism to all sin—belongs to, or rather is, the moral nature of God, and that this lies at the basis of Christian ethics is categorically affirmed. "If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one also that doeth righteousness is begotten of him" (1 Jn **2** 29). (2) This righteousness which belongs to the inward character of God extends necessarily to all His actions: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins" (1 Jn **1** 9). When on the ground of Christ's propitiation God forgives those who by confessing their sins make forgiveness possible, He acts *righteously;* and because He acts righteously, He acts also *faithfully,* that is, self-consistently. He does not "deny himself" (2 Tim **2** 13), but does what is in accordance with His own unchangeable character. (3) God's righteousness is related imperatively to the whole moral activity of His creatures, rendering sin inadmissible in them—inadmissible *de jure* in all, *de facto* in all who are "begotten of him." This St. John maintains with unexampled vigor (cf 1 Jn **2** 29; **3** 6.8–10; **5** 18). It is true, however, that in its doctrine of Divine righteousness the Johannine theology makes no notable contribution to the sum of NT thought, but simply restates in peculiarly forceful fashion the conception of it which pervades the whole Bib. revelation.

5. God Is Love

(1) *The love of God.*—It is far otherwise with the next of the great affirmations which constitute its doctrine of God: *God is Love.* Here Gospel and Epistle rise to the summit of all revelation, and for the first time clearly and fully enunciate that truth which is the innermost secret of existence.

(*a*) Primarily a disposition: Love is primarily a disposition, a moral quality of the will. What this quality is is indicated by the fact that the typical object of love in human relation is invariably our "brother." It is the disposition to act toward others as it is natural for those to do who have all interests in common and who realize that the full self-existence of each can be attained only in a larger corporate existence. It is the mysterious power by which egoism and altruism meet and coalesce, the power to live not only for another but in another, to realize one's own fullest life in the fulfilment of other lives. It is self-communication which is also self-assertion.

(*b*) Embodied in Christ's self-sacrifice: In history love has its one perfect embodiment in the self-sacrifice of Christ. "Hereby know we love [i.e. perceive what love is], because he laid down his life for us" (1 Jn **3** 16). The world had never been without love; but till Jesus Christ came and laid down His life for the men that hated and mocked and slew him, it had not known what love in its greatness and purity could be.

(*c*) Love in redemption: But here history is the invisible translated into the visible. The self-sacrifice of Christ in laying down His life for us is the manifestation (1 Jn **4** 9), under the conditions of time and sense, of the love of God, eternal and invisible. In the closely related ‖ passages (Jn **3** 16; 1 Jn **4** 9.10) this is declared with matchless simplicity of statement. The Divine love is manifested in the *magnitude of its gift*—"his Son, his only begotten" (elsewhere the title is only "the Son" or "his Son" or "the Son of God"). Other gifts are only tokens of God's love; in Christ its all is bestowed (cf Rom **8** 32; Gen **22** 12). The love of God is manifested further in the *purpose* of its gift—"that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life." It is the self-determination of God, not only to rescue men from what is the sum and finality of all evils, but to impart the supreme and eternal good. But again, the love of God is manifested in the *means* by which this purpose is achieved. His son is sent as "the propitiation for our sins." God shrinks not from the uttermost cost of redemption; but in the person of His Son humbles Himself and suffers unto blood that He may take upon Himself the load of human guilt and shame. And the last element in the full conception of Divine love is its *objects:* "God so loved the world"; "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us." Its ineffable mystery reveals itself in its absolute spontaneity, its self-origination. Its fires are self-kindled; it shines forth in its purest splendors upon the unattractive and unworthy. Such is the conception St. John sets before us. In this entirely spontaneous, self-determined devotion of God to sinful men; this Divine passion to rescue them from sin, the supreme evil, and to impart to them eternal life, the supreme good; in this, which is evoked not by their worthiness but by their need, and goes to the uttermost length of sacrifice in bearing the uttermost burden of their sin and its inevitable consequences; in this, which is forever revealed in the mission of Jesus Christ, God's only begotten Son, is love.

(2) *Love is God's nature.*—And God is love (1 Jn **4** 8.16). (*a*) God is love *essentially.* Love is not one of God's moral attributes, but that from which they all proceed, and in which they all unite. The spring of all His actions is love. (*b*) Therefore also His love is *universal.* In a special sense He loves those who are spiritually His children (Jn **14** 23); but His undivided and essential love is given also to the whole world (Jn **3** 16; 1 Jn **2** 2). That is St. John's great truth. He does not attempt to

reconcile with it other apparently conflicting truths in his theological scheme; possibly he was not conscious of any need to do so. But of this he is sure—God is love. That fact must, in ways we cannot yet discern, include all other facts. (*c*) The love of God is *eternal and unchangeable;* for it does not depend on any merit or reciprocation in its object, but overflows from its own infinite fulness. We may refuse to it the inlet into our life which it seeks (Jn **3** 19; **5** 40); we may so identify ourselves with evil as to turn it into an antagonistic force. But as our goodness did not call it forth, neither can our evil cause it to cease. (*d*) If love is an essential, *the* essential attribute of God, it follows that we cannot ultimately conceive of God as a single simple personality. It is at this point that the fuller Johannine conception of multiple personality in the Godhead becomes most helpful, enabling us to think of the Divine life in itself not as an eternal solitude of self-contemplation and self-love, but as a life of fellowship (Jn **1** 1; 1 Jn **1** 2). The Godhead is filled with love. "The Father loveth the Son" (Jn **3** 35); and the prayer of the Son for His followers is "that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them" (Jn **17** 26). The eternal giving and receiving of Divine love between the Father and the Son is, in the Johannine theology, an essential element of the Divine nature.

III. The Incarnation.—The 2d great contribution of the Johannine writings to the development of Christian theology is their doctrine of Christ—the latest and most deliberate effort within NT times to relate intellectually the church's faith in Jesus to its faith in God. In these writings the superhuman personality of Jesus is expressed by three titles which are used as practically synonymous—"the Christ," "the Son" ("Son of God," "only begotten Son of God"), the "Word" (*Logos*). The last alone is distinctively Johannine.

1. Historical Antecedents of the Logos-Doctrine

Historically, the Logos-doctrine of St. John has undoubted links of connection with certain speculative developments both of Gr and Heb thought. The Heraclitean use of the term "Logos" (see above, I) to express the idea of an eternal and all-embracing Reason immanent in the world was continued, while the conception was further elaborated, by the Stoics. On the other hand, the later developments of Heb thought show an increasing tendency to personify the self-revealing activity of God under such conceptions as the Angel, Glory, or Name of Jeh, to attach a peculiar significance to the "Word" (*mē'mᵉrā'*) by which He created the heaven and the earth, and to describe "Wisdom" (Job, Prov) in something more than a figurative sense as His agent and coworker. These approximations of Gr pantheism and Heb monotheism were more verbal than real; and, naturally, Philo's attempt in his doctrine of the Logos to combine philosophies so radically divergent was less successful than it was courageous. How far, and whether directly or indirectly, St. John is indebted to Philo and his school, are questions to which widely different answers have been given; but some obligation, probably indirect, cannot reasonably be denied. It is evident, indeed, that both the idea and the term "Logos" were current in the Christian circles for which his Gospel and First Ep. were immediately written; in both its familiarity is assumed. Yet the Johannine doctrine has little in common with Philo's except the name; and it is just in its most essential features that it is most original and distinct.

2. The Logos-Doctrine in St. John

As the OT begins with the affirmation, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," so the Fourth Gospel begins with the similar affirmation, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (Jn **1** 1). The Word was the medium of Divine action in creation (Jn **1** 3). In the Word was life, not merely self-existing but self-imparting, so that it became the light of men (Jn **1** 4)—the true light, which, coming into the world, lighteth every man (Jn **1** 9). And finally it is declared that this Divine Word became flesh and tabernacled among us, so that "we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth" (Jn **1** 14). Here faith in Jesus as Divine has been traced back to, and grounded in, a duality within the Godhead itself. In the twofold mode of the Divine existence, it is seen that there is God who is just God (so to say), God in Himself; and there is God-with-God, God who is God's other self, God going forth from Himself in thought and action. The first without the second would be essence without manifestation, mind without utterance, light without effulgence, life without life-giving, fatherhood without sonship. It is seen that within the Divine Being there is one through whom, as there is also one from whom, all Divine energy goes forth. Above all it is seen that there is a Divine mode of existence in which it is inherently possible and natural for God to be immediately related to created being and even to become incarnate in humanity, as there is also a mode of Divine existence which cannot be immediately communicated or revealed to created life. Thus the Johannine doctrine is: first, that the Logos is personal and Divine, having a ground of personal being within the Divine nature (*prós tón theón*, "in relation to God"); and, second, that the Logos became flesh, was and is incarnate in the historical Jesus.

3. The Incarnation as Delineated in the Fourth Gospel

In the Gospel the term "Logos" does not recur after the opening verses; yet the thesis of the Prologue, so far from being irrelevant, dominates the entire biographical presentation. The creative and cosmic significance of the Logos-Christ is naturally in the background; but it may be said of the Gospel that "the Word became flesh" is its text, and all the rest—miracle, incident, discourse—is comment. On the one hand, the reality of the "becoming flesh" is emphasized (e.g. Jn **4** 6; **11** 35; **19** 1.2.3.17.28.34.38–40; **20** 20.27). On the other hand, the human vesture only reveals the Divine glory within. On earth, Jesus is still "the Son of man, who is in heaven" (**3** 13); the perfect revelation of the Father (**14** 9); the light of the world (**8** 12); the way, the truth and the life (**14** 6); the resurrection (**11** 26); the final judge (**5** 22) and Saviour (**4** 42; **6** 40) of men; the supreme moral authority (**13** 34; **14** 15.21); the hearer of prayer (**14** 13.14); the giver of the Spirit (**7** 38.39; **16** 7; **20** 22); endowed with all the prerogatives of God (**5** 23; **10** 30.36–38).

4. The Incarnation in the First Epistle

In the First Ep. the central thesis is the complete, personal, and permanent identity of the historical Jesus with the Divine Being who is the Word of Life (**1** 1), the Christ (**4** 2), the Son of God (**5** 5). This is maintained in a vigorous polemic against certain heretical teachers whom the writer calls "antichrists," who in docetic fashion denied that Jesus is the Christ (**2** 22), or, more definitely, the "Christ come in the flesh" (**4** 3), and who asserted that He "came" by water only and not by blood also (**5** 6; see John, Epistles of). Against this doctrine of a merely apparent or temporary association of Jesus with the Christ St. John bears vehement testimony "Who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?" (**2** 22). 'Every spirit that confesseth Jesus as Christ come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not Jesus is not of God' (**4** 2.3). "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood" (**5** 5.6). These passages all promulgate the same truth in substantially the same way. *Without ceasing to be what He is*, the Christ, the Son of God, has become Jesus; and Jesus, *without ceasing to be truly human*, is the Son of God. As to the manner of the incarnation—by what process of self-emptying or by what conjunction of Divine-human attributes the eternal Son became Jesus—the Johannine writings, like the NT everywhere, are silent. They proclaim Jesus Christ as human and Divine; but the distinguishing of what in Him was human and what Divine, or whether the one is distinct from the other, this they do not even consider. Gnosticism drew such a distinction; St. John does not. His one truth is that Jesus is the Son of God and the Son of God is Jesus, and that in Him the life of God was manifested (**1** 2) and is given (**5** 11) to men.

5. Practical Implications of the Incarnation

In this truth, viewed in its practical consequences, St. John sees the core of the church's faith and the root and safeguard of its life. (*a*) This alone secures and guarantees the Christian revelation of God; with its denial that revelation is canceled. "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father" (**2** 23). (*b*) Above all, it is only in the life and death of Jesus, the incarnate Son, that we possess a valid revelation of God's self-sacrificing love. "Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent his . . . . Son into the world that we might live through him" (**4** 9). With the denial of this the Christian ethic is drained of its very life-blood. There was no merely external and accidental connection between Docetism and the moral indifferentism of the Gnostic. The natural result of making man's salvation easy, so to say, for God, was to make it easy for man also—salvation by creed without conduct (**2** 4.6; **3** 7), knowledge without love (**4** 8), or love that paid its debts with goodly phrases and empty words (**3** 17.18). A docetic Christ meant docetic Christianity. (*c*) Finally, St. John sees in the incarnation the only possibility of a Divine redemption. It was not for a word or a formula he was concerned, but for the raising of humanity to Divine life through the God-man. The ultimate significance of the incarnation of the Son is that in Him the eternal life of God has flowed into our humanity and become a fountain of regenerative power to as many as receive Him (Jn **1** 12). "He that hath the Son hath the life; he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life" (1 Jn **5** 12). This is the center of the Johannine Gospel—a Divine-human Christ, who stands in a unique, vital relation to men, reproducing in them His own character and experiences as the vine reproduces itself in the branches, doing that, the mysterious reality of which is only expressed, not explained, when it is said that He is our "life" (Jn **14** 19.20; **15** 5).

1. The Work of the Spirit—in the Fourth Gospel

IV. The Holy Spirit.—In one direction the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is uniquely developed in the Johannine writings. The conception of the Spirit as the agent of Christ's presence with and activity in the church is presented with a fulness and clearness unequaled in the NT. The departing Christ promises to His friends a new presence, different from His own in that it was to be not a bodily but a spiritual presence, and yet really His own—a presence in which all and more than all the effects of His bodily presence would be perpetuated (Jn **14** 18; **16** 22). In truth, it was expedient for them that He should go away, in order that this other Paraclete should come (**16** 7). In the body His presence with His followers had been local and intermittent; in the Spirit He would come to take up His abode with them forever (**14** 16). Formerly He had been still external to them, but now was not only to dwell with them, but to be in them (**14** 17). Instead of the external voice of their Teacher addressing to them the words of eternal life, they should possess the very Spirit of truth (**14** 17), a wellspring of illumination from within, giving them an "understanding" to know Him that is true (1 Jn **5** 20); and instead of His visible example before their eyes, an inward community of life with Him like that of the vine and the branches. The complete, vital, permanent union of Christ and His people, which had been prevented by the necessary limitations of a local, corporeal state of existence, would be attained, when for this there was substituted the direct action of spirit upon spirit.

Perpetuates, but also intensifies the consciousness of Christ.—Thus the function of the Spirit which is chiefly emphasized in the Johannine writings is that by which He perpetuates but also intensifies, enlightens, and educates the consciousness of Christ in the church and in the Christian life. In this respect His nature is the opposite of that of the Logos, the self-revealing God. The Holy Spirit never reveals Himself to human consciousness; He reveals the Son and the Father through the Son. His operations are wholly secret and inscrutable, known only by their result (Jn **3** 8). He is the silent inward monitor and remembrancer of the disciples (Jn **14** 20); the illuminator, the revealer of Christ (**16** 14); a spirit of witness who both Himself bears witness concerning Christ to His people and makes of them ready and joyful witness-bearers (**15** 26.27); a guide by whom a steady growth in knowledge is secured, leading gradually on to the full truth of Christ (**16** 12.13); a spirit of conviction working in men an immediate certainty of the truth regarding sin and righteousness, and the Divine judgment which marks their eternal antagonism (**16** 8–11).

2. In the First Epistle

In the Ep. we find the promise of the Gospel accomplished in actual experience. There is no reference to the manifold *charismata* of the first age, the prophetic afflatus excepted (1 Jn **4** 1). But whether through the prophetic "medium" or the normal Christian consciousness, the function of the Spirit is always to "teach" or to "witness" concerning Christ. This is finely brought out in the parallelism of 1 Jn **5** 6: "This [Jesus Christ] is *he that came*" (once for all fulfilling the Messiah's mission); "It is the Spirit *that beareth witness*" (ever authenticating its Divine origin, interpreting its purpose and applying its results). The specific testimony the Spirit bears to Christ is defined (1 Jn **4** 2.3). "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not Jesus is not of God."

(1) *A Divine Teacher.*—The gift of the Spirit is an "anointing from the Holy One" (1 Jn **2** 20); and the result of this "anointing" is that "ye know all things" (or that "ye all have knowledge"; the reading is doubtful), and "need not that any one teach you" (**2** 27). The apostle's comfort concerning his readers, encompassed as they are by the snares of Antichrist, is that they have a Divine Teacher, who continually enlightens their understanding, strengthens their convictions and minis-

ters to them an invincible assurance of the truth of the Gospel. "The anointing abideth in you . . . . and teacheth you concerning all things." The spirit is not a source of independent revelation, but makes the revelation of Christ effectual. The truth is placed beyond all reach of controversy and passes into absolute knowledge: "Ye *know* all things." It may be added that the history of Christianity furnishes an always growing verification of this Johannine doctrine of a living power of witness and enlightenment present in the church, by which, notwithstanding the constant hindrance of human imperfection, the development of the Christian faith has been steadily advanced, its forgotten or neglected factors brought to remembrance. Old truths have been presented in new aspects and filled with fresh life, and all has been brought to pass with marvelous adaptation to the church's needs and in proportion to its receptivity.

(2) *Other aspects.*—In other directions the doctrine of the Spirit is less developed. The agency of the Spirit in regeneration is repeatedly and emphatically declared in a single passage (Jn **3** 5–8), but is nowhere else referred to either in the Gospel or the First Ep. More remarkable still, neither in Gospel nor Ep. is the Holy Spirit once spoken of as the Divine agent in sanctification. There is no passage resembling that in which St. Paul speaks of the ethical "fruit of the Spirit" (Gal **5** 22.23). The Spirit is the Spirit of truth, the revealer, the inspirer of faith, but is never spoken of as the Spirit of love or holiness. If those who are begotten of God cannot sin, it is not because God's Spirit, but because "his seed," abideth in them (1 Jn **3** 9). The explanation of this peculiarity (which has been little observed) in the Johannine theology may be that the Spirit's work of revealing Christ is regarded as all-inclusive. Thus enabling Christ's disciples to abide in Him as the branch in the vine, He secures also their bringing forth "much fruit" in all Christlikeness of character and conduct.

3. The Person of the Spirit

Passing now from the work to the Person, we observe that in the Fourth Gospel the attribution of personality to the Spirit reaches the acme of distinctness. He is "another Paraclete" (Jn **14** 16 m), personal as Christ Himself is personal; and all the functions ascribed to Him—to remind, to teach, to testify, to guide, to convict—are such as are possible only to a personal agent. Nor is it otherwise in the First Ep. The expressions in it which have been alleged (Pfleiderer and others) as inconsistent with personality (the "anointing," **2** 20; "He hath given us *of his Spirit,*" **4** 13) require no such interpretation. The "anointing" denotes the Spirit, not in His essence or agency, but as *the gift* of the Holy One with which He anoints believers (cf Jn **7** 38.39); and the expression "He hath given us of his Spirit" (as if the Spirit were a divisible entity) is no more incompatible with personality than is the saying "to Him whom he hath sent . . . . , God giveth not the Spirit by measure" (Jn **3** 34), or than our speaking of Christians as having more or less of the Spirit.

His Deity implied.—The essential Deity of the Spirit is nowhere explicitly asserted, but is necessarily implied in His relation both to Christ and to the church as the "other Paraclete." There is not, however, the same theological development as is achieved regarding the Logos. The Divinity of Christ is grounded in an essential duality of being within the Godhead itself; but there is no similar effort to trace back the *threefoldness* in the revelation of God, as Father, Son and Spirit, to an essential threefoldness in the Divine nature. The fact is that both historically and logically the doctrine of the Spirit as the third person in the Godhead depends upon that of the Divine Son as the second. It was through its living experience of the Divine in Christ that the church first developed its thought of God beyond the simple monotheism of the OT; but having advanced to the conception of a twofold Godhead, in which there is Fatherhood and Sonship, it was bound to enlarge it still further to that of a threefold Godhead—Father, Son and Spirit. The Son and the Spirit were equally manifestations of God in redemption, and must equally stand in essential relation to the Divine existence.

V. Doctrine of Sin and Propitiation.—This theme is not elaborated. It is characteristic of the Johannine writings that salvation is looked at from the *terminus ad quem* rather than from the *terminus a quo.* The infinite good, eternal life, is more in view than the infinite evil, sin. It seems safe to say that the author of these writings at no time had that intense experience of bondage to the law of sin and of death which so colors St. Paul's presentation of the gospel. It was, moreover, no part of his plan to expound the doctrine of propitiation; nor had he any original contribution to make on this head to the sum of NT thought. But it is a quite unwarrantable criticism which denies that the saving work of Christ, in the Johannine conception, consists in deliverance from sin.

1. Sin

It is true that Christ not only takes away the sin of the world (Jn **1** 29), but also draws it forth in its utmost intensity and guilt. All sin culminates in the rejection of Christ (**15** 22); the Spirit convicts men of sin because they "believe not" on Him (**16** 9). "Every one that committeth sin is the bondservant of sin" (**8** 34); but what reveals the true character of this bondage is that in the presence of the light, men "loved the darkness" (**3** 19). That the malign quality and power of evil are fully revealed only in the presence of perfect goodness, that the brighter is the light, the darker is the shade of guilt created by its rejection—all this St. John teaches; but such teaching is by no means peculiar to him, and to infer from it that "to his mind sin in itself involves no moral culpability" is nothing more than a wayward paradox.

In the Ep. the guilt of sin as constituting an objective disability to fellowship with God is strongly emphasized. "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves" (1 Jn **1** 8). The phrase "to have sin" is peculiar to St. John, and specifically denotes the culpability of the agent (cf Jn **9** 41; **15** 22.24; **19** 11). Sin is essentially that which needs God's forgiveness (1 Jn **1** 9; **2** 1.2); and to this end an intercessor and a propitiation have been provided. Such culpability is universal: "If we say that we have not sinned, we"—not only deceive ourselves—"we make him a liar" (1 Jn **1** 10).

A second passage (1 Jn **3** 4–9) emphasizes the ethical quality of sin—its antagonism to the nature of God and of the children of God. The word which defines the constitutive principle of sin is "lawlessness" (1 Jn **3** 4). Sin is fundamentally the denial of the absoluteness of moral obligation, the repudiation of the eternal law upon which all moral life is based. In other words, to sin is to assert one's own will as the rule of action against the absolutely good will of God. But again, the Ep. gives the warning that "all unrighteousness is sin" (**5** 17). Everything that is *not right* is wrong, Every morally inferior course of action, however venial it may appear, is sin and contains the elements of positive guilt. The perplexing topic of "sin unto death" demands too special treatment to be dealt with here.

2. Propitiation

(1) *In the Gospel.*—The paucity of reference in the Fourth Gospel to the propitiating aspect of Christ's redemptive work has been seized upon as proof that, though the writer did not consciously reject the orthodox doctrine, it was really alien to his system. But such a criticism might be directed with almost equal force against the Synoptics. It was no part of St. John's plan, as has been

said, to expound a doctrine of propitiation; yet his frontispiece to the ministry of Jesus is "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world"; and, as Dr. Inge has pointed out, the same type of the Paschal Lamb underlies the whole narrative of the Passion. In the high-priestly prayer Our Lord expressly represents Himself as the covenant-sacrifice which consecrates His disciples as the people of God (**17** 19); while the Synoptic "ransom for many" is paralleled by the interpretation of Christ's death as effectual "for the nation; and not for the nation only, but that he might also gather together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad" (**11** 51.52; cf 1 Jn **2** 2).

(2) *In the Epistle.*—In the Ep. the doctrinal statement is much more explicit. The fact of propitiation is placed in the forefront. The passage which immediately follows the Prologue (**1** 6—**2** 2) introduces a group of ideas—propitiation, blood, forgiveness, cleansing—which are taken directly from the sacrificial system of the OT, and are expressed, indeed, in technical Levitical terms. The mode of action by which Christ accomplished and still accomplishes His mission as the Saviour of the world is: "He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world" (**2** 2). Propitiation has its ultimate source in the moral nature of God. It is no device for inducing a reluctant Deity to forgive; it is the way by which the Father brings back His sinning children to Himself. In St. John's conception it is the supreme act of God's supreme attribute, love. "Herein is love" (**4** 10). Yet it is a real work of propitiation in which this love goes forth for man's salvation—a work, that is, which expiates the guilt of sin, which restores sinful offenders to God by rendering their sin null and inoperative as a barrier to fellowship with Him. This propitiatory virtue is regarded as concentrated in the "blood of Jesus his Son" (**1** 7), that is to say, in the Divine-human life offered to God in the sacrifice of the cross. This, if we walk in the light as He is in the light, "cleanseth us from all sin"—removes from us the stain of our guilt, and makes us clean in God's sight. In virtue of this, Christ is the penitent sinner's advocate (paraclete-helper) with the Father (**2** 1). The words "with the Father" are highly significant. Even the Father's love can urge nothing in apology for sin, nothing that avails to absolve from its guilt. But there is one who can urge on our behalf what is at once the strongest condemnation of our sin and plea for its remission—Himself, "Jesus Christ the righteous" (**2** 1). "And he [Himself] is the propitiation for our sins." St. John does not speak of Christ as "making propitiation"; He, Himself, in virtue of all He is—Jesus Christ, in whom the Divine ideal of humanity is consummated, in whom the Father sees His own essential righteousness revealed, Jesus Christ the Righteous—is both propitiation and intercession. The two acts are not only united in one person, but constitute the one reconciling work by which there is abiding fellowship between God and His sinning people.

(3) *One with NT teaching.*—In this statement of the doctrine of propitiation, memorable as it is, there is nothing notably original. It tacitly presupposes, as NT teaching everywhere does, that God, in bestowing the sovereign grace of pardon and sonship, must deal truthfully and adequately with sin as a violation of the moral order; and with St. John, as with other NT writers, the necessity and efficacy of *sacrifice* as the means by which this is accomplished are simply axiomatic. His great contribution to Christian thought is the vision of the cross in the heart of the eternal love. How suggestive are these two statements when placed side by side! "Herein is love . . . . that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins" (1 Jn **4** 10); and "Hereby know we love [recognize what it is], because he laid down his life for us" (**3** 16). God's sending His Son and Christ's laying down His life are moral equivalents. The sacrifice of Christ is the sacrifice of God. St. John's doctrine of propitiation follows as a moral necessity from his doctrine of God. If God is love, nothing is more inevitably true than that He suffers on account of human sin; and to deny Him the power to help and save men by bearing their burden would be to deny to Him love's highest prerogative.

VI. Eternal Life.—The development of the conception of eternal life must be set along with the doctrine of the moral nature of God and the doctrine of the incarnation as one of the greatest contributions of the Johannine theology to NT thought. With this conception the Gospel begins (**1** 4) and ends (**20** 31); and, in like manner, the Ep. (**1** 2; **5** 20). The designation most frequently employed is simply "the life" (*hē zōē*); 17 t in the Gospel and 6 t in the First Ep. it is described qualitatively as "eternal"; but the adj. brings out only what is implicit in the noun. In harmony with the universal Bib. conception, St. John regards life as the *summum bonum,* in which the reality of fellowship with God consists, which therefore fulfils the highest idea of being—"perfect truth in perfect action" (Westcott). Christ Himself is "the life" (Jn **14** 6), its only bestower and unfailing source (**14** 19). He came that we might have it abundantly (**10** 10).

But this conception is uniquely developed in two directions.

1. Ethical Rather than Eschatological

While the eschatological element is not lost, it is absorbed in the ethical. The ideas of duration and futurity, which are properly and originally expressed by the adj. "eternal" (*aiōnios*=belonging to an aeon—specifically to "the coming aeon"), become secondary to that of timeless moral quality. Always life is regarded as a present possession rather than as future felicity (e.g. Jn **3** 36; **20** 31; 1 Jn **3** 14.15; **5** 12). For St. John the question whether it is possible to make the best of both worlds is meaningless. Eternal life is the best, the Divine, *kind* of life, whether in this world or another. It is the kind of life that has its perfect manifestation in Christ (1 Jn **1** 2; **5** 11). To possess that nature which produces thoughts and motives and desires, words and deeds like His, is to have eternal life.

2. Metaphysical Aspect

Metaphysically the conception undergoes a development which is equally remarkable, though in the judgment of many, of more questionable value. It has already been seen (see above, II) that life is conceived as the animating principle or essence of the Divine nature, the inward energy of which all its activities are the manifold outgoing. And this conception is carried through with strict consistency. The spiritual life in men, which is "begotten of God," is the vital essence, the mystic principle which is manifested in all the capacities and activities of Christian personality. It does not consist in, and still less is it a result following, repentance, faith, obedience or love; it is that of which they are the fruits and the evidences. Thus instead of "This do, and thou shalt live" (Lk **10** 28), St. John says, conversely, "Every one also that doeth righteousness is [=has been] begotten of" God (1 Jn **2** 29); instead of "The just shall live by faith" (Rom **1** 17 AV), "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is [=has been] begotten of God" (1 Jn **5** 1). The human activity is the result and proof of Divine life already imparted, not the condition or means of its attainment. In the Johannine conception life is cause, not effect; not phenomenon, but essence; not the complex whole of the qualities, activities and experiences of the spiritual man, but that which makes them possible—the inscrutable, Divinely communicated principle (Jn **3** 8) in which the capacity for them is given and by which also it is realized.

Reply to criticism.—This Johannine conception of life is vigorously criticized as importing into the interpretation of Christian experience principles and modes of thought borrowed from Gr philosophy. But the tendency to infer causes from effects and to reason from phenomena to essence is not peculiar to Gr philosophy; it is native to the human intellect. The Johannine conception of spiritual life is closely analogous to the common conception of physical life. We do not conceive that a man lives because he breathes and feels and acts; we think and we say that he does these things because he lives, because there is in him that mystic principle we call life. Only to the thinker trained in the logic of empiricism is it possible to define life solely by its phenomena, as e.g. "the continuous adjustment of internal to external relations" (Spencer). The ordinary mind instinctively passes behind the phenomena to an entity of which they are the manifestation. The Johannine conception, moreover, lies in the natural line of development for NT thought. It is implicit in that whole strain of Our Lord's synoptic teaching which regards doing as only the outcome of being, and which is emphasized in such utterances as "Either make the tree good, and its fruit good; or make the tree corrupt, and its fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by its fruit" (Mt **12** 33); as also in the whole Pauline doctrine of the new creation and the mystical indwelling of Christ in the members of His body. And while it is no doubt true that the Johannine conception of life was immediately influenced by contact with Hellenism, it is one which was sure, sooner or later, to emerge in Christian theology.

3. Development of Doctrine

(1) *Source in God.*—In the development of the doctrine we note the following points. (*a*) The sole and absolute source of life is God, the Father, revealed in Christ. "The Father hath life in himself" (Jn **5** 26). He is the "living Father" by whom the Son lives (Jn **6** 57); the "true God, and eternal life" (1 Jn **5** 20). Eternal life is nothing else than the immanence of God in moral beings created after His likeness; the Divine nature reproducing itself in human nature; the energy of the Spirit of God in the spiritual nature of man. This is its ultimate definition.

(2) *Mediated by Christ.*—Of this life Christ is the sole mediator (Jn **6** 33.57; **11** 25; **14** 6). The witness is that "God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son" (1 Jn **5** 11). This mediation is grounded in the relation, eternally subsisting within the Godhead, of the Logos to the Father. The life manifested and seen in the historic Christ (1 Jn **1** 1) is "the life, the eternal life," which existed in relation to the Father (1 Jn **1** 2). By the incarnation of the Son the eternal life in its Divine fulness has become incorporate with humanity, a permanent source of regenerative power to "as many as received him" (Jn **1** 12). It is His own relation to the Father that He reproduces in men (Jn **17** 23).

(3) *Through the Spirit.*—In the communication of this life the Spirit is the one direct agent (Jn **3** 5–8; see above, under IV).

(4) *The Divine "begetting."*—The act of Divine self-communication is constantly and exclusively expressed by the word "beget" (*gennán*—Jn **1** 13; **3** 3.5–8; 1 Jn **2** 29; **3** 9, etc). The word is of far-reaching significance. It implies not only that life has its ultimate origin in God, but that its communication is directly and solely His act. In how literal a sense the Divine begetting is to be understood appears very strikingly in 1 Jn **3** 9: "Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin; because his seed abideth in him." The unique expression "his seed" signifies the new life-principle which is the formative element of the "children of God." This abides in him who has received it. It stamps its own character upon his life and determines its whole development.

(5) *The "children of God."*—Those who are "begotten of God" are *ipso facto* "children of God" (*tékna theoú*, Jn **1** 12; **11** 52; 1 Jn **3** 1.2.10; **5** 2). The term connotes primarily the direct communication of the Father's own nature; and secondarily the fact that the nature thus communicated has not as yet reached its full stature, but contains the promise of a future glorious development. We are now children of God, but what it fully is to be children of God is not yet made manifest (1 Jn **3** 2). Participation in this life creates a family fellowship (*koinōnía*) at once human and Divine. Those who are begotten of God and walk in the light have "fellowship one with another" (1 Jn **1** 7). They are "brethren" and are knit together by the instincts (1 Jn **5** 1) and the duties of mutual love (Jn **13** 34; **15** 12; 1 Jn **3** 16; **4** 11) and of mutual watchfulness and intercession (1 Jn **5** 16).

On the Divine side they have fellowship "with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ" (1 Jn **1** 3). In this Divine fellowship the life "begotten" is nourished and sustained; and no term is more characteristic of the Johannine vocabulary, alike in Gospel and Epp., than the word "abide" (*ménein*), by which this is expressed. There is, however, a noticeable difference in the modes of statement. In the Ep., the formulae almost exclusively employed are these: "God abides in us," "We abide in God," "God abides in us and we in him." In the Gospel the reciprocal indwelling is that of Christ and His disciples (Jn **15** 4–10), which has its Divine counterpart in that of the Father and the Son (Jn **14** 10; **17** 23; **15** 10). This diversity is consistent with the different points of view occupied in the two documents. The Gospel is christocentric; the Ep., theocentric. In the one is given the concrete presentment of the incarnate Son; in the other the immediate intuition of the Divine nature revealed in Him. While the theme common to both is the "Word of life," the special theme of the Gospel is the Word who reveals and imparts the life; in the Ep. it is the life revealed and imparted by the Word, and the thought of the indwelling Christ is naturally carried up to the ultimate truth of the indwelling God.

(6) *The Divine abiding.*—The vitalizing union by which the Divine life is sustained in those who are begotten of God consists in two reciprocal activities, not separable and not identical—God's (or Christ's) abiding in us and our abiding in Him. As in the similitude of the vine and the branches (Jn **15** 1–10), the life imparted is dependent for its sustenance and growth upon a continuous influx from the parent source: as it is the sap of the vine that vitalizes the branches, producing leaf and blossom and fruit, so does the life of God support and foster in His children its own energies of love and truth and purity. But to this end the abiding of God in us has as its necessary counterpart our abiding in Him. We can respond to the Divine influence or reject it; open or obstruct the channels through which the Divine life flows into ours (Jn **15** 6.7.10; **8** 31). Hence abiding in God is a subject of instruction and exhortation (Jn **15** 4; 1 Jn **2** 27 f); and here the idea of persistent and stedfast purpose which belongs to the word *menein* comes clearly into view. As the abiding of God in us is the persistent and purposeful action by which the Divine nature influences ours, so our abiding in God is the persistent and purposeful submission of ourselves to that influence. The means of doing this are stedfast loyalty to the truth as it is revealed in Christ and announced in the apostolic Gospel (Jn **8** 31; **15** 7; 1 Jn **2** 27), keeping God's commandments (Jn **14** 23; **15** 10; 1 Jn **3** 24), and loving one another (1 Jn **4** 12.16). Thus only is the channel of communication kept clear between the source and the receptacle of life.

VII. Human Nature and Its Regeneration.—The necessity of regeneration is fundamental to the whole theological scheme (Jn **3** 3.5.7). Life which consists in union with God does not belong to man as he is naturally constituted: those who know that they have eternal life know that it is theirs because they have "passed out of death into life" (1 Jn **3** 14; Jn **5** 24).

1. The World

The unregenerate state of human nature is specially connected with the Johannine conception of the "world" (*kósmos*). This term has a peculiar elasticity of application; and Westcott's definition—"the order of finite being, regarded as apart from God"—may be taken as expressing the widest idea that underlies St. John's use of the word. When the *kosmos* is material, it signifies (1) the existing terrestrial creation (Jn **1** 10; **13** 1; **16** 28), esp. as contrasted with the sphere of the heavenly and eternal. When it refers to humanity, it is either (2) the totality of mankind as needing redemption and as the object of God's redeeming love (Jn **3** 16; 1 Jn **2** 2; **4** 14), or (3) the mass of unbelieving men, hostile to Christ and resisting salvation (e.g. Jn **15** 18). Of the world in this sense it is said that it has no perception of the true nature of God and the Divine glory of Christ (Jn **1** 10; **17** 25; 1 Jn **3** 1); that it hates the children of God (Jn **15** 18.19; **17** 14; 1 Jn **3** 13); that the spirit of Antichrist dwells in it (1 Jn **4** 3.4); that to it belong the false prophets and their adherents (1 Jn **4** 1.5); that it is under the dominion of the wicked one (Jn **12** 31; **14** 30; **16** 11; 1 Jn **5** 19); that the constituents of its life are "the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the vainglory of life" (1 Jn **2** 16); that it passeth away (1 Jn **2** 17); that Christ has conquered it (Jn **16** 33), and that "whatsoever is begotten of God" conquers it (1 Jn **5** 4) by the power of faith in Him (1 Jn **5** 5). Thus the "world" (in this darker significance) is composed of those who still love the darkness rather than the light (Jn **3** 19), who, when Christ is presented to them, obstinately retain their blindness and enmity. Nevertheless, the "world" is not beyond the possibility of salvation. The Holy Spirit, acting in the Christian community, will convince the world with regard to sin and righteousness and judgment (Jn **16** 8); and the evidence of the unity of Divine fellowship among Christ's disciples will lead it to believe in His Divine mission (Jn **17** 23).

2. Two Classes in the Human Race

Thus it is true that St. John teaches "a distinction of two great classes in the human race—those who are from above and those who are from beneath—children of light and children of darkness." But that he teaches this in any gnostic or semi-gnostic fashion is an assertion for which there is no real basis. He distinguishes between those who love the light and those who love the darkness rather than the light, between those who "receive" Christ and those who "will not" come unto Him that they may have life. This distinction, however, he traces to nothing in the natural constitution of the two classes, but solely to the *regenerating* act of God (Jn **1** 13; **6** 44). His doctrine of regeneration is, in fact, his solution of the problem created by the actual existence of those two classes among men—a problem which is forced upon every thoughtful Christian mind by the diverse and opposite results of evangelism. It is this that lies behind such utterances as these: "Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice" (Jn **18** 37); "Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep. My sheep hear my voice . . . . and they follow me" (Jn **10** 26.27); "Every one that hath heard from the Father, cometh unto me. No man can come unto me except it be given unto him of the Father" (Jn **6** 45.65). In these and all similar passages, belief or unbelief in Christ, when He is presented, depends upon antecedent spiritual predisposition (St. John's equivalent to the Pauline predestination). There exists in certain persons what is lacking in others, a power of spiritual vision by which Christ is recognized, a capacity and a predisposition to receive Him. But this predisposition is not (any more than St. Paul's predestination) theirs by gift of nature. St. John refuses to find its source in human personality (Jn **1** 13; 1 Jn **5** 1). The children of God are not a superior species of the genus *homo*. They are men who have passed from death into life, and who have done so because they are begotten of God. St. John's doctrine is thus the antithesis of Gnosticism. The gnostic distinction of two classes in the human race glorified men; its proper and inevitable fruit was spiritual pride. The effect of St. John's doctrine is to humble man and glorify God, to satisfy the innermost Christian consciousness that not even for their appropriation of God's gift in Christ can believers take credit to themselves; that in nothing can the human spirit do more than respond to the Divine, and that, in the last analysis, this power itself is of God. Regeneration in the Johannine sense is not to be identified with conversion. It is the communication of that vision of truth and that capacity for new moral activity which issue in conversion. The doctrine of regeneration contained in the Johannine writings is the fullest recognition in the NT that all the conscious experiences and activities of the Christian life are the result of God's own inscrutable work of begetting in the depths of human personality, and of renewing and replenishing there, the energies of the Divine.

VIII. The Church and Sacraments.—While the word "church" is not found, the idea lies near the base of the Johannine theology. The Divine life communicated to men creates a Divine brotherhood, a "fellowship" which is with the Father and "with his Son Jesus Christ" (1 Jn **1** 3) and also "one with another" (1 Jn **1** 7)—a fellowship which is consecrated by the self-consecration of Jesus (Jn **17** 19), in which men are cleansed from all sin by His blood (1 Jn **1** 7), and which is maintained by His intercessory action as the Paraclete with the Father (1 Jn **2** 1). This fellowship is realized in the actual Christian community and there only; but it is essentially inward and spiritual, not mechanically ecclesiastical. In the visible community spurious elements may intrude themselves, as is proved when schism unmasks those who, though they have belonged to the external organization, have never been partakers of its real life (1 J **2** 19). Only among those who walk in the light of God does true fellowship exist (1 Jn **1** 7).

1. The Church

2. The Sacraments

From the doctrine of the Divine nature as life and light one might a priori infer the possibilities of a Johannine view of the sacraments. It is evident that there is room in the Johannine system of thought for a genuinely sacramental mode of Divine action—the employment of definite external acts, not as symbols only, but as real media of Divine communication. On the other hand, the truth that God is not life only but light also—self-revealing as well as self-imparting—would necessarily exclude any magical *ex opere operato* theory by which spiritual efficacy is attributed either to the physical elements in themselves or to the physical act of participation. And (though there is little or no explicit statement) such is the type of doctrine we actually find. With regard to all sacramental rites the universal principle applies: 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing' (Jn **6** 63).

(1) *Baptism.*—Yet baptism is the physical counterpart of the Spirit's work in regeneration, and great importance is attached to it as the means of admission to the new life of the kingdom (Jn **3** 5).

(2) *The Lord's Supper.*—The omission of all reference to the institution of the Lord's Supper (the incident of the feet-washing and the proclamation of the new commandment taking its place in the Gospel-narrative) is thought to indicate that St. John was conscious of a tendency to attach a superstitious value to the outward observance, and desired emphatically to subordinate this to what was spiritual and essential. The omission, to whatever motive it may have been due, is counterbalanced by the sacramental discourse (Jn **6**). While the language of this discourse is not to be interpreted in a technically eucharistic sense, its purpose, or one of its purposes, undoubtedly, is to set forth the significance of the Lord's Supper in the largest light. Christ gives to men the bread of life, which is His own flesh and of which men must eat that they may live (Jn **6** 50–55). "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me and I in him." This eating and drinking is essentially of the Spirit. It signifies a derivation of life analogous to that of the Son Himself from the Father.

"As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father; so he that eateth me, he also shall live because of me" (ver 57). To "eat the flesh" of the Son of Man is to receive spiritual nourishment from Him, to live by His life. Yet there is nothing in St. John's way of thinking to exclude a real sacramental efficiency. "The act which is nothing when it is performed ignorantly and mechanically is of sovereign value to those who have apprehended its true meaning. The material elements represent the flesh and blood of Christ—His Divine Person given for the life of the world. He is present in them, not merely by way of symbol, but actually; but there must be something in the recipient corresponding to the spiritual reality which is conveyed through the gift. The outward act of participation must be accompanied with belief in Christ and a true insight into the nature of His work and a will to know and serve Him. The sacrament becomes operative as the bread of life through this receptive spirit on the part of those who observe it" (Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, 127–28).

1. Type of Thought Idealistic

IX. Eschatology.—The type of mind revealed in the Johannine writings is one that instinctively leans to the ideal and the spiritual in its contemplation of life, grasping what is of universal significance and dwelling upon events only as they are the embodiment of eternal principles. Where this fashion of thought is so strongly developed, the eschatological, like the historical, becomes secondary.

2. Yet History Not Ignored

In St. John there is but one life—the eternal; and there is but one world—the world of the ideal, which is also the only real. Yet he is not an idealist, pure and simple. For him events are not merely symbols; history is not allegory. The incarnation is a historical fact, the Parousia a future event. His thought does not move in a world of mere abstractions, a world in which nothing ever happens. His true distinction as a thinker lies in the success with which he unites the two strains of thought, the historical and the ideal. The word which may be said to express his conception of history is "manifestation" (cf Jn **2** 11; **9** 3; but esp. 1 Jn **1** 2; **2** 19.28; **3** 2.5.8; **4** 9). The incarnation is only the manifestation of 'what was from the beginning' (1 Jn **1** 1.2); the mission of Christ, the manifestation of the love eternally latent in the depths of the Divine nature (1 Jn **4** 9). The successive events of history are the emergence into visibility of what already exists. In them the potential becomes actual.

3. Nor Eschatology

Thus St. John has an eschatology, as well as a history. He profoundly spiritualizes. He reaches down through the pictorial representations of the traditional apocalyptic, and inquires what essential principle each of these embodies. Then he discovers that this principle is already universally and inevitably in operation; and this, the present spiritual reality, becomes for him the primary thought. Judgment means essentially the sifting and separation, the classification of men according to their spiritual affinities. But every day men are thus classifying themselves by their attitude toward Christ; this, the true judgment of the world, is already present fact. So also the coming and presence of Christ must always be essentially a spiritual fact, and as such it is already a present fact. There is, in the deepest significance of the word, a perpetual coming of Christ in Christian experience. This, however, does not prevent St. John from firmly holding the certainty of a fuller manifestation of these facts in the future, when tendencies shall have reached a final culmination, and principles which are now apprehended only by faith will be revealed in all the visible magnitude of their consequences.

We shall now briefly survey the Johannine presentation of the chief eschatological ideas.

4. Eschatological Ideas

(1) *Eternal life.*—It has already been said that the most distinctive feature in the conception of eternal life is that it is not a future immortal felicity so much as a present spiritual state. The category of duration recedes before that of moral quality. Yet it has its own stupendous importance. In triumphant contrast with the poor ephemeralities of the worldly life, he that doeth the will of God "abideth for ever" (1 Jn **2** 17); and the complete realization of the life eternal is still in the future (Jn **4** 36; **6** 27; **12** 25).

(2) *Antichrist.*—The view of Antichrist is strikingly characteristic. Tacitly setting aside the lurid figure of popular traditions, St. John grasps the essential fact that is expressed by the name and idea of Antichrist (=one who in the guise of Christ opposes Christ), and finds its fulfilment in the false teaching which substituted for the Christ of the gospel the fantastic product of gnostic imagination (1 Jn **4** 3). But in this he reads the sign that the world's day has reached its last hour (1 Jn **2** 18).

(3) *Resurrection.*—While the Fourth Gospel so carefully records the proofs of Christ's resurrection, noticeably little (in the Ep., nothing) is made of the thought of a future resurrection from the dead. For the Christian, the death of the body is a mere incident. "Whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die" (Jn **11** 26; cf **8** 51). Regeneration—union with Christ—is the true resurrection (Jn **6** 50.51.58). And yet, again, the eschatological idea is not lost. Side by side with the essential truth the supplementary and interpretative truth is given its right place. "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (Jn **6** 54 AV). If Christ says "I am the life: whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die," He also says "I am the resurrection: he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live" (Jn **11** 25).

(4) *Judgment.*—As has already been said, St. John regards judgment as essentially a present fact of life. Christ does not *pass* judgment upon men—that is not the purpose of His coming (Jn **3** 17; **12** 47). Yet Christ is always of necessity judging men—compelling them to pass judgment upon themselves. For judgment He is come into the world (Jn **9** 39). By their attitude toward Him men involuntarily but inevitably classify themselves, reveal what spirit they are of, and automatically register themselves as being or as not being "of the truth" (Jn **18** 37). Judgment is not the assigning of a character from without, but the revelation of a character from within. And this is not future, but present. "He that believeth not hath been judged . . . . because he hath not believed on the name of the only begotten Son of of God" (Jn **3** 18). Yet the apostle indubitably looks forward to a future Day of Judgment (Jn **12** 48; 1 Jn **4** 17). Nor is this simply an "unconscious concession to orthodoxy." The judgment to come will be the full manifestation of the judgment that now is, that is to say, of the principles according to which men are in reality approved or condemned already. What this present judgment, the classification of men by their relation to Christ, ultimately signifies, is not at all realized by the "world," is not fully realized even in Christian faith. There must be a day when all self-deception shall cease and all reality shall be manifested.

(5) *The Parousia.*—In like manner the conception of the Parousia is primarily spiritual. The substitution in the Fourth Gospel of the Supper Discourse (Jn **14–16**) for the apocalyptic chapters in the Synoptics is of the utmost significance. It is not a Christ coming on the clouds of heaven that is presented, but a Christ who has come and is

ever coming to dwell in closest fellowship with His people (see above under IV). Yet St. John by no means discards belief in the Parousia as a historical event of the future. If Christ's abiding-place is in those that love Him and keep His word, there is also a Father's House in which there are many abiding-places, whither He goes to prepare a place for them and whence He will come again to receive them unto Himself (Jn **14** 2.3). Still more is this emphasized in the Ep. The command "Love not the world" is sharpened by the assurance that the world is on the verge, aye, in the process of dissolution (1 Jn **2** 17). The exhortation to "abide in him" is enforced by the dread of being put to shame at His impending advent (**2** 28). The hope of being made partakers in His manifested glory is the consummation of all that is implied in our being now children of God (1 Jn **3** 2.3).

(*a*) A "manifestation": But this future crisis will be only the *manifestation* of the existing reality (**3** 2). The Parousia will, no more than the incarnation, be the advent of a strange Presence in the world. It will be, as on the Mount of Transfiguration, the outshining of a latent glory; not the arrival of one who is absent, but the self-revealing of one who is present. As to the manner of Christ's appearing, the Ep. is silent. As to its significance, we are left in no doubt. It is a historical event; occurring once for all; the consummation of all Divine purpose that has governed human existence; the final crisis in the history of the church, of the world, and of every man.

(*b*) Relation to believers: Especially for the children of God, it will be a coming unto salvation. "Beloved, now are we children of God, and it is not yet made manifest what we shall be. We know that, if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is" (1 Jn **3** 2). Here the Johannine idea of "manifestation" is strikingly employed. "What we shall be" will be essentially what we are—children of God. No new element will be added to the regenerate nature. All is there that ever will be there. But the epoch of full development is not yet. Only when Christ—the Christ who is already in the world—shall be manifested, then also the children of God who are in the world will be manifested as being what they are. They also will have come to their Mount of Transfiguration. As eternal life here is mediated through this first manifestation (1 Jn **1** 2), so eternal life hereafter will be mediated through this second and final manifestation. "We *know* that we shall be like him, because we shall see him as he is." It is true that here according to our capacity we behold Him as He is (Jn **1** 14); but perception, now dim and wavering, will then be intense and vivid. The vision of the future is in some sense corporeal as well as spiritual. Sense and faith will coincide. It will then have ceased to be expedient that Christ should go away in order that the Spirit of truth may come. We shall possess in the same experience the privilege of the original eyewitnesses of the incarnate life and the inward ministry of the Spirit. And seeing Him as He is, we shall be like Him. Vision will beget likeness, and likeness again give clearness to vision. And as the vision is in some unconjecturable fashion corporeal as well as spiritual, so also is the assimilation (cf Phil **3** 21). The very idea of the spiritual body is that it perfectly corresponds to the character to which it belongs. The outward man will take the mold of the inward man, and will share with it its perfected likeness to the glorified manhood of Jesus Christ. Such is the farthest view opened to our hope by the Johannine eschatology; and it is that which, of all others, has been most entrancing to the imagination and stimulating to the aspiration of the children of God.

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R. LAW

JOHN, jon (**Ἰωάννης**, *Iōánnēs*): The name of several persons mentioned in the Apoc:

(1) Father of Mattathias, grandfather of Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers (1 Macc **2** 1).

(2) Eldest son of Mattathias, surnamed GADDIS (q.v.).

(3) Father of Eupolemus, one of the envoys sent to Rome by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc **8** 17; 2 Macc **4** 11).

(4) John Hyrcanus, "a valiant man," son of Simon, and nephew of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc **13** 53; **16** 1). See ASMONEANS; MACCABEES.

(5) One of the envoys sent to treat with Lysias (2 Macc **11** 17). J. HUTCHISON

JOHN (**Ἰωάννης**, *Iōánnēs*): The name of 4 persons:

(1) JOHN THE BAPTIST (q.v.).

(2) The apostle, the son of Zebedee, and brother of James (see JOHN, THE APOSTLE).

(3) A relative of Annas the high priest, who sat in the Sanhedrin when Peter and John were tried (Acts **4** 6). Lightfoot supposes him to be the Jochanan ben Zacchai of the Talm, who, however, did not belong to the family of the high priest. Nothing is really known of him.

(4) JOHN MARK (q.v.).

(5) Father of Simon Peter (Jn **1** 42; **21** 15.17, m "Gr *Joanes:* called in Mt **16** 17, Jonah").

S. F. HUNTER

JOHN, THE APOSTLE: The sources for the life of the apostle John are of various kinds, and of different degrees of trustworthiness.

Sources of the Life of St. John

There are the references in the Synoptic Gospels, which may be used simply and easily without any preliminary critical inquiry into their worth as sources; for these Gospels contain the common tradition of the early church, and for the present purpose may be accepted as trustworthy. Further, there are the statements in Acts and in Gal, which we may use without discussion as a source for the life of St. John. There is next the universal tradition of the 2d cent., which we may use, if we can show that the John of Ephesus, who bulks so largely in the Christian literature of the 2d and 3d cents., is identical with the son of Zebedee. Further, on the supposition that the son of Zebedee is the author of the Johannine writings of the NT, there is another source of unequaled value for the estimate of the life and character of the son of Zebedee in these writings. Finally, there is the considerable volume of tradition which gathered around the name of John of Ephesus, of which, picturesque and interesting though the traditions be, only sparing use can be made.

I. Witness of the NT.—Addressing ourselves first to the Synoptic Gospels, to Acts and to Gal, we ask, What, from these sources, can we know of the apostle John? A glance only need be taken at the Johannine writings, more fully discussed elsewhere in relation to their author.

1. The Synoptic Gospels

That John was one of the two sons of Zebedee, that he became one of the disciples of Jesus, that at His call he forsook all and followed Jesus, and was thereafter continuously with Jesus to the end, are facts familiar to every reader of the Synoptic Gospels. The call was given to John and to his brother James at the Sea of Galilee, while in a boat with their father Zebedee, "mending their nets" (Mt **4** 21.22, and ‖ passages). "Come ye after me," said Jesus, "and I will make you to become fishers of men" (Mk **1** 17; on the earlier call in Judaea, Jn **1** 35 ff, see below). That Zebedee was a man of considerable wealth may be inferred from the fact that he had "hired servants" with him (Mk **1** 20), and that his wife was one of those women who ministered of their substance to Jesus and His disciples (Mt **27** 55.56). Comparison of the latter passage with Mk **15** 40.41 identifies the wife of Zebedee, John's mother, with Salome, and it seems a fair inference from Jn **19** 25, though all do not accept it, that Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Salome, the wife of Zebedee, were sisters. On this view, James and John were cousins of Jesus, and were also related to the family of John the Baptist. The name of John appears in all the lists of the apostles given in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt **10** 2 and ‖s). While his name appears rarely in a position by itself, he is still one of the most prominent of the disciples. With Peter and James he is present at the raising of the daughter of Jairus (Mk **5** 37; Lk **8** 51 ff). These three were also present at the transfiguration (Mt **17**; Mk **9**; Lk **9**). They were nearest to the Lord at the agony of Gethsemane. In all these cases nothing characteristic of John is to be noted. He is simply present as one of the three, and therefore one of the most intimate of the disciples. But there is something characteristic in an incident recorded by Luke (**9** 54), in which James and John are represented as wishing to call down fire on a Sam village, which had refused them hospitality. From this can be inferred something of the earnestness, zeal, and enthusiasm of the brothers, and of their high sense of what was due to their Master. Peter, James, John, and Andrew are the four who asked Jesus about the prophecies He had uttered: "Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished?" (Mk **13** 4). Then there is the request of their mother as to the place she desired for her sons in the coming kingdom (Mk **10** 35 ff). To Peter and John was entrusted the task of preparation for the keeping of the Passover (Lk **22** 8). Once John stands alone, and asks what we may consider a characteristic question: "Teacher, we saw one casting out demons in thy name; and we forbade him, because he followed not us" (Mk **9** 38; Lk **9** 49). From these notices we see that John was in the front rank of the disciples, and we see also that he was so far conscious of the position he held, and of the intimate connection he had with the Master. We note further that John was a young man of fiery zeal, and of a tendency toward intolerance and exclusiveness. The zeal and the intolerance are in evidence in the desire to call down fire upon the Sam village, and the tendency toward exclusiveness is manifested in the request of his mother as to the place her sons were to occupy in the kingdom. They desire to have the highest positions. These tendencies were not encouraged by Jesus. They were rebuked by Him once and again, but the tendencies reveal the men. In harmony with these notices of character and temperament is the name given to the brothers by Jesus, "Boanerges," "Sons of thunder" (Mk **3** 17), which, whatever else may be meant by it, means strength, unexpectedness, and zeal approaching to methods of violence.

2. Acts and Gal

John is found in company with Peter in the opening scenes in Acts. He is with Peter while the man at the gate was healed (**3** 1 ff). He is with Peter on the mission to Samaria (**8** 14 ff). He is with Peter and James, the Lord's brother, at the interview with St. Paul recorded in Gal **2**, and the three are described by St. Paul as the pillar apostles (**2** 9). This interview is of importance because it proves that John had survived his brother James, whose death is recorded in Acts **12**; at all events that John and James were not killed by the Jews at the same time, as some now contend that they were. This contention is considered below.

3. The Johannine Writings: Gospel and Rev

Much is to be learned of the apostle John from the Fourth Gospel, assuming the Gospel to have been written by him. We learn from it that he was a disciple of John the Baptist (**1** 35), that he was one of the first six disciples called by Jesus in His early ministry in Judaea (vs 37–51), and that he was present at all the scenes which he describes in the Gospel. We find later that he had a home in Jerus, and was acquainted with many there. To that home he took Mary, the mother of Jesus, whom the dying Saviour entrusted to his care (**19** 26.27). Much more also we learn of him and of his history, for the Gospel is a spiritual biography, a record of the growth of faith on the part of the writer, and of the way in which his eyes were opened to see the glory of the Lord, until faith seems to have become vision. He was in the inner circle of the disciples, indeed, nearest of all to Jesus, "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (**13** 23; **19** 26; **20** 2; **21** 7.20), and, because of that love, became the apostle of love (see, further, JOHN, GOSPEL OF; JOHN, EPISTLES OF; JOHANNINE THEOLOGY).

The Book of Rev, likewise traditionally ascribed to John, bears important witness to the apostle's banishment in later life to the isle of Patmos in the Aegean (**1** 9). There he received the visions recorded in the book. The banishment probably took place in the reign of Domitian (see REVELATION), with whose practice it was entirely in consonance (on the severity of such exile, cf Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, ch viii). The testimony is of high importance in its bearing on the disputed question of John's residence in Asia, a point now to be discussed.

1. Recent Denial of St. John's Residence in Ephesus

II. Alleged Early Martyrdom of John: Criticism of Evidence.—The consentient testimony of the church of the 2d cent. is that the later years of St. John were spent at Ephesus, where he wrote his Gospel, and gathered round him many disciples (see the evidence drawn out in detail in Godet, *Comm. on Gospel of St. John*, 43 ff; cf also Lightfoot, "The School of Ephesus," in *Essays on the Work Entitled "Supernatural Religion"*). Before, however, we can use the traditions connected with this residence at Ephesus, it is needful to inquire into the statement alleged to be made by Papias that John, the son of Zebedee, was killed by the Jews at an early date. It is plain, that, if this statement is correct, the apostle could not be the author of the Johannine writings in the NT, universally dated near the end of the 1st cent.

The evidence for the statement that St. John was early killed by the Jews is thus summed up by Dr. Moffatt: "The evidence for the early martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee is, in fact, threefold: (*a*) a prophecy of Jesus pre-

2. Grounds of Denial

served in Mk **10** 39 = Mt **20** 23, (*b*) the witness of Papias, and (*c*) the calendars of the church" (*Intro to Lit. of NT*, 602). Our limits do not admit of an exhaustive examination of this so-called evidence, but, happily, an exhaustive examination is not needed.

(*a*) The first head proceeds on an assumption which is not warranted, viz. that a prophecy of Jesus would not be allowed to stand, if it were not evidently fulfilled. In the present instance, a literal fulfilment of the prophecy ("The cup that I drink ye shall drink," etc) is out of the question, for there is no hint that either James or John was crucified. We must therefore fall back on the primary meaning of martyrdom, and recognize a fulfilment of the prophecy in the sufferings John endured and the testimony he bore for the Master's sake (thus Origen, etc).

(*b*) Dr. Moffatt lays great stress on what he calls the testimony of Papias. But the alleged testimony of Papias is not found in any early authority, and then occurs in writers not of any great value from the point of view of critical investigation. It is found in a passage of Georgius Hamartolus (9th cent.), and is held to be corroborated by a fragment of an epitome (7th or 8th cent.) of the *Chronicle* of Philip Sidetes (5th cent.), a thoroughly untrustworthy writer. The passage from Georgius may be seen in convenient form in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, 513–19. It tells that John survived to the time of Nerva, quotes a saying of Papias that he was killed by the Jews, states that this was in fulfilment of the prophecy of Jesus above referred to, and goes on to say, "So the learned Origen affirms in his interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel, that John was martyred, declaring that he had learnt the last from the successors of the apostles" (Lightfoot, op. cit., 531). Fortunately, the statement of Origen can be tested, and it by no means, as Moffatt admits (op. cit., 604), bears out the meaning attached to it. Origen is of opinion that the prophecy of Jesus was sufficiently fulfilled by the fact of John's banishment to Patmos and his sufferings there. This, according to him, is what tradition taught and what the prophecy meant. From the whole statement of Georgius, which expressly declares that John survived till the time of Nerva, nothing can be inferred in support of the so-called quotation from Papias. It is to be remembered that the writings of Papias were known to Irenaeus and to Eusebius, and it is inconceivable that, if such a statement was to be found in these, they would have ignored it, and have given currency to a statement contradictory to it. No stress, therefore, can be laid on the alleged quotation. We do not know its context, nor is there anything in the lit. of the first 3 centuries confirmatory of it. In the citation in the epitome of Philip, Papias is made to speak of "John the divine" (*ho theológos*). This title is not applied to John till the close of the 4th cent.

(*c*) As regards the 3d line of evidence instanced by Dr. Moffatt—church calendars, in which James and John are commemorated together as martyrs—it is even more worthless than the other two. On the nature and origin of these martyrologies, Dr. J. Drummond may be quoted: "They were constructed in process of time out of local calendars. At some period in the 2d half of the 5th cent., a martyrology was formed by welding together a number of provincial calendars, Rom, Italian, Spanish, and Gallic, into what was in effect a general martyrology of Western Europe. At Nicomedia, about the year 360, a similar eastern martyrology was formed out of the local calendars, and this was trd with curtailments into Syr at Edessa about the year 400. It is a copy of this, made in 411, which is now in the British Museum" (*Inquiry into Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, 232). If this is a true account of the rise and origin of martyrologies we need not be surprised that Sir W. M. Ramsay speaks as follows: "That James and John, who were not slain at the same time, should be commemorated together, is the flimsiest conceivable evidence that John was killed early in Jerus. The bracketing together of the memory of apostles who had some historical connection in life, but none in death, must be regarded as the worst side, historically speaking, of the martyrologies" (*The First Christian Century*, 49, note).

III. The Ephesian Traditions.—Thus the early traditions of the churches are available for the life of John the son of Zebedee.

1. John the Apostle, and John the Presbyter

But there still remain many blank spaces in that life. After the reference to the pillar apostles in Gal, silence falls on the life of John, and we know nothing of his life and activity until we read of his banishment to Patmos, and meet with those references to the old man at Ephesus, which occur in the Christian lit. of the 2d cent. One point of interest relates to the (genuine) quotation from Papias, preserved by Eus. (*HE*, III, 39), regarding a "Presbyter John," a disciple of the Lord, who was one of his living authorities. Were there two Johns at Ephesus? Or was there only one? Or, if there was only one, was he John the Evangelist, or only John the Presbyter? Here there is every possible variety of opinion. Many hold that there were two, and many that there was only one. Many who hold that there was only one, hold that the one was John the son of Zebedee; others hold, with equal assurance, that he was a distinct person. Obviously, it is impossible to discuss the question adequately here. After due consideration, we lean to the conclusion that there was only one John at Ephesus, and he the son of Zebedee. For the proof of this, impossible within our limits, we refer to the learned argument of John Chapman, O.S.B., in his work *John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel* (1911).

2. Characteristic Traditions

Into the traditions which cluster round John in Ephesus it is not necessary to enter in detail (cf Godet, op. cit., 57 ff). According to the tradition universally accepted in the church, John survived till the time of Trajan (98 AD). Striking and characteristic things are told of him in harmony with the touches we find in the Synoptic Gospels. The story of his rushing forth from the bath when Cerinthus, the heretic, entered it (Iren., *Adv. Haer.*, iii.3, 4) recalls the characteristics of him whom Jesus called "son of thunder." The same tone of exclusiveness, modified by larger experience, is found in the 1st Ep., which so frequently and so decisively discriminates between those who believe in Jesus and those who do not.

IV. The Character of St. John.—The general character of this great apostle is already sufficiently apparent. While we recall the illustrative facts found in the Synoptics, that James and John were the two who wished to call down fire from heaven on the inhospitable village, that John was one of those who desired one of the chief places in the kingdom, that he it was who forbade the man to cast out demons in the name of Jesus because he followed not with them, we do not forget that on each of these occasions he was corrected and rebuked by the Master, and he was not the kind of man who could not profit by the rebuke of Jesus. So that vehemence of disposition was held in check, and, while still in existence, was under control, and allowed to have vent only on occasions when it was permissible, and even necessary. So in his writings, and in the reflections in the Gospel, we note the vehemence displayed, but now directed only against those who refused to believe in, and to acknowledge, Jesus.

"A quiet and thoughtful temperament is by no means inconsistent with a certain vehemence, when, on occasions, the pent-up fire flashes forth; indeed, the very violence of feeling may help to foster an habitual quietude, lest word or deed should betray too deep an emotion. Then it is not without significance that, in the three narratives which are cited from the Gospels to prove the overbearing temper of John, we are expressly told that Jesus corrected him. Are we to suppose that these rebukes made no impression? Is it not more likely that they sank deep into his heart, and that the agony of beholding his Master's crucifixion made them ineffaceable? Then, if not before, began that long development which changed the youthful son of thunder into the aged apostle of love" (Drummond, op. cit., 410, 411).

But love itself has its side of vehemence, and the intensity of love toward a person or a cause may be measured by the intensity of aversion and of hatred toward their contradictories. There are many reflections in the Gospel and in the Epp. which display this energy of hatred toward the work of the devil, and toward those dispositions which are under the influence of the father of lies. We simply notice these, for they prove that the fervent youth who was devoted to his Master carried with him to the end the same disposition which was characteristic of him from the beginning.

LITERATURE.—In addition to books mentioned in art., see the list of works appended to art. on JOHN, GOSPEL OF.

JAMES IVERACH

JOHN THE BAPTIST (Ἰωάνης, *Iōánēs*):

I. SOURCES
II. PARENTAGE
III. EARLY LIFE
IV. MINISTRY
  1. The Scene
  2. His First Appearance

3. His Dress and Manner
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1. Significance
(1) Lustrations Required by the Levitical Law
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VIII. JOHN AND JESUS
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2. Jesus' Estimate of John
LITERATURE

I. Sources.—The sources of first-hand information concerning the life and work of John the Baptist are limited to the NT and Jos. Lk and Mt give the fuller notices, and these are in substantial agreement. The Fourth Gospel deals chiefly with the witness after the baptism. In his single notice (*Ant*, XVIII, v, 2), Jos makes an interesting reference to the cause of John's imprisonment. See VI, 2, below.

II. Parentage.—John was of priestly descent. His mother, Elisabeth, was of the daughters of Aaron, while his father, Zacharias, was a priest of the course of Abija, and did service in the temple at Jerus. It is said of them that "they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless" (Lk **1** 6). This priestly ancestry is in interesting contrast with his prophetic mission.

III. Early Life.—We infer from Luke's account that John was born about six months before the birth of Jesus. Of the place we know only that it was a city of the hill country of Judah. Our definite information concerning his youth is summed up in the angelic prophecy, "Many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and he shall drink no wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb" (Lk **1** 14-16), and in Luke's brief statement, "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel" (**1** 80). The character and spiritual insight of the parents shown in the incidents recorded are ample evidence that his training was a fitting preparation for his great mission.

IV. Ministry.—The scene of the Baptist's ministry was partly in the wilderness of Southern Judaea and partly in the Jordan valley. Two locations are mentioned, Bethany or Bethabara (Jn **1** 28), and Aenon near Salim (Jn **3** 23). Neither of these places can be positively identified. We may infer from Jn **3** 2 that he also spent some time in Peraea beyond the Jordan.

1. The Scene

2. His First Appearance

The unusual array of dates with which Luke marks the beginning of John's ministry (Lk **3** 1.2) reveals his sense of the importance of the event as at once the beginning of his prophetic work and of the new dispensation. His first public appearance is assigned to the 15th year of Tiberius, probably 26 or 27 AD, for the first Passover attended by Jesus can hardly have been later than 27 AD (Jn **2** 20).

3. His Dress and Manner

John's dress and habits were strikingly suggestive of Elijah, the old prophet of national judgment. His desert habits have led some to connect him with that strange company of Jews known as the Essenes. There is, however, little foundation for such a connection other than his ascetic habits and the fact that the chief settlement of this sect was near the home of his youth. It was natural that he should continue the manner of his youthful life in the desert, and it is not improbable that he intentionally copied his great prophetic model. It was fitting that the one who called men to repentance and the beginning of a self-denying life should show renunciation and self-denial in his own life. But there is no evidence in his teaching that he required such asceticism of those who accepted his baptism.

4. His Message

The fundamental note in the message of John was the announcement of the near approach of the Messianic age. But while he announced himself as the herald voice preparing the way of the Lord, and because of this the expectant multitudes crowded to hear his word, his view of the nature of the kingdom was probably quite at variance with that of his hearers. Instead of the expected day of deliverance from the foreign oppressor, it was to be a day of judgment for Israel. It meant good for the penitent, but destruction for the ungodly. "He will gather his wheat into the garner, but the chaff he will burn up with . . . . fire" (Mt **3** 12). "The axe also lieth at the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire" (Lk **3** 9). Yet this idea was perhaps not entirely unfamiliar. That the delay in the Messiah's coming was due to the sinfulness of the people and their lack of repentance, was a commonplace in the message of their teachers (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, I, 169).

The call to repentance was then a natural message of preparation for such a time of judgment. But to John repentance was a very real and radical thing. It meant a complete change of heart and life. "Bring forth . . . . fruits worthy of repentance" (Lk **3** 8). What these fruits were he made clear in his answers to the inquiring multitudes and the publicans and soldiers (**3** 10-14). It is noticeable that there is no reference to the usual ceremonies of the law or to a change of occupation. Do good; be honest; refrain from extortion; be content with wages.

5. His Severity

John used such violence in addressing the Pharisees and Sadducees doubtless to startle them from their self-complacency. How hopelessly they were blinded by their sense of security as the children of Abraham, and by their confidence in the merits of the law, is attested by the fact that these parties resisted the teachings of both John and Jesus to the very end.

With what vigor and fearlessness the Baptist pressed his demand for righteousness is shown by his stern reproof of the sin of Herod and Herodias, which led to his imprisonment and finally to his death.

V. Baptism.—The symbolic rite of baptism was such an essential part of the work of John that it not only gave him his distinctive title of "the Baptist" (ὁ βαπτιστής, *ho baptistḗs*), but also caused his message to be styled "preaching the baptism of repentance." That a special virtue was ascribed to this rite, and that it was regarded as a necessary part of the preparation for the coming of the Messiah, are shown by its important place in John's preaching, and by the eagerness with which it was sought by the multitudes. Its significance may best be understood by giving attention to its historical antecedents, for while John gave the rite new significance, it certainly appealed to ideas already familiar to the Jews.

1. Significance

(1) *Lustrations required by the Levitical law.*—The divers washings required by the law (Lev **11**-**15**) have, without doubt, a religious import. This is

shown by the requirement of sacrifices in connection with the cleansing, esp. the sin offering (Lev **14** 8.9.19.20; cf Mk **1** 44; Lk **2** 22). The designation of John's baptism by the word βαπτίζειν, *baptizein*, which by NT times was used of ceremonial purification, also indicates some historical connection (cf Sir **34** 25).

(2) *Anticipation of Messianic lustrations foretold by prophets.*—John understood that his baptism was a preparation for the Messianic baptism anticipated by the prophets, who saw that for a true cleansing the nation must wait until God should open in Israel a fountain for cleansing (Zec **13** 1), and should sprinkle His people with clean water and give them a new heart and a new spirit (Ezk **36** 25.26; Jer **33** 8). His baptism was at once a preparation and a promise of the spiritual cleansing which the Messiah would bestow. "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me . . . . shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire" (Mt **3** 11 m).

(3) *Proselyte baptism.*—According to the teaching of later Judaism, a stranger who desired to be adopted into the family of Israel was required, along with circumcision, to receive the rite of baptism as a means of cleansing from the ceremonial uncleanness attributed to him as a Gentile. While it is not possible to prove the priority of this practice of proselyte baptism to the baptism of John, there can be no doubt of the fact, for it is inconceivable, in view of Jewish prejudice, that it would be borrowed from John or after this time.

While it seems clear that in the use of the rite of baptism John was influenced by the Jewish customs of ceremonial washings and proselyte baptism, his baptism differed very essentially from these. The Levitical washings restored an unclean person to his former condition, but baptism was a preparation for a new condition. On the other hand, proselyte baptism was administered only to Gentiles, while John required baptism of all Jews. At the same time his baptism was very different from Christian baptism, as he himself declared (Lk **3** 16). His was a baptism of water only; a preparation for the baptism "in the Spirit" which was to follow. It is also to be observed that it was a rite complete in itself, and that it was offered to the nation as a preparation for a specific event, the advent of the Messiah.

We may say, then, that as a "baptism of repentance" it meant a renunciation of the past life; as a cleansing it symbolized the forgiveness of sins (Mk **1** 4), and as preparation it implied a promise of loyalty to the kingdom of the Messiah. We have no reason to believe that Jesus experienced any sense of sin or felt any need of repentance or forgiveness; but as a Divinely appointed preparation for the Messianic kingdom His submission to it was appropriate.

2. Baptism of Jesus

While the multitudes flocked to the Jordan, Jesus came also to be baptized with the rest. "John would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? But Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness" (Mt **3** 13–15). Wherein was this act a fulfilment of righteousness? We cannot believe that Jesus felt any need of repentance or change of life. May we not regard it rather as an identification of Himself with His people in the formal consecration of His life to the work of the kingdom?

VI. Imprisonment and Death.—Neither the exact time of John's imprisonment nor the period of time between his imprisonment and his death can be determined. On the occasion of the unnamed feast of Jn **5** 1, Jesus refers to John's witness as already past. At least, then, his arrest, if not his death, must have taken place prior to that incident, i.e. before the second Passover of Jesus' ministry.

1. The Time

2. The Occasion

According to the Gospel accounts, John was imprisoned because of his reproof of Herod's marriage with Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip (Lk **3** 19.20; cf Mt **14** 3.4; Mk **6** 17.18). Jos says (*Ant*, XVIII, v, 2) that Herod was influenced to put John to death by the "fear lest his great influence over the people might put it in his power or inclination to raise a rebellion. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machaerus, and was there put to death." This account of Jos does not necessarily conflict with the tragic story of the Gospels. If Herod desired to punish or destroy him for the reasons assigned by the evangelists, he would doubtless wish to offer as the public reason some political charge, and the one named by Jos would be near at hand.

VII. John and His Disciples.—Frequent reference is made in the Gospel narrative to the disciples of John. As the multitudes crowded to his baptism, it was natural that he should gather about him an inner circle of men who should receive special instruction in the meaning of his work, and should aid him in the work of baptism, which must have soon increased beyond his power to perform alone. It was in the formation of this inner circle of immediate followers that he prepared a sure foundation for the work of the Messiah; for it was from this inner group that the disciples of Jesus were mainly drawn, and that with his consent and through his witness to the superior worth of the latter, and the temporary character of his own mission (Jn **1** 29–44).

1. The Inner Circle

2. Their Training

Concerning the substance of their training, we know from the disciples of Jesus (Lk **11** 1) that it included forms of prayer, and from his own disciples (Mt **9** 14) we learn that frequent fastings were observed. We may be sure also that he taught them much concerning the Messiah and His work.

3. Their Fidelity

There is abundant evidence of the great fidelity of these disciples to their master. This may be observed in their concern at the overshadowing popularity of Jesus (Jn **3** 26); in their loyalty to him in his imprisonment and in their reverent treatment of his body after his death (Mk **6** 29). That John's work was extensive and his influence lasting is shown by the fact that 20 years afterward Paul found in far-off Ephesus certain disciples, including Apollos, the learned Alexandrian Jew, who knew no other baptism than that of John (Acts **19** 1–7).

VIII. John and Jesus.—John assumed from the first the rôle of a herald preparing the way for the approaching Messianic age. He clearly regarded his work as Divinely appointed (Jn **1** 33), but was well aware of his subordinate relation to the Messiah (Mk **1** 7) and of the temporary character of his mission (Jn **3** 30). The Baptist's work was twofold. In his preaching he warned the nation of the true character of the new kingdom as a reign of righteousness, and by his call to repentance and baptism he prepared at least a few hearts for a sympathetic response to the call and teaching of Jesus. He also formally announced and bore frequent personal testimony to Jesus as the Messiah.

1. John's Relation to Jesus

There is no necessary discrepancy between the synoptic account and that of the Fourth Gospel in reference to the progress of John's knowledge of the Messianic character of Jesus. According to Mt **3** 14, John is represented as declining at first to baptize Jesus because he was conscious of His superiority, while in Jn **1** 29–34 he is represented as claiming not to have known Jesus until He was manifested by the heavenly sign. The latter may mean only that He was not known to him definitely as the Messiah until the promised sign was given.

The message which John sent to Jesus from prison seems strange to some in view of the signal testimonies which he had previously borne to His character. This need not indicate that he had lost faith in the Messiahship of Jesus, but rather a perplexity at the course of events. The inquiry may have been in the interest of the faith of his disciples or his own relief from misgivings due to Jesus' delay in assuming the expected Messianic authority. John evidently held the prophetic view of a temporal Messianic kingdom, and some readjustment of view was necessary.

2. Jesus' Estimate of John

Jesus was no less frank in His appreciation of John. If praise may be measured by the worth of the one by whose lips it is spoken, then no man ever received such praise as he who was called by Jesus a shining light (Jn **5** 35), more than a prophet (Mt **11** 9), and of whom He said, "Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist" (Mt **11** 11). If, on the other hand, He rated him as less than the least in the kingdom of heaven, this was a limitation of circumstances, not of worth.

Jesus paid high tribute to the Divine character and worth of John's baptism; first, by submitting to it Himself as a step in the fulfilment of all righteousness; later, by repeated utterance, esp. in associating it with the birth of the Spirit as a necessary condition of inheriting eternal life (Jn **3** 5); and, finally, in adopting baptism as a symbol of Christian discipleship.

LITERATURE.—The relative sections in the Gospel Comm., in the Lives of Christ, and the arts. on John the Baptist in the several Bible dicts. There are a number of monographs which treat more minutely of details: W. C. Duncan, *The Life, Character and Acts of John the Baptist*, New York, 1853; Erich Haupt, *Johannes der Täufer*, Gütersloh, 1874; H. Köhler, *Johannes der Täufer*, Halle, 1884; R. C. Houghton, *John the Baptist: His Life and Work*, New York, 1889; H. R. Reynolds, *John the Baptist*, London, 1890; J. Feather, *John the Baptist*, Edinburgh, 1894; George Matheson in *Representative Men of the NT*, 24–66, Edinburgh, 1905; T. Innitzer, *Johannes der Täufer*, Vienna, 1908; A. T. Robertson, *John the Loyal*, New York, 1911.

RUSSELL BENJAMIN MILLER

JOHN, THE EPISTLES OF:

I. GENERAL CHARACTER
1. A True Letter
2. Subject-Matter
3. Characteristics of the Writer
4. Style and Diction
II. POLEMICAL AIM
1. Gnosticism
2. Docetism
3. Antinomianism
4. Cerinthus
III. STRUCTURE AND SUMMARY
1. The Prologue, **1** 1–4
2. First Cycle, **1** 5—**2** 28
The Christian Life as Fellowship with God (Walking in the Light) Tested by Righteousness, Love and Belief
(*a*) Paragraph A, **1** 8—**2** 6
(*b*) Paragraph B, **2** 7–17
(i) Positively
(ii) Negatively
(*c*) Paragraph C, **2** 18–28
3. Second Cycle, **2** 29—**4** 6
Divine Sonship Tested by Righteousness, Love and Belief
(*a*) Paragraph A, **2** 29—**3** 10*a*
(*b*) Paragraph B, **3** 10*b*–24*b*
(*c*) Paragraph C, **3** 24*b*—**4** 6
4. Third Cycle, **4** 7—**5** 21
Closer Correlation of Righteousness, Love and Belief
(*a*) Section I, **4** 7—**5** 3*a*
(i) Paragraph A, **4** 7–12
(ii) Paragraph B, **4** 13–16
(iii) Paragraph C, **4** 17—**5** 3*a*
(*b*) Section II, **5** 3*b*–21
(i) Paragraph A, **5** 3*b*–12
(ii) Paragraph B, **5** 13–21
IV. CANONICITY AND AUTHORSHIP
1. Traditional View
2. Critical Views
3. Internal Evidence
V. RELATIONSHIP TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL
1. Common Characteristics
2. Coincidences of Vocabulary
3. Divergences of Vocabulary
4. Arguments against Unity of Authorship
5. Conclusion
6. Question of Priority
LITERATURE

Among the 7 NT epp. which from ancient times have been called "catholic," there is a smaller group of three in which the style alike of thought and language points to a common authorship, and which are traditionally associated with the name of the apostle John. Of these, again, the first differs widely from the other two in respect not only of intrinsic importance, but of its early reception in the church and unquestioned canonicity.

THE FIRST EPISTLE

I. General Character.—Not only is the Ep. an anonymous writing; one of its unique features among the books of the NT is that it does not contain a single proper name (except Our Lord's), or a single definite allusion, personal, historical, or geographical. It is a composition, however, which a person calling himself "I" sends to certain other persons whom he calls "you," and is, in form at least, a letter.

1. A True Letter

The criticism which has denied that it is more than formally so is unwarranted. It does not fall under either of Deissmann's categories—the true letter, intended only for the perusal of the person or persons to whom it is addressed, and the ep., written with literary art and with an eye to the public. But it does possess that character of the NT epp. in general which is well described by Sir William Ramsay (*Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, 24): "They spring from the heart of the writer and speak direct to the heart of the readers. They were often called forth by some special crisis in the history of the persons addressed, so that *they rise out of the actual situation in which the writer conceives the readers to be placed;* they express the writer's keen and living sympathy with and participation in the fortunes of the whole class addressed, and are not affected by any thought of a wider public. . . . . On the other hand, the letters of this class express general principles of life and conduct, religion and ethics, applicable to a wider range of circumstances than those which called them forth; and they appeal as emphatically and intimately to all Christians in all time as they did to those addressed in the first instance." The 1st Ep. of St. John could not be more exactly characterized than by these words. Though its main features are didactic and controversial, the personal note is frequently struck, and with much tenderness and depth of feeling. Under special stress of emotion, the writer's paternal love, sympathy and solicitude break out in the affectionate appellation, "little children," or, yet more endearingly, "my little children." Elsewhere the prefatory "beloved" shows how deeply he is stirred by the sublimity of his theme and the sense of its supreme importance to his readers. He shows himself intimately acquainted with their religious environment (**2** 19; **4** 1), dangers (**2** 26; **3** 7; **5** 21), attainments (**2** 12–14.21), achievements (**4** 4) and needs (**3** 19; **5** 13). Further, the Ep. is addressed primarily to the circle of those among whom the author has habitually exercised his ministry as evangelist and teacher. He has been wont to announce to them the things concerning the Word of Life (**1** 1.2), that they might have fellowship with him (**1** 3), and now, that his (or their) joy may be full, he writes these things unto them (**1** 4). He writes as light shines. Love makes the task a necessity, but also a delight.

2. Subject-Matter

There is no NT writing which is throughout more vigorously controversial: for the satisfactory interpretation of the Ep. as a whole, recognition of the polemical aim that pervades it is indispensable. But it is true also that there is no such writing in which the presentation of the truth more widely overflows the limits of the immediate occasion. The writer so constantly lifts up against the error he combats, the simple, sublime and satisfying facts and principles of the Christian revelation, so lifts up every question at issue into the light of eternal truth, that the Ep. pursues its course through the ages, bringing to the church of God the vision and the inspiration of the Divine. The influence of the immediate polemical purpose, however, is manifest, not only in the contents of the Ep., but in its limitations as well. In a sense it may be said that the field of thought is a narrow one. God is seen exclusively as the Father of Spirits, the Light and Life of the universe of souls. His creatorship and government of the world, the providential aspects and agencies of salvation, the joys and sorrows, hopes and fears that spring from the terrestrial conditions and changes of human life, their disciplinary purpose and effect—to all this the Ep. contains no reference. The themes are exclusively theological and ethical. The writer's immediate interest is confined to that region in which the Divine and human vitally and directly meet—to that in God which is communicable to man, to that in man by which he is *capax Dei*. The Divine nature as life and light, and love and righteousness; the Incarnation of this Divine nature in Jesus, with its presuppositions and consequences, metaphysical and ethical; the imparting of this Divine nature to men by regeneration; the antithesis to it—sin—and its removal by propitiation; the work of the Holy Spirit; the Christian life, the mutual indwelling of God and man, as tested by its beliefs, its antagonism to sin, its inevitable debt of love—such are the fundamental themes to which every idea in the Ep. is directly related. The topics, if few, are supremely great; and the limitations of the field of vision are more than compensated by the profundity and intensity of spiritual perception.

3. Characteristics of the Writer

The Ep. is in a sense impersonal to the last degree, offering a strange contrast to that frankness of self-revelation which gives such charm to St. Paul's letters; yet few writings so clearly reveal the deepest characteristics of the writer. We feel in it the high serenity of a mind that lives in constant fellowship with the greatest thoughts and is nourished at the eternal fountainhead; but also the fervent indignation and vehement recoil of such a mind in contact with what is false and evil. It has been truly called "the most passionate" book in the NT. Popular instinct has not erred in giving to its author the title, "Apostle of Love." Of the various themes which are so wonderfully intertwined in it, that to which it most of all owes its unfading charm and imperishable value is love. It rises to its sublimest height, to the apex of all revelation, in those passages in which its author is so divinely inspired to write of the eternal life, in God and man, as love.

But it is an inveterate misconception which regards him solely as the exponent of love. Equally he reveals himself as one whose mind is dominated by the sense of truth. There are no words more characteristic of him than "true" (*alēthinós*, denoting that which both ideally and really corresponds to the name it bears) and "the truth" (*alḗtheia*, the reality of things *sub specie aeternitatis*). To him Christianity is not only a principle of ethics, or even a way of salvation; it is both of them, because it is primarily the truth, the one true disclosure of the realities of the spiritual and eternal world. Thus it is that his thought so constantly develops itself by antithesis. Each conception has its fundamental opposite: light, darkness; life, death; love, hate; truth, falsehood; the Father, the world; God, the devil. There is no shading, no gradation in the picture. No sentence is more characteristic of the writer than this: "Ye know that no lie is of the truth" (**2** 21 m). But again, his sense of these radical antagonisms is essentially moral, rather than intellectual. It seems impossible that any writing could display a more impassioned sense, than this Ep. does, of the tremendous imperative of righteousness, a more rigorous intolerance of all sin (**2** 4; **3** 4.8.9.10). The absolute antagonism and incompatibility between the Christian life and sin of whatsoever kind or degree is maintained with a vehemence of utterance that verges at times upon the paradoxical (**3** 9; **5** 18). So long as the church lays up this Ep. in its heart, it can never lack a moral tonic of wholesome severity.

4. Style and Diction

The style is closely, though perhaps unconsciously, molded upon the Heb model, and esp. upon the parallelistic forms of the Wisdom lit. One has only to read the Ep. with an attentive ear to perceive that, though using another language, the writer had in his own ear, all the time, the swing and cadences of Heb verse. The diction is inartificial and unadorned. Not a simile, not a metaphor (except the most fundamental, like "walking in the light") occurs. The limitations in the range of ideas are matched by those of vocabulary and by the unvarying simplicity of syntactical form. Yet limited and austere as the literary medium is, the writer handles its resources often with consummate skill. The crystalline simplicity of the style perfectly expresses the simple profundity of the thought. Great spiritual intuitions shine like stars in sentences of clear-cut gnomic terseness. Historical (**1** 1) and theological (**1** 2; **4** 2) statements are made with exquisite precision. The frequent reiteration of nearly the same thoughts in nearly the same language, though always with variation and enrichment, gives a cumulative effect which is singularly impressive. Such passages as **2** 14–17, with its calm challenge to the arrogant materialism of the world—"And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever"—or the closing vs of the Ep., with their thrice-repeated triumphant "we know" and their last word of tender, urgent admonition, have a solemn magnificence of effect which nothing but such simplicity of language, carrying such weight of thought, could produce. If it has been true of any writer that "le style est l'homme," it is true of the author of this Ep.

II. Polemical Aim.—The polemical intention of the Ep. has been universally recognized; but there has been diversity of opinion as to its actual object. By the older commentators, generally, this was found in the perilous state of the church or churches addressed, which had left their first love and lapsed into Laodicean lukewarmness. But the Ep. gives no sign of this, and it contains many passages that are inconsistent with it (**2** 13.14.20.21.27; **4** 4; **5** 18–20). The danger which immediately threatens the church is from without, not from within. There is a "spirit of error" (**4** 6) abroad in the world. From the church itself (**2** 18), many "false prophets" have gone forth (**4** 1), corrupters of the gospel, veritable antichrists (**2** 18). And it may be asserted as beyond question that the peril against which the Ep. was intended to arm the church was the spreading influence of some form of Gnosticism.

1. Gnosticism

The pretensions of Gnosticism to a higher esoteric knowledge of Divine things seems to be clearly referred to in several passages. In **2** 4.6.9, e.g. one might suppose that they are almost verbally quoted ("He that saith"; "I know Him"; "I abide in Him"; "I am in the light"). When we observe, moreover, the prominence given throughout to the idea of knowledge and the special significance of some of these passages, the conviction grows that the writer's purpose is not only to refute the false, but to exhibit apostolic Christianity, believed and lived, as the *true* Gnosis—the Divine reality of which Gnosticism was but a fantastic caricature. The confidence he has concerning his readers is that they "know him who is from the beginning," that they "know the Father" (**2** 13). "Every one that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God" (**4** 7); and the final note upon which the Ep. closes is: "We know him that is true, and we are in him that is true" (**5** 20). The knowledge of the ultimate Reality, the Being who is the eternal life, is for Christian and Gnostic alike the goal of aspiration.

But it is against two closely related developments of gnostic tendency, a docetic view of the incarnation, and an antinomian view of morals, that the Ep. is specifically directed. Both of these sprang naturally from the dualism which was the fundamental and formative principle of Gnosticism in all its many forms. According to the dualistic conception of existence, the moral schism of which we are conscious in experience is original, eternal, inherent in the nature of beings. There are two independent and antagonistic principles of being from which severally come all the good and all the evil that exist. The source and the seat of evil were found in the material element, in the body with its senses and appetites, and in its sensuous earthly environment; and it was held inconceivable that the Divine nature should have immediate contact with the material side of existence, or influence upon it.

2. Docetism

To such a view of the universe Christianity could be adjusted only by a docetic interpretation of the Person of Christ. A real incarnation was unthinkable. The Divine could enter into no actual union with a corporeal organism. The human nature of Christ and the incidents of His earthly career were more or less an illusion. And it is with this docetic subversion of the truth of the incarnation that the "antichrists" are specially identified (**2** 22.23; **4** 2.3), and against it that St. John directs with wholehearted fervor his central thesis—*the complete, permanent, personal identification of the historical Jesus with the Divine Being who is the Word of Life* (**1** 1), *the Christ* (**4** 2) *and the Son of God* (**5** 5): "Jesus is the Christ come in the flesh." In Jn **5** 6 there is a still more definite reference to the special form which gnostic Christology assumed in the teaching of Cerinthus and his school. According to Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.*, i.26, 1) this Cerinthus, who was St. John's prime antagonist in Ephesus, taught that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, and was distinguished from other men only by superiority in justice, prudence and wisdom; that at His baptism the heavenly Christ descended upon Him in the form of a dove; that on the eve of His Passion, the Christ again left Jesus, so that Jesus died and rose again, but the Christ, being spiritual, did not suffer. That is to say, that, in the language of the Ep., the Christ "came by water," but not, as St. John strenuously affirms, "by water and blood . . . . not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood" (**5** 6). He who was baptized of John in Jordan, and He whose life-blood was shed on Calvary, is the same Jesus and the same Christ, the same Son of God eternally.

3. Antinomianism

A further consequence of the dualistic interpretation of existence is that sin, in the Christian meaning of sin, disappears. It is no longer a moral opposition (*anomía*), in the human personality, to good; it is a physical principle inherent in all non-spiritual being. Not the soul, but the flesh is its organ; and redemption consists, not in the renewal of the moral nature, but in its emancipation from the flesh. Thus it is no mere general contingency, but a definite tendency that is contemplated in the repeated warning: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. . . . . If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us" (**1** 8.10).

With the nobler and more earnest spirits the practical corollary of this irreconcilable dualism in human nature was the ascetic life; but to others the same principle readily suggested an opposite method of achieving the soul's deliverance from the yoke of the material—an attitude of moral indifference toward the deeds of the body. Let the duality of nature be boldly reduced to practice. Let body and spirit be regarded as separate entities, each obeying its own laws and acting according to its own nature, without mutual interference; the spiritual nature could not be involved in, nor affected by, the deeds of the flesh. Vehement opposition to this deadly doctrine is prominent in the Ep.—in such utterances as "Sin is lawlessness" (**3** 4) and its converse "All unrighteousness is sin" (**5** 17), but esp. in the stringent emphasis laid upon actual conduct, "doing" righteousness or "doing" sin. The false spiritualism which regards the contemplation of heavenly things as of far superior importance to the requirements of commonplace morality is sternly reprobated: "Little children, let no man lead you astray: he that *doeth* righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous" (**3** 7); and the converse application of the same doctrine, that the mere "doing" of sin is of little or no moment to the "spiritual" man, is met with the trenchant declaration, "He that doeth sin is of the devil" (**3** 8). The whole passage (**2** 29—**3** 10) presupposes, as familiar to its readers, a doctrine of moral indifferentism according to which the status of the spiritual man is not to be tested by the commonplace facts of moral conduct. It is only as a passionate contradiction of this hateful tenet that the paradoxical language of **3** 6.9 and **5** 18 can be understood.

To the same polemical necessity is due the uniquely reiterated emphasis which the Ep. lays upon brotherly love, and the almost fierce tone in which the new commandment is promulgated. To the Gnostic, knowledge was the sum of attainment. "They give no heed to love," says Ignatius, "caring not for the widow, the orphan or the afflicted, neither for those who are in bonds nor for those who are released from bonds, neither for the hungry nor the thirsty." That a religion which banished or neglected love should call itself Christian or claim affinity with Christianity excites St. John's hottest indignation; against it he lifts up his supreme truth, God is love, with its immediate consequence that to be without love is to be without capacity for knowing God (**4** 7.8). The assumption of a lofty mystical piety apart from dutiful conduct in the ordinary relations of life is ruthlessly underlined as the vaunt of a self-deceiver (**4** 20); and the crucial test by which we may assure our self-accusing hearts that we are "of the truth" is love "not in word, neither with the tongue; but in deed and truth" (**3** 18).

The question is raised whether the polemic of the Ep. is directed against the same persons throughout or whether in its two branches, the Christological and the ethical, it has different objects of attack. The latter view is maintained on the ground that no charge of libertine teaching or conduct is brought against the "antichrists," and there is no proof that docetism in Asia Minor lay open to such a charge. But the other view has greater probability. The Ep. suggests nothing else than that the same spirit of error which is assailing the faith of the church (**4** 6) is also a peril to the moral integrity of its life (**3** 7). And if there is no proof that docetism in Asia Minor was also antinomian, there is no proof that it was not. The probability is that it was. Docetism and the emancipation of the flesh were both natural fruits of the dualistic theory of life.

4. Cerinthus

The name which unvarying tradition associates with the Ep., as St. John's chief antagonist in Ephesus, is that of Cerinthus. Unfortunately the accounts which have come down to us of Cerinthus and his teaching are fragmentary and confused, and those of his character, though unambiguous, come only from his opponents. But it is certain that he held a docetic view of the incarnation, and, according to the only accounts we possess, his character was that of a voluptuary. So far as they go, the historical data harmonize with the internal evidence of the Ep. itself in giving the impression that the different tendencies it combats are such as would be naturally evolved in the thought and practice of those who held, as Cerinthus did, that the material creation, and even the moral law, had its origin, not in the Supreme God, but in an inferior power.

III. Structure and Summary.—In the judgment of many critics, the Ep. possesses nothing that can be called an articulate structure of thought, its aphoristic method admitting of no logical development; and this estimate has a large measure of support in the fact that there is no NT writing regarding the plan of which there has been greater variety of opinion. The present writer believes, nevertheless, that it is erroneous, and that, in its own unique way, the Ep. is a finely articulated composition. The word that best describes the author's mode of thinking is "spiral." The course of thought does not move from point to point in a straight line. It is like a winding staircase—always revolving around the same center, always recurring to the same topics, but at a higher level.

Carefully following the topical order, one finds, e.g., a paragraph (**2** 3–6) insisting upon practical righteousness as a guaranty of the Christian life; then one finds this treated a second time in **2** 29—**3** 10*a;* and yet again in **5** 3 and **5** 18. Similarly, we find a paragraph on the necessity of love in **2** 7–11, and again in **3** 10*b*–20, and yet again in **4** 7–13, and also in **4** 17—**5** 2. So also, a paragraph concerning the necessity of holding the true belief in the incarnate Son of God in **2** 18–28, in **4** 1–6, and the same subject recurring in **4** 13–16 and **5** 4–12. And we shall observe that everywhere these indispensable characteristics of the Christian life are applied as tests; that in effect the Ep. is an apparatus of *tests,* its definite object being to furnish its readers with the necessary criteria by which they may sift the false from the true, and satisfy themselves of their being "begotten of God." "These things have I written unto you, that ye may know that ye have eternal life" (**5** 13). These fundamental tests of the Christian life—doing righteousness, loving one another, believing that Jesus is the Christ come in the flesh—are the connecting themes that bind together the whole structure of the Ep. Thus if we divide the Ep. into 3 main sections, the first ending at **2** 28, the second at **4** 6, the result is that in the first and second of these sections we find *precisely the same topics coming in precisely the same order;* while in the third section (**4** 7—**5** 21), though the sequence is somewhat different, the thought-material is exactly the same. The leading themes, the tests of righteousness, love, and belief, are all present; and they alone are present. There is, therefore, a natural division of the Ep. into these three main sections, or, as they might be descriptively called, "cycles," in each of which the same fundamental themes appear. On this basis we shall now give a brief analysis of its structure and summary of its contents.

1. The Prologue, 1:1–4

The writer announces the source of the Christian revelation—the historical manifestation of the eternal Divine life in Jesus Christ—and declares himself a personal witness of the facts in which this manifestation has been given. Here, at the outset, he hoists the flag under which he fights. The incarnation is not seeming or temporary, but real. That which was from the beginning—"the eternal life, which was with the Father"—is identical with "that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled."

2. First Cycle, 1:5—2:28

The Christian life, as fellowship with God (walking in the Light) tested by righteousness, love and belief.—The basis of the whole section is the announcement: "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all" (ver 5). What God is at once determines the condition of fellowship with Him; and this, therefore, is set forth: first, negatively (**1** 6): "if we say that we have fellowship with him and walk in the darkness"; then, positively (**1** 7): "if we walk in the light, as he is in the light." What, then, is it to walk in the light, and what to walk in darkness? The answer is given in what follows.

(*a*) Paragraph A, **1** 8—**2** 6 (walking in the Light tested by righteousness): First, in confession of sin (**1** 8—**2** 2), then in actual obedience (**2** 3–6). The first fact upon which the light of God impinges in human life is sin; and the first test of walking in the light is the recognition and confession of this fact. Such confession is the first step into fellowship with God, because it brings us under the cleansing power of the blood of Jesus, His Son (**1** 7), and makes His intercession available for us (**2** 1). But the light not only reveals sin; its greater function is to reveal duty; and to walk in the light is to keep God's commandments (**2** 3), His word (**2** 5), and to walk even as Christ walked (**2** 6).

(*b*) Paragraph B, **2** 7–17 (walking in the Light tested by love): (i) Positively: The old-new commandment (**2** 7–11). Love is the commandment which is "old," because familiar to the readers of the Ep. from their first acquaintance with the rudiments of Christianity (**2** 7); but also "new," because ever fresh and living to those who have fellowship with Christ in the true light which is now shining for them (**2** 8). On the contrary, "He that saith he is in the light and hateth his brother, is in the darkness" (**2** 9). The antithesis is then repeated with variation and enrichment of thought (vs 10.11). (Then follows a parenthetical address to the readers [vs 12–14]. This being treated as a parenthesis, the unity of the paragraph at once becomes apparent.)

(ii) Negatively: If walking in the light has its guaranty in loving one's "brother," it is tested no less by *not* loving "the world." One cannot at the same time participate in the life of God and in a moral life which is governed by the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the vain-glory of the world.

(*c*) Paragraph C, **2** 18–28 (walking in the Light tested by belief): The light of God not only reveals sin and duty, the children of God (our "brother") and "the world" in their true character; it also reveals Jesus in His true character, as the Christ, the incarnate Son of God. And all that calls itself Christianity is to be tested by its reception or rejection of that truth. In this paragraph light and darkness are not expressly referred to; but the continuity of thought with the preceding paragraphs is unmistakable. Throughout this first division of the Ep. the point of view is that of fellowship with God, through receiving and acting according to the light which His self-revelation sheds upon all things in the spiritual realm. Unreal Christianity in every form is comprehensively a "lie." It may be the antinomian "lie" of him who says he has no sin (**1** 8) yet is indifferent to keeping God's commandments (**2** 4), the lie of lovelessness (**2** 9), or the lie of Antichrist, who, claiming spiritual enlightenment, yet denies that Jesus is the Christ (**2** 22).

Divine sonship tested by righteousness, love and belief.—The first main division of the Ep. began with the assertion of what God is as self-revealing—light. He

3. Second Cycle, 2:29—4:6

becomes to us the light in which we behold our sin, our duty, our brother, the world, Jesus the Christ; and only in acknowledging and loyally acting out the truth thus revealed can we have fellowship with God. This second division, on the other hand, begins with the assertion of what the Divine nature is in itself, and thence deduces the essential characteristics of those who are "begotten of God."

(*a*) Paragraph A, **2** 29—**3** 10*a* (Divine sonship tested by righteousness): This test is inevitable. "If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one also that doeth righteousness is begotten of him" (**2** 29). But this new idea, "begotten of God," arrests for a time its orderly development. The writer is carried away by wonder and thanksgiving at the thought that sinful man should be brought into such a relation as this to God. "Behold what manner of love!" he exclaims. This leads him to contemplate, further, the present concealment of the glory of God's children, and the splendor of its future manifestation (**3** 1.2). Then the thought that the fulfilment of this hope is necessarily conditioned by present endeavor after moral likeness to Christ (ver 3) leads back to the main theme, that the life of Divine sonship is by necessity of nature one of absolute antagonism to all sin. This necessity is exhibited (1) in the light of the moral authority of God—sin is lawlessness (ver 4); (2) in the light of Christ's character, in which there is no sin, and of the purpose of His mission, which is to take away sin (vs 5–7); (3) in the light of the diabolic origin of sin (ver 8); (4) in the light of the God-begotten quality of the Christian life (ver 9). Finally, in this is declared to be the manifest distinction between the children of God and the children of the devil (ver 10).

(*b*) Paragraph B, **3** 10*b*–24*a* (Divine sonship tested by love): This test is inevitable (vs 10*b*.11). The thought is then developed pictorially instead of dialectically. Cain is the prototype of hate (ver 12). Cain's spirit is reproduced in the world (ver 13). Love is the sign of having passed from death into life (ver 14*a*); the absence of it, the sign of abiding in death (vs 14*b*.15). In glorious contrast to the sinister figure of Cain, who sacrifices his brother's life to his morbid self-love, is the figure of Christ, who sacrificed His own life in love to us His brethren (ver 16*a*); whence the inevitable inference that our life, if one with His, must obey the same law (ver 16*b*). Genuine love consists not in words, but in deeds (vs 17.18); and from the evidence of such love alone can we rightly possess confidence toward God (vs 19.20) in prayer (ver 22). Then follows recapitulation (vs 23.24*b*), combining, under the category of "commandment," love and also belief on His Son Jesus Christ. Thus a transition is made to Paragraph C.

(*c*) Paragraph C, **3** 24*b*—**4** 6 (Divine sonship tested by belief): This test is inevitable (**3** 24*b*). "We know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he gave us"; and the Spirit "which he gave us" is the Spirit that "confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh" (**4** 2). On the contrary, the Spirit that confesseth not Jesus is the spirit of Antichrist (ver 3). Then follows a characterization of those who receive the true and of those who receive the false teaching (vs 4–6).

4. Third Cycle, 4:7—5:21

Closer correlation of righteousness, love and belief.—In this closing part, the Ep. rises to its loftiest heights; but the logical analysis of it is more difficult. It may be divided into two main sections dealing respectively with love and belief.

(*a*) SECTION I, **4** 7—**5** 3*a*, on love.—(i) Paragraph A, **4** 7–12: This paragraph grounds more deeply than before the *test* of love. Love is indispensable, because God is love (vs 7.8). The proof that God is love is the mission of Christ (ver 9); which is also the absolute revelation of what love, truly so called, is (ver 10). But this love of God imposes upon us an unescapable obligation to love one another (ver 11); and only from the fulfilment of this can we obtain the assurance that "God abideth in us" (ver 12).

(ii) Paragraph B, **4** 13–16: This paragraph strives to show the inner relation between Christian belief and Christian love. The true belief is indispensable as a guaranty of Christian life, because the Spirit of God is its author (ver 13). The true belief is that "Jesus is the Son of God" (vs 14.15). In this is found the vital ground of Christian love (ver 16).

(iii) Paragraph C, **4** 17—**5** 3*a*: Here the subject is the effect, motives and manifestations of brotherly love. The effect is confidence toward God (vs 17.18); the motives: (1) God's love to us (ver 19); (2) that the only possible response to this is to love our brother (ver 20); (3) that this is Christ's commandment (ver 21); (4) that it is the natural instinct of spiritual kinship (**5** 1). But true love is inseparable from righteousness. We truly love the children of God only when we love God, and we love God only when we keep His commandments (vs 2.3*a*).

(*b*) SECTION II, **5** 3*b*–21, on belief.—(i) Paragraph A, **5** 3*b*–12: Righteousness is possible only through belief. It is our faith that makes the commandments "not grievous" because it overcomes the world (vs 3*b*.4). Then follows a restatement of the contents of the true belief, specially directed against the Cerinthian heresy (vs 5.6); then an exposition of the "witness" upon which this belief rests (vs 7–10); then a reiterated declaration of its being the test and guaranty of possessing eternal life (vs 11.12).

(ii) Paragraph B, **5** 13–21: This closing paragraph sets forth the great triumphant certainties of Christian belief: its certainty of eternal life (ver 13), and of prevailing in prayer (vs 14.15). Then the writer guards himself by citing an instance in which such certainty is unattainable—prayer for those that sin unto death—and reminds his readers that all unrighteousness, though not sin unto death, is sin (vs 16.17). He then resumes the great certainties of Christian belief: the certainty that the Christian life stands always and everywhere for righteousness, absolute antagonism to all sin (ver 18); the certainty of the moral gulf between it and the life of the world (ver 19); its certainty of itself, of the facts on which it rests, and the supernatural power which has given perception of these facts (ver 20). With an abrupt, affectionate call to those who know the true God to beware of yielding their trust and dependence to "idols," the Ep. ends.

IV. Canonicity and Authorship.—As to the reception of the Ep. in the church, it is needless to cite any later witness than Eusebius (c 325), who classes it among the books (*homologoumena*) whose canonical rank was undisputed. It is quoted by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (247–65), by the Muratorian Canon, Cyprian, Origen, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Irenaeus. Papias (who is described by Irenaeus as a "hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp") is stated by Eusebius to have "used some testimonies from John's former ep."; and Polycarp's Ep. to the Philippians (c 115) contains an almost verbal reproduction of 1 Jn **4** 3. Reminiscences of it are traced in Athenagoras (c 180), the Ep. to Diognetus, the Ep. of Barnabas, more distinctly in Justin (*Dial.* 123) and in the *Didache;* but it is possible that the earliest of these indicate the currency of Johannine expressions in certain Christian circles rather than acquaintance with the Ep. itself. The evidence, however, is indisputable that this Ep., one of the latest of the NT books, took immediately and permanently an unchallenged position as a writing of inspired authority. It is no material qualification of this statement to add that, in common with the other Johannine writings, it was rejected, for dogmatic reasons, by Marcion and the so-called Alogi; and that, like all the catholic epp., it was unknown to the Canon of the ancient Syrian church, and is stated to have been "abrogated" by Theodore (bishop of Mopsuestia, 393–428 AD).

1. Traditional View

2. Critical Views

The verdict of tradition is equally unanimous that the Fourth Gospel and the First Ep. are both the legacy of the apostle John in his old age to the church. All the Fathers already mentioned as quoting the Ep. (excepting Polycarp, but including Irenaeus) quote it as the work of St. John; and, until the end of the 16th cent., this opinion was held as unquestionable. The first of modern scholars to challenge it was Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), who rejected the entire trio of Johannine Epp. as unapostolic; and in later times a dual authorship of the Gospel and the First Ep. has been maintained by Baur, H. J. Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, von Soden, and others; although on this particular point other adherents of the critical school, like Jülicher, Wrede and Wernle, accept the traditional view.

3. Internal Evidence

Thus two questions are raised: first, what light does the Ep. shed upon the personality of its own author? And second, whether or not the Gospel and the Ep. are from the same hand. Now, while the Ep. furnishes no clue by which we can identify the writer, it enables us very distinctly to class him. His relation to his readers, as we have seen, is *intimate*. The absence of explicit reference to either writer or readers only shows how intimate it was. For the writer to declare his identity was superfluous. Thought, language, tone—all were too familiar to be mistaken. The Ep. bore its author's signature in every line. His position toward his readers was, moreover, *authoritative*. As has already been said, the natural interpretation of **1** 2.3 is that the relation between them was that of teacher and taught. (By this fact we may account for the enigmatic brevity of such a passage as that on the "three witnesses." The writer intended only to recall fuller oral expositions formerly given of the same topics.) The writer is at any rate a person of so distinctive eminence and recognized authority that it is not necessary to remind the readers either who he is or by what circumstances he is compelled now to address them through the medium of writing; their knowledge of both facts is taken for granted. And all this agrees with the traditional account of St. John's relation to the churches of Asia Minor in the last decades of the 1st cent.

Further, the writer claims to be one of the original witnesses of the facts of the incarnate life: "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life (and the life was manifested, and we have seen, and bear witness, and declare unto you the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us); that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us" (**1** 1–3). To understand the "Word of life" here as the gospel (Westcott, Rothe, Haupt) seems to the present writer frankly impossible; and not less so the theories by which the words "what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes," etc, are regarded as utterances of the "faith-mysticism" or the "collective testimony" of the early church. It is difficult to imagine words more studiously adapted to convey the impression that the writer is one of the original, first-hand witnesses of Christ's life and resurrection ("that what we beheld, and our hands handled"; cf Lk **24** 39). At furthest, the use of such language is otherwise compatible with veracity only on the supposition that the writer was *recognized* by the church as so closely identified with the original witnesses that he could speak of their testimony as virtually his own. But, apart from the presumption that he cannot have been one of the actual disciples of Jesus, there is really nothing to be said for this supposition. So far as the internal evidence is concerned, the ancient and unbroken tradition which assigns it to the apostle John must be regarded as holding the field, unless, indeed, the traditional authorship is disproved by arguments of the most convincing kind. Whether the arguments brought against the apostolic authorship of the Johannine writings as a whole possess this character is too large a question to be investigated here. Yet the kernel of it lies in small compass. It is whether room can be found within the 1st cent. for so advanced a stage of theological development as is reached in the Johannine writings, and whether this development can be conceivably attributed to one of Our Lord's original disciples. To neither of these questions, as it appears to the present writer, is a dogmatically negative answer warranted. If within a period comparatively so brief, Christian thought had already passed through the earlier and later Pauline developments, and through such a development as we find in the Ep. to the He, there is no obvious reason why it may not have attained to the Johannine, within the lifetime of the last survivor of the apostles. Nor, when we consider the nature of the intellectual influences, within and without the church, by which the apostle John was surrounded, if, as tradition says, he lived on to a green old age in Ephesus, is there any obvious reason why he may not have been the chief instrument of that development.

1. Common Characteristics

V. Relationship to the Fourth Gospel.—The further question remains as to the internal evidence the Ep. supplies regarding its relation to the Fourth Gospel. Prima facie, the case for identity of authorship is overwhelmingly strong. The two writings are equally saturated with that spiritual and theological atmosphere; they are equally characterized by that type of thought which we call Johannine and which presents an interpretation of Christianity not less original and distinctive than Paulinism. Both exhibit the same mental and moral habit of viewing every subject with an eye that stedfastly beholds radical antagonisms and is blind to approximations. There is in both the same strongly Heb style of composition; the same development of ideas by parallelism or antithesis; the same repetition of keywords like "begotten of God," "abiding," "keeping his commandments"; the same monotonous simplicity in the construction of sentences, with avoidance of relative clauses and singular parsimony in the use of connecting particles; the same apparently tautological habit of resuming consideration of a subject from a slightly different point of view; the same restricted range of vocabulary, which, moreover, is identical to an extent unparalleled in two independent writings.

2. Coincidences of Vocabulary

The evidence for these statements cannot be presented here in full; but the following are some of the words and phrases characteristic of both and not found elsewhere in the NT—the Word, joy fulfilled, to see (or behold) and bear witness, to do the truth, to have sin, Paraclete, to keep the word (of God or Christ), to abide (in God or in Christ), the true light, new commandment, little children (*teknía*), children (*paidía*), to abide for ever, begotten of God, to purify one's self, to do sin, to take away sins, works of the devil, to pass from death into life, murderer, to lay down one's life, to be of the truth, to give commandment, to hear (=to hear approvingly), no man hath beheld God at any time, knowing and believing, Saviour of the world, water and blood, to overcome the world, to receive witness, to give eternal life, to have eternal life (in present sense), to believe in the name. The following are some of the terms common to both, which are found very rarely elsewhere in the NT: Beginning (=past eternity), to be manifested (9 t in each), to bear witness (6 t in the Ep., 33 t in the Gospel, once only in Mt, once in Lk, not at all in Mk), light (metaphorical), walk (metaphorical), to lead astray, to know (God, Christ, or Spirit, 8 t in the Ep., 10 t in the Gospel), true (*alēthinós*), to confess Jesus (elsewhere only in Rom **10** 9), children of God, to destroy (*lúein*, elsewhere only in 2 Pet), the spirit of truth, to send (*apostéllein*, of mission of Christ), only begotten son, to have the witness (elsewhere only in Apoc), to hear (=to answer prayer).

3. Divergences of Vocabulary

On the other hand, the divergences of vocabulary are not more numerous than might be expected in two writings by the same author but of different literary form. The rather notable difference in the choice and use of particles is accounted for by the fact that dialogue and narrative, of which the Gospel is largely composed, are foreign to the Ep. The discrepancy, when closely examined, sometimes turns out to be a point of real similarity. Thus the particle *oún* occurs nearly 200 t in the Gospel, not at all in the Ep. But in the Gospel it is used only in narrative, no occurrence of it being found, e.g. in chs **14–16**.

Of the words and phrases contained in the Ep., but not in the Gospel, the great majority are accounted for by the fact that they are used in connection with topics which are not dealt with in the Gospel. Apart from these, the following may be noted, the most important being italicized: *Word of life*, fellowship, to *confess sins* (nowhere else in the NT), to *cleanse from sin*, *propitiation* (*hilasmós*, nowhere else in the NT), perfected or perfect love, *last hour*, Antichrist, *anointing*, to *give of the spirit*, to have (Father, Son) boldness (Godward), *Parousia*, *lawlessness*, *seed* (of God), come in the flesh, God is love, *Day of Judgment*, belief (*pistis*), to make God a liar, understanding. As regards style and diction, therefore, it seems impossible to conceive of two independent literary productions having a more intimate affinity. The relation between them in this respect is far closer than that between the Acts of the Apostles and the Third Gospel, or even *any two* of St. Paul's Epp., except those to the Eph and the Col.

4. Arguments against Unity of Authorship

Arguments for a dual authorship are based chiefly on certain theological emphasis and developments in the Ep., which are absent from the Gospel; and invariably these arguments have been pressed with complete disregard of the fact that the one writing purports, at least, to be a Gospel, the other, an utterance of the writer *in propria persona*. If, for example, it is urged that the words "He is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins" have a more Pauline ring than any utterance of the Fourth Gospel, or that the conceptions in the Ep. of propitiation, intercession, and cleansing, are presented in a more explicit and technical form than in the Gospel, it is a fair reply to ask, Why not? Is it to be accepted as a canon of criticism that the writer of that Gospel must necessarily have put all his own theological expressions into the mouth of Him whose teaching he proposed to report? Much is made of the assertion that in the matter of the last things the Ep. recedes from the idealism of the Gospel, placing itself more nearly in line with the traditional apocalyptic eschatology. Whereas the Gospel speaks of Christ's bodily departure as the necessary condition of His coming again in the Spirit to make His permanent abode with His disciples (Jn **16** 7), the writer of the Ep. thinks of a visible Parousia as nigh at hand (**2** 28); and whereas the Gospel conceives of judgment as a present spiritual fact (Jn **3** 18.19), the Ep. clings to the "popular" idea of a Judgment Day. But it ought to be noted that in the Ep., as compared with the Gospel, the eschatological perspective is foreshortened. The author writes under the conviction that "the world is passing away" and that the "last hour" of its day has come (**2** 17.18). And it is an unwarrantable assumption that he must, if he wrote the Gospel, have been guilty of the manifest anachronism of importing this conviction into it also. Apart from this the fundamental similarities between the eschatology of the Ep. and that of the Gospel are far more striking than the differences. In both, eternal life is conceived of as a present and not merely a future possession. In both, Christ's presence is an abiding reality—"Our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ" (**1** 3). If the Gospel speaks of the revelation of Christ as bringing present and inevitable "judgment" into the world, the Ep. is saturated with the same thought. If, on the other hand, the Ep. speaks of a visible future Parousia, this is plainly implied in Jn **5** 28.29. If the Ep. makes a single reference to the Day of Judgment (**4** 17), the Gospel has 6 passages which speak of the "last day," and in these the "last day" is explicitly the day of resurrection (**11** 24) and of judgment (**12** 48). In the two writings different features of the eschatological picture may be made more or less conspicuous; but there is no such diversity as to warrant the hypothesis of a separate authorship. Again, it is urged that in the Ep. the conception of the Logos is modified in the direction of conformity to traditional doctrine. The conception of the personal, preëxistent Logos, who "in the beginning was," and "was with God," and "was God" (**1** 1) was new, it is said, and, because of its gnostic tinge, suspect; and was therefore avoided and becomes in the Ep. the depersonalized "Word of life" (**1** 1). But why should the "Word of life" necessarily signify anything less personal than the phraseology of the Gospel? The phraseology in both cases is exactly adapted to its purpose. In the Gospel, "in the beginning was the Word . . . . and the Word became flesh" is right, because it sums up the contents of the Gospel, announces its subject, the history of the Incarnate Logos. In the Ep., the "Word of life" is right, because the theme is to be the life, not as to its historical manifestation in Jesus, but as to its essential characteristics, whether in God or in man.

Other arguments of a similar kind which have been put forward need not be considered.

5. Conclusion

On the whole, it seems clear that, while there are between the Gospel and the Ep. differences of emphasis, perspective and point of view, these cannot be held as at all counterbalancing, on the question of authorship, the unique similarity of the two writings in style and vocabulary and in the whole matter and manner of thought, together with the testimony of a tradition which is ancient, unanimous and unbroken.

6. Question of Priority

Regarding the question of priority as between the two writings, the only certainty is that the Ep. presupposes its readers' acquaintance with the *substance* of the Gospel (otherwise such expressions as "Word of life," "new commandment" would have been unintelligible); but that does not imply its posteriority to the composition of the Gospel in literary form. By Lightfoot and others it is supposed to have been written simultaneously with the Gospel, and dispatched along with it as a covering letter to its original readers. In view, however, of the independence and first-rate importance of the Ep., it is difficult to think of it as having originated in this way; and by the majority of scholars it is regarded as later than the Gospel and separated from it by an appreciable interval. That it was written with a "mediating" purpose (Pfleiderer), to "popularize" the ideas of the Gospel (Weizsäcker), or to correct and tone down what in it was obnoxious to the feeling of the church, and at the same time to add certain links of connection (such as propitiation, Paraclete, Parousia) with the traditional type of doctrine, or to emphasize these where they existed (Holtzmann), is a theory which rests on an extremely slender basis; the theory that it was written as a protest against gnostic appropriation of the Fourth Gospel itself (Jülicher) has no tangible basis at all.

That there was an appreciable interval between the two writings is probable enough. Gnostic tendencies have meanwhile hardened into more definite form. Many false prophets have gone out into the world. The "antichrists" have declared themselves. The time has come for the evangelist to focus the rays of his Gospel upon the malignant growth which is acutely endangering the life of the church.

LITERATURE.—Commentaries are numerous and excellent. The most important are those by Calvin, Lücke, Ebrard, Haupt (of fine insight but grievous verbosity), Huther (specially valuable for its conspectus of all earlier exegesis), Westcott (a magazine of materials for the student of the Ep.), Alexander (in the *Speaker's Comm.*), Rothe (original, beautiful, profound), B. Weiss, H. J. Holtzmann, Plummer (in *Cambridge Gr NT*—scholarly and very serviceable); Brooke (in *ICC*, excellent). Among the numerous expositions of the Ep. are those by Neander, Candlish, Maurice, Alexander (*Expositor's Bible*), Watson, J. M. Gibbon (*Eternal Life*), Findlay (*Fellowship in the Life Eternal*), Law (*The Tests of Life*—combined exposition and commentary); among books on Introduction, those by Weiss, Bleek, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Zahn, Salmon, Gloag, Peake; and, among books of other kinds, the relevant sections in Beyschlag, *NT Theology;* Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum;* Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristl. Litteratur;* Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity;* McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age;* Stevens, *Johannine Theology* and

Theology of the NT; articles by Salmond in *HDB;* by Schmiedel in *EB*, and by Häring in *Theologische Abhandlungen, Carl von Weizsäcker . . . . gewidmet.* In German, the fullest investigation of the relationship of the Ep. to the Fourth Gospel will be found in a series of arts. by H. J. Holtzmann in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* (1882–83); in English, in Brooke's comm., in Law, *Tests of Life*, 339–63. See also Drummond, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, ch iii.

The Second and Third Epistles

1. Canonicity and Authorship

It is not surprising that these brief and fugitive Epp. are among the NT writings which have had the hardest struggle for canonical recognition. One is probably, the other certainly, a private letter; and neither the same reason nor the same opportunity for their circulation existed, as in the case of church letters. The 2d Ep. contains little that is distinctive; the 3d Ep. is occupied with a vexatious episode in the internal history of a single congregation. Both are written by a person who designates himself simply as "the Presbyter"; and the names of the person (or church) to which the one is addressed and of the church with whose affairs the other is concerned are alike unknown. The fact, therefore, that, in spite of such obstacles, these letters did become widely known and eventually attained to canonical rank is proof of a general conviction of the soundness of the tradition which assigned them to the apostle John.

Like all the catholic epp., they were unknown to the early Syrian church; when 1 Jn, 1 Pet and Jas were received into its Canon, they were still excluded, nor are they found even in printed editions of the Syr NT till 1630. They were not acknowledged by the school of Antioch. Jerome distinguishes their authorship from that of the 1st Ep. They are classed among the disputed books by Eusebius, who indicates that it was questioned whether they belonged to the evangelist or "possibly to another of the same name as he." Origen remarks that "not all affirm them to be genuine"; and, as late as the middle of the 4th cent., the effort to introduce them in the Latin church met with opposition in Africa (Zahn).

On the other hand, we find recognition of their Johannine authorship at an early date, in Gaul (Irenaeus); Rome (Muratorian Canon, where, however, the reading is corrupt, and it is doubtful whether their authorship is ascribed or denied to the apostle John); Alexandria (Clement, who is reputed by Eusebius to have commented upon them, and who in his extant works speaks of John's "larger epistle," implying the existence of one or more minor epp.); Africa (Cyprian reports that 2 Jn was appealed to at the Synod of Carthage, 256 AD). Dionysius, Origen's disciple and successor, speaks of John's calling himself in them "the Presbyter." Eusebius, though conscientiously placing them among the *antilegomena*, elsewhere writes in a way which indicates that he himself did not share the doubt of their authenticity.

The internal evidence confirms the ultimate decision of the early church regarding these letters. Quite evidently the 2d Ep. must have been written by the author of the 1st, or was an arrant and apparently purposeless piece of plagiarism. The 3d Ep. is inevitably associated with the 2d by the superscription, "the Presbyter," and by other links of thought and phraseology.

2. The Presbyter

The mention of this title opens up a wide question. The famous extract from Papias (Euseb., *HE*, III, 39) vouches for the existence, among those who were or had been his contemporaries, of a certain "Presbyter" John (see John, Gospel of, II, 5). Jerome, moreover, speaks of the two smaller Epp. as, in contrast with the 1st, ascribed to the Presbyter (*De Vir. Illustr.*, ix); Eusebius inclines to ascribe to him the Book of Rev; and modern critics, like Weizsäcker and Harnack, have improved upon the hint by finding in this shadowy personage the author of the Fourth Gospel. Into this far-reaching controversy, we cannot here enter. It may be noted, however, that whether, in the confusedly written passage referred to, Papias really intends to distinguish between John the Apostle and John the Presbyter is a point still in debate; and that Eusebius (*Evangelica Demonstratio*, III, 5) does *not* regard the title "Presbyter" as inapplicable to St. John, but observes that in his Epp. he "either makes no mention of himself or calls himself presbyter, nowhere apostle or evangelist." Dionysius, too, remarks that "in the 2d and 3d Epp. ascribed to him, he writes anonymously, as the Presbyter." These Fathers, both exceptionally learned men and presumably well acquainted with primitive usage, saw nothing anomalous, although they did see something characteristic, in the fact, or supposed fact, that an apostle should designate himself by the lowlier and vaguer title. In the very sentence from Papias already referred to, the apostles are called "presbyters"; not to say that in the NT itself we have an instance of an apostle's so styling himself (1 Pet **5** 1).

To sum up, it is evident that no one desiring falsely to secure apostolic prestige for his productions would have written under so indistinctive a title; also, that these brief and very occasional letters could never have won their way to general recognition and canonical rank unless through general conviction of their Johannine authorship—the very history of these Epp. proving that the early church did not arrive at a decision upon such matters without satisfying itself of the trustworthiness of the tradition upon which a claim to canonicity was founded; finally, the internal evidence testifies to an authorship identical with that of the 1st Ep., so that the evidence cited regarding this is available also for those. These letters, along with St. Paul's to Philemon, are the only extant remains of a private apostolic correspondence which must have included many such, and for this reason, apart from their intrinsic worth, possess an interest, material and biographical, peculiar to themselves. We proceed to consider the two Epp. separately, and since an interesting question arises as to whether the 2d is that referred to in ver 9 of the 3d, it will be convenient to reverse the canonical order in dealing with them.

The Third Epistle.—This brief note gives a uniquely authentic and intimate glimpse of some aspects of church life as it existed in Asia Minor (this may be taken as certain) somewhere about the end of the 1st cent. It concerns a certain episode in the history of one of the churches under the writer's supervision, and incidentally furnishes character-sketches of two of its members, the large-hearted and hospitable Gaius, to whom it is written (and whom it is merely fanciful to identify with any other Gaius mentioned in the NT), and the loquacious, overbearing Diotrephes; also of the faithful Demetrius, by whose hand probably the letter is sent. The story which may be gathered from the Ep. seems to be as follows. A band of itinerant teachers had been sent out, by the Presbyter's authority, no doubt, and furnished by him with letters of commendation to the various churches, and among others to that of which Gaius and Diotrephes were members. Diotrephes, however, whether through jealousy for the rights of the local community or for some personal reason, not only declined to receive the itinerant teachers, but exerted his authority to impose the same course of action upon the church as a whole, even to the length of threatening with excommunication (ver 10) those who took a different view of their duty. Gaius alone had not been intimidated, but had welcomed to his home the repulsed and disheartened teachers, who when they returned (to Ephesus, probably) had testified to the church of his courageous and large-hearted behavior (ver 6). A 2d time, apparently, the teachers are now sent forth (ver 6), with Demetrius as their leader, who brings this letter to Gaius, commending his past conduct (ver 5) and encouraging him to persevere in it (ver 6). The Presbyter adds that he has dispatched a letter to the church also (ver 9); but evidently he has little hope that it will be effectual in overcoming the headstrong opposition of Diotrephes; for he promises that he will speedily pay a personal visit to the church, when he will depose Diotrephes from his pride of place and bring him to account for his scornful "prating" and overbearing conduct (ver 10). So far as appears, the cause of friction was purely personal or administrative. There is no hint of heretical tendency in Diotrephes and his party. Pride of place is his sin, an inflated sense of his own importance and a violent jealousy for what he regarded as his own prerogative, which no doubt he identified with the autonomy of the local church.

The Second Epistle.—The letter is addressed to **"the elect lady"** (better, to "the lady Electa"). Its tone throughout is peculiarly affectionate; there is a warmer rush of emotion, esp. in the opening verses, than is characteristic of St. John's usual reserve. But in these verses the keynote of the Ep. is struck—truth. The writer testifies his love for his correspondent and her children "in truth"; this love is shared by all who "know the truth" (ver 1), and it is "for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and it shall be with us for ever" (ver 2). What follows (vs 4–9) is in effect an epitome of the 1st Ep. After declaring his joy at finding certain of her children "walking in truth," he proceeds to expound, quite in the style of the 1st Ep., what "walking in truth" is. It is to love one another (ver 5; cf 1 Jn **2** 7–11); but this love is manifested in keeping God's commandments (ver 6*a;* cf 1 Jn **5** 2.3); and no less in stedfast adherence to the genuine doctrine of the Gospel (cf 1 Jn **3** 23). "For many deceivers are gone forth into the world, even they that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh" (ver 7; cf 1 Jn **4** 1–3). Then follows an exhortation to stedfastness (ver 8), and a warning that whoever in the name of progress departs from this teaching "hath not God," while he who abides in it "hath both the Father and the Son" (ver 9; cf 1 Jn **2** 23.24). This leads up to the immediately practical point, a warning to extend no hospitality and show no friendliness to the false teachers (vs 10.11); and the Ep. closes with the hope of a speedy and joyful meeting "face to face" of the writer and his correspondent, to whom he conveys greetings from the children of her "elect sister."

Whether the **"elect lady,"** or "lady Electa" of his letter is a real person or the personification of a church is a point which has been debated from ancient times and is still unsolved. The solution has been found, it is true, if we can accept the hypothesis (put forward by Zahn and Schmiedel and adopted by Findlay) that this is the letter referred to in 3 Jn ver 9. It is urged on behalf of this supposition that the two Epp. are curiously identical in phraseology. In both the writer begins by describing his correspondent as one whom "I love in truth"; in both he uses a distinctive phrase (*echárēn lían*), 2 Jn ver 4, "I rejoice greatly," not found elsewhere in the NT to declare his joy at finding "thy [my] children walking in the truth"; and in both he concludes by saying that he has "many things to write," but that, looking forward to an early interview "face to face," he will not commit these further thoughts to "paper and ink." It is argued that "none but a chancery clerk could have clung so closely to his epistolary formulae" in two private letters written at different periods. But the force of this argument largely vanishes when we look at the formulae in question. If a modern writer may conclude hundreds of friendly letters by subscribing himself "yours sincerely," or something equivalent, why may not the Presbyter have commenced these two and many similar letters by assuring his correspondents that he sincerely loved them? And again, one in his official position must often have had occasion to say that he hoped soon to pay a personal visit, in view of which, writing at greater length was unnecessary. Even if the likeness in phraseology makes it probable that the two letters were written simultaneously, this by no means proves that the one was written to Gaius, the other to the church of which Gaius and Diotrephes were members. Zahn calculates that 2 Jn would occupy 32 lines, and 3 Jn not quite 31 lines of ancient writing, and infers that the author used two pages of papyrus of the same size for both letters; but why we are to identify 2 Jn with the letter mentioned in 3 Jn because both happen to fill the same size of note paper is not quite clear.

On the other hand, the difficulties in the way of this attractive hypothesis are too substantial to be set aside. The two Epp. belong to entirely different situations. Both deal with the subject of hospitality; but the one forbids hospitality to the wrong kind of guests, and says nothing about the right kind, the other enjoins hospitality to the right kind and says nothing about the wrong kind. In the one the writer shows himself alarmed about the spread of heresy, in the other, about the insubordination of a self-important official. Is it conceivable that the Presbyter should send at the same time a letter to Gaius in which he promises that he will speedily come with a rod for Diotrephes (who had carried the church along with him), and another to the church in which that recalcitrant person was the leading spirit, in which he expresses the hope that when he comes and speaks face to face their "joy may be made full"—a letter, moreover, in which the real point at issue is not once touched upon? Such a procedure is scarcely imaginable.

We are still left, then, with the question What kind of entity, church or individual, is entitled "the lady Electa"? (See ELECT LADY, where reasons are given for preferring this tr.) The address of the letter is certainly much more suggestive of an individual than of a church. After all that has been so persuasively argued, notably by Dr. Findlay (*Fellowship in the Life Eternal,* ch iii), from the symbolizing of the church as the Bride of Christ, it remains very hard for the present writer to suppose that, in the superscription of a letter and without any hint of symbolism, anyone could address a particular Christian community as "the elect lady" or the "lady elect." On the other hand, the difficulties urged against the personal interpretation are not so grave as sometimes represented. The statement, "I have found certain of thy children walking in truth," does not imply that others of them were not doing so, but emphasizes what had come under the writer's personal observation. Nor can we pronounce the elevated and didactic love of the letter more suitable to a church than to an individual without taking into account the character, position and mutual relations of the correspondents. The person (if it was a person) addressed was evidently a Christian matron of high social standing—one able in a special degree to dispense hospitality, and of wide influence, one beloved of "all them that know the truth," whose words would be listened to and whose example would be imitated. And, in view of the ominous spreading of the leaven of Antichrist, it is not difficult to suppose that the Presbyter should write to such a person in such a strain. Nor does there seem to be anything esp. odd in the fact of the children of a private family sending their respects to their aunt through the apostle John (Findlay). If he was intimate with that family, and in their immediate vicinity at the time of writing, it appears a natural thing for them to have done. Possibly Dr. Harris' "exploded" "prehistoric countess of Huntington" is not so far astray as a modern equivalent of the lady Electa.

Literature.—On the 2d and 3d Epp. see Comms.: Lücke, Huther, Ebrard, Holtzmann, Baumgarten, Westcott, Plummer, Bennett, Brooke; Expositions: Findlay, *Fellowship in the Life Eternal;* S. Cox, *The Private Letters of St. Paul and St. John;* J. M. Gibbon, *The Eternal Life.*

R. Law

JOHN, GOSPEL OF:

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I. Introductory.—The Fourth Gospel has a form peculiar to itself, as well as a characteristic style and attitude, which mark it as a unique document among the books of the NT.

1. Scope of Gospel

(1) There is a prologue, consisting of **1** 1–18, of which something will be said later on. (2) There is a series of scenes and discourses from the life of Jesus, descriptive of Himself and His work, and marking the gradual development of faith and unbelief in His hearers and in the nation (**1** 19—**12** 50). (3) There is a more detailed account of the closing events of the Passion Week—of His farewell intercourse with His disciples (chs **13–17**), of His arrest, trials, crucifixion, death, and burial (chs **18–19**). (4) There are the resurrection, and the manifestations of the risen Lord to His disciples on the resurrection day, and on another occasion eight days after (**20** 1–29). This is followed by a paragraph which describes the purpose of the Gospel, and the reason why it was written (vs 30.31). (5) Finally, there is a supplementary ch (**21**), which has all the characteristic marks of the Gospel as a whole, and which probably, therefore, proceeds from the same pen (thus Lightfoot, Meyer, Alford, etc; some, as Zahn, prefer to take the ch as the work of a disciple of St. John). The concluding vs (24.25) of this ch read: "This is the disciple that beareth witness of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his witness is true. And there are also many other things which Jesus did," etc. "We know that his witness is true" seems to be a testimony on the part of those who knew as to the identity of the disciple, and the trustworthiness of his witness. Nor has this earliest testimony been discredited by the attacks made on it, and the natural meaning has been vindicated by many competent writers. The present tense, "beareth witness," indicates that the "disciple" who wrote the Gospel was still alive when the testimony was given.

As to the time of the appearance of the Johannine literature, apart from the question as to the authorship of these writings, there is now a growing consensus of opinion that it arose at the end of the 1st cent., or at the beginning of the 2d.

2. State of Opinion as to Date of Appearance

This is held by those who assign the authorship, not to any individual writer, but to a school at Ephesus, who partly worked up traditional material, and elaborated it into the form which the Johannine writings now have; by those also, as Spitta, who disintegrate the Gospel into a *Grundschrift* and a *Bearbeitung* (cf his *Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu*, 1910). Whether the Gospel is looked on as a compilation of a school of theologians, or as the outcome of an editor who utilizes traditional material, or as the final outcome of theological evolution of certain Pauline conceptions, with few exceptions the appearance of the Johannine writings is dated early in the 2d cent. One of the most distinguished of these exceptions is Schmiedel; another is the late Professor Pfleiderer. One may respect Pfleiderer in the region of philosophical inquiry, but in criticism he is a negligible quantity. And the writings of Schmiedel on the Johannine question are rapidly passing into the same category.

Thus the appearance of the Johannine writings at the end of the 1st cent. may safely be accepted as a sound historical conclusion. Slowly the critics who assigned their appearance to the middle of the 2d cent., or later, have retraced their steps, and assign the emergence of the Johannine writings to the time mentioned. This does not, of course, settle the questions of the authorship, composition and trustworthiness of the Gospel, which must be determined on their merits, on the grounds of external, and still more of internal, evidence, but it does clear the way for a proper discussion of them, and gives us a terminus which must set a limit to all further speculation on matters of this kind.

II. External Evidence for the Fourth Gospel.—Only an outline of the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel, which concerns both date and authorship, can be given in this article. Fuller information may be sought in the Intros to the *Commentaries* on the Gospel, by Godet, Westcott, Luthardt, Meyer; in Ezra Abbot's *The Fourth Gospel and Its Authorship;* in Zahn's *Intro to the NT*, III; in Sanday's *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel;* in Drummond's *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.* All these and many others defend the Johannine authorship. On the other side, reference may be made to the author of *Supernatural Religion*, of which many editions have appeared. Among recent works, Moffatt's *Intro to the NT*, and B. W. Bacon's *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, may be mentioned as denying the Johannine authorship.

The external evidence is as follows. At the end of the 2d cent., the Christian church was in possession of four Gospels, which were used as sacred books, read in churches in public worship, held in honor as authoritative, and treated as part of a Canon of Scripture (see Gospels). One of these

1. At End of 2d Cent.

was the Fourth Gospel, universally ascribed to the apostle John as its author. We have the evidence on this point of Irenaeus, of Tertullian, of Clement of Alexandria, a little later of Origen. Clement is witness for the belief and practice of the church in Egypt and its neighborhood; Tertullian for the church in Africa; and Irenaeus, who was brought up in Asia Minor, was a teacher at Rome, and was bishop of Lyons in Gaul, for the churches in these lands. The belief was so unquestioned, that Irenaeus could give reasons for it which would of themselves have convinced no one who had not already had the conviction which the reasons were meant to sustain. To discount the evidence of Irenaeus, Tertullian and Clement on the ground of the desire to find apostolic authorship for their sacred books, is not argument but mere assertion. There may have been such a tendency, but in the case of the four Gospels there is no proof that there was necessity for this at the end of the 2d cent. For there is evidence of the belief in the apostolic authorship of two Gospels by apostles, and of two by companions of the apostles, as an existing fact in the churches long before the end of the 2d cent.

2. Irenaeus—Theophilus

The importance of the testimony of Irenaeus is measured by the efforts which have been made to invalidate his witness. But these attempts fail in the presence of his historical position, and of the means at his command to ascertain the belief of the churches. There are many links of connection between Irenaeus and the apostolic age. There is specially his connection with Polycarp. He himself describes that relationship in his letter to Florinus, a fellow-disciple of Polycarp, who had lapsed into Gnosticism, in which he says, "I remember the events of that time more clearly than those of recent years. For what boys learn, growing with their mind, becomes joined with it; so that I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat as he discoursed, and his goings out and comings in, and the manner of his life, and his physical appearance and his discourses to the people, and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and the others who had seen the Lord" (Euseb., *HE*, V, 20: McGiffert's tr). We cannot say what was the age of Irenaeus at that time, but he was of sufficient age to receive the impressions which, after many years, he recorded. Polycarp was martyred in 155 AD, and he had been a Christian for 86 years when he was martyred. Thus there was only one link between Irenaeus and the apostolic age. Another link was constituted by his association with Pothinus, his predecessor in Lyons. Pothinus was a very old man when he was martyred, and had in his possession the traditions of the church of Gaul. Thus, Irenaeus, through these and others, had the opportunity of knowing the belief of the churches, and what he records is not only his own personal testimony, but the universal tradition of the church.

With Irenaeus should be adduced the apologist Theophilus (c 170), the earliest writer to mention St. John by name as the author of the Gospel. In prefacing a quotation from the commencement of the prologue, he says, "This is what we learn from the sacred writings, and from all men animated by the Spirit, amongst whom John says" (*Ad Autol.*, ii.22). Theophilus is further stated by Jerome to have composed a Harmony of the four Gospels (*De Viris Illustr.*, 25).

3. Middle of 2d Cent.

From Irenaeus and Theophilus we ascend nearer to the middle of the 2d cent., and here we encounter the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, on which much need not be said. The *Diatessaron* is likewise a Harmony of the four Gospels, and this Harmony dates not later than 170. It begins with the 1st ver of the Fourth Gospel, and ends with the last ver of the appendix to the Gospel. Tatian was a pupil of Justin Martyr, and that fact alone renders it probable that the "Memoirs of the Apostles," which Justin quotes so often, were those which his pupil afterward combined in the *Diatessaron*. That Justin knew the Fourth Gospel seems clear, though we cannot argue the question here. If he did, it follows that it was in existence about the year 130.

4. Ignatius, etc

But there is evidence that helps us to trace the influence of the Fourth Gospel back to the year 110. "The first clear traces of the Fourth Gospel upon the thought and language of the church are found in the Epp. of Ignatius (c 110 AD). How unmistakable these traces are is shown by the fact that not infrequently this dependence of Ignatius upon John has been used as an argument against the genuineness of the Ignatian letters" (Zahn, *Intro*, III, 176). This argument may now be safely used since the Epp. have been vindicated as historical documents by Lightfoot and by Zahn. If the Ignatian Epp. are saturated with the tone and spirit of the Johannine writings, that goes to show that this mode of thought and expression was prevalent in the church of the time of Ignatius. Thus at the beginning of the 2d cent., that distinctive mode of thought and speech which we call Johannine had an existence.

A further line of evidence in favor of the Gospel, which need only be referred to, lies in the use made of it by the Gnostics. That the Gospel was used by the Valentinians and Basilides has been shown by Dr. Drummond (op. cit., 265–343).

5. John the Presbyter

To estimate aright the force of the above evidence, it is to be remembered that, as already observed, there were many disciples of the John of Ephesus, to whom the Johannine writings were ascribed, living far on in the 2d cent.—bishops like Papias and Polycarp, the "presbyters" so often mentioned by Irenaeus—forming a chain connecting the time of the origin of the Gospel with the latter half of the century. Here arises the question, recently so largely canvassed, as to the identity of "the presbyter John" in the well-known fragment of Papias preserved by Euseb. (*HE*, III, 39). Were there, as most, with Euseb., understand, two Johns—apostle and presbyter (cf e.g. Godet)—or was there only one? If only one, was he the son of Zebedee? On these points wide difference of opinion prevails. Harnack holds that the presbyter was not the son of Zebedee; Sanday is doubtful; Moffatt believes that the presbyter was the only John at Ephesus. Zahn and Dom J. Chapman (*John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel*, 1911) think also that there was only one John at Ephesus, but he was the son of Zebedee. It is hardly necessary to discuss the question here, for the tradition is explicit which connected the Gospel with the apostle John during the latter part of his residence in Ephesus—a residence which there is no sufficient ground for disputing (see John, the Apostle).

6. Summary

On a fair consideration of the external evidence, therefore, we find that it is unusually strong. It is very seldom the case that conclusive proof of the existence and influence of a writing can be brought so near to the time of its publication as in the case of the Fourth Gospel. The date of its publication is at the end of the 1st cent., or at the latest in the beginning of the 2d. Traces of its influence are found in the Epp. of Ignatius. The 1st Ep. of Jn is quoted in the Ep. of Polycarp (ch 7). The thought and style of the Gospel had influenced Justin Martyr. It is one of the four interwoven in the *Diatessaron* of

Tatian. It was quoted, commented on, and interpreted by the Gnostics. In truth the external evidence for the early date and Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel is as great both in extent and variety as it is for any book of the NT, and far greater than any that we possess for any work of classical antiquity.

The history of the controversy on the Johannine authorship is not here entered into. Apart from the obscure sect of the Alogi (who attributed the Gospel to Cerinthus!) in the 2d cent., no voice was heard in challenge of the authorship of St. John till the close of the 17th cent., and serious assault did not begin till the 19th cent. (Bretschneider, 1820, Strauss, 1835, Weisse, 1838, Baur and his school, 1844 and after, Keim, 1865, etc). The attacks were vigorously repelled by other scholars (Olshausen, Tholuck, Neander, Ebrard, Bleek, etc). Some adopted, in various forms and degrees, the hypothesis of an apostolic basis for the Gospel, regarded as the work of a later hand (Weizsäcker, Renan, etc). From this point the controversy has proceeded with an increasing dogmatism on the side of the opponents of the genuineness and trustworthiness of the Gospel, but not less firmness on the part of its defenders. The present state of opinion is indicated in the text.

1. General Lines of Attack and Defence

III. Characteristics of the Gospel: Internal Evidence.—The external evidence for the Fourth Gospel is criticized, but it is chiefly on internal grounds that the opposition to the Johannine authorship and historical trustworthiness of the Gospel is based. Stress is laid on the broad contrast which admittedly exists in style, character and plan, between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics; on its supposed philosophical dress (the Logos-doctrine); on alleged errors and contradictions; on the absence of progress in the narrative, etc. The defence of the Gospel is usually conducted by pointing out the different aims of the Gospel, rebutting exaggerations in the above objections, and showing that in a multitude of ways the author of the Gospel reveals his identity with the apostle John. He was, e.g., a Jew, a Palestinian Jew, one familiar with the topography of Jerus, etc, an apostle, an eyewitness, the disciple whom Jesus loved (**13** 23; **20** 2; **21** 7.20). The attestation in **21** 24 of those who knew the author in his lifetime is of the greatest weight in this connection. Instead of following these familiar lines of argument (for which see Godet, Luthardt, Westcott, Ez. Abbot, Drummond, etc, in works cited), a confirmation is here sought on the lines of a fresh comprehensive study.

2. Unwarrantable Critical Presuppositions

The study of the Johannine writings in general, and of the Fourth Gospel in particular, has been approached in many ways and from various points of view. One of the most common of these ways, in recent works, is that which assumes that here we have the *product of Christian reflection* on the facts disclosed in the other Gospels, and that these facts have been modified by the experience of the church, and reflect the consciousness of the church at the end of the 1st cent. or the beginning of the 2d. By this time, it is assumed that the church, now mainly a gentile church, has been greatly influenced by Gr-Rom culture, that she has been reflecting on the wonder of her own history, and has so modified the original tradition as to assimilate it to the new environment. In the Fourth Gospel, it is said, we have the highest and most elaborate presentation of the outcome of the process. Starting with St. Paul and his influence, Professor B. W. Bacon traces for us the whole process until a school of theologians at Ephesus produced the Johannine writings, and the consciousness of the church was satisfied with the completeness of the new presentation of Christianity (cf his *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*). Hellenistic ideas in Heb form, the facts of the Gospel so transformed as to be acceptable to the Hellenistic mind—this is what scholars of this class find in the Fourth Gospel.

Others again come to the Gospel with the presupposition that it is intended to present to the reader a complete view of the life of Jesus, that it is intended to *supplement* and to *correct* the statements of the Synoptics and to present Christ in such a form as to meet the new needs of the church at the beginning of the 2d cent. Others find a *polemical* aim in the Gospel. Weizsäcker e.g. finds a strong polemic aim against the Jews. He says, "There are the objections raised by the Jews against the church after its secession has been consummated, and after the development of the person of its Christ has passed through its most essential stages. It is not a controversy of the lifetime, but that of the school carried back into the history of the life" (*Apostolic Age*, II, 222). One would have expected that a statement so forcibly put would have been supported by some evidence; that we might have some historical evidence regarding a controversy between Jew and church beyond what we have in the Fourth Gospel itself. But nothing is offered by Weizsäcker except the dictum that these are controversial topics carried on in the school, and that they are anachronisms as they stand. As it happens, we know from the *Dial.* between Justin Martyr and Trypho what were the topics discussed between Jew and Christian in the middle of the 2d cent., and it is sufficient to say that these topics, as reported by Justin, mainly regarded the interpretation of the OT, and are not those which are discussed in the Fourth Gospel.

Perhaps the most surprising of all the presuppositions with regard to the Fourth Gospel is that which lays great stress on the supposition that the book was largely intended to vindicate a Christian doctrine of the *sacraments* which flourished at the beginning of the 2d cent. According to this presupposition, the Fourth Gospel set forth a doctrine of the sacraments which placed them in a unique position as a means of salvation. While scarcely contending that the doctrine of the sacraments held by the church of the 2d cent. had reached that stage of development which meets us in the mediaeval church, it is, according to this view, far on the way toward that goal afterward reached. We do not dwell on this view, for the exegesis that finds sacramentarianism in the Fourth Gospel is hopeless. That Gospel does not put the sacraments in the place of Christ. Finally, we do not find the contention of those who affirm that the Fourth Gospel was written with a view of making the gospel of Jesus *more acceptable to the Gentiles* any more satisfactory. As a matter of fact, the Gospel which was most acceptable to the Gentiles was the Gospel according to Mt. It is more frequently quoted than any other. In the writings of the early church, it is quoted as often as all the other Gospels put together. The Fourth Gospel did not come into prominence in the Christian church until the rise of the Christological controversies in the 3d cent.

3. Real Aim of Gospel—Results

When, after dwelling on these ways of approaching the Fourth Gospel, and reading the demands made on the Gospel by those who approach it with these presuppositions and demands, we turn to the Gospel itself, and ask regarding its aim and purpose, we find a simple answer. The writer of it expressly says: "Many other signs therefore did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name" (**20** 30.31). Pursuing this clue, and putting away all the presuppositions which bulk so largely in introductions, exegeses, histories of the apostolic and sub-apostolic ages, one meets with many surprises.

(1) *Relation to Synoptics.*—In relation to the Synoptics, the differences are great, but more surprising is the fact that the points of contact between these Gospels and the Fourth Gospel are so few. The critics to whom reference has been made are unanimous that the writer or the school who compiled the Johannine writings was indebted to the Synoptics for almost all the facts embodied in the Fourth Gospel. Apart, however, from the Passion Week, only two points of contact are found so obvious that they cannot be doubted, viz. the feeding of the 5,000, and the walking on the sea (**6** 4–21). The healing of the child of the royal officer (**4** 46–53) can scarcely be identified with the healing of the centurion's servant (Mt, Lk); but even if the identification were allowed, this is all we have in the Fourth Gospel of the events of the ministry in Galilee. There is a ministry in Galilee, but the earlier ministry in Judaea and in Galilee began before John was cast into prison (**3** 24), and it has no parallel in the Synoptics. In fact, the Fourth Gospel assumes the existence of the other three, and does not anew convey the knowledge which can be

gathered from them. It takes its own way, makes its own selections, and sets these forth from its own point of view. It has its own principle of selection: that plainly indicated in the passage already quoted. The scenes depicted, the works done, the words spoken, and the reflections made by the writer, are all directed toward the aim of enabling the readers to believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. In the writer's view this would issue in their obtaining life in His name.

(2) *Time occupied in the Gospel.*—Accepting this principle for our guidance, we turn to the Gospel, and the first thing that strikes the reader is the small amount of the real time filled up, or occupied, by the scenes described in the Gospel. We take the night of the betrayal, and the day of the crucifixion. The things done and the words spoken on that day, from one sunset to another, occupy no fewer than 7 chs of the Gospel (chs **13**–**19**). Apart from the supplementary ch (**21**), there are 20 chs in the Gospel, containing 697 vs, and these 7 chs have 257 vs. More than one-third of the whole given to the ministry is thus occupied with the events of one day.

Again, according to Acts **1** 3, there was a ministry of the risen Lord which lasted for 40 days, and of all that happened during those days John records only what happened on the day of the resurrection, and on another day 8 days after (ch **20**). The incidents recorded in the other Gospels fall into the background, are taken for granted, and only the signs done on these two days are recorded here. They are recorded because they are of significance for the purpose he has in hand, of inducing belief in the truth that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. If we continue to follow the clue thus afforded, we shall be surprised at the fewness of the days on which anything was transacted. As we read the story of the Fourth Gospel, there are many indications of the passing of time, and many precise statements of date. We learn from the Gospel that the ministry of Jesus probably lasted for 3 years. We gather this from the number of the feasts which He attended at Jerus. We have notes of time spent in journeys, but no account of anything that happened during them. The days on which anything was done or anything said are very few. We are told precisely that "six days before the passover Jesus came to Bethany, where Lazarus was" (**12** 1 ff), and with regard to these 6 days we are told only of the supper and the anointing of the feet of Jesus by Mary, of the entry into Jerus, the visit of the Greeks, and of the impression which that visit made on Jesus. We have also the reflections of the evangelist on the unbelief of the Jews, but nothing further. We know that many other things did happen on these days, but they are not recorded in this Gospel. Apart from the two days during which Jesus dwelt in the place where he was, of which days nothing is recorded, the time occupied with the raising of Lazarus is the story of one day (ch **11**). So it is also with the healing of the blind man. The healing is done one day, and the controversy regarding the significance of that healing is all that is recorded of another day (ch **9**). What is recorded in ch **10** is the story of two days. The story of the 7th and 8th chs, interrupted by the episode of the woman taken in adultery, which does not belong to the Gospel, is the story of not more than two days. The story of the feeding of the 5,000 and of the subsequent discourse (ch **6**) is the story of two days. It is not necessary to enter into fuller detail. Yet the writer, as remarked, is very exact in his notes of time. He notes the days, the number of days on which anything was done, or when anything was said. We make these remarks, which will be obvious to every reader who attends to them, mainly for the purpose of showing that the Gospel on the face of it does not intend to, at least does not, set forth a complete account of the life and work of Jesus. It gives at the utmost an account of 20 days out of the 1,000 days of Our Lord's ministry. This is of itself sufficient to set aside the idea of those who deal with the Fourth Gospel as if it were meant to set aside, to supplement, or to correct, the accounts in the Synoptics. Plainly it was not written with that purpose.

(3) *A personal record.*—Obviously the book professes to be reminiscences of one who had personal experience of the ministry which he describes. The personal note is in evidence all through the book. It is present even in the prologue, for in that ver in which he describes the great fact of the incarnation he uses the personal note, "We beheld his glory" (**1** 14). This might be taken as the keynote of the Gospel. In all the scenes set forth in the Gospel the writer believes that in them Jesus manifested forth His glory and deepened the faith of His disciples. If we were to ask him, when did he behold the glory of the incarnate Word, the answer would be, in all these scenes which are described in the Gospel. If we read the Gospel from this point of view, we find that the writer had a different conception of the glory of the incarnate Word from that which his critics ascribe to him. He sees a glory of the Word in the fact that He was wearied with His journey (**4** 6), that He made clay of the spittle and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay (**9** 6), that He wept at the grave of Lazarus (**11** 35), that He groaned in the spirit and was troubled (ver 38), and that He could sorrow with a sorrow unspeakable, as He did after the interview with the Greeks (**12** 27). For he records all these things, and evidently thinks them quite consistent with the glory of the incarnate Word. A fair exegesis does not explain these things away, but must take them as of the essence of the manifested glory of the Word.

The Gospel then is professedly reminiscences of an eyewitness, of one who was personally present at all the scenes which he describes. No doubt the reminiscences often pass into reflections on the meaning and significance of what he describes. He often pauses to remark that the disciples, and he himself among them, did not understand at the time the meaning of some saying, or the significance of some deed, of Jesus (**2** 22; **12** 16, etc). At other times we can hardly distinguish between the words of the Master and the reflections of the disciple. But in other writings we often meet with the same phenomenon. In the Ep. to the Gal, e.g., Paul writes what he had said to Peter at Antioch: "If thou, being a Jew, livest as do the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (Gal **2** 14). Shortly after, he passes into reflections on the situation, and it is impossible to ascertain where the direct speech ends and the reflections begin. So it is in the Fourth Gospel. It is impossible in many instances to say where the words of Jesus end and the reflections of the writer begin. So it is, e.g., with his record of the witness of the Baptist in ch **3**. The record of the Baptist's words may end with the sentence, "He must increase, but I must decrease" (ver 30), and the rest may be the reflections of the writer on the situation.

(4) *Reminiscences of an eyewitness.*—The phenomena of the Gospel are thus, apparently at least, reminiscences of an eyewitness, with his reflections on the meaning of what he has experienced. He was present at the scenes which he describes. He was present on the night on which the Master was betrayed; he was present in the hall of the high priest; he was present at the cross, and bears testimony to the reality of the death of Jesus (**18** 15;

19 35). As we read the Gospel we note the stress he lays on "witness." The term frequently occurs (**1** 7.8.19; **3** 11.26.33; **5** 31; **12** 17; **21** 24, etc), and is used to set forth the verified facts of experience. In these testimonies we have an unusual combination of elevated thought and minute observation. At one time the evangelist soars aloft into a spiritual world, and moves with ease among the richest and highest elements of spiritual experience. Using common words, he yet reads into them the deepest meanings regarding man, the world, and God which have ever entered into the mind of man. Sublime mysticism and open-eyed practical sense meet in his wonderful writings. Above all, we are impressed with his sense of the supreme value of the historical. All his spiritual meanings have a historical basis. This is as apparent in the 1st Ep. as it is in the Gospel, and in the Gospel it is conspicuous. While his main interest is to focus the minds of his readers on Jesus, His work and His word, yet unconsciously he has written his own spiritual biography. We gradually become aware, as we read ourselves sympathetically into the spirit of the Gospel, that we are following the line of a great spiritual awakening, and are tracing the growth of faith and love in the life of the writer, until they become the overmastering tone of his whole life. On the one hand, the book is a grand objective revelation of a unique life, the story of the self-revelation of the Son of God, of the revelation of the Father in Jesus Christ, moving onward to its consummation through the contrasted developments of faith and unbelief on the part of them who received Him, and on the part of them who received Him not. On the other hand, it has a subjective unity in the heart of the writer, as it tells of how faith began, of how faith made progress, until he came to the knowledge of the Son of God. We can enter into the various crises through which he passed, through which, as they successively passed, he won the assurance which he so calmly expresses; and these supply him with the key by means of which he is able to unlock the mystery of the relations of Jesus to the world. The victory of faith which he sets forth was first won in his own soul. This also is included in the significant phrase, "We beheld his glory" (**1** 14).

(5) *Reminiscence illustrated.*—The Gospel receives powerful confirmation from reflection on the nature of reminiscence generally. A law of reminiscence is that, when we recall anything, or any occurrence, we recall it in its wholeness, with all the accessories of its accompaniments. As we tell it to others, we have to make a selection of that only which is needful to convey our meaning. Inartistic natures do not make a selection; they pour out everything that arises in the memory (cf Dame Quickly in Shakespeare). The finer qualities of reminiscence are abundantly illustrated in the Fourth Gospel, and furnish an independent proof that it is from the pen of an eyewitness. It is possible within reasonable limits to give only a few examples. Observe first the exact notes of time in ch **1** and the special notes of character in each of the 6 disciples whom Jesus met on the first 4 days of His ministry. Mark the peculiar graphic note that Nathanael was under the fig tree (ver 50). Pass on to notice the 6 waterpots of stone set at Cana after the manner of the Jews' purifying (**2** 6). We might refer in this connection to the geographical remarks frequently made in the course of the narrative, indicative of an intimate knowledge of Pal, and to the numerous allusions to Jewish laws, customs, beliefs, religious ceremonies, usually admitted now to be accurate, and illustrative of familiar knowledge on the part of the writer. Our main object, however, is to call attention to those incidental things which have no symbolical significance, but are set down because, as the main happening was recalled, these arose with it. He again sees the "lad" with the 5 barley loaves and 2 fishes (**6** 9); remembers that Mary sat still in the house, when the active Martha went forth to meet the Lord as He approached Bethany (**11** 20); recalls the appearance of Lazarus as he came forth bound hand and foot with grave-clothes (ver 44). He has a vivid picture before him as he recalls the washing of the disciples' feet (**13** 1–15), and the various attitudes and remarks of the disciples during the whole of that eventful night. He still sees the attitude of the soldiers who came to arrest Jesus (**18** 3–8), the flashing of Peter's sword (ver 10), the share of Nicodemus in the burying of Jesus, and the kinds and weights of the spices brought by him for the embalming of the body (**19** 38–40). He tells of the careful folding of the linen cloths, and where they were placed in the empty tomb (**20** 4–8). These are only some of those vivid touches due to reminiscence which none but an eyewitness could safely make. Looking back on the past, the evangelist recalls the various scenes and words of the Lord in their wholeness as they happened, and he chooses those living touches which bear the mark of reality to all readers.

(6) *Conclusions.*—These touches of vivid reality warrant the conclusion that the writer in this Gospel is depicting scenes in a real life, and is not drawing on his imagination. Looking back on his own spiritual history, he remembered with special vividness those words and works of Christ which determined his own life, and led him on to the full assurance of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God. The Gospel can be understood from this point of view: it does not seem to us that it can be understood from any other, without ignoring all the phenomena of the kind now indicated. When the Gospel is approached from this point of view, set forth by itself, one can afford to neglect many of the elaborate discussions which have arisen regarding the possible displacement of certain chs (Spitta, etc). Much, e.g., has been made of the sudden transference of the scene from Galilee to Judaea as we pass from ch **4** to ch **5**, and the equally sudden transference back to Galilee (**6** 1). Many suggestions have been made, but they all proceed on the supposition that the reminiscences were meant to be continuous, which it has been seen is not the case. While it is very likely that there is a sequence in the writer's thought, yet this need not compel us to think of displacements. Taken as they are in the Gospel, the selected proofs, whether they occur in Judaea or in Galilee, in all instances indicate progress. They illustrate the manifested glory of Jesus, on the one hand, and the growth of faith and the development of unbelief on the other. This, however, opens up a separate line of objection and inquiry to which attention must now be given.

IV. Progress and Development in the Gospel.—It is an objection often urged against the view of the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel that in it there is no progress, no development, no crisis, nothing, e.g., to correspond with the significance of the confession of St. Peter at Caesarea Philippi (Mt **16** 13–17 ||). This is held to be true alike of the character of Jesus, which, under the influence of the Logos-doctrine of the prologue, exhibits no development from first to last, and of the attitude of the disciples, whose faith in Jesus as the Christ is likewise represented as complete from the beginning. In reality the opposite is the case. In the course of the Gospel, as already said, the glory of the Lord is ever more completely manifested, and the disciples attain to a deeper faith, while the unbelief of those who reject Him becomes more fixed, until it is absolute. This will appear clearly on nearer examination.

The objection from the presentation of Jesus in the Gospel takes different forms, which it is desirable to consider separately.

1. The Presentation of Jesus in the Gospel

(1) *Alleged absence of development in the character of Jesus.*—It is affirmed, first, that there is no development in the character of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, none of those indications such as we have in the Synoptics of widening horizons, no recognition of the fact that the meaning, purpose and issue of His calling became clearer to Him as the days passed by. To this assertion there are two answers. The first is, that in a series of scenes from the activity of Jesus, selected for the definite purpose set forth in the Gospel, there is no need to demand a continuous history of His ministry. Selection is made precisely of those scenes which set forth His insight into human character and motive, His power of sympathetic healing, His command over Nature, and His supreme authority over man and the world. The other remark is, that even in the Fourth Gospel there *are* hints of a crisis in the ministry of Our Lord, during which He came to a clearer recognition of the fuller meaning of His mission (e.g. the visit of the Greeks, ch **12**). It will be seen further, below, that it is not true in this Gospel, any more than in the Synoptics, that Jesus is represented as publicly proclaiming Himself as the Messiah from the first.

(2) *Alleged "autonomy" of Jesus.*—Akin to the above is the objection to the historicity of the Gospel that in it Jesus is represented as always directing His own course, maintaining an attitude of aloofness to men, refusing to be influenced by them. This, it is held, results from the dominance of the Logos-idea in the prologue. The reply is that there is really no essential difference between the attitude of Jesus in these respects in the Synoptics and in Jn. In all alike He maintains an attitude of authority. In the Synoptics He can say, "I say unto you" (Mt **5** 22.28.32, etc). In them also He claims to be the teacher of absolute truth, the Saviour, the Ruler, the Judge, of men. In this regard there is no new claim made in the Fourth Gospel: "No one cometh unto the Father, but by me" (**14** 6). But He had said, "Come unto me . . . . and I will give you rest" (Mt **11** 28). A claim to authority over men is thus common to all the Gospels. In all of them, too, in the Fourth no less than in the others, there is on the part of Jesus loyalty, submission, subordination to the Father. In fact this is more conspicuous in the Fourth Gospel than in the Synoptics: "The Father is greater than I" (**14** 28). The words He speaks are the Father's words; the works He does are the Father's (**5** 19.20; **7** 16.18, etc): "This commandment received I from my Father" (**10** 18). In all the Gospels it is one consistent, gracious Figure who appears.

(3) *"Inconceivability" of Logos-presentation.*—A further objection, which aims at showing that this Gospel could not be the work of "a primitive apostle," may be noticed, partly from the eminence of him who makes it, and partly from the interest of the objection itself. In his work on *The Apostolic Age*, Weizsäcker says, "It is a puzzle that the beloved disciple of the Gospel, he who reclined at table next to Jesus, should have come to regard and represent his whole former experience as a life with the incarnate Logos of God. It is impossible to imagine any power of faith and philosophy so great as thus to obliterate the recollection of a real life and to substitute for it this marvelous picture of a Divine being. We can understand that Paul, who had not known Jesus, who had not come into contact with the man, should have been opposed to the tradition of the eyewitnesses, the idea of the heavenly man, and that he should have substituted the Christ who was spirit for His earthly manifestation, pronouncing the latter to be positively a stage above which faith must rise. For a primitive apostle it is inconceivable. The question is decided here and finally here" (II, 211). It is easy to say, "For a primitive apostle it is inconceivable," yet we know that a primitive apostle believed that Jesus rose from the dead, that He was exalted a Prince and Saviour, that He was seated at the right hand of God, that He was Lord of all (Acts **2** 22–36). If we grant that the primitive church believed these things, it cannot be fairly said that the further step taken in the Fourth Gospel is inconceivable. In truth, the objection of Weizsäcker is not taken against the Fourth Gospel; it is equally effective against Christianity in general. If Jesus be what He is said to be in the Synoptic Gospels, and if He be what the primitive church held Him to be, the leading conception of the Fourth Gospel is credible and conceivable. If Christianity is credible, the Fourth Gospel adds nothing to the difficulty of faith; rather it gives an additional ground for a rational faith.

It is proper at this point that a little more should be said on the Logos-doctrine itself, in its bearing

2. The Logos-Doctrine of the Prologue

on the presentation of Christ in this Gospel (for the philosophical and historical aspects of the doctrine, see LOGOS). Obviously the great interest of the author of the reminiscences and reflections in the Fourth Gospel is in the personal life of the Master whom he had known so intimately. To him this real historical life was everything. On it he brooded, on it he meditated, and he strove to make the significance of it ever more real to himself first, and to others afterward. How shall he make the reality of that life apparent to all? What were the relationships of that person to God, to man, and to the world? What Jesus really was, and what were His relations to God, to man, and to the world, John endeavors to make known in the prologue. This real person whom he had known, revered, loved, was something more than was apparent to the eyes of an ordinary observer; more even than had been apparent to His disciples. How shall this be set forth? From the Gospel it is evident that the historical person is first, and the attempt to set forth the meaning of the person is second. The prologue is an attempt to find language to set forth fitly the glory of the person. The Logos-doctrine does not descend on the historic person as a garment from without; it is an endeavor to describe what John had grown to recognize as the essential meaning of the person of Jesus. It is not a speculative theory we have here, not an endeavor to think out a theory of the world or of God; it is an attempt to find suitable language for what the writer recognizes to be a great fact. We need not, therefore, seek an explanation of St. John's Logos-doctrine in the speculation of Heraclitus, in the theories of the Stoics, even in the eclecticism of Philo. The interests of these men are far removed from the atmosphere of the Fourth Gospel. They desired a theory of the universe; John sought to set forth the significance of a personal historical life. In the prologue he set forth that life, and he chose a word which he filled up with concreter meaning, a meaning which included the deepest teaching of the OT, and the highest thought of his contemporaries. The teaching of St. Paul, esp. in the epp. of the captivity, approaches very closely to that of the Fourth Gospel. Thus it is not a right method to bring the Logos-doctrine to the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, and to look at all the phenomena of the Gospel as mere illustrations of that doctrine. The right method is the reverse. The Logos-doctrine has no concreteness, no living reality, taken apart from the personal life which was manifested to the apostle. The prologue represents what John had come to see as to the meaning of the personality he had historically known. He sets it forth once for all in the prologue, and never once in the Gospel does he refer to it again. We can understand that Logos-doctrine when we look at it in the light of those manifestations recorded in the Gospel, manifestations which enabled St. John to behold His glory; we cannot understand the manifestations if we look at them merely as illustrations of an abstract philosophical theorem. In brief, the Fourth Gospel is concrete, not abstract; it is not the evolution or the demonstration of a theory, but the attempt to set forth a concrete personality, and to find fitting words to express the significance of that personality as St. John had grown to see it.

As it is with the character of Jesus, so it is with the alleged absence of development in the faith of the disciples. Careful inquiry shows this objection also to be unfounded.

3. Growth of Faith and Development of Unbelief

(1) *Early confessions.*—Here again, it is said, we see the end from the beginning. In ch **1** Jesus is twice greeted as the Messiah (vs 41.45), and twice described as the Son of God (vs 34.49). The Baptist at this early stage points to Him as "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world" (ver 29). Reference is made to the case of Nicodemus (**3** 1 ff), to the Samaritans (**4** 41 f), and other incidents of the same kind, with the view of proving that at this early stage of the ministry of Our Lord such confessions are unlikely, and even impossible. It is to be noticed, however, that the confessions in these cases are represented as the outcome of special manifestations on the part of Jesus to the persons who make them. And the manifestations are such as to justify the psychological possibility of the confession. It is so in the case of Nathanael. Nor is the objection to the testimony of John the Baptist of a kind which admits of no answer. For the Baptist, according to the Synoptics, had found his own credentials in Isa **40**. There he found himself and his mission, and described himself, as we find it in the Fourth Gospel, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said Isaiah the prophet" (**1** 23; cf Mt **3** 3; Mk **1** 2.3). We find also that when John "heard in the prison the works of the Christ," and "sent by his disciples and said unto him, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?" (Mt **11** 2), the answer of Jesus was a reference to a passage in Isa **61**. According to Jesus these were the true signs of the Messianic kingdom. Is there any reason why we should not say that, as John found his own credentials in Isa **40**, he would also have found the character and signs of the Coming One in the description of the suffering servant in ch **53**? If he did so, what more simple than that he should describe the Coming One as the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world? In His answer to John, Jesus simply asks him to read farther on in that prophesy which had already meant so much for him.

(2) *Growth of faith in the disciples.*—Apart from what may be made of these early confessions, it may fairly be said that there are many signs of a growth of faith on the part of the disciples. Carrying with us the fact that each of these confessions had its ground in a particular manifestation of the glory of Christ, we go on to passages which prove how imperfect was the faith of the disciples. It is to be remembered also that John has only one word to describe all the phases of faith, from the slightest impression up to whole-hearted conviction and thorough surrender. We may refer to the careful and exhaustive treatment of the meanings of the word "believing" by E. A. Abbott in his work, *Johannine Vocabulary*. In the Fourth Gospel the vb. is always used, and never the noun. As the word is used, it denotes the impression made, whether that impression is slight and transient, or deep and abiding. Successive steps of acceptance are seen as the disciples advance to complete and absolute faith.

As we read the Gospel, we perceive that Jesus *did* test and try the faith of His disciples, and made His deeds and His words both tests of faith, and a means for its growth. As the result of the words on the bread of life, we find that many of His disciples said, "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" (**6** 60), and on account of the difficulty of His words, "Many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him" (ver 66). On His appeal to those who did not go away it is found that the difficulty became really an opportunity to them for a larger faith (vs 68.69). The incidents and events of the night of the betrayal, and the conversations on that night, prove how incomplete were the faith and confidence of the disciples; how far they were from a full understanding of the Master's purpose. Nor is it until after the resurrection, and the gladness of seeing their risen Lord in the upper room, that faith obtained a complete victory, and attained to full possession of itself.

(3) *Gradual disclosure of Messiahship: Growth of unbelief.*—On the other side, there is as manifestly an evolution of unbelief from the passing doubt of the moment on to the complete disbelief in Jesus, and utter rejection of Him.

It is only fair here to the Gospel to observe that the confessions to which we have already referred are on the part of individuals who came into special relationship with Jesus. Such is the case with regard to Nathanael, Nicodemus, the woman of Samaria and the Samaritan people, and the writer places the reader in that close relationship so that he who reads may believe. But such close relationship to Jesus is only the lot of a few in this Gospel. It is not true, as already remarked, that in this Gospel Jesus is represented as definitely proclaiming Himself as the Messiah. There is something of the same reserve here as there is in the Synoptics. He did not assert His claim; He left it to be inferred. His brethren hint that He ought to put His claims really to the test (**7** 3 f). An account of the doubts and speculations regarding Him is given in ch **7**. The people hesitate, and inquire, and speculate, Is He a good man, or a deceiver? (ver 12) Had He really a mission from God? (vs 14 ff)—all of which goes to prove that only certain individuals had such intimate knowledge of Him as to lead to acceptance. In ch **10** we read, "And it was the feast of the dedication at Jerus: it was winter; and Jesus was walking in the temple in Solomon's porch. The Jews therefore came round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou hold us in suspense? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly" (**10** 22–24). "It is very clear," as Dr. Sanday says, "that no sharply defined issue was set before the people. They are left to draw their own conclusions; and they draw them as well as they can by the help of such criteria as they have. But there is no *entweder . . . . oder . . . .*—either Messiah or not Messiah—peremptorily propounded by Jesus Himself" (*The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, 164). The sum of the matter as regards the development of unbelief is given by the evangelist in the words: "Though he had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on him" (**12** 37). On the other hand, the culmination of faith is seen in the word of the Lord to Thomas: "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" (**20** 29).

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JAMES IVERACH

JOHN MARK. See MARK, JOHN.

JOHN, THE REVELATION OF. See REVELATION OF JOHN.

JOIADA, joi'a-da (יוֹיָדָע, *yōyādhā'*, "Jeh knows"; cf JEHOIADA):

(1) A repairer of the Jerus walls (Neh **3** 6); AV "Jehoiada."

(2) Son of Eliashib the high priest (Neh **12** 10.11.22; **13** 28).

JOIAKIM, joi'a-kim (יוֹיָקִים, *yōyāḳīm*, "Jeh raises up"; cf JEHOIAKIM; JOKIM): Son of Jeshua and father of Eliashib, the high priest (Neh **12** 10.12.26).

JOIARIB, joi'a-rib (יוֹיָרִיב, *yōyārībh*, "Jeh pleads" or "contends"; cf JEHOIARIB):

(1) A "teacher" of Ezra's time (Ezr **8** 16).

(2) A Judahite (Neh **11** 5).

(3) In Neh **11** 10; **12** 6.19 = JEHOIARIB (q.v.).

JOIN, join: Of the NT words, *kolláō*, lit. "glue," "weld together," and its compounds, designate the closest form of personal union, as in Lk **15** 15; 1 Cor **6** 16; Eph **5** 31. In the words of institution of marriage, *suzeúgnumi* is used (Mt **19** 6; Mk **10** 9, lit. "yoke together"; cf Gen **2** 24).

JOKDEAM, jok'dē-am (יָקְדְעָם, *yoḳ^{e}dh^{e}ʽām*): An unidentified city of Judah, named with Maon, Carmel and Ziph (Josh **15** 56). It probably lay to the S. of Hebron.

JOKIM, jō'kim (יוֹקִים, *yōḳīm*, "Jeh raises up"; cf JEHOIAKIM; JOIAKIM): A Judahite, descendant of Shelah (1 Ch **4** 22).

JOKMEAM, jok'mē-am (יָקְמְעָם, *yoḳm^{e}ʽām*): A town in Mt. Ephraim assigned to the Kohathite Levites (1 Ch **6** 68), named along with Gezer and Beth-horon. Its place is taken by Kibzaim in Josh **21** 22 (in LXX here the name is omitted). It is mentioned again in 1 K **4** 12 (AV wrongly "Jokneam"), where it seems to indicate some position to the E. of Ephraim. So far no identification is possible.

JOKNEAM, jok'nē-am (יָקְנְעָם, *yoḳn^{e}ʽām*): A royal city of the Canaanites taken by Joshua and described as "in Carmel" (Josh **12** 22), in the territory of Zebulun, and allotted to the Merarite Levites (**21** 34). The border of Zebulun "reached to the brook that is before Jokneam" (**19** 11). In 1 K **4** 12 the name appears in AV where, with RV, we should read "Jokmeam." *Onom* places it 6 Rom miles from Lejio (*Lejjūn*) on the way to Ptolemais (Acre). This points to *Tell Ḳaimūn*, a striking mound on the eastern slope of Mt. Carmel. To the E. of it runs the "torrent bed" of the Kishon. It stands about 300 ft. above the valley to the N. of it, and the sides are steep. It is crowned by the ruins of an 18th-cent. fortress. A little lower down are the remains of a small chapel. There are fine springs at the foot (*PEFM*, II, 69 f). In Jth **7** 3 it appears as "Cyamon" (Κυαμῶν, *Kuamōn*). It is the "Mons Cain" of the Middle Ages. "In the Sam Book of Jgs it is noticed as the scene of a conflict between the Hebrews and the Giants; and Joshua is said to have been shut up here in magic walls of brass, till on sending a dove to the Heb king of Gilead, he was rescued" (Conder, *HDB*, s.v.).

W. EWING

JOKSHAN, jok'shan (יָקְשָׁן, *yoḳshān*, meaning unknown): Son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen **25** 2.3 ‖ 1 Ch **1** 32). Tuch suggested that *yoḳshān* = *yoḳṭān* (Gen **10** 25–29); see *HDB*, s.v.; Skinner, *Gen*, 350.

JOKTAN, jok'tan (יָקְטָן, *yoḳṭān*, meaning unknown): "Son" of Eber, and "father" of 13 tribes (Gen **10** 25.26.29; 1 Ch **1** 19.20.23).

JOKTHEEL, jok'thē-el, jok'thēl (יָקְתְאֵל, *yoḳ^{e}th^e'ēl*):

(1) A city in the Shephelah of Judah named between Mizpeh and Lachish (Josh **15** 38); unidentified.

(2) A city in Edom formerly called Sela, taken by Amaziah after the battle in the Valley of Salt, and by him called Joktheel (2 K **14** 7). See SELA.

JONA, jō'na. See JONAH; JONAS.

JONADAB, jon'a-dab. See JEHONADAB.

JONAH, jō'na (יוֹנָה, *yōnāh*, "dove"; **Ἰωνάς**, *Iōnás*):

(1) According to 2 K **14** 25, Jonah, the son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher, a prophet and servant of Jeh, predicted the restoration of the land of Israel to its ancient boundaries through the efforts of Jeroboam II. The prophet lived and labored either in the early part of the reign of Jeroboam (790–750 BC), or during the preceding generation. He may with great probability be placed at 800–780 BC. His early ministry must have made him popular in Israel; for he prophesied of victory and expansion of territory. His native village of Gath-hepher was located in the territory of Zebulun (Josh **19** 13).

(2) According to the book bearing his name, Jonah the son of Amittai received a command to preach to Nineveh; but he fled in the opposite direction to escape from the task of proclaiming Jeh's message to the great heathen city; was arrested by a storm, and at his own request was hurled into the sea, where he was swallowed by a great fish, remaining alive in the belly of the fish for three days. When on his release from the body of the fish the command to go to Nineveh was renewed, J. obeyed and announced the overthrow of the wicked city. When the men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of the prophet, God repented of the evil He had threatened to bring upon them. J. was grieved that the oppressing city should be spared, and waited in the vicinity to see what would be the final outcome. An intense patriot, J. wished for the destruction of the people that threatened to swallow up Israel. He thought that Jeh was too merciful to the heathen oppressors. By the lesson

of the gourd he was taught the value of the heathen in the sight of Jeh.

It is the fashion now in scholarly circles to treat the Book of Jonah as fiction. The story is said to be an allegory or a parable or a symbolic narrative. Why then did the author fasten upon a true and worthy prophet of Jeh the stigma of rebellion and narrowness? On the theory that the narrative is an allegory, J. Kennedy well says that "the man who wrote it was guilty of a gratuitous insult to the memory of a prophet, and could not have been inspired by the prophet's Master thus to dishonor a faithful servant."

(3) Our Lord referred on two different occasions to the sign of Jonah the prophet (Mt **12** 38–41; Lk **11** 29–32; Mt **16** 4). He speaks of J.'s experience in the belly of the fish as parallel with His own approaching entombment for three days, and cites the repentance of the Ninevites as a rebuke to the unbelieving men of his own generation. Our Lord thus speaks both of the physical miracle of the preservation of Jonah in the body of the fish and of the moral miracle of the repentance of the Ninevites, and without the slightest hint that He regarded the story as an allegory.

John Richard Sampey

JONAH, THE BOOK OF: This little roll of four short chapters has given rise to almost as much discussion and difference of opinion as the first four chapters of Gen. It would be presumptuous to think that one could, in a brief article, speak the final word on the questions in debate.

I. Contents of the Book.—The story is too well known to need retelling. Moreover, it would be difficult to give the events in fewer words than the author employs in his classic narrative. One event grows out of another, so that the interest of the reader never flags.

1. Jonah Disobedient, 1:1–3

When the call came to Jonah to preach in Nineveh, he fled in the opposite direction, hoping thus to escape from his unpleasant task. He was afraid that the merciful God would forgive the oppressing heathen city, if it should repent at his preaching. Jonah was a narrow-minded patriot, who feared that Assyria would one day swallow up his own little nation; and so he wished to do nothing that might lead to the preservation of wicked Nineveh. Jonah was willing to prophesy to Israel; he at first flatly refused to become a foreign missionary.

2. Jonah Punished, 1:4–16

The vessel in which the prophet had taken passage was arrested by a great storm. The heathen sailors inferred that some god must be angry with some person on board, and cast lots to discover the culprit. When the lot fell upon Jonah, he made a complete confession, and bravely suggested that they cast him overboard. The heathen mariners rowed desperately to get back to land, but made no progress against the storm. They then prayed Jeh not to bring innocent blood upon them, and cast Jonah into the sea. As the storm promptly subsided, the heathen sailors offered a sacrifice to Jeh and made vows. In this part of the story the mariners give an example of the capacity of the Gentiles to perform noble deeds and to offer acceptable worship to Jeh.

3. Jonah Miraculously Preserved, 1:17—2:10

Jeh prepared a great fish to swallow Jonah and to bear him in his body for three days and nights. Surprised to find himself alive and conscious in the body of the fish, the prophet prayed to his God. Already by faith he speaks of his danger as a past experience. The God who had saved him from drowning in the depths of the sea will yet permit him once more to worship with loud thanksgiving. At the command of Jeh the fish vomits out Jonah upon the dry land. The almost inevitable grotesqueness of this part of the story is one of the strongest arguments against the view that the Book of Jon is literal history and not a work of the imagination.

4. Jonah's Ministry in Nineveh, 3:1–4

Upon the renewal of the command to go to Nineveh, Jonah obeyed, and marching through the streets of the great city, he cried, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown!" His message was so brief that he may well have spoken it in good Assyrian. If the story of his deliverance from the sea preceded him, or was made known through the prophet himself, the effect of the prophetic message was thereby greatly heightened.

5. The Ninevites Repent, 3:5–10

The men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonah, the entire city uniting in fasting and prayer. So great was the anxiety of the people that even the lower animals were clothed in sackcloth. The men of Nineveh turned from deeds of violence ("their evil way") to seek the forgiveness of an angry God. Jeh decided to spare the city.

6. A Narrow Prophet versus the Merciful God, 4:1–11

Jonah breaks out into loud and bitter complaint when he learns that Nineveh is to be spared. He decides to encamp near the city to see what will become of it. He hopes it may yet be overthrown. Through a gourd vine Jeh teaches the prophet a great lesson. If such a mean and perishable plant could come to have real value in the eyes of the sullen prophet, what estimate ought to be put on the lives of the thousands of innocent children and helpless cattle in the great city of Nineveh? These were dearer to the God of heaven than Jonah's protecting vine could possibly be to him.

II. The Aim of the Book.—The main purpose of the writer was to enlarge the sympathies of Israel and lead the chosen people to undertake the great missionary task of proclaiming the truth to the heathen world. Other lessons may be learned from the subordinate parts of the narrative, but this is the central truth of the Book of Jon. Kent well expresses the author's main message: "In his wonderful picture of God's love for all mankind, and of the Divine readiness to pardon and to save even the ignorant heathen, if they but repent according to their light, he has anticipated the teaching of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and laid the foundation for some of the broadest faith and the noblest missionary activity of the present generation" (*Sermons, Epistles*, etc, 420).

1. What Did Our Lord Teach?

III. Is the Book History?—Most of the early interpreters so understood it, and some excellent scholars still hold this view. If Jesus thought of the story as history and so taught, that fact alone would settle the question for the devout believer. On two, possibly three, different occasions He referred to Jonah (Mt **12** 38–41; **16** 4; Lk **11** 29–32). It is significant that Jesus brought the two great miracles of the Book of Jon into relation with Himself and His preaching. As Jonah was three days and three nights in the body of the fish, so should the Son of Man be three days in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonah, while the contemporaries of Jesus for the most part rejected His message. It is the fashion now among advanced critics to treat Mt **12** 40 as an addition to the words of Jesus, though there is no manuscript evidence in favor of regarding the verse as an interpolation. G. A. Smith, among recent scholars, holds the view that Jesus did not mean to teach the historicity of Jonah's experience in the fish.

"Christ is using an illustration: it matters not whether that illustration be drawn from the realms of fact or of poetry" (*BTP*, II, 508). In a footnote Dr. Smith says: "Suppose we tell slothful people that theirs will be the fate of the man who buried his talent, is this to commit us to the belief that the personages of Christ's parables actually existed? Or take the homiletic use of Shakespeare's dramas—'as Macbeth did,' or 'as Hamlet said.' Does it commit us to the historical reality of Macbeth or Hamlet? Any preacher among us would resent being bound by such an inference. And if we resent this for ourselves, how chary we should be about seeking to bind Our Lord by it."

Notwithstanding Principal Smith's skilful presentation of his case, we still think that Our Lord regarded the miracles of the fish and the repentance of the Ninevites as actual events. Orelli puts the matter judiciously: "It is not, indeed, proved with conclusive necessity that, if the resurrection of Jesus was a physical fact, Jonah's abode in the fish's belly must also be just as historical. On this point also the saying, 'A greater than Jonah is here,' holds good. But, on the other hand, how arbitrary it is to assert, with Reuss, that Jesus regarded Jonah's history as a parable! On the contrary, Jesus saw in it a sign, a powerful evidence of the same Divine power which showed itself also in His dying in order to live again and triumph in the world. Whoever, therefore, feels the religious greatness of the book, and accepts as authoritative the attitude taken to its historical import by the Son of God Himself, will be led to accept a great act of the God who brings down to Hades and brings up again, as an actual experience of Jonah in his flight from his Lord" (*The Twelve Minor Prophets*, 172, 3).

2. Modern Critical Views

Most modern critical scholars since Kleinert (1868) and Bloch (1875) have regarded the Book of Jon as a work of the imagination. Some prefer to call it an allegory, others a parable, others a prose poem, others a didactic story, others a midrash, others a symbolical book. Keil, Pusey, Delitzsch, Orelli, J. Kennedy and others have contended for the historical character of the narrative. A few treat it as a legend containing a kernel of fact. Cheyne and a few other scholars assert that in the symbolic narrative are imbedded mythical elements. The trend of critical opinion, even in evangelical circles, has of late been toward the symbolical interpretation. Radical critics boldly set aside the teaching of Jesus as erroneous, while the more evangelical take refuge either in the doctrine of the Kenosis (Phil **2** 5–8), or in the principle of accommodation. The last explanation might commend itself to the devout student, viz. that Jesus did not think it worth while to correct the views of his contemporaries, had Our Lord not spoken more than once of the sign of Jonah, and in such detail as to indicate His acceptance of the entire narrative with its two great miracles.

IV. Authorship and Date.—The old view that Jonah was the author is still held by some scholars, though most moderns place the book in the late exilic or post-exilic times. A few Aram. words occur in the Heb text. The question in debate is whether the language of Israel in the days of Jeroboam II had taken over words from the Aramaic. There had certainly been a century of close political and commercial contact between Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus, so that it would not be surprising to meet with Aram. words in a prophet of Samaria. Hosea, in the generation following Jonah, betrays little evidence of Aram. influence in his style and vocabulary. Of course, the personal equation is a factor that ought not to be overlooked. If the author was a Judaean, we should probably have to think of the post-exilic period, when Aram. began to displace Heb as the vernacular of the Jews. The Book of Jon is anonymous, and we really do not know who the author was or when he lived. The view that Jonah wrote the story of his own disobedience and his debate with the merciful God has not been made wholly untenable.

V. The Unity of the Book.—Nachtigal (1799) contended that there were three different authors of widely different periods. Kleinert (1868) held that two parallel narratives had been woven together in chs **3** and **4**. Kaufmann Kohler (1879) contended that there were a considerable number of glosses and interpolations besides some transpositions of material. W. Böhme, in 1887, advanced the most radical theory of the composition of the roll. He partitioned the story among two authors, and two redactors or supplementers. A few additional glosses were charged to later hands. Even radical critics treat Böhme's theory as one of the curiosities of criticism. Winckler (*AOF*, II, 260 ff) tried to improve the story by a few transpositions. Hans Schmidt (1905) subjects the roll of Jonah to a searching criticism, and concludes that a good many changes have been made from religious motives. Budde follows Winckler and Schmidt both in transposing and in omitting some material. Sievers (1905) and Erbt (1907) tried to make of the Book of Jon a poem; but they do not agree as to the meter. Sievers regards the roll as a unit, while Erbt contends for two main sources besides the prayer in ch **2**. Bewer, in *ICC* (1912), is far more conservative in both textual and literary criticism, recognizing but few glosses in our present text and arguing for the unity of the story apart from the insertion of the ps in ch **2**. Nearly all recent critics assign Jonah's prayer to a writer other than the author of the narrative about Jonah, but opinions vary widely as to the manner in which the psalm found its way into the Book of Jon. Bewer holds that it was probably put on the margin by a reader and afterward crept into the text, the copyist inserting it after ver 2, though it would more naturally follow ver 11. Bewer remarks: "The literary connections with various post-exilic pss argue for a post-exilic date of the ps. But how early or how late in the post-exilic period it belongs we cannot tell. The Heb is pure and no Aram. influence is apparent." It is evident, then, that the presence or absence of Aram. influence does not alone settle the question of the date of the document. Geography and the personal equation may be more important than the question of date. Bewer recognizes the fact that the ps in Jon is not a mere cento of quotations from the Pss. "The phrases it has in common with other pss," writes Professor Bewer, "were the common property of the religious language of the author's day" (p. 24). Those who still believe that David wrote many of the pss find no difficulty in believing that a prophet of 780 BC could have drawn upon his knowledge of the Psalter in a prayer of thanksgiving to Jeh.

LITERATURE.—Among comms. covering the twelve Minor Prophets, see esp. Pusey (1861), Keil (ET, 1880), von Orelli (ET, 1893), Wellhausen (1898), G. A. Smith (1898). Among special comms. on Jon, consult Kleinert, in Lange (ET, 1875); Perowne, in *Cambridge Bible* (1897); Bewer in *ICC* (1912). See also C. H. H. Wright, *Biblical Essays* (1886); H. C. Trumbull, "Jonah in Nineveh," *JBL*, XI (1892); J. Kennedy, *Book of Jon* (1895); König in *HDB;* Cheyne in *EB*. For more elaborate bibliography see Bewer in *ICC*, 25–27.

JOHN RICHARD SAMPEY

JONAM, jō′nam (**'Ιωνάμ,** *Iōnám,* WH; **'Ιωνάν,** *Iōnán, TR;* AV **Jonan**): An ancestor of Jesus in Lk's genealogy (**3** 30).

JONAN, jō′nan. See JONAM.

JONAS, jō′nas (**'Ιωνάς,** *Iōnás;* AV **Jonan**):
(1) Son of Eliasib (1 Esd **9** 1).
(2) Corresponds in 1 Esd **9** 23 to "Eliezer" in Ezr **10** 23.

(3) The prophet Jonah (2 Esd **1** 39; Tob **14** 4.8).

JONAS, jō′nas (יוֹנָה, *yōnāh*, or יוֹחָנָן, *yōḥānān*; **Ἰωνά,** *Iōná*):

(1) The name given in Mt **12** 39–41; **16** 4; Lk **11** 29–32 AV to the OT prophet Jonah (RV renders "Jonah"). See Jonah.

(2) (Ἰωάνης, *Iōánēs*): The name given in Jn **21** 15.16 AV to the father of the apostle Simon Peter. Nothing further is known of him, except the different forms of his name. In Jn **1** 42 AV he is called Jona (cf also Mt **16** 17 AV). In Jn **1** 42; **21** 15.16 RV he is called John, with the marginal note "Gr *Joanes*." In Mt **16** 17 RV Simon Peter is called Simon Bar-Jonah.

Jonas may be a contraction for Joanes (Keim). It has also been suggested that the father of Simon may have had a double name, Jona-Johannes (cf F. H. Chase in *HDB*, art. "John, father of Simon Peter"). C. M. Kerr

JONATH ELEM REHOKIM, jō′nath ē′lem rē̇-hō′kim (יוֹנַת אֵלֶם רְחֹקִים, *yōnath 'ēlem rᵉḥōḳīm*) (Ps **56**, title): "The silent dove of the far ones" (i.e. either of far-off lands, or among aliens), or "The dove of the distant terebinths," in either case indicating the tune to the melody of which the ps was to be sung. See Psalms; Song.

JONATHAN, jon′a-than (יְהוֹנָתָן, *yᵉhōnāthān*, יוֹנָתָן, *yōnāthān*, "Jeh has given"; **Ἰωναθάν,** *Iōnathán*; cf Jehonathan):

(1) (Heb *yᵉhōnāthān*): The young "Levite" of Jgs **17, 18** referred to by name in **18** 30, where he is called "the son of Gershom, the son of Moses," and where AV has "Manasseh" for Moses, following the MT in which the letter *nūn* of Manasseh is "suspended."

Rashi states the reason thus: "Because of the honor of Moses was the *nūn* written so as to alter the name." The original word was Moses, but it was thought undesirable that a descendant of his should have anything to do with images; and so J. was made to have affinity (metaphorically) with Manasseh. See *GB*, Intro, 335–38.

J. was a Levitical Judahite of Beth-lehem-judah, who came to the house of Micah, in the hill country of Ephraim, and hired himself as a priest in Micah's sanctuary (**17** 1–13). The Danites sent 5 men north to spy for new territory, and on their way the spies came to the house of Micah, where they found J. and consulted the oracle through him (**18** 1–5). Having received a favorable answer, they set out and came to Laish, and on their return south they advised that an expedition be sent thither (**18** 6–10). Their clansmen accordingly sent out a band of warriors who on their way passed by Micah's house. The spies informed their comrades of the ephod and teraphim and images there, and they seized them, inducing J. at the same time to accompany them as their priest (vs 11–20). At Laish he founded a priesthood which was thus descended from Moses (ver 30).

It has been held that there are two sources in the narrative in Jgs **17, 18** (see Moore, *Jgs*, 365–72). The section is important because of the light it throws on life and religion in early Israel. The "Levites" were not all of one tribe (see Moore, op. cit., 383–84); there were priests who claimed descent from Moses as well as Aaronite priests; and images were common in early Heb worship (cf Gen **31** 30 ff; Jgs **8** 27; 1 S **19** 13).

(2) Son of King Saul. See separate art.

(3) (Heb *yᵉhōnāthān*, *yōnāthān*, 2 S **15** 27.36; **17** 17.20; 1 K **1** 42.43): Son of Abiathar the priest. He acted with Ahimaaz as courier to inform David of events at Jerus during Absalom's revolt. It was he who also brought to Adonijah the news of Solomon's accession.

(4) (Heb *yᵉhōnāthān*, 2 S **21** 21 ‖ 1 Ch **20** 7): Son of Shimei or Shimea, David's brother; he is said to be the slayer of Goliath. See Jehonadab (1).

(5) (2 S **23** 32, Heb *yᵉhōnāthān* = 1 Ch **11** 34, Heb *yōnāthān*): One of David's mighty men. See Jashen.

(6) (Heb *yōnāthān*, 1 Ch **2** 32.33): A Jerahmeelite.

(7) (Heb *yᵉhōnāthān*, and so 1 Ch **27** 25 AV): Son of Uzziah, and one of David's treasurers.

(8) (Heb *yᵉhōnāthān*, 1 Ch **27** 32): A *dōdh* of David, RV "uncle," RVm "brother's son"; if he was David's nephew, he will be the same as (4) above. He "was a counsellor" to David, and "a man of understanding, and a scribe."

(9) (Heb *yōnāthān*, Ezr **8** 6; 1 Esd **8** 32): Father of Ebed, a returned exile.

(10) (Heb *yōnāthān*, Ezr **10** 15; 1 Esd **9** 14): One who either supported (RV) or opposed (RVm, AV) Ezra in the matter of foreign marriages; see Jahzeiah.

(11) (Heb *yōnāthān*, Neh **12** 11): A priest, descendant of Jeshua (Joshua) = "Johanan" (**12** 22.23); see Jehohanan, (3).

(12) (Heb *yōnāthān*, Neh **12** 14): A priest.

(13) (Heb *yōnāthān*, Neh **12** 35): A priest, father of Zechariah.

(14) (Heb *yᵉhōnāthān*, Jer **37** 15.20; **38** 26): A scribe in whose house Jeremiah was imprisoned.

(15) (Heb *yōnāthān*, Jer **40** 8): Son of Kareah; a Judahite captain who joined Gedaliah after the fall of Jerus.

(16) (Ἰωνάθης, *Iōnáthēs*, 1 Macc **2** 5; **9–13;** and Ἰναθάν, *Inathán*, 2 Macc **8** 22; Swete reads *Ionáthēs*): The Maccabee surnamed Apphus in 1 Macc **2** 5, son of Mattathias.

(17) Son of Absalom (1 Macc **13** 11). He was sent by Simon the Maccabee to capture Joppa (cf **11** 70, where there is mentioned a Mattathias, son of Absalom).

(18) A priest who led in prayer at the first sacrifice after the return from exile (2 Macc **1** 23).

David Francis Roberts

JONATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן, *yᵉhōnāthān;* also יוֹנָתָן, *yōnāthān*, "Jeh has given"; **Ἰωναθάν,** *Iōnathán*):

1. Three Periods

The eldest son of Saul, the first king of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin. The life of J., as far as we are told about him, falls naturally into 3 periods.

(1) *First period.*—He comes on the scene as the right hand and lieutenant of his father in his early struggles to beat off the hostile tribes, esp. the Ammonites (1 S **11**), who beset the territory of Israel on all sides. As soon as Saul had gained his first decisive victory, the people rallied to him in great numbers, so that he was able to count upon 3,000 men whenever they took the field. These were divided into two small armies, Saul retaining 2,000 and making Michmash his headquarters, the rest being stationed at Gibeah under J., some 5 miles distant as the crow flies. J. thus commanded the base, while his father led the fighting force. This position of comparative inactivity does not appear to have been much to the taste of J. Midway between the two camps was a Phili outpost at Geba, facing Michmash across the pass of that name, a valley with steep sides, now the *Wâdi Suweinîṭ*. Saul does not seem to have felt himself strong enough to commence hostilities against the Philis, and took means to increase the forces at his disposal. The Philis no sooner heard that the Israelites had cast off their yoke (1 S **13** 3*b:* for "Let the Hebrews hear," read "The Hebrews have revolted," after LXX), than they came out in great

numbers (**13** 5). They seem to have compelled Saul to evacuate Michmash, which they occupied, Saul falling back on Gibeah (**13** 16) and Gilgal with a greatly reduced following (**13** 3.4*a* seems to be a summary anticipation, in Heb style, of the events detailed in ch **14**). In spite of this, J., accompanied only by his armor-bearer, surprised the Phili outpost at Geba (**14** 5, "Gibeah" should be "Geba"), which was killed to a man. This feat precipitated a general engagement, in which the Israelites, whose only weapons appear to have been their farming implements (**13** 20), Saul and J. alone being armed with iron swords and spears, routed their enemies. The completeness of the victory was impaired by the superstitious action of Saul in refusing to allow the people to eat until the day was over (**14** 24). As this order was unwittingly broken by J., Saul wished to have him executed; but this the people refused to allow, as they clearly recognized that the credit of the victory was due to the energetic action of J. in striking before the enemy had time to concentrate. (In the Heb text there is some confusion between Gibeah and Geba; cf **10** 5 m and **13** 3.)

(2) *Second period.*—The 2d period of the life of J. is that of his friendship for David. The narrative is too well known to need recapitulating, and the simple tale would only be spoiled by telling it in other words. J.'s devotion to David was such that he not only took his part against his father, Saul (chs **18, 19**), but was willing to surrender to him his undoubted claim to become Saul's successor (ch **20**). Their last meeting took place in the "desert" of Ziph, to the S. of Hebron, some time after David had been driven into outlawry (**23** 16–18).

(3) *Third period.*—The 3d phase of J.'s life is that of the exile of David, when Saul was directing his energies to combat what he no doubt considered the rebellion of the son of Jesse. During this civil war, if that can be called war in which one of the two sides refuses to take the offensive against the other, J. remained entirely passive. He could not take part in proceedings which were directed against his friend whom he believed to be destined to occupy the place which he himself should in the ordinary course of events have filled. We therefore hear no more of J. until the encroachments of the Philis once more compelled Saul to leave the pursuit of the lesser enemy in order to defend himself against the greater. Saul's last campaign against the Philis was short and decisive: it ended in the defeat of Gilboa and the death of himself and his sons. The men of Jabesh-gilead, out of gratitude for Saul's rescue of their town at the beginning of his reign, crossed over to Beth-shan, on the walls of which town the Philis had hung in chains the bodies of Saul and Jonathan, and took them down under cover of darkness and carried them to Jabesh. There they burned the bodies after the manner of the primitive inhabitants of the land, and buried the bones.

2. His Character

If we may judge from the little which has been handed down to us concerning him, J. must have been one of the finest spirits that ever lived. His character is, as far as our knowledge goes, nearly perfect. He was athletic and brave (1 S **14** 13; 2 S **1** 22.23). He could keep his plans secret when secrecy was necessary in order to carry them to a successful issue (**14** 1), and could decide on what course of action to follow and act upon it on the instant.

3. Military Qualities

His attack upon the Phili garrison at Geba (or Gibeah, if we adopt the reading of the LXX and Tg of **13** 3; cf **10** 5) was delivered at the right moment, and was as wise as it was daring. If he had a fault, from a military point of view, it may have been an inability to follow up an advantage. The pursuit of the Philis on the occasion referred to ended with nightfall. In this respect, however, he perhaps cannot be censured with justice, as he never had an entirely free hand.

4. Filial Piety

J.'s independence and capacity for acting on his own responsibility were combined with devotion to his father. While holding his own opinion and taking his own course, he conformed as far as possible to his father's views and wishes. While convinced of the high deserts of David, he sought by all means to mitigate Saul's hatred toward him, and up to a certain point he succeeded (**19** 6). Filial duty could not have been more severely tested than was that of J., but his conduct toward both his father and his friend is above criticism. Only on one occasion did his anger get the better of him (**20** 34) under gross provocation, Saul having impugned the honor of J.'s mother (**20** 30 LXX) Ahinoam (**14** 50), and attempted his life. The estrangement was momentary; Saul and Jonathan were undivided in life and in death (2 S **1** 23 to be so read).

5. Friendship for David

But it is as the befriender of David that J. will always be remembered. He is the type of the very perfect friend, as well as of the chivalrous knight, for all time. His devotion to David was altogether human; had it been dictated by a superstitious belief in David's destiny as the future ruler of his people (**23** 17), that belief would have been shared by Saul, which was not the case (**20** 31). In disinterestedness and willingness to efface his own claims and give up his own titles the conduct of J. is unsurpassed, and presents a pleasing contrast to some of the characters with whom we meet in the Bible. In this respect he resembles ʿAlî, the cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, who was the bravest of the brave, save when fighting in his own cause, and who had no ambition to fill the highest posts. So J. preferred to serve rather than to command (1 S **23** 17). J. and David stand for the highest ideal of Heb friendship, as do Damon and Pythias in Gr lit.

6. Inspired Affection

We may be sure that J. won the affection of the people. His squire was ready to follow him anywhere (**14** 7). David's devotion to him seems to have been sincere, although it unfortunately coincided with his own self-interest. J. appears to have inspired as great an affection as he himself felt (1 S **20** 41; 2 S **1** 26). His quarrel with his father was largely due to the solicitude of the latter for his son's interests (1 S **18** 29; **20** 31).

7. His Descendants

Jonathan's sons were, in common with his brother's, killed in the wars. One alone—Merib-baal (Mephibosheth)—survived. J.'s posterity through him lasted several generations. A table of them is given in 1 Ch **8** 33 ff ‖ **9** 40 ff (cf 2 S **9** 12). They were famous soldiers and were, like their ancestors, distinguished in the use of the bow (1 Ch **8** 40).

Thomas Hunter Weir

JONATHAS, jon′a-thas (Swete reads **Ἰαθάν**, *Iathán*, in B; **Ναθάν**, *Nathán*, in ℵ): The Lat form of the common name "Jonathan" (Tob **5** 13). See Jathan. It is sometimes represented as Nathan.

JOPPA, jop′a (יָפוֹ, *yāphō*, יָפוֹא, *yāphō′*; **Ἰόππη**, *Ióppē*):

1. Ancient Notices

In Josh **19** 46 AV called "Japho," a city in the territory allotted to Dan; but there is nothing to show that in pre-exilic times it ever passed into Israelitish hands. "The gate of Joppa" is mentioned in the Am Tab (214, 32 f; cf 178, 20), as guarded by an Egyp officer for Amenhotep IV. It was conquered by Thothmes III, and old Egyp records speak of the excellence of its gardens and fruit trees. Sennacherib claims to have taken J. after a siege (*KB*, 2, 93). To J., the Chronicler tells us, the cedars of Lebanon were brought in floats for transportation to Jerus by the workmen of the king of Tyre (2 Ch **2** 16).

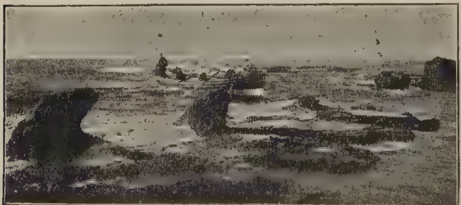
2. Biblical References

The city does not appear in the history as Philistine, so we may, perhaps, infer that it was held by the Phoenicians, the great seamen of those days. It was doubtless a Phoen ship that Jonah found here, bound for Tarshish, when he fled from the presence of the Lord (Jon **1** 3). In Ezra's time, again, cedars were brought here for the buildings in Jerus (Ezr **3** 7). Having been brought by messengers from Lydda to J., Peter here raised the dead Dorcas to life (Acts **9** 36 f). On the roof of Simon's house by the sea, the famous vision was vouchsafed to this apostle, from which he learned that the gospel was designed for Jew and Gentile alike (Acts **10** 1 ff; **11** 5 ff).

Traditional House of Simon the Tanner.

3. History from Maccabean Times

The men of J., having treacherously drowned some 200 Jews, Judas Maccabaeus fell upon the town "and set the haven on fire by night, and burned the boats, and put to the sword those that had fled thither" (2 Macc **12** 3 ff). Jonathan took the city, in which Apollonius had placed a garrison (1 Macc **11** 47 ff). It was not easy to hold, and some years later it was captured again by Simon, who garrisoned the place, completed the harbor and raised the fortifications (1 Macc **12** 36 f; **13** 11; **14** 5–34). It is recorded as part of Simon's glory that he took it "for a haven, and made it an entrance for the isles of the sea," the Jews thus possessing for the first time a seaport through which commerce might be fully developed. It was taken by Pompey and joined to the province of Syria (*Ant*, XIV, iv, 4; *BJ*, I, vii, 7). Caesar restored it to the Jews under Hyrcanus (*Ant*, XIV, x, 6). It was among the cities given by Antony to Cleopatra (XV, iv, 1). Caesar added it to the kingdom of Herod (vii. 3; *BJ*, I, xx, 3), and at his death it passed to Archelaus (*Ant*, XVII, xi, 4; *BJ*, II, vi, 3). At his deposition it was attached to the Rom province. The inhabitants were now zealous Jews, and in the Rom wars it suffered heavily. After a massacre by Cestius Gallus, in which 8,400 of the people perished, it was left desolate. Thus it became a resort of the enemies of Rome, who turned pirates, and preyed upon the shipping in the neighboring waters. The place was promptly captured and destroyed by Vespasian. The people took to their boats, but a terrific storm burst upon them, dashing their frail craft to pieces on the rocks, so that vast numbers perished (*BJ*, III, ix, 2–4). At a later time it was the seat of a bishopric. During the Crusades it had a checkered history, being taken, now by the Christians, now by the Moslems. It was captured by the French under Kleber in 1799. It was fortified by the English, and afterward extended by the Turks (Baedeker, *Pal*, 130).


Through the Rocks at Joppa.

4. Description

The modern *Yāfā* is built on a rocky mound 116 ft. high, at the edge of the sea. A reef of rocks runs parallel to the shore a short distance out. It may be rounded in calm weather by lighter vessels, and it affords a certain amount of protection. There is a gap in the reef through which the boats pass that meet the steamers calling here. In time of storm the passage is dangerous. On one of these rocks Perseus is said to have rescued the chained Andromeda from the dragon. *Yāfā* is a prosperous town, profiting much by the annual streams of pilgrims who pass through it on their way to visit the holy places in Pal. A good trade is done with Egypt, Syria and Constantinople. Soap, sesame, wheat and oranges are the chief exports. The famous gardens and orange groves of Jaffa form one of the main sights of interest. The Christians and the Moslems have rival traditions as to the site of the house of Simon the tanner. The remains of the house of Tabitha are also pointed out. From Jaffa to Jerus the first railway in Pal was built.

W. Ewing

JORAH, jō′ra (יוֹרָה, *yōrāh*, meaning uncertain, perhaps "harvest-born"): A family which returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr **2** 18) = "Ḥārīph" of Neh **7** 24 = "Arsiphurith" (AV "Arzephurith") of 1 Esd **5** 16.

JORAI, jō′rā̇-ī (יוֹרַי, *yōray*, "whom Jeh teaches"): A Gadite chief, but possibly the name of a clan (1 Ch **5** 13).

JORAM, jō′ram (יוֹרָם, *yōrām*, "Jeh is exalted"; cf Jehoram):

(1) Son of Toi (or Tou, according to LXX, B, and 1 Ch **18** 9.10), sent by his father to greet David (2 S **8** 10) = "Hadoram" (1 Ch **18** 9.10) a form preferred by commentators in 2 S also.

(2) Same as Jehoram, king of Judah (2 K **8** 21–24; **11** 2; 1 Ch **3** 11; Mt **1** 8 [Ἰωράμ, *Iōrám*]).

(3) Same as Jehoram, king of Northern Israel (2 K **8** 29; cf 2 K **9** 15 RVm).

(4) (In form יֹרָם, *yōrām*): A Levite (1 Ch **26** 25).

(5) (Ἰωράμ, *Iōrám*, 1 Esd **1** 9) = "Jozabad" (2 Ch **35** 9); see Jozabad (4).

JORDAN, jôr′dan (יַרְדֵּן, *yardēn*, "flowing downward"; **Ἰορδάνης**, *Iordánēs*):

1. Source

The Jordan river proper begins at the junction of four streams (the *Bareighit*, the *Hâsbâny*, the *Leddan*, and the *Bânias*), in the upper part of the plain of Lake *Hûleh*. The *Bareighit* receives its supply of water from the hills on the W., which separate the valley from the river *Lîtâny*, and is the least important of the four. The *Hâsbâny* is the longest of the four (40 miles), issuing from a great fountain at the western foot of Mt. Hermon near *Hasbeiya*, 1,700 ft. above the sea, and descends 1,500 ft. in its course to the plain. The *Leddan* is the largest of the four streams, issuing in several fountains at the foot of the mound *Tell el-kâdy* (Dan, or Laish) at an elevation of 505 ft. above the sea. The *Bânias* issues from a celebrated fountain near the town of *Bânias*, which is identified as the Caesarea Philippi associated with the transfiguration. The ancient name was Paneas, originating from a grotto consecrated to the god Pan. At this place Herod erected a temple of white marble dedicated to Augustus Caesar. This is probably the Baal-gad of Josh **11** 17 and **12** 7. Its altitude is 1,100 ft. above tide, and the stream falls about 600 ft. in the 5 miles of its course to the head of the Jordan.

2. Lake Hûleh

The valley of Lake *Hûleh*, through which the Jordan wends its way, is about 20 miles long and 5 miles wide, bordered on either side by hills and mountains attaining elevations of 3,000 ft. After flowing 4 or 5 miles through a fertile plain, the Jordan enters a morass of marshy land which nearly fills the valley, with the exception of 1 or 2 miles between it and the base of the mountains upon the western side. This morass is almost impenetrable by reason of bushes and papyrus reeds, which in places also render navigation of the channel difficult even with a canoe. Lake *Hûleh*, into which the river here expands, is but 7 ft. above tide, and is slowly contracting its size by reason of the accumulation of the decaying vegetation of the surrounding morass, and of the sediment brought in by the river and three tributary mountain torrents. Its continued existence is evidence of the limited period through which present conditions have been maintained. It will not be many thousand years before it will be entirely filled and the morass be changed into a fertile plain. When the spies visited the region, the lake must have been much larger than it is now.

At the southern end of Lake *Hûleh*, the valley narrows up to a width of a few hundred yards, and the river begins its descent into levels below the Mediterranean. The river is here only about 60 ft. broad, and in less than 9 miles descends 689 ft. through a narrow rocky gorge, where it meets the delta which it has deposited at the head of the Sea of Galilee, and slowly winds its way to meet its waters. Throughout this delta the river is easily fordable during a great part of the year.

3. Sea of Galilee

The Sea of Galilee occupies an expansion of the Jordan valley 12 miles long and from 3 to 6 miles wide. The hills, reaching, in general, 1,200 or 1,500 ft. above the lake, come down close to its margin on every side. On the E. and S. they are mainly of volcanic origin, and to some extent of the same character on the N.W. side above Tiberias. In the time of Christ the mouth of the river may have been a half-mile or more farther up the delta than now.

4. The Yarmûk

As all the sediment of the upper Jordan settles in the vicinity of the delta near Capernaum, a stream of pellucid water issues from the southern end of the lake, at the modern town of *Kerak*. Before it reaches the Dead Sea, however, it becomes overloaded with sediment. From *Kerak* the opening of the valley is grand in the extreme. A great plain on the E. stretches to the hills of Decapolis, and to the S., as far as the eye can reach, through the *Ghôr* which descends to the Dead Sea, bordered by mountain walls on either side. Four or five miles below, it is joined on the E. by the *Yarmûk*, the ancient Hieromax, the largest of all its tributaries. The débris brought down by this stream has formed a fertile delta terrace 3 or 4 miles in diameter, which now, as in ancient times, is an attractive place for herdsmen and agriculturists. The valley of the *Yarmûk* now furnishes a natural grade for the Acre and Damascus Railroad, as it did for the caravan routes of early times. The town of Gadara lies upon an elevation just S. of the *Yarmûk* and 4 or 5 miles E. of the Jordan.

Jordan Leaving the Sea of Galilee.

Ten miles below the lake, the river is joined on the W. by *Wādy el-Bireh*, which descends from the vicinity of Nazareth, between Mt. Tabor and Endor, and furnishes a natural entrance from the Jordan to Central Galilee. An aqueduct here still furnishes water for the upper terrace of the *Ghôr*. *Wādy el-Arab*, with a small perennial stream, comes in here also from the E.

5. El-Ghôr

Twenty miles below Lake Galilee the river is joined by the important *Wādy el-Jâlûd*, which descends through the valley of Jezreel between Mt. Gilboa and the range of the Little Hermon (the hill Moreh of Jgs **7** 1). This valley leads up from the Jordan to the valley of Esdraelon and thence to Nazareth, and furnished the usual route for Jews going from Jerus to Nazareth when they wished to avoid the Samaritans. This route naturally takes one past *Beisān* (Bethshean), where the bodies of Saul and Jonathan were exposed by the Philis, and past Shunem and Nain. There is a marked expansion of the *Ghôr* opposite *Beisān*, constituting an important agricultural district. The town of Pella, to which the Christians fled at the time of the destruction of Jerus, lies upon the E. side of the *Ghôr;* while Jabesh-gilead, where the bodies of Saul and Jonathan were finally taken by their friends and cremated, is a little farther up the slope of Gilead. Twenty miles farther down, the *Ghôr*, on the E., is joined by *Wādy Zerka* (the brook Jabbok), the second largest tributary, separating Ammon from Gilead, its upper tributaries flowing past Ammon, Mizpeh, and Ramoth-gilead. It was down this valley that Jacob descended to Succoth.

A few miles below, the *Wādy Farah*, whose head is at Sychar between Mts. Ebal and Gerizim, descends from the W., furnishing the natural route for Jacob's entrance to the promised land.

At *Damieh* (probably the Adam of Josh **3** 16), the *Ghôr* is narrowed up by the projection, from the W., of the mountain ridge terminating in *Kurn Sûrtûbeh*, which rises abruptly to a height of 2,000 ft. above the river.

The section of the *Ghôr* between *Damieh* and the Dead Sea is of a pretty uniform width of 10 to 12 miles and is of a much more uniform level than the upper portions, but its fertility is interfered with by the lack of water and the difficulty of irrigation. From the vicinity of Jericho, an old Rom road follows up the *Wādy Nāwaimeh*, which furnished Joshua a natural line of approach to Ai, while through the *Wādy el-Kelt* is opened the natural road to Jerus. Both Ai and the Mount of Olives are visible from this point of the *Ghôr*.

6. The Zôr

In a direct line it is only 70 miles from Lake Galilee to the Dead Sea, and this is the total length of the lower plain (the *Zôr*); but so numerous are the windings of the river across the flood plain from one bluff to the other that the length of the river is fully 200 miles. Col. Lynch reported the occurrence of 27 rapids, which wholly interrupted navigation, and many others which rendered it difficult. The major part of the descent below Lake Galilee takes place before reaching *Damieh*, 1,140 ft. below the Mediterranean. While the bluffs of the *Ghôr*, upon either side of the *Zôr*, are nearly continuous and uniform below *Damieh*, above this point they are much dissected by the erosion of tributary streams. Still, nearly everywhere, an extended view brings to light the original uniform level of the sedimentary deposits formed when the valley was filled with water to a height of 650 ft. (see ARABAH; DEAD SEA).

The River Jordan.

The river itself averages about 100 ft. in width when confined strictly within its channel, but in the early spring months the flood plain of the *Zôr* is completely overflowed, bringing into its thickets a great amount of driftwood which increases the difficulty of penetrating it, and temporarily drives out ferocious animals to infest the neighboring country.

7. The Fords of Jordan

According to Conder, there are no less than 60 fording-places between Lake Galilee and the Dead Sea. For the most part it will be seen that these occur at rapids, or over bars deposited by the streams which descend from one side or the other, as, for example, below the mouths of the *Yarmûk*, *Jabbok*, *Jâlûd* and *Kelt*. These fords are, however, impassable during the high water of the winter and spring months. Until the occupation by the Romans, no bridges were built; but they and their successors erected them at various places, notably below the mouth of the *Yarmûk*, and the *Jabbok*, and nearly opposite Jericho.

Notwithstanding the great number of fords where it is possible to cross at low water, those which were so related to the lines of travel as to be of much avail were few. Beginning near the mouth of the J. and proceeding northward, there was a ford at *el-Henu* leading directly from Jericho to the highlands N.E. of the Dead Sea. Two or three miles farther to the N. is the ford of the pilgrims, best known of all, at the mouth of *Wādy Kelt*. A few miles farther up the river on the road leading from Jericho to *es-Salt*, near the mouth of the *Wādy Nimrin*, there is now a bridge where the dependence was formerly upon the ford. Just below the mouth of the *Wādy Zerka* (*Jabbok*) is the ford of *Damieh*, where the road from Shechem comes down to the river. A bridge was at one time built over the river at this point; but owing to a change in the course of the stream this is now over a dry water-course. The next important crossing-place is at the opening of the valley of Jezreel coming in from the W., where probably the Bethabara of the NT should be located. Upon this ford a number of caravan routes from E. to W. converge. The next important crossing-place is at *el-Mujamia*, 2 or 3 miles below the mouth of the *Yarmûk*. Here, also, there was a Rom bridge. There are also some traces of an ancient bridge remaining just below the exit of the river from Lake Galilee, where there was a ford of special importance to the people residing on the shores of this lake who could not afford to cross in boats. Between Lake Galilee and Lake *Hûleh*, an easy ford leads across the delta of the stream a little above its junction with the lake; while 2 or 3 miles below Lake *Hûleh* is found "the bridge of Jacob's daughters" on the line of one of the principal routes between Damascus and Galilee. Above Lake *Hûleh* the various tributaries are easily crossed at several places, though a bridge is required to cross the *Bareighit* near its mouth, and another on the *Hâsbâny* on the main road from Caesarea Philippi to Sidon, at *el-Ghagar*.

George Frederick Wright

1. Physical Peculiarities

JORDAN VALLEY: As more fully detailed elsewhere (see ARABAH; DEAD SEA; GEOLOGY OF PALESTINE), the Jordan valley in its lower portion occupies a remarkable depression in the earth's surface, reaching its greatest depth in the Dead Sea, the surface of which is 1,300 ft., the bottom 2,600 ft. below tide level, the portion of the basin below the level of the sea being about 100 miles in length and from 10 to 15 miles in breadth at base, and from two to three times that distance between the bordering summits of the mountains and plateaus on either side. In the early prehistoric period, corresponding with the Glacial epoch, this depression was filled with water to a height of 1,400 ft. (see references above) which gradually disappeared by evaporation as present climatic conditions came on. At an elevation of approximately 650 ft. above the Dead Sea, very extensive sedimentary deposits were made, which, while appearing only in fragments along the shores of the Dead Sea, are continuous over the bottom of the valley (the so-called *Ghôr*), farther N. These deposits are from 100 to 200 ft. thick, consisting of material which was brought down into the valley by the tributary mountain streams descending from each side, while the water stood at this higher level. Naturally these deposits slope gradually from the sides of the valley toward the center, the coarser material of the deposits being nearer the sides, and the amount of sediment being much increased opposite the mouths of the larger streams. The deposit was at first continuous over the entire *Ghôr*, or valley, but has since been much dissected by the J. river and its tributaries. The J. itself has eroded a channel through the soft sediment, 100 ft. more or less deep, from Lake Galilee to the Dead Sea, a distance in a straight line of about 70 miles. At first this channel was narrow, but it has been constantly enlarged by the stream as it has meandered from side to side, undercutting the banks so that they cave into the river and are washed down to fill up the Dead Sea, a process which is esp. familiar to residents upon the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. This narrow gorge is called the *Zôr*, and will hereafter be referred to under this name. The *Zôr* at present averages about ½ mile wide, the most of which is occupied by a flood plain extending from the banks of the river to the foot of the sedimentary bluffs on either side. This flood plain is so overgrown with brush and reeds that it is practically impenetrable, except by wild beasts, which, according to Scriptural references, have infested it from earliest times, among which may be mentioned the lion, the tiger, the wild boar. During the spring months, when the snows are melting from Mt. Hermon and cloudbursts are sending sudden torrents of water down the river courses from the plateau of Gilead and the mountains of Samaria, the J. "overflows all its banks," i.e. covers this flood plain and drives out the beasts to infest the neighborhood for a short time.

Outer Banks of the Delta of the Jordan.

The surface of this old lake bed has also been much dissected by the tributary streams which come in from either side, they having cut channels across the *Ghôr* down to a depth corresponding to that of the *Zôr*. As a consequence the roads leading up the valley find it necessary to hug the base of the mountains on either side to avoid the abrupt descent into the channels of the tributary streams, which are deepest near their mouths. Another natural consequence of these physical peculiarities is that agriculture cannot be carried on except as water to irrigate the level surfaces of the *Ghôr* is carried out from the higher levels of the perennial streams. There are many remains of such aqueducts for irrigation constructed in early times. These are now almost all in ruins and unused. Merrill, however, estimates that 200 sq. miles of the J. valley, over which the surface is as level as a prairie, and as free from stones, could be irrigated at the present time and made as fruitful as the valley of the Nile. But from time immemorial settled agriculture in the *Ghôr* has been rendered precarious by the incursions of the nomadic tribes, who periodically come down from the desert regions on the E.

Description

The early civilization of this valley is now well understood, thanks to the indefatigable labors of Petrie, Vincent, and Albright in the science of pottery in Palestine. The following description from observation from a place near the Cities of the Plain gives a vivid understanding of the early moves of the inhabitants of this valley. The first considerable civilization of the land, not to say its first inhabitancy, was in this Jordan Valley. "The vast majority of ancient sites in this region were already inhabited early in the Bronze Age, and most of them have since been abandoned. In fact, as we shall see, the population of the Jordan Valley in the third millennium BC must have been greater than it has ever been since." In fact, the first inhabitants had been coming down this valley a long time before they came to the foot of Hermon and looked down to this spot where we sit in the shade and trace their movements. There they built their first city, round about which they lived and laboured. The earliest city, it is evident, was moved a little way, for that earliest city presents now only the pottery of the Early Bronze Age. The subsequent course of history in the valley is easily traced. Whether it be bad or good, it goes inevitably on; for, once this valley was entered upon, it was certain to be followed down to its depths.

The downward course in history, as in morals, is the course of least resistance, so easy and so all but inevitable. The facts show that in this case it became actual; the pottery reveals that the people of the Early Bronze Age back to the beginning of that Age, perhaps even into the latter part of the 4th millennium BC, pushed down this valley to the end. So we have *tell* after *tell* in a line down the river: *Tell en Na'meh* (the northern Yenoamam, though probably not, as it seems to me, the one mentioned in the Israel tablet of Merenptah); *Tell Abil* (Abel-beth-Maachah, 1 K **15** 20); *Tell el-Oreimeh* (Chinnereth).

Next below the lake, Beth-shean (modern Beisan) on the river Jalud lifts up its towering height to guard the south side of the crossroads. Of less importance at first than Beth-yerah at the foot of the lake, it soon outstripped that place and continued to dominate the trade routes and the Plain of Esdraealon and the lower Jordan Valley long after Beth-yerah was forgotten. Today both Beth-yerah and Beth-shean are but heaps.

From Beth-shean down the valley the population was distributed into many small settlements, clinging to the mountain side, guarding important points, utilizing the abundant waters of the Jordan Valley again and again, down to the *kikkār*, the "great round," that broad plain of the Jordan that begins near where Jericho stands and incloses in its circle the Dead Sea and the Plain south of it. In addition to the waters of the Jordan, the "great round" was watered by copious streams and fountains, *Ain es-Sultan* at Jericho, *Wâdy Kelt*, the traditional Brook Cherith, a little below, En-gedi on the west of the Dead Sea, the river Arnon on the east. The abundant waters of the three rivers from the red sandstone mountains of Moab also pour into the lower end of the valley by the Cities of the Plain (Kyle, *Explorations at Sodom* 86 ff). Revised by M. G. K.

Considered in detail the valley may be divided, as Conder suggests, into 8 sections. "First the portion between *Banias* and the *Hûleh*, where it is some 5 miles broad, with steep cliffs some 2,000 ft. high on either side and a broad marsh between. Secondly, from the *Hûleh* to the Sea of Galilee,

3. Division into Eight Sections

where the stream runs close to the eastern hills, and about 4 miles from the base of those on the W., which rise toward the high *Safed* mountains, more than 3,500 ft. above the lake. Thirdly, for 13 miles from the S. end of the Sea of Galilee to the neighborhood of *Beisân*. Here the valley is only 1½ miles broad W. of the river, and about 3 on the E., the steep cliffs of the plateau of *Kaukab el Hawa* on the W. reaching an altitude of 1,800 ft. above the stream.

"South of *Beisân* is the 4th district, with a plain W. of J., 12 miles long and 6 miles broad, the line of hills on the E. being straight, and the foot of the mountains on this side about 2 miles from the river. In the neighborhood of *Beisân*, the cross-section of the plain shows 3 levels: that of the shelf on which *Beisân* stands, about 300 ft. below sea-level; that of the *Ghôr* itself, some 400 ft. lower, reached by an almost precipitous descent; and that of the *Zôr*, or narrow trench, from a half to a quarter of a mile wide, and about 150 ft. lower still. The higher shelf extends westward to the foot of Gilboa; it dies away on the S., but on the N. it gradually rises into the plateau of *Kaukab* and to the western table-land above the sea of Galilee, 1,800 ft. above J.

"After leaving the *Beisân* plain, the river passes through a narrow valley 12 miles long and 2 or 3 miles wide, with a raised table-land to the W., having a level averaging about 500 ft. above the sea. The *Beisân* plain is full of springs of fresh water, some of which are thermal, but a large current of salt warm water flows down *Wâdy Mâleh*, at the northern extremity of this 5th district.

"In the 6th district, the *Dâmieh* region, the valley again opens to a width of about 3 miles on the W., and 5 on the E. of J. The great block of the *Kurn Sûrtûbeh* here stands out like a bastion, on the W., 2,400 ft. above the river. Passing this mountain, the 7th district is entered—a broad valley extending from near *Fusâil* to *'Osh el Ghûrâb*, N. of Jericho. In this region the *Ghôr* itself is 5 miles broad, W. of the river, and rather more on the E. The lower trench or *Zôr* is also wider here and more distinctly separated from the *Ghôr*. A curious geographical feature of this region was also discovered by the Survey party. The great affluents of the *Fâr'ah* and *'Aujeh* do not flow straight to J., but turn S. about a mile W. of it, and each runs, for about 6 miles, nearly parallel with the river; thus the mouth of the *Fâr'ah* is actually to be found just where that of the next valley is shown on most maps.

"The 8th and last district is that of the plain of Jericho, which, with the corresponding basin (*Ghôr-es-Seisebân*) E. of J., measures over 8 miles N. and S., and more than 14 across, with J. about in the middle. The *Zôr* is here about a mile wide, and some 200 ft. below the broad plain of the *Ghôr*."

4. Climate: Fauna and Flora

Owing to its depression below sea-level the climate of the lower J. valley is even more than tropical. In the summer months the thermometer scarcely falls below 100° F., even in the night; but during the winter months, though the days are hot, the thermometer frequently goes down to 40° in the night time.

The fauna of this part of the J. valley and about the Dead Sea is said by Tristram (*SWP*, "Fauna and Flora") to be identical with that now existing in Ethiopia. Of the mammalia characteristic of this general region, 34 are Ethiopian and 16 Indian, though there is now no possible connection with either Ethiopia or India. The fish of the J. show close affinity to many species of the Nile and of the lakes and rivers of tropical Africa. Many species of birds, also, now confined to the lower basin and the Dead Sea, are related to Ethiopian and Indian species.

The flora is equally interesting. Out of 162 species of plants found at the S.W. corner of the Dead Sea, 135 species are African in their affinity. In the marshes of Lake *Hûleh*, many acres are covered with the papyrus plant, which became extinct in Egypt long ago, and is now found in Africa only in the Upper Nile beyond the 7th degree of N. lat. The most common trees and plants of the J. valley are the castor-oil plant and the oleander, flourishing esp. about Jericho, several varieties of the acacia tree, the caper plant, the Dead Sea apple (*Solanum Sodomaeum*) the oser tree of the Arabs, tamarisks, *Agnus casti* (a flowering bamboo), *Balanites Aegyptiaca* (supposed to be the balm of Gilead), *Populus Euphratica* (a plant found all over Central Asia but not W. of the J.), and many tropical plants, among which may be mentioned *Zygophyllum coccineum, Boerhavia, Indigofera,* several *Astragali, Cassias, Gymnocarpum,* and *Nitraria.*

GEORGE FREDERICK WRIGHT

JORIBUS, jor'i-bus (**'Ιώριβος,** *Iôribos;* AV **Joribas**):
(1) In 1 Esd **8** 44, called "Jarib" in Ezr **8** 16.
(2) In 1 Esd **9** 19, called "Jarib" in Ezr **10** 18.

JORIM, jō'rim (**'Ιωρείμ,** *Iōreím,* from יְהוֹרָם, *yehōrām,* יוֹרָם, *yōrām*): An ancestor of Jesus in Lk's genealogy (Lk **3** 29).

JORKEAM, jôr'kė-am (יָרְקְעָם, *yorke'ām;* AV **Jorkoam**): This is probably to be taken as the name of a town, the "father" or "founder" of which was Raham (1 Ch **2** 44). It may be identical with "Jokdeam" of Josh **15** 56.

JOSABAD, jos'a-bad. See JOZABAD.

JOSABDUS, jȯ-sab'dus (**'Ιωσαβδός,** *Iōsabdós,* 1 Esd **8** 63; probably identical with **'Ιωζαβάδος,** *Iōzabádos,* in **9** 23): The same as **Jozabad** of Ezr **8** 33; **10** 23 (q.v.).

JOSAPHAT, jos'a-fat (**'Ιωσαφάτ,** *Iōsaphát,* AV in Mt **1** 8 for JEHOSHAPHAT [q.v.]): A king of Judah, mentioned in Mt's genealogy of Christ.

JOSAPHIAS, jos-a-fī'as (**'Ιωσαφίας,** *Iōsaphías,* 1 Esd **8** 36): Called "Josephiah" in Ezr **8** 10.

JOSE, jō'sė (**'Ιωσή,** *Iōsḗ*): AV form for "Jesus" ('Ιησοῦς, *Iēsoús*) in Lk's genealogy (**3** 29), RV Gr.

JOSECH, jō'sek (**'Ιωσήχ,** *Iōsḗch,* WH; **Ιωσήφ,** *Iōsḗph, TR;* AV **Joseph**): An ancestor of Jesus in Lk's genealogy (**3** 26).

JOSEDECH, jos'ė-dek, **JOSEDEK,** jos'ė-dek (**'Ιωσεδέκ,** *Iōsedék*): Father of Jeshua (1 Esd **5** 5) In Hag **1** 1 RV, the relationship is described as "Joshua the son of JEHOZADAK [q.v.], the high priest."

JOSEPH, jō'zef (יוֹסֵף, *yōṣēph;* **'Ιωσήφ,** *Iōsḗph*):
(1) The 11th son of Jacob and 1st of Rachel (see separate art.).

1. In the OT

(2) The father of Igal of Issachar, one of the 12 spies (Nu **13** 7).
(3) A son of Asaph (1 Ch **25** 2.9).
(4) A man of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr **10** 42).
(5) A priest of the family of Shebaniah in the days of Joiakim (Neh **12** 14).

(1) Son of Zacharias, defeated by Gorgias c 164 BC (1 Macc **5** 18.56.60).

2. In the Apoc (2) Called a brother of Judas Maccabaeus in 2 Macc **8** 22, probably by mistake for John.

(3) Great-grandfather of Judith (Jth **8** 1).

(1) The husband of Mary, the mother of Jesus (see special art.).

3. In the NT (2, 3) The name of 3 ancestors of Jesus according to AV (Lk **3** 24.26.30); the name of two according to RV, which reads "Josech" in Lk **3** 26.

(4) A Jew of Arimathaea in whose sepulcher Jesus was buried (Mt **27** 57, etc; see art.).

(5) One of the brethren of Jesus, according to RV (Mt **13** 55, AV "Joses"). AV and RV both have "Joses" in Mt **27** 56; Mk **6** 3; **15** 40.47.

(6) Joseph Barsabbas (Acts **1** 23; see art.).

(7) Joseph, surnamed Barnabas (Acts **4** 36, AV "Joses"; see BARNABAS). S. F. HUNTER

JOSEPH, jō′zef (יוֹסֵף, *yōṣēph*, "He will add"; LXX **'Ιωσήφ,** *Iōsēph*. The narrative [Gen **30** 23.24] indicates not so much a double etymology as the course of Rachel's thoughts. The use of אָסַף, *'āṣaph*, "He takes away," suggested to her mind by its form in the future, יוֹסֵף, *yōṣēph*, "He will add," "And she called his name J., saying, Jeh add to me another son"):

- I. THE JOSEPH STORY, A LITERARY QUESTION
  - 1. An Independent Original or an Adaptation?
  - 2. A Monograph or a Compilation?
    - (1) An Analytical Theory Resolving It into a Mere Compilation
    - (2) A Narrative Full of Gems
      - (*a*) The Brothers Presented; Joseph Weeping
      - (*b*) The Scene between the Brothers of Joseph and the Steward
      - (*c*) Judah's Speech
      - (*d*) Revelation of Joseph to His Brethren
    - (3) The Argument from Chronology Supporting It as a Monograph
- II. THE STORY OF JOSEPH, A BIOGRAPHY
  - 1. A Bedouin Prince in Canaan
  - 2. A Bedouin Slave in Egypt
  - 3. The Bedouin Slave Becomes Again the Bedouin Prince
  - 4. The Prime Minister
  - 5. The Patriarch
- LITERATURE

The eleventh son of Jacob. The Bib. narrative concerning J. presents two subjects for consideration, the J. story, a literary question, and the story of J., a biography. It is of the first importance to consider these questions in this order.

Cheyne in *EB* reaches such conclusions concerning the J. story that the story of J. is mutilated almost beyond recognition as a biography at all. Driver in *HDB* holds that the J. story was "in all probability only committed to writing 700–800 years" later than the time to which J. is attributed, points out that J.'s name was also the name of a tribe, and concludes that "the first of these facts at once destroys all guarantee that we possess in the J. narrative a literal record of the facts," and that "the second fact raises the further question whether the figure of J., in part or even as a whole, is a reflection of the history and characteristics of the tribe projected upon the past in the individual form." But he draws back from this view and thinks it "more probable that there was an actual person J., afterward .... rightly or wrongly regarded as the ancestor of the tribe .... who underwent substantially the experience recounted of him in Gen." In the presence of such critical notions concerning the literature in which the narrative of J. is embodied, it is clear that until we have reached some conclusions concerning the J. story, we cannot be sure that there is any real story of J. to relate.

I. The Joseph Story, a Literary Question.—This literary problem will be solved, if satisfactory answers may be found to two questions: Is it an independent original or an adaptation? Suitable material for such an adaptation as would produce a J. story has been sought at either end of the line of history: J. the progenitor and J. the tribe.

1. An Independent Original or an Adaptation? The only contestant for the claim of being an early original of which the J. story might be an adaptation is the nasty "Tale of Two Brothers" (*RP*, series I, vol II, 137–46). This story in its essential elements much resembles the J. story. But such events as it records are common: why not such stories?

What evidence does this "Tale of Two Brothers" afford that the J. story is not an independent original? Are we to suppose that because many French romances involve the *demi-monde*, there was therefore no Madame de Pompadour? Are court scandals so unheard of that ancient Egypt cannot afford two? And why impugn the genuineness of the J. story because the "Tale of Two Brothers" resembles it? Is anyone so ethereal in his passions as not to know by instinct that the essential elements of such scandal are always the same? The difference in the narrative is chiefly in the telling. At this latter point the J. story and the "Tale of Two Brothers" bear no resemblance whatever.

If the chaste beauty of the Bib. story be observed, and then one turn to the "Tale of Two Brothers" with sufficient knowledge of the Egyp tongue to perceive the coarseness and the stench of it, there can be no question that the J. story is independent of such a literary source. To those who thus sense both stories, the claim of the "Tale of Two Brothers" to be the original of the J. story cannot stand for a moment. If we turn from J. the progenitor to J. the tribe, still less will the claim that the story is an adaptation bear careful examination. The perfect naturalness of the story, the utter absence from its multitudinous details of any hint of figurative language, such as personification always furnishes, and the absolutely accurate reflection in the story of the Egypt of J.'s day, as revealed by the many discoveries of which people of 700–800 years later could not know, mark this theory of the reflection of tribal history and characteristics as pure speculation. And besides, where in all the history of literature has it been proven that a tribe has been thus successfully thrown back upon the screen of antiquity in the "individual form"? Similar mistakes concerning Menes and Minos and the heroes of Troy are a warning to us. Speculation is legitimate, so long as it does not cut loose from known facts, but gives no one the right to suppose the existence in unknown history of something never certainly found in known history. So much for the first question.

Is it a monograph or a compilation? The author of a monograph may make large use of literary materials, and the editor of a compilation may

2. A Monograph or a Compilation? introduce much editorial comment. Thus, superficially, these different kinds of composition may much resemble each other, yet they are, in essential character, very different the one from the other. A compilation is an artificial body, an automaton; a monograph is a natural body with a living soul in it. This story has oriental peculiarities of repetition and pleonastic expression, and these things have been made much of in order to break up the story; to the reader not seeking grounds of partition, it is one of the most unbroken, simply natural and unaffected pieces of narrative literature in the world. If it stood alone or belonged to some later portion of Scripture, it may well be doubted that it would ever have been touched by the scalpel of the literary dissector. But it belongs to the Pent. There are manifest evidences all over the Pent of the use by the author of material, either documentary or of that paradoxical unwritten lit. which the ancients handed down almost without the change of a word for centuries. (1) An analytical theory has been applied to the Pent as a whole, to resolve it into a mere compilation. Once the principles of this theory are acknowledged, and allowed sway there, the J. story cannot be left untouched, but becomes a necessary sacrifice to the system. A sight of the lifeless, ghastly fragments of the living, moving J. story which the analysis leaves behind (cf *EB*, art. "Joseph") proclaims that analysis to have been murder. There was a life in the story which has been ruthlessly taken, and that living soul marked the narrative as a monograph. (2) Where else is to be found such a compilation? Here is one of the most brilliant pieces of literature in the world, a narrative full of gems: (*a*) the account of the presentation of the brothers in the presence of J. when he was obliged to go out to weep (Gen **43** 26–34), and (*b*) the scene between the terrified brothers of J. and the steward of his house (Gen **44** 6–13), (*c*) Judah's speech (Gen **44** 18–34), (*d*) the touching close of the revelation of J. to his brothers at last (Gen **45** 1–15). The soul of the whole story breathes through all of these. Where in all literature, ancient or modern, is to be found a mere compilation that is a great piece of literature? So far removed is this story from the characteristics of a compilation, that we may challenge the world of literature to produce another monograph in narrative literature that surpasses it. (3) Then the dates of Egyp names and events in this narrative strongly favor its origin so early as to be out of the reach of the compilers. That attempts at identification in Egyp of names written in Heb, presenting as they do the peculiar difficulties of two alphabets of imperfectly known phonetic values and uncertain equivalency of one in terms of the other, should give rise to differences of opinion, is to be expected. The Egyp equivalents of Zaphenath-paneah and Asenath have been diligently sought, and several identifications have been suggested (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 122; Budge, *History of Egypt*, V, 126–27). That which is most exact phonetically and yields the most suitable and natural meaning for Zaphenath-paneah is by Lieblein (*PSBA*, 1898, 204–8). It is formed like four of the names of Hyksos kings before the time of J., and means "the one who furnishes the nourishment of life," i.e. the steward of the realm. The name Asenath is found from the XIth Dynasty on to the XVIIIth. Potiphar is mentioned as an Egyptian. Why not of course an Egyptian? The narrative also points distinctly to conditions obtaining under the Hyksos kings. When the people were like to perish for want of food they promised J. in return for help that they would be "servants of Pharaoh" (Gen **47** 18–25). This suggests a previous antagonism to the government, such as the Hyksos kings had long to contend with in Egypt. But the revolution which drove out the Hyksos labored so effectually to eradicate every trace of the hated foreigners that it is with the utmost difficulty that modern Egyptological research has wrested from the past some small items of information concerning them. Is it credible that the editor of scraps, which were themselves not written down until some 700–800 years later, should have been able to produce such a life-story fitting into the peculiar conditions of the times of the Hyksos? Considered as an independent literary problem on its own merits, aside from any entangling necessities of the analytical theory of the Pent, the J. story must certainly stand as a monograph from some time within distinct memory of the events it records. If the J. story be an independent original and a monograph, then there is in reality to be considered the story of J.

II. The Story of Joseph.—It is unnecessary to recount here all the events of the life of J., a story so incomparably told in the Bib. narrative. It will be sufficient to touch only the salient points where controversy has raged, or at which archaeology has furnished special illumination. The story of J. begins the tenth and last natural division of Gen in these words: "The generations of Jacob" (Gen **37** 2). Up to this point the unvarying method of Gen is to place at the head of each division the announcement "the generations of" one of the patriarchs, followed immediately by a brief outline of the discarded line of descent, and then to give in detail the account of the chosen line.

There is to be now no longer any discarded line of descent. All the sons of Jacob are of the chosen people, the depositary of the revelation of redemption. So this division of Gen begins at once with the chosen line, and sets in the very foreground that narrative which in that generation is most vital in the story of redemption, this story of J. beginning with the words, "J., being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren" (Gen **37** 2). J. had been born in Haran, the firstborn of the beloved Rachel, who died at the birth of her second son Benjamin. A motherless lad among the sons of other mothers felt the jealousies of the situation, and the experience became a temptation. The "evil report" of his brethren was thus naturally carried to his father, and quite as naturally stirred up those family jealousies which set his feet in the path of his great career (**37** 2–4). In that career he appears as a Bedouin prince in Canaan.

1. A Bedouin Prince in Canaan

The patriarchs of those times were all sheiks or princes of those semi-nomadic rovers who by the peculiar social and civil customs of that land were tolerated then as they are to this day under the Turkish government in the midst of farms and settled land tenure. Jacob favored Rachel and her children. He put them hindermost at the dangerous meeting with Esau, and now he puts on J. a coat of many colors (Gen **37** 3). The appearance of such a coat a little earlier in the decoration of the tombs of Beniḥassan among Palestinian ambassadors to Egypt probably indicates that this garment was in some sense ceremonial, a token of rank. In any case J., the son of Jacob, was a Bedouin prince. Did the father by this coat indicate his intention to give him the precedence and the succession as chieftain of the tribe? It is difficult otherwise to account for the insane jealousy of the older brethren (Gen **37** 4). According to the critical partition of the story, J.'s dreams may be explained away as mere reflections or adaptations of the later history of J. (cf PENTATEUCH). In a real biography the striking providential significance of the dreams appears at once. They cannot be real without in some sense being prophetic. On the other hand they cannot be other than real without vitiating the whole story as a truthful narrative, for they led immediately to the great tragedy; a Bedouin prince of Canaan becomes a Bedouin slave in Egypt.

2. A Bedouin Slave in Egypt

The plot to put J. out of the way, the substitution of slavery for death, and the ghastly device for deceiving Jacob (Gen **37** 18–36) are perfectly natural steps in the course of crime when once the brothers had set out upon it. The counterplot of Reuben to deliver J. reflects equally his own goodness and the dangerous character of the other brothers to whom he did not dare make a direct protest.

Critical discussion of "Ishmaelites" and "Midianites" and "Medanites" presents some interesting things and many clever speculations which may well be considered on their own merits by those interested in ethnology and

SHEEP AT DOTHAN

etymologies. Many opinions advanced may prove to be correct. But let it be noted that they are for the most part pure speculation. Almost nothing is known of the interrelation of the trans-Jordanic tribes in that age other than the few hints in the Bible. And who can say what manner of persons might be found in a caravan which had wandered about no one knows where, or how long, to pick up trade before it turned into the northern caravan route? Until archaeology supplies more facts it is folly to attach much importance to such speculations (Kyle, *The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Bib. Criticism*, 221).

In the slave market in Egypt, J. was bought by Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, "an Egyptian." The significant mention of this fact fits exactly into a place among the recovered hints of the history of those times, which make the court then to be not Egyp at all, but composed of foreigners, the dynasty of Hyksos kings among whom an "Egyptian" was so unexpected as to have his nationality mentioned.

J.'s native nobility of character, the pious training he had received in his father's house, and the favor of God with him gave him such prosperity that his master intrusted all the affairs of his household to him, and when the greatest of temptations assails him he comes off victorious (ch **39**). There is strong ground for the suspicion that Potiphar did not fully believe the accusation of his wife against J. The fact that J. was not immediately put to death is very significant. Potiphar could hardly do less than shut him up for the sake of appearances, and perhaps to take temptation away from his wife without seeming to suspect her. It is noticeable also that J.'s character soon triumphed in prison. Then the same Providence that superintended his dreams is leading so as to bring him before the king (chs **40**, **41**).

3. The Bedouin Slave Becomes Again the Bedouin Prince

The events of the immediately preceding history prepared J.'s day: the Hyksos kings on the throne, those Bedouin princes, "shepherd kings" (Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*), the enmity of the Egyptians against this foreign dynasty so that they accounted every shepherd an "abomination" (**46** 34), the friendly relation thus created between Palestinian tribes and Egypt, the princely character of J., for among princes a prince is a prince however small his principality, and last of all the manifest favor of God toward J., and the evident understanding by the Pharaohs of Sem religion, perhaps even sympathy with it (**41** 39). All these constitute one of the most majestic, Godlike movements of Providence revealed to us in the word of God, or evident anywhere in history. The same Providence that presided over the boy prince in his father's house came again to the slave prince in the Egyp prison. The interpretation of the dreams of the chief butler and the chief baker of Pharaoh (**40**—**41** 1–24) brought him at last through much delay and selfish forgetfulness to the notice of the king, and another dream in which the same cunning hand of Providence is plainly seen (ch **41**) is the means of bringing J. to stand in the royal presence. The stuff that dreams are made of interests scarcely less than the Providence that was superintending over them. As the harvest fields of the semi-nomadic Bedouin in Pal, and the household routine of Egypt in the dreams of the chief butler and the chief baker, so now the industrial interests and the religious forms of the nation appear in the dreams of Pharaoh. The "seven kine" of the goddess Hathor supplies the number of the cows, and the doubling of the symbolism in the cattle and the grain points to the two great sources of Egypt's welfare. The Providence that had shaped and guided the whole course of J. from the Palestinian home was consummated when, with the words, "Inasmuch as thou art a man in whom is the spirit of God," Pharaoh lifted up the Bedouin slave to be again the Bedouin prince and made him the prime minister.

4. The Prime Minister

The history of "kings' favorites" is too well known for the elevation of J. to be in itself incredible. Such things are esp. likely to take place among the unlimited monarchies of the Orient. The late empress of China had been a Chinese slave girl. The investiture of J. was thoroughly Egyp—the "collar," the signet "ring," the "chariot" and the outrunners who cried before him "*Abrech*." The exact meaning of this word has never been certainly ascertained, but its general import may be seen illustrated to this day wherever in the East royalty rides out. The policy adopted by the prime minister was far-reaching, wise, even adroit (Gen **41** 25–36). It is impossible to say whether or not it was wholly just, for we cannot know whether the corn of the years of plenty which the government laid up was bought or taken as a tax levy. The policy involved some despotic power, but J. proved a magnanimous despot. The deep and subtle statesmanship in J.'s plan does not fully appear until the outcome. It was probably through the policy of J., the prime minister, that the Hyksos finally gained the power over the people and the mastery of the land.

Great famines have not been common in Egypt, but are not unknown. The only one which corresponds well to the Bible account is that one recorded in the inscription of Baba at el Kab, tr^d by Brugsch. Some scarcely justifiable attempts have been made to discredit Brugsch in his account of that inscription. The monument still remains and is easily visited, but the inscription is so mutilated that it presents many difficulties. The severity of the famine, the length of its duration, the preparation by the government, the distribution to the people, the success of the efforts for relief and even the time of the famine, as far as it can be determined, correspond well to the Bible account (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ch vi). The way in which such famines in Egypt come about has been explained by a movement of the *sudd*, a sedgelike growth in the Nile, so as to clog the upper river (Wright, *Scientific Confirmations*, 70–79).

J.'s brethren came "with those that came," i.e. with the food caravans. The account does not imply that the prime minister presided in person at the selling of grain, but only that he knew of the coming of his brethren and met them at the market place. The watchfulness of the government against "spies," by the careful guarding of the entrances to the land, may well have furnished him with such information. Once possessed with it, all the rest of the story of the interviews follows naturally (cf traditions of J., *Jew Enc*).

The long testing of the brethren with the attendant delay in the relief of the father Jacob and the family (chs **42**–**45**) has been the subject of much discussion, and most ingenious arguments for the justification of J. All this seems unnecessary. J. was not perfect, and there is no claim of perfection made for him in the Bible. Two things are sufficient to be noted here: one that J. was ruler as well as brother, with the habits of a ruler of almost unrestrained power and authority and burdened with the necessity for protection and the obligation to mete out justice; the other that the deliberateness, the vexatious delays, the subtle diplomacy and playing with great issues are thoroughly oriental. It may be also that the perplexities of great minds make them liable to such vagaries. The career of Lincoln furnishes some curious parallels in the parleying with cases long after the great president's mind was fully made up and action taken.

The time of these events and the identification of J. in Egypt are most vexed questions not conclusively settled. Toffteen quite confidently presents in a most recent identification of J. much evidence to which one would like to give full credence (Toffteen, *The Historical Exodus*). But aside from the fact that he claims two exodi, two J.s, two Aarons, two lawgivers called Moses, and two givings of the law, a case of critical doublets more astounding than any heretofore claimed in the Pent, the evidence itself which he adduces is very far from conclusive. It is doubtful if the texts will bear the translation he gives them, esp. the proper names. The claims of Rameses II, that he built Pithom, compared with the stele of 400 years, which he says he erected in the 400th year of King Nubti, seems to put J. about the time of the Hyksos king. This is the most that can be said now. The burial of Jacob is in exact accord with Egyp customs. The wealth of the Israelites who retained their possessions and were fed by the crown, in contrast with the poverty of the Egyptians who sold everything, prepares the way for the wonderful growth and influence of Israel, and the fear which the Egyptians at last had of them. "And J. died, being 110 years old," an ideal old age in the Egyp mind. The reputed burial place of J. at Shechem still awaits examination.

5. The Patriarch

Joseph stands out among the patriarchs in some respects with preëminence. His nobility of character, his purity of heart and life, his magnanimity as a ruler and brother make him, more than any other of the OT characters, an illustration of that type of man which Christ was to give to the world in perfection. J. is not in the list of persons distinctly referred to in Scripture as types of Christ—the only perfectly safe criterion—but none more fully illustrates the life and work of the Saviour. He wrought salvation for those who betrayed and rejected him, he went down into humiliation as the way to his exaltation, he forgave those who, at least in spirit, put him to death, and to him as to the Saviour, all must come for relief, or perish.

LITERATURE.—Comms. on Gen; for rabbinical lit., cf Seligsohn in *Jew Enc*, some very interesting and curious traditions; Ebers, *Egypten und die Bücher Moses*; "The Tale of Two Brothers," *RP*, series I, vol II, 137-46; Wilkinson-Birch, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*.

M. G. KYLE

JOSEPH BARNABAS. See BARNABAS.

JOSEPH BARSABBAS, bär-sab′as (**Βαρσαββᾶς**, *Barsabbás*, or **Βαρσαβᾶς**, *Barsabás*; AV **Barsabas**, bär′sa-bas; for etymology, etc, of Joseph, see general art. on JOSEPH): Joseph Barsabbas was surnamed Justus (Acts **1** 23). Barsabbas was probably a patronymic, i.e. son of Sabba or Seba. Other interpretations given are "son of an oath," "son of an old man," "son of conversion," "son of quiet." It is likely that the "Judas called Barsabbas" of Acts **15** 22 was his brother. Ewald considers that both names refer to the same person, but this is improbable.

J. was one of those who accompanied the apostles "all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was received up from us" (Acts **1** 21.22). At the meeting of the brethren under the presidency of Peter in Jerus shortly after the crucifixion, he was, therefore, proposed along with Matthias as a suitable candidate for the place in the apostleship left vacant by the treachery and death of Judas Iscariot; but was unsuccessful (Acts **1** 15-26).

According to Eusebius (*HE*, I, 12), J. was one of the 70 (Lk **10** 1), and Papias records the oral tradition that he drank a cup of poison without harm (cf Mk **16** 18). The Acts of St. Paul, a work belonging to the 2d cent. and first mentioned by Origen, relates that Barsabbas, Justus the Flatfoot and others were imprisoned by Nero for protesting their faith in Christ, but that upon a vision of the newly martyred Paul appearing to the emperor, he ordered their immediate release. C. M. KERR

JOSEPH, HUSBAND OF MARY (for etymology, etc, of Joseph, see JOSEPH): Joseph, the carpenter

1. References in NT

(Mt **13** 55), was a "just man" (Mt **1** 19 AV), who belonged to Nazareth (Lk **2** 4). He was of Davidic descent (Mt **1** 20; Lk **2** 4), the son of Heli (Lk **3** 23) or Jacob (Mt **1** 16), the husband of Mary (Mt **1** 16), and the supposed father of Jesus (Mt **13** 55; Lk **3** 23; **4** 22; Jn **1** 45; **6** 42).

(1) *Before the Nativity.*—The Gospels of Mt and Mk alone give any detailed reference to J. and the birth of Jesus, and their accounts vary in part. Lk begins with the Annunciation to Mary at Nazareth (Lk **1** 26-38). Overwhelmed with the tidings, Mary departed "with haste" "into the hill country, ... into a city of Judah," to seek communion with Elisabeth, with whom she had been coupled in the Annunciation by the angel Gabriel (Lk **1** 39-55). After abiding with her about three months she returned "unto her own house" (Lk **1** 56 AV). The events recorded in Mt **1** 18-24 probably took place in the interval between this return and the birth of Jesus. During Mary's visit to Elisabeth, J. had likely remained in Nazareth. The abrupt and probably unexplained departure of his espoused wife for Judah (cf the phrase "with haste"), and her condition on her return, had caused him great mental distress (Mt **1** 18-20). Though his indignation was tempered with mercy, he was minded to put her away "privily," but the visitation of the angel in his sleep relieved him from his dilemma, and he was reconciled to his wife (Mt **1** 24). The narrative is then continued by St. Luke. While J. and Mary still abode in Nazareth, "there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be enrolled" (Lk **2** 1). "And all went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city" (Lk **2** 3). Being of the house and lineage of David, J. went up with Mary, who was "great with child," from Galilee, "out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem" (Lk **2** 4.5), and there Jesus was born (Lk **2** 7; cf Mt **2** 1).

(2) *After the Nativity.*—(*a*) St. Luke's account: The two accounts now diverge considerably. According to Lk, the Holy Family remained for a time at Bethlehem and were there visited by the shepherds (Lk **2** 8-20). After a sojourn of 40 days for the purification (cf Lk **2** 21.22; Lev **12**), J. departed with his wife for Jerus "to present" the infant Jesus "to the Lord" and to offer up sacrifice according to the ancient law (Lk **2** 24). There he was present at the prophesying of Simeon and Anna concerning Jesus, and received the blessing of the former (Lk **2** 34). After "they had accomplished all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth" (Lk **2** 39). Every year, at the Passover, they made this journey to Jerus (Lk **2** 41). The care and solicitude of J. and Mary for the boy Jesus and their grief at His temporary loss are also recorded (Lk **2** 45.48.51). There is evidence that, though Mary "kept all these things in her heart," J. at least had no understanding then of the Divine nature of the charge committed to his care (Lk **2** 50).

(*b*) St. Matthew's account: But according to Mt it was from the Wise Men of the East that Jesus received homage at Bethlehem (Mt **2** 1-11). There is no further mention of the dedicatory journey to Jerus, or of the return to Nazareth.

Instead, it is stated that on the departure of the Wise Men from Bethlehem, J. was warned in a dream of the impending wrath of Herod, and escaped with his wife and the infant Jesus into Egypt (Mt **2** 13.14). Upon the death of Herod, an angel appeared to J., and he returned to the land of Israel (Mt **2** 19–21). His original intention was to settle once more in Judaea, but on learning that Archelaus, the son of Herod, was ruler there, "he withdrew into the parts of Galilee, and came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth" (Mt **2** 22.23).

(*c*) The proper sequence of the two narratives: The narrative of Mt would thus imply that the Holy Family had no connection with Nazareth previous to their return from Egypt. It has, however, been suggested by Ramsay that Mt merely reports what was common knowledge, and that Lk, while quite cognizant of this, supplemented it in his own Gospel with details known only to the Holy Family, and in part to the mother alone (cf Sir W. Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 78–79). A comparison of the two Gospel narratives makes it clear that the visitation of the Wise Men fell on a later date than that of the shepherds. The latter took place immediately after the Nativity (cf Lk **2** 11.15.16, "is born . . . . this day," "let us now go," "and they came with haste"). On the other hand, when the Wise Men came to Jerus, Christ was already born (cf Mt **2** 1). Time was required for this journey to Jerus and the consultation of Herod with the chief priests (Mt **2** 4); and during this interval the events recorded in Lk **2** 8–39 had taken place. That there was sufficient time for this is attested also by the fact that Herod's decree was directed against children up to two years of age (Mt **2** 16). Thus it was after the return of the Holy Family to Nazareth, and on a further visit to Bethlehem, implied by Mt but not recorded by Lk, that the infant Jesus received the adoration of the Wise Men. Jesus being born in 6 BC, this took place in 5 BC, and as Herod died in 4 BC, J. may have missed only one of the Passovers (cf Lk **2** 41) by his flight into Egypt. (For a full discussion, cf Ramsay, op. cit.) As no mention is made of J. in the later parts of the Gospels where the Holy Family is referred to (cf Mt **12** 46; Lk **8** 19), it is commonly supposed that he died before the commencement of the public ministry of Christ.

2. Character

If a type is to be sought in the character of J., it is that of a simple, honest, hard-working, God-fearing man, who was possessed of large sympathies and a warm heart. Strict in the observance of Jewish law and custom, he was yet ready when occasion arose to make these subservient to the greater law of the Spirit. Too practical to possess any deep insight into the Divine mysteries or eternal significance of events which came within his knowledge (cf Lk **2** 50), he was quick to make answer to what he perceived to be the direct call of God (cf Mt **1** 24). Originally a "just man" (AV), the natural clemency within his heart prevailed over mere justice, and by the promptings of the Holy Spirit that clemency was transferred into a strong and enduring love (cf Mt **1** 24). J. is known to us only as a dim figure in the background of the Gospel narratives, yet his whole-hearted reconciliation to Mary, even in the face of possible slanderings by his neighbors, his complete self-sacrifice, when he left all and fled into Egypt to save the infant Jesus, are indicative that he was not unworthy to fulfil the great trust which was imposed upon him by the Eternal Father.

3. References in Apocryphal Literature

The Gospel of the Infancy according to St. James, a work composed originally in the 2d cent., but with later additions (cf Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 47–63), gives a detailed account of the marriage of the aged J. with Mary, of their journey to Bethlehem, and of the birth of Jesus. A similar gospel, reputed to be by Thomas the philosopher, of later origin and gnostic tendency (cf Hennecke, 63–73), narrates several fantastic, miraculous happenings in the domestic life of the Holy Family, and the dealings of Joseph with the teachers of the youthful Jesus. Other legends, from Syr or Egyp sources, also dealing with the Infancy, in which J. figures, are extant. The chief is The History of Joseph the Carpenter (cf Hennecke, *Handbuch der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 95–105). This contains an account of the death and burial of J. at the age of 110, and of the entreaties of Mary to Christ to save him. Its aim was to show forth Christ as the Saviour, even at the last hour, and the rightful manner of Christian death. J. has received a high place in the Calendar of the Roman Catholic Saints, his feast being celebrated on March 19.

C. M. Kerr

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA (**ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας**, *apó Arimathaías;* for etymology, etc, of Joseph, see gen. art. on Joseph): Joseph of Arimathaea—a place the locality of which is doubtful, but lying probably to the N.W. of Jerus—was a "rich man" (Mt **27** 57), "a councillor of honorable estate," or member of the Sanhedrin (Mk **15** 43; Lk **23** 50), "a good and righteous man . . . . who was looking for the kingdom of God" (Lk **23** 50; Mk **15** 43), and "himself was Jesus' disciple" (Mt **27** 57; Jn **19** 38). Although he kept his discipleship secret "for fear of the Jews" (Jn **19** 38), he was yet faithful to his allegiance in that he absented himself from the meeting which found Jesus guilty of death (cf Lk **23** 51; Mk **14** 64). But the condemnation of his Lord awakened the courage and revealed the true faith of J. On the evening after the crucifixion he went "boldly" to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. There is a fine touch in that he himself took down the body from the cross. With the assistance of Nicodemus he wound it in fine linen with spices (cf Mt **27** 57, J. was a "rich man") and brought it to the new sepulcher in the garden near the place of His crucifixion. There they "laid him in a tomb that was hewn in stone, where never man had yet lain" and 'rolled a stone against the door of the tomb' (cf Mt **27** 57–60; Mk **15** 42–46; Lk **23** 50–53; Jn **19** 38–42). In this was held to be the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isa **53** 9.

The Gospel of St. Peter, written probably in Syria about the middle of the 2d cent., gives a slightly different account. According to this J., "the friend of Pilate and the Lord," was present at the trial of Jesus, and immediately upon its conclusion besought of Pilate that he might have the body for burial. This was granted, and after the crucifixion the Jews handed the body over to J. (cf Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 27–30). Legends of a later origin record that J. was sent by Philip from Gaul to Britain along with 11 other disciples in 63 AD, and built an oratory at Glastonbury (cf Philip the Apostle), that he brought the Holy Grail to England, and that he freed Ireland from snakes.

C. M. Kerr

JOSEPH, PRAYER OF: An OT pseudepigraph, no. 3 in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus (Westcott, *Canon of the NT*^{7}, 571), with the length given as 1,100 lines, and no. 5 in the *List of Sixty Books* (Westcott, 568). The work is lost, and the only quotations are in Origen (*In Joan.*, ii.25, Eng. in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IX, 341; *In Gen.*, iii.9, 12). Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are said to have been created before every work, but Jacob-Israel is the greatest, "the firstborn of every living creature," the "first minister in God's presence," greater than the angel with whom he wrestled. The purport may be anti-Christian, the patriarchs exalted in place of Christ; cf, perhaps, En **71** (but not so in Charles's 1912 text), but Origen's favorable opinion of the book proves that the polemic could not have been very direct.

Literature.—*GJV*, 4th ed, III, 359–60; Dillmann in *PRE*, 2d ed, XII, 362; cf Beer in 3d ed, XVI, 256; Fabricius, *Codex pseudep. Vet. Test.*, I, 761–71.

Burton Scott Easton

JOSEPH'S DREAM. See Astronomy, II, 6; Joseph.

JOSEPH, THE CARPENTER, GOSPEL OF. See Apocryphal Gospels.

JOSEPHUS, jō̇-sē′fus (**Ἰώσηφος,** *Iôsēphos;* B reads **Φόσηπος,** *Phósēpos*): In 1 Esd **9** 34, corresponding to "Joseph" in Ezr **10** 42.

1. Early Life and Beliefs

JOSEPHUS, jō̇-sē′fus, **FLAVIUS,** flā′vi-us: Was born at Jerus 37–38 AD, and died at Rome early in the 2d cent., when is not known precisely. His father and mother belonged to families of the priestly aristocracy; consequently he received an excellent education, becoming familiar, not only with Jewish, but with Hellenistic, culture. When 16 years old he resorted to one Banus, an Essene (q.v.), in the desert of Engedi, with whom he remained for 3 years, absorbing occult lore, and practising the ascetic life. It might have been expected from his social position that, on his return to Jerus, he would join the Sadducees (q.v.); but, his Essene experience having indoctrinated him with ceremonialism, he preferred to become a Pharisee (q.v.). He evidently believed, too, that the Pharisees were akin to the Stoics, who were then influential in the Hellenistic world. During his absence in the desert, the misgovernment of the Rom procurators at Jerus had grown apace. And the ineptitudes and injustices of Felix, Albanus and Florus were succeeded by anarchy under Annas, the high priest (62). Accordingly, the Zealots (q.v.) plotted against Rom rule. Rebellion simmered, and many of the disaffected were transported to Rome to be dealt with there. Among these were several priests, whom Jos knew. About the year 64, he went to Rome to plead for them, met shipwreck on the voyage, was rescued with a few survivors and was brought to port at Puteoli. Here he met Alityrus, a Jewish actor, who happened to be in the good graces of Poppaea, Nero's consort. The empress, a Jewish proselyte, espoused his cause at Rome, and showed him many favors. At the capital, he also discerned the power of the Romans and, in all probability, grew convinced of the hopelessness of armed revolt. On his return to Jerus, he found his people set upon insurrection, and was forced, possibly against his better judgment, to make common cause with them. The first part of his public career is concerned with the great struggle that now began.

2. Public Career

When war broke out, Jos was appointed governor of Galilee, the province where the Rom attack would first fall. He had no military fitness for command, but the influence of his friends and the exigencies of politics thrust the office upon him. The Zealots soon found that he did not carry out the necessary preparations with thoroughness, and they tried to compass his removal. But he was too influential, too good a politician also, to be undermined. Surrounded by enemies among his own folk, who even attempted to assassinate him, he encountered several dangerous experiences, and, at length, flying from the Romans, was beleaguered with his army in Jotopata, near the Lake of Gennesaret, in May, 67. The Jews withstood the siege for 47 days with splendid courage, till Titus, assaulting under cover of a mist, stormed the stronghold and massacred the weary defenders. Jos escaped to a cave where, with his usual adroitness, he saved himself from death at the hands of his companions. The Romans soon discovered his hiding-place, and haled him before Vespasian, the commander-in-chief. Jos worked upon the superstitions of the general, and so ingratiated himself that Vespasian took him to Alexandria in his train. Having been liberated by his captor, he adopted the family name of the Flavians, according to Rom custom. Returning to Pal with Titus, he proceeded to mediate between the Romans and the Jews, earning the suspicion of the former, the hatred of the latter. His wonted diplomacy preserved him from anything more serious than a wound, and he was an eyewitness of the terrible events that marked the last days of Jerus. Then he accompanied Titus to Rome for the Triumph (q.v.). Here he lived the remainder of his days, in high favor with the ruling house, and relieved from all anxiety about worldly goods by lavish imperial patronage. He was thus enabled to devote himself to literary pursuits.

3. Works

The works of Jos render him one of the most valuable authorities for the student of NT times. They are as follows: (1) *Concerning the Jewish War,* written before 79; we have the Gr tr of this history by the author; there are 7 books: I, the period from Antiochus Epiphanes (175 BC) to Herod the Great (4 BC); II, from 4 BC to 66 AD, covering the early events of the War; III, occurrences in Galilee in 67 AD; IV, the course of the War till the siege of Jerus; V and VI, the investment and fall of Jerus; VII, the aftermath of the rebellion. While this work is not written with the objective accuracy of scientific history, it is credible on the whole, except where it concerns the rôle played by the author. (2) *The Antiquities of the Jews,* written not later than 94 AD. In this Jos purports to relate the entire history of his race, from the beginning till the War of 66 AD. The 20 books fall naturally into 5 divisions, thus: (*a*) I–X, from prehistoric times till the Captivity, in other words, the period related in the OT substantially; (*b*) XI, the age of Cyrus; (*c*) XII–XIV, the beginnings of the Hellenistic period, from Alexander the Great, including the Maccabean revolt, till the accession of Herod the Great; (*d*) XV–XVII, the reign of Herod; (*e*) XVIII–XX, from Herod's death till the War of 66. While it cannot be called an apology for the Jews, this work betrays the author's consciousness of the disfavor with which his people were viewed throughout the Rom Empire. Jos does what he can to disabuse the Gr-Rom educated classes, although he shows curious obliquity to the grandeur of Heb religion. All in all, the work is disappointing; but it contains many details and sidelights of first importance to investigators. (3) The treatise called, since Jerome, *Against Apion,* is Josephus' most inspiring performance. The older title, *Concerning the High Antiquity of the Jews,* tells us what it contains—a defence of Heb religion against the libels of heathendom. It is in two books. The vituperation with which Jos visits Apion is unimportant in comparison with the defence of Mosaic religion and the criticism of paganism. Here the author's character is seen at its best; the air of Worldly Wiseman has been dropped, and he approaches enthusiasm. (4) His last work is the *Vita* or *Autobiography,* a misleading title. It is an echo of old days in Galilee, directed against the traductions of an associate, Justus of Tiberias. We have Jos at his worst here. He so colors the narrative as to convey a totally wrong impression of the part he played during the great crisis. In extenuation, it may be said that his relations with the imperial court rendered it difficult, perhaps impossible, for him to pursue another course.

Literature.—W. D. Morrison, *The Jews under Rom Rule* (London, 1890); E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ,* div I, vol I (Edinburgh, 1890); A. Hausrath, *History of NT Times,* IV, div VII, ch ii (London, 1895); H. Graetz, *History of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the Present Day,* II, ch x (London, 1891); art. "Josephus" in *Jew Enc.* Translations by Whiston (many edd), and of *The War of the Jews,* by Traill and Taylor (London, 1862).

R. M. Wenley

JOSES, jō′sēz, jō′zez (**’Ιωσῆς**, *Iōsḗs*):

(1) One of the brethren of Jesus (Mk **6** 3; in Mt **13** 55 the Gr is "Joseph," and RV so renders).

(2) A son of Mary, perhaps identical with (1) (Mt **27** 56; Mk **15** 40.47). See BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

(3) A name of Barnabas (Acts **4** 36 AV, where again Gr and RV have "Joseph"). See BARNABAS.

JOSHAH, jō′sha (יוֹשָׁה, *yōshāh*, "Jeh's gift"): A descendant of Simeon, chief in his family (1 Ch **4** 34.38).

JOSHAPHAT, josh′a-fat (יוֹשָׁפָט, *yōshāphāṭ*, "Jeh has judged"; cf JEHOSHAPHAT):

(1) One of David's mighty men (1 Ch **11** 43), a "Mithnite," but not included in the list of 2 S **23**.

(2) A priest and trumpeter of David's time (1 Ch **15** 24), AV "Jehoshaphat."

JOSHAVIAH, josh-a-vī′a (יוֹשַׁוְיָה, *yōshawyāh*, allied form to JOSHAH [q.v.]): Son of Elnaam, one of the band of braves who served David (1 Ch **11** 46), omitted from the list of 2 S **23**, which is less complete and differs in detail.

JOSHBEKASHAH, josh-bė̄-kā′sha, josh-bė̄-kash′a (יָשְׁבְּקָשָׁה, *yoshb^{e}ḳāshāh*, "son" of Heman; 1 Ch **25** 4.24): The last 8 or 9 names in ver 4 are taken by commentators to be not names but the words of a prayer. See *OTJC*², 143, n.; Curtis, *Chron*, 278, 280; *SBOT*.

JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH, jō-sheb-ba-shē′beth (יֹשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת, *yōshēbh ba-shebheth*): This proper name in RV takes the place of the tr "that sat in the seat" in AV (2 S **23** 8). The phrase so rendered is meaningless. The text has evidently suffered corruption. There can be no doubt that a proper name is intended. This, according to the ‖ passage in 1 Ch **11** 11, should be Jashobeam. Some scholars think that this also is a corruption, and by a process of emendation arrive at "Eshbaal" as the correct name (Driver, *Heb Text of S; SBOT*, ad loc.).

JOSHIBIAH, josh-i-bī′a (יוֹשִׁבְיָה, *yōshibhyāh*, "Jeh sets," or "causes to dwell"; AV **Josibiah**): A Simeonite (1 Ch **4** 35).

JOSHUA, josh′ū-a ([*a*] יְהוֹשׁוּעַ, *y^{e}hōshū^{a}ʿ*, [*b*] יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *y^{e}hōshu^{a}ʿ*, "Jeh is deliverance" or "opulence"; cf JESHUA; **’Ιησοῦς**, *Iēsoús*):

(1) Joshua the son of Nun; the name has the Heb form (*a*) above in Dt **3** 21; Jgs **2** 7; elsewhere the form (*b*), except in Neh **8** 17, where it is of the form *yēshū^{a}ʿ* (See JESHUA); cf also Nu **13** 8.16; Dt **32** 44. See following article.

(2) In 1 S **6** 14.18 (form [*b*]), the Bethshemite in whose field stood the kine that brought the ark from the Philistines.

(3) In 2 K **23** 8 (form [*b*]), governor of Jerus in the time of Josiah.

(4) The high priest at Jerus after the return. See separate article.

S. F. HUNTER

JOSHUA:

I. FORM AND SIGNIFICANCE OF NAME
II. HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF JOSHUA
  1. First Appearance
  2. The Minister of Moses
  3. One of the Spies
  4. The Head of the People
    (1) His First Act—Sending of the Spies
    (2) Crossing of the Jordan
    (3) Capture of Jericho
    (4) Conquest of Ai and Bethel
    (5) Reading of the Law on Mt. Ebal
    (6) The Gibeonites
    (7) Conquest of the South
    (8) Northern Conquests
    (9) Allotment of Territory
    (10) Cities of Refuge
    (11) Final Address and Death
III. SOURCES OF HISTORY
IV. CHARACTER AND WORK OF JOSHUA

I. Form and Significance of Name.—The name Joshua, a contracted form of Jehoshua (יְהוֹשׁוּעַ, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *y^{e}hōshu^{a}ʿ*), which also appears in the form Jeshua (יֵשׁוּעַ, Neh **8** 17), signifies "Jeh is deliverance" or "salvation," and is formed on the analogy of many Israelite names, as Jehoiakim (יְהוֹיָקִים, *y^{e}hōyāḳīm*), "Jeh exalteth," Jehoḥānān (יְהוֹחָנָן, *y^{e}hōḥānān*), "Jeh is gracious," Elishua or Elisha (אֱלִישׁוּעַ, *’ĕlīshū^{a}ʿ*, אֱלִישָׁע, *’ĕlīshāʿ*), "God is deliverance," Elizur (אֱלִיצוּר, *’ĕlîçūr*), "God is a rock," etc. In the narrative of the mission of the spies in Nu **13**, the name is given as Hoshea (הוֹשֵׁעַ, *hōshē^{a}ʿ*, vs 8.16; cf Dt **32** 44), which is changed by Moses to Joshua (ver 16). In the passage in Dt, however, the earlier form of the name is regarded by Dr. Driver (*Comm.* in loc.) as an erroneous reading.

The Gr form of the name is Jesus (’Ιησοῦς, *Iēsoús*, Acts **7** 45; He **4** 8, RV "Joshua," but AV "Jesus" in both passages), and this form appears even in the passages cited above from Neh and Dt. In Nu **13** 8.16, however, LXX has Αὐσή, *Hausē̆*. The name occurs in later Jewish history, e.g. as that of the owner of the field in which the ark rested after its return from the land of the Philis (1 S **6** 14.18), and appears to have become esp. frequent after the exile (Ezr **2** 40; Zec **3** 1*ab*, etc). It is also found (Jeshua) with a local signification as the name of one of the "villages" in Southern Judaea, where the repatriated Jews dwelt after their return from Babylon (Neh **11** 26).

II. History of the Life of Joshua.—The narrative of the life of Joshua, the son of Nun, is naturally divided into two parts, in which he held entirely different positions with regard to the people of Israel, and discharged different duties. In the earlier period he is the servant and minister of Moses, loyal to his leader, and one of his most trusted and valiant captains. After the death of Moses he himself succeeds to the leadership of the Israelite host, and conducts them to a settlement in the Promised Land. The service of the earlier years of his life is a preparation and equipment for the office and responsibility that devolved upon him in the later period.

1. First Appearance

The first appearance of J. in the history is at Rephidim, on the way from the wilderness of Sin to Horeb. Neither the exact site of Rephidim nor the meaning of the name can be determined; the Israelites, however, apparently came to Rephidim before they approached the rich oasis of *Feirân*, for at the former place "there was no water for the people to drink" (Ex **17** 1). The fact that the host encamped there seems to assume the existence of wells; either, therefore, these were found to be dry, or they failed before the wants of the great host were satisfied. The Amalekites, wandering desert tribes, claimed the ownership of the wells, and, resenting the Israelite intrusion, swooped down upon them to drive them away and to enrich themselves with the spoil of their possessions. Under the command of J., the Israelites won a complete victory in a battle that seems to have been prolonged until sunset; the fortunes of the battle varying with the uplifting or falling of Moses' hands, which were accordingly supported by Aaron and Hur throughout the day (vs 11 ff). A curse and sentence of extermination pronounced against Amalek were formally written down and communicated to J., apparently that, as the future leader of Israel, he might have it in charge to provide for their fulfilment.

It is evident also that at this period J. was no young and untried warrior. Although no indication of his previous history is given, his name is introduced into the narrative as of a man well known, who is sufficiently in the confidence of Moses to be given the chief command in the first conflict in which the Israelites had been engaged since leaving Egypt. The result justified the choice. And if, during the march, he had held the position of military commander and organizer under Moses, as the narrative seems to imply, to him was due in the first instance the remarkable change, by which within the brief space of a month the undisciplined crowd of serfs who had fled from Egypt became a force sufficiently resolute and compact to repel the onset of the Amalekite hordes.

2. The Minister of Moses

In all the arrangements for the erection and service of the tabernacle, J. the warrior naturally has no place. He is briefly named (Ex **24** 13) as the minister of Moses, accompanying him apparently to the foot of the mount of God, but remaining behind with the elders and Aaron and Hur, when Moses commenced the ascent. A similar brief mention is in **32** 17, where he has rejoined Moses on the return of the latter from the mount with the two tables of the testimony, and is unaware of the outbreak of the people and their idolatrous worship of the molten calf in the camp; cf **33** 11, where again he is found in the closest attendance upon his leader and chief. No further reference is made to J. during the stay of the Israelites at Sinai, or their subsequent journeyings, until they found themselves at Kadesh-barnea on the southern border of the Promised Land (Nu **13**). His name is once mentioned, however, in an earlier ch of the same book (Nu **11** 28), when the tidings are brought to Moses that two men in the camp of Israel, Eldad and Medad, had been inspired to prophesy. There he is described in harmony with the previous statements of his position, as Moses' minister from his youth. Jealous of his leader's prerogative and honor, he would have the irregular prophesying stopped, but is himself checked by Moses, who rejoices that the spirit of God should rest thus upon any of the Lord's people.

3. One of the Spies

Of the 12 men, one from each tribe, sent forward by Moses from Kadesh to ascertain the character of the people and land before him, two only, Hoshea the Ephraimite, whose name is significantly changed to Joshua (**13** 8.16), and Caleb the Judahite, bring back a report encouraging the Israelites to proceed. The account of the mission of the spies is repeated substantially in Dt **1** 22–46. There, however, the suggestion that spies should be commissioned to examine and report upon the land comes in the first instance from the people themselves. In the record of Nu they are chosen and sent by Moses under Divine direction (**13** 1 f). The two representations are not incompatible, still less contradictory. The former describes in an altogether natural manner the human initiative, probable enough in the circumstances in which the Israelites found themselves; the latter is the Divine control and direction, behind and above the affairs of men. The instructions given to the spies (vs 17 ff) evidently contemplated a hasty survey of the entire region of the *Negeb* or southern borderland of Pal up to and including the hill country of Judaea; the time allowed, 40 days (ver 25), was too brief to accomplish more, hardly long enough for this purpose alone. They were, moreover, not only to ascertain the character of the towns and their inhabitants, the quality and products of the soil, but to bring back with them specimens of the fruits (ver 20). An indication of the season of the year is given in the added clause that "the time was the time of first-ripe grapes." The usual months of the vintage are September and October (cf Lev **23** 39); in the warm and sheltered valleys, however, in the neighborhood of Hebron, grapes may sometimes be gathered in August or even as early as July. The valley from which the fruits, grapes, figs and pomegranates were brought was known as the valley of Eshcol, or the "cluster" (Nu **13** 23 f; **32** 9; Dt **1** 24).

No hesitating or doubtful account is given by all the spies of the fertility and attractiveness of the country; but in view of the strength of its cities and inhabitants only J. and Caleb are confident of the ability of the Israelites to take possession of it. Their reports and exhortations, however, are overborne by the timidity and dissuasion of the others, who so entirely alarm the people that they refuse to essay the conquest of the land, desiring to return into Egypt (Nu **14** 3 f), and attempt to stone J. and Caleb (**14** 10). These two alone, therefore, were exempted from the sentence of exclusion from the Promised Land (vs 24.30.38; **26** 65; **32** 12; Dt **1** 25 ff). The remainder of the spies perished at once by a special visitation (Nu **14** 36); and the people were condemned to a 40-year exile in the wilderness, a year for each day that the spies had been in Pal, until all the men of that generation "from twenty years old and upward" were dead (**14** 29; **26** 64 f; **32** 11 ff). An abortive attempt was made to invade the land in defiance of the prohibition of Jeh, and ended in failure and disastrous defeat (vs 40 ff; Dt **1** 41 ff; cf **21** 1–3).

Upon the events of the next 38 or 40 years in the life of Israel an almost unbroken silence falls. The wanderers in the wilderness have no history. Some few events, however, that are recorded without note of time, the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and the breaking out of the plague because of the people's murmuring, and probably others (Nu **15** 32–36; **16** f), appear to belong to this period. In none of them does J. take an active part, nor is his name mentioned in connection with the campaigns against Sihon and Og on the E. of the Jordan. When the census of the people is taken in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho, J. and Caleb with Moses himself are found to be the only survivors of the host that 40 years previously came out of Egypt (**26** 63 ff). As the time of the death of the great leader and lawgiver drew near, he was commissioned formally to appoint J. as his successor and to hand over to him and to Eleazar the priest the duty of finally apportioning the conquered territory among the several tribes (**27** 18 ff; **32** 28; **34** 17; cf Dt **1** 38; **3** 28; **31** 3.7.23; **34** 9). Some of these passages anticipate the direct Divine commission and encouragement recorded in Josh (**1** 1.5 ff) and given to him after the death of Moses.

4. The Head of the People

The history of J. in his new capacity as supreme head and leader of the people in several instances recapitulates as it were the history of his greater forerunner. It was not unnatural that it should be so; and the similarity of recorded events affords no real ground for doubt with regard to the reliability of the tradition concerned. The position in which Israel now found itself on the E. of the Jordan was in some respects not unlike that which confronted Moses at Kadesh-barnea or before the crossing of the Red Sea. J., however, was faced with a problem much less difficult, and in the war-tried and disciplined host at his command he possessed an instrument immensely more suitable and powerful for carrying out his purpose.

(1) *Sending of the spies.*—His first act was to send spies from Shittim to ascertain the character of the country immediately opposite on the W. of the Jordan, and esp. the position and strength of Jericho, the frontier and fortified city which first stands in the way of an invader from the E. who proposes to cross the river by the fords near its mouth (Josh **2** 2). In Jericho the spies owed their lives to the quick inventiveness of Rahab (cf He **11** 31), who concealed them on the roof of her house from the emissaries of the king; and returning to J., they reported the prospects of an easy victory and conquest (vs 23 f).

There were doubtless special reasons which induced J. to essay the crossing of the Jordan at the lower fords opposite Jericho. Higher up the river a probably easier crossing-place led directly into Central Pal, a district in which apparently his advance would not have been obstructed by fortified cities such as confronted him farther south; which therefore would seem to offer the advantages of an open and ready entrance into the heart of the country. His decision was probably influenced by a desire to possess himself of a fortified base at Jericho and in the neighboring cities. The favorable report of the spies also proved that there would be no great difficulty in carrying out this plan.

(2) *Crossing of the Jordan.*—The actual crossing of the river is narrated in chs **3, 4**. The city of Jericho was built in a plain from 12 to 14 miles wide formed by the recession of the hills that border the valley of the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, and stood at the mouth of the valley of Achor (**7** 24.26; **15** 7). The modern village of *Erīhā* is built at a short distance S.E. of the ancient site, and Gilgal lay half-way to the river. At the latter place the fixed camp was established after the taking of Jericho, and Gilgal formed for some considerable time the base of operations, where the women and children remained in safety while the men were absent on their warlike expeditions. There also the tabernacle was erected, as the symbol and center of national life, and there apparently it remained until the time came for the removal to Shiloh (**18** 1).

Within the plain the stream has excavated a tortuous bed to a depth of 200 ft. below the surface, varying from an eighth of a mile to a mile in breadth. In ordinary seasons the waters are confined to a small portion of the channel, which is then crossed opposite Jericho by two fords where the depth does not exceed 2 or 3 ft. When the river is low it may be crossed elsewhere. In times of flood, however, the water rises and fills the entire channel from bank to bank, so that the fords become impracticable. It is expressly stated that it was at such a time of flood that the Israelites approached the river, at the "time of harvest," or in the early spring (**3** 15). The priests were directed to carry the ark to the brink of the river, the waters of which, as soon as their feet touched them, would be cut off, and a dry passage afforded. The narrative therefore is not to be understood as though it indicated that a wall of water stood on the right and left of the people as they crossed; the entire breadth of the river bed was exposed by the failure of the waters from above. See JORDAN.

An interesting parallel to the drying up of the Jordan before J. is recorded by an Arab. historian of the Middle Ages, who writes to explain a natural but extraordinary occurrence, without any thought of the miraculous or any apparent knowledge of the passage of the Israelites. During the years 1266–67 AD, a Mohammedan sultan named Beybars was engaged in building a bridge over the Jordan near Damieh, a place which some have identified with the city Adam (Josh **3** 16); but the force of the waters repeatedly carried away and destroyed his work. On one night, however, in December of the latter year, the river ceased entirely to flow. The opportunity was seized, and an army of workmen so strengthened the bridge that it resisted the flood which came down upon it the next day, and stood firm. It was found that at some distance up the river, where the valley was narrow, the banks had been undermined by the running water and had fallen in, thus completely damming back the stream. It seems not improbable that it was by agency of this character that a passage was secured for the Israelites; even as 40 years earlier a "strong east wind" had been employed to drive back the waters of the Red Sea before Moses.

At the command of J., under Divine direction, the safe crossing of the Jordan was commemorated by the erection at Gilgal of 12 stones (**4** 3–9.20 ff), one for each of the tribes of Israel, taken from the bed of the river. In ver 9 it is stated that 12 stones were set up in the midst of the river. The statement is probably a misunderstanding, and a mere confusion of the tradition. It is not likely that there would be a double commemoration, or an erection of stones in a place where they would never be seen. At Gilgal also the supply of manna ceased, when the natural resources of the country became available (**5** 12). The date of the passage is given as the 10th day of the 1st month (**4** 19); and on the 14th day the Passover was kept at Gilgal in the plains of Jericho (**5** 10). For the 2d time, also, at the crisis of the first entrance into the land, J. was encouraged for his work by a vision and Divine promise of assistance and direction (**5** 13–15).

(3) *Capture of Jericho.*—The narrative that follows, of the taking of Jericho, illustrates, as would naturally be expected in the case of a city so situated, the effeminate and unwarlike character of its inhabitants. There was apparently little or no fighting, while for a whole week J. with priests and people paraded before the walls. A brief reference (**6** 1) seems to indicate that the citizens were quickly driven to take refuge behind their fortifications. Twice seven times the city was compassed, with the ark of the covenant borne in solemn procession, and at the 7th circuit on the 7th day, while the people shouted, the wall of the city fell "in its place" (**6** 20 m), and Jericho was taken by assault. Only Rahab and her household were spared. All the treasure was devoted to the service of the Lord, but the city itself was burnt, and a solemn curse pronounced upon the site and upon the man who should venture to rebuild its walls (**6** 26). The curse was braved, whether deliberately or not, by a citizen of Bethel in the time of King Ahab; and the disasters foretold fell upon him in the loss of his children (1 K **16** 34). Thenceforward Jericho appears to have been continuously inhabited. There was a settlement of the sons of the prophets there in Elisha's day (2 K **2** 5.15). The natural fertility of the site won for it the name of the city of palm trees (Dt **34** 3; Jgs **1** 16; **3** 13).

From the plains of Jericho two valleys lead up into the central hill country in directions N.W. and S.W. respectively. These form the two entrances or passes, by which the higher land is approached from the E. Along these lines, therefore, the invasion of the land was planned and carried out. The main advance under J. himself took place by the northernmost of the valleys, while the immediate southern invasion was intrusted to Caleb and the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, the supreme control remaining always in the hands of J. (cf Josh **14, 15**; Jgs **1**). This seems on the whole to be the better way of explaining the narratives in general, which in detail present many difficulties.

(4) *Conquest of Ai and Bethel.*—At the head of the northern pass stood the city of Luz or Bethel (Gen **28** 19; Josh **18** 13; Jgs **1** 23). Ai lay close at hand, and was encountered by the invaders before reaching Bethel; its exact site, however, is undetermined. The two towns were in close alliance (cf Josh **8** 17), and the defeat and destruction of the one was quickly followed by the similar fate

that overtook the other. Before Ai, the advance guard of the Israelites, a small party detached on the advice of the spies sent forward by J. from Jericho, suffered defeat and were driven back in confusion (**7** 2 ff). The disaster was due to the failure to obey the command to "devote" the whole spoil of Jericho, and to the theft by one of the people of treasure which belonged rightfully to Jeh (**7** 11). When the culprit Achan had been discovered and punished, a renewed attempt upon Ai, made with larger forces and more skilful dispositions, was crowned with success. The city was taken by a stratagem and destroyed by fire, its king being hanged outside the city gate (**8** 28 f). Unlike Jericho, it seems never to have been restored. Bethel also was captured, through the treachery apparently of one of its own citizens, and its inhabitants were put to the sword (Jgs **1** 24 f).

(5) *Reading of the law on Mt. Ebal.*—Of further campaigns undertaken by J. for the subjugation of Central Pal no account has been preserved. It is possible, therefore, that the conquest of this part of the country was accomplished without further fighting (see Joshua, Book of). In the list of the cities (Josh **12** 7–24) whose kings were vanquished by J., there are no names of towns that can be certainly identified as situated here; the greater part evidently belong to the north or south. The only record remaining is that of the formal erection of an altar on Mt. Ebal in the presence of all the people and the solemn reading of the law in their hearing (**8** 30–35). It is expressly noted that all this was done in accordance with the directions of Moses (cf Dt **11** 29; **27** 2–8.11 ff). It would further appear probable that this ceremony really took place at the close of the conquest, when all the land was subdued, and is narrated here by anticipation.

(6) *The Gibeonites.*—The immediate effect of the Israelite victories under J. was very great. Especially were the Hivite inhabitants of Gibeon struck with fear (**9** 3 ff) lest the same fate should overtake them that had come upon the peoples of Jericho and Ai. With Gibeon, 3 other cities were confederate, viz. Chephirah, Beeroth and Kiriath-jearim, or the "city of groves" (**9** 17). Gibeon, however, was the chief, and acted in the name of the others. It is usually identified with the modern village or township of *el-Jîb*, 7 or 8 miles N. by W. of Jerus; and all four lay clustered around the head of the pass or valley of Aijalon, which led down from the plateau westward to the foothills of the Shephelah, toward the plain and the sea. Gibeon held therefore a position of natural strength and importance, the key to one of the few practicable routes from the west into the highlands of Judaea, equally essential to be occupied as a defensive position against the incursions of the dwellers in the plains, and as affording to an army from the east a safe and protected road down from the mountains.

By a stratagem which threw J. and the leaders of Israel off their guard, representing themselves as jaded and wayworn travelers from a distance, the Gibeonites succeeded in making a compact with Israel, which assured their own lives and safety. They affirmed that they had heard of the Israelite victories beyond Jordan, and also of the gift to them by Jeh of the whole land (**9** 9 f.24). J. and the princes were deceived and entered too readily into covenant with them, a covenant and promise that was scrupulously observed when on the 3d day of traveling the Israelites reached their cities and found them to be close at hand (vs 16 ff). While, however, their lives were preserved, the men of Gibeon were reduced to the position of menial servants, "hewers of wood and drawers of water"; and the writer adds, it is thus "unto this day" (vs 21.27). See Gibeon.

The treaty of peace with the Gibeonites and the indignation thereby aroused among the neighboring kings, who naturally regarded the independent action of the men of Gibeon as treachery toward themselves, gave rise to one of the most formidable coalitions and one of the most dramatic incidents of the whole war. The king of Jerus, Adoni-zedek ("the Lord of righteousness" or "the Lord is righteousness," **10** 1; cf Melchizedek, "the king of righteousness," Gen **14** 18; in Jgs **1** 5 ff the name appears as Adoni-bezek, and so LXX reads here), with the 4 kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon (**10** 3), formed a plan to destroy Gibeon in revenge, and the Gibeonites sent hastily for assistance to J., who had returned with his army to Gilgal. The Israelites made a forced march from Gilgal, came upon the allied kings near Gibeon, and attacked and defeated them with great slaughter. The routed army fled westward "by the way of the ascent to Beth-horon" (ver 10), and in the pass was overtaken by a violent hailstorm, by which more perished than had fallen beneath the swords of the Israelites (ver 11). The 5 kings were shut up in a cave at Makkedah, in which they had taken refuge, whence they were subsequently brought forth and put to death. The actual pursuit, however, was not stayed until the remnant had found temporary security behind the walls of their fortified cities (**10** 16 ff). The victory of Israel was commemorated by J. in a song of which some words are preserved (**10** 12 f). See Beth-horon, Battle of.

(7) *Conquest of the south.*—With almost severe simplicity it is further recorded how the confederate cities in turn were captured by J. and utterly destroyed (**10** 28–39). And the account is closed by a summary statement of the conquest of the entire country from Kadesh-barnea in the extreme south as far as Gibeon, after which the people returned to their camp at Gilgal (**10** 40–43).

(8) *Northern conquests.*—A hostile coalition of northern rulers had finally to be met and defeated before the occupation and pacification of the land could be said to be complete. Jabin, king of Hazor, the "fort," was at the head of an alliance of northern kings who gathered together to oppose Israel in the neighborhood of the waters of Merom (**11** 1 ff). Hazor has been doubtfully identified with the modern *Jebel Hadîreh*, some 5 miles W. of the lake. No details of the fighting that ensued are given. The victory, however, of the Israelites was decisive, although chariots and horses were employed against them apparently for the first time on Can. soil. The pursuit was maintained as far as Sidon, and Misrephoth-maim, perhaps the "boilings" or "tumults of the waters," the later Zarephath on the coast S. of the former city (**11** 8; cf **13** 6); and the valley of Mizpeh must have been one of the many wadies leading down to the Phoen coast land. The cities were taken, and their inhabitants put to the sword; but Hazor alone appears to have been burnt to the ground (**11** 11 ff). That the royal city recovered itself later is clear from the fact that a king of Hazor was among the oppressors of Israel in the days of the Judges (Jgs **4**). For the time being, however, the fruit of these victories was a widespread and much-needed peace. "The land had rest from war" (**11** 23).

(9) *Allotment of territory.*—Thus the work of conquest, as far as it was effected under J.'s command, was now ended; but much yet remained to be done that was left over for future generations. The ideal limits of Israel's possession, as set forth by Jeh in promise to Moses, from the Shihor or Brook of Egypt (cf 1 Ch **13** 5) to Lebanon and the entering in of Hamath (Nu **34**), had not been and indeed never were reached. In view, however, of J.'s age

(**13** 1), it was necessary that an allotment of their inheritance W. of the Jordan should at once be made to the remaining tribes. Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh had been already provided for by Moses in Eastern Pal (**13** 15–32). Chs **14–21** accordingly contain a detailed account of the arrangements made by the Israelite leader for the settlement of the land and trace the boundaries of the several tribal possessions. The actual division appears to have been made on two separate occasions, and possibly from two distinct centers. Provision was first made for Judah and the children of Joseph; and between the northern border of the former tribe, recorded in detail in **15** 5–11, and the inheritance of the sons of Joseph, a tract of land for the present left unassigned was later given to the tribes of Benjamin and Dan. An extra portion also was promised by J. to the descendants of Joseph on the ground of their numbers and strength (**17** 14 ff).

For the 7 tribes that were yet without defined inheritance a rough survey of the land appears to have been made, and the unallotted districts were divided into 7 portions, for which lots were then cast at Shiloh in the presence of the assembled tribes (chs **18, 19**). The express mention of Shiloh here (**18** 1.10) suggests that the previous division was carried out at some other place, and if so, probably at Gilgal, the earlier resting-place of the ark and the tabernacle. No definite statement, however, to that effect is made. Benjamin's portion was assigned between the territories of Judah and the children of Joseph (**18** 11). Simeon received his inheritance out of the land given to Judah, a part on the south being taken away on the ground that the whole was too great for a single tribe (**19** 1–9). Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali were established in the north (**19** 10–39). And Dan was settled on the seacoast by Joppa, with additional territory in the extreme north, of which they apparently took independent and forcible possession, beyond the inheritance of the other tribes (**19** 40–48; cf Jgs **18** 27–29).

(10) *Cities of refuge.*—Finally the 6 cities of refuge were appointed, 3 on each side of the Jordan, and the 48 cities of the Levites taken out of the territories of the several tribes (Josh **20, 21**; cf Nu **35**; Dt **4** 41–43). The two and a half tribes whose inheritance lay in Eastern Pal were then dismissed, their promise of assistance to their brethren having been fulfilled (ch **22**); and an altar was erected by them on the right bank of the Jordan whose purpose is explained to be to serve as a standing witness to the common origin of all the tribes, and to frustrate any future attempt to cut off those on the E. from the brotherhood of Israel.

(11) *Final address and death.*—In a closing assembly of the Israelites at Shechem, J. delivered to the people his final charge, as Moses had done before his death, reminding them of their own wonderful history, and of the promises and claims of God, and exhorting them to faithful and loyal obedience in His service (**23, 24**). A stone also was set up under the oak in the sacred precinct of Jeh, to be a memorial of the renewed covenant between God and His people (**24** 26 f). Then at the age of 110 the second great leader of Israel died, and was laid to his rest within his own inheritance in Timnath-serah (vs 29.30; in Jgs **2** 9, Timnath-heres), in the hill country of Ephraim. The site of his grave is unknown. Tradition has placed it at *Kefr Hâris*, 9 miles S. of *Nablus* or Shechem. But the localizing by tradition of the burying-place of a hero or saint is often little more than accidental, nor can any reliance be placed upon it in this instance.

III. Sources of History.—That the narratives concerning the life and work of J. rest in the main upon a basis of tradition can hardly be doubted. How far the details have been modified, or a different coloring imparted in the course of a long transmission, it is impossible to determine. There is a remarkable similarity or parallelism between many of the leading events of J.'s life as ruler and captain of Israel and the experiences of his predecessor Moses, which, apart from any literary criticism, suggests that the narratives have been drawn from the same general source, and subjected to the same conditions of environment and transmission. Thus both are called to and strengthened for their work by a special Divine revelation, Moses at Horeb in the burning bush, J. at Jericho. Both lead the people across the bed of waters miraculously driven back to afford them passage. And both at no long interval after the passage win a notable victory over their adversaries—a victory ascribed in each case to direct Divine intervention on their behalf, although in different ways. At the close of their life-work, moreover, both Moses and J. deliver stirring addresses of appeal and warning to the assembled Israelites; and both are laid in nameless graves. These all, however, are occurrences perfectly natural and indeed inevitable in the position in which each found himself. Nor do they afford adequate ground for the supposition that the achievements of the greater leader have been duplicated, or by mistake attributed to the less. To cross the Jordan and to defeat the Canaanite confederacy were as essential to the progress of Israel as the passage of the Red Sea and the breaking up of the gathering of Amalekite clans; and no true or sufficient history could have evaded the narration of these events. The position of Israel also on the E. of the Jordan about to undertake the invasion and conquest of the Promised Land as imperatively demanded a specially qualified captain and guide, a master-mind to control the work, as did the oppressed people in Egypt or the wanderers in the desert. That J. was not so great a man as his predecessor the entire narrative testifies. Moses, however, must of necessity have had a successor to take up his unfinished work and to carry it to completion.

IV. Character and Work of Joshua.—As to the personal character of J., there is little to be inferred from the narrative of his campaigns. In this respect indeed they are singularly colorless. In early life his loyalty to Moses was conspicuous and unswerving. As his successor, he seems to have faithfully acted upon his principles, and in the direction of the Israelite campaigns to have proved himself a brave and competent general, as wise in counsel as he was strong in fight. The putting to death of captives and the handing over to the sword of the inhabitants of hostile cities, which the historian so often records as the consequence of his victories, must evidently be judged by the customs of the times, and have perhaps lost nothing in the narration. They do not in any case justify the attribution to Joshua of an especially inhumane disposition, or a delight in slaughter for its own sake. After the death of Moses he would appear to have been reluctant to undertake the onerous position and duty assigned to him through mistrust of his own ability and lack of self-confidence, and needed more than once to be encouraged in his work and assured of Divine support. In the language of his closing discourse there is apparent a foresight and appreciation of the character and tendencies of the people who had followed him, which is hardly inferior to that of Moses himself.

In a real sense also his work was left unfinished at his death. The settlement of Canaan by the tribes of Israel within the appointed and promised limits was never more than partial. The new colonists failed to enjoy that absolute and undisturbed possession of the land to which they had looked forward; witness the unrest of the period of the Judges, prolonged and perpetuated through monarchical times. For all this, however, the blame cannot justly be laid to the account of J. Many causes undoubtedly concurred to an issue which was fatal to the future unity and happiness and prosperity of Israel. The chief cause, as J. warned them would be the case, was the persistent idolatry of the people themselves, their neglect of duty, and disregard of the commands and claims of their God.

A. S. GEDEN

JOSHUA: Son of Jehozadak (Hag **1** 1.12.14; **2** 2.4; Zec **3** 1.3.6.8.9; **6** 11 form [*b*]) and high priest in Jerus, called "Jeshua" in Ezr-Neh. His father was among the captives at the fall of Jerus in 586 BC, and also his grandfather Seraiah, who was put to death at Riblah (2 K **25** 18 ff; 1 Ch **6** 15).

Joshua appears in Ezr **3** 2 with Zerubbabel at the head of the returned exiles and as leader in the work of building an altar and reëstablishing sacrificial worship (538 or 537 BC). Ezr **3** 8 tells of their laying the foundation of the temple, and in **4** 1 ff the two heads of the community refuse to allow the Samaritans to coöperate in the building operations, with the result that the would-be helpers became active opponents of the work. Building then ceased until Haggai and Zechariah in 520 (Ezr **5**; Hag **1** 1–11) exhort the community to restart work, and the two leaders take the lead (Hag **1** 12–15). The following are, in chronological order, the prophetic utterances in which J. is spoken of: (1) Hag **1** 1–11; (2) Hag **2** 1–9; (3) Zec **1** 1–6; (4) Hag **2** 10–19; (5) Hag **2** 20–23; (6) the visions of Zec **1** 7—**6** 8 together with (7) the undated utterance of Zec **6** 9–15.

1. The Vision of Zec 3:1–10

Two of these call for special attention. First, the vision of a trial in which J. is prosecuted before the angel of Jeh by Satan (*ha-sāṭān*, "the adversary"), who is, according to one view, "not the spirit of evil who appears in later Jewish writings; he is only the officer of justice whose business is to see that the case against criminals is properly presented" in the heavenly court of justice (H. P. Smith, *OT History*, 356); while others regard him as the enemy of God's people (cf Orelli, *Minor Prophets*, ET, 327). We are not told what the charge against J. is: some hold him to be tried as in some way a representative of the people or the priesthood, and his filthy garments as symbolical of sin; while others explain the garments as put on to excite the court's pity. The adversary is rebuked by "the angel of Jeh" (read at beginning of ver 2, "and the angel of Jeh said," etc), and J. is acquitted. He is then ordered to be stripped of his old clothes and to be arrayed in "rich apparel" (ver 4), while a "clean turban" (ARVm) is to be put on his head. Conditional upon his walking in God's ways, he is promised the government of the temple and "free access" to God, being placed among the servants of the "angel of Jeh." J. and his companions "are men that are a sign" (ver 8), i.e. a guaranty of the coming of the Messiah; there is set before J. a stone which is to be inscribed upon, and the iniquity of the land will be removed, an event to be followed by peace and plenty (vs 9 f).

In vs 4 ff Nowack and Wellhausen (with the LXX mostly) read, "And he answered and spake unto those that stood before him [i.e. his servants] thus: Take the filthy garments from off him, and clothe him with rich apparel, [5] and set a clean turban upon his head. So they set a clean turban upon his head and clothed him with clean garments. And the angel of Jeh stood up, [6] and solemnly exhorted J.," etc. They also omit the first "for" in ver 8 as a dittography.

Different interpretations are given of the vision: (1) Some claim to see here a contest between the civil and religious powers as represented by Zerubbabel and J. respectively (**6** 13), and that Zechariah decides for the supremacy of the latter. The Messiah-King is indeed in Jerus in the person of Zerubbabel, though as yet uncrowned; but J. is to be supreme (see G. A. Smith, *Jerus*, II, 303; H. P. Smith, *OT History*, 356 f). This explanation is dependent to a large extent upon **6** 9–15, and is not supported by **3** 8. It is difficult to explain ver 2 on this view, for Zerubbabel could also be described as a "brand plucked out of the fire." What the vision says is that the vindication of J. is a sign for the coming of Jeh's "servant, the Branch," a title that is not given to J. (cf ver 7).

(2) Others maintain that the garments are symbolical of the sins of the predecessors of J., who is tried for their offences and himself regarded as being unworthy of the office because he had been brought up in a foreign and heathen land (so Keil, Orelli).

(3) Hitzig, followed by Nowack (*Kleine Propheten*, 325), holds that the idea which lies at the basis of the vision is that Satan is responsible for the ills which the community had suffered (cf Job **1**, **2**). The people had begun to think that their offerings were not acceptable to God and that He would not have pity upon them. There was a feeling among the most pious ones that God's righteousness would not allow of their restoration to their former glory. This conflict between righteousness and mercy is decided by silencing the accuser and vindicating J.

It is difficult to decide which view, if any, is correct. "The brand plucked out of the fire" seems to point to God's recognizing that the community, or perhaps the priestly succession, had almost been exterminated by the exile. It reminds us of the oak of which, after its felling, the stump remaineth (Isa **6** 13), and may perhaps point to God's pity being excited for the community. The people, attacked by their enemies and represented by J., are to be restored to their old glory: that act being symbolized by the clothing of J. in clean raiment; and that symbolical act (cf Isa **8** 18) is a sign, a guaranty, of the coming of the Messiah-King. The ritualistic tone of Mal will then follow naturally after the high place given here to the high priest. It is noteworthy that the promise of **3** 7 is conditional.

One more point remains, viz. the meaning of the stone in **3** 9. It has been differently explained as a jewel in the new king's crown (Nowack); a foundation stone of the temple, which, however, was already laid (Hitzig); the chief stone of **4** 7 (Ewald, Steiner); the Messiah Himself (Keil); the stone in the high priest's breastplate (Bredenkamp), and the stone which served as an altar (Orelli). Commentators tend to regard the words "upon one stone are seven eyes" as a parenthetical addition characteristic of the author of Zec **9** ff.

2. Joshua's Crown, Zec 6:9–15

The utterance of Zec **6** 9–15 presents to us some more exiles coming from Babylon with silver and gold apparently for the temple. According to the present text, Zechariah is commanded to see that this is used to make a crown for J. who is to be a priest-king. This is taken to mean that he is to be given the crown that had been meant for Zerubbabel. But commentators hold that the text has been altered: that the context demands the crowning of Zerubbabel—the Branch of Davidic descent. This view is supported by ver 13, "And the counsel of peace shall be between them both"; and therefore the last clause of ver 11 is omitted. Wellhausen keeps vs 9 and 10, and then reads: "[11] Yea, take of them silver and gold and make a crown, [12] and say to them: Thus saith Jeh of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is the Branch, from whose root there will be a sprout, [13] and he will build the Temple of Jeh, and he will obtain glory and sit and rule upon his throne. And Joshua will be a priest on his right hand, and there will be friendly peace between them both. [14] The crown shall be," etc; ver 15 is incomplete.

It will be objected that this does away with the idea of a priest-king, an idea found also in Ps **110**. But it seems fairly certain that Ps **110** (see Kirkpatrick, *The Book of Psalms*) does not refer to J., the point there being that the king referred to was a priest, although not descended from Aaron, being a priest after the order of Melchizedek, while here the point is, if the present text be correct, that a priest is crowned king. What became of Zerubbabel after this is not known. See Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrus-*

*fund von Elephantine*², 70 ff, 86 ff. J. is called Jesus in Sir **49** 12. See ZERUBBABEL; HAGGAI; ZECHARIAH.

DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

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I. Title and Authorship.—The name Joshua signifies "Jeh is deliverance" or "salvation" (see JOSHUA). The Gr form of the name is Jesus (Ἰησοῦς, *Iēsoús*, Acts **7** 45; He **4** 8). In later Jewish history the name appears to have become popular, and is even found with a local significance, as the designation of a small town in Southern Pal (יֵשׁוּעַ, *yēshūaʿ*, Neh **11** 26). The use of the title by the Jews to denote the Book of Josh did not imply a belief that the book was actually written or dictated by him; or even that the narratives themselves were in substance derived from him, and owed their authenticity and reliability to his sanction and control. In the earliest Jewish literature the association of a name with a book was not intended in any case to indicate authorship. And the Book of Josh is no exception to the rule that such early writings, esp. when their contents are of a historical nature, are usually anonymous. The title is intended to describe, not authorship, but theme; and to represent that the life and deeds of Joshua form the main subject with which the book is concerned.

II. Contents.—With regard to the contents of Josh, it will be found to consist of two well-marked divisions, in the first of which (chs **1–12**) are narrated the invasion and gradual conquest under the command of J. of the land on the W. of the Jordan; while the 2d part describes in detail the allotment of the country to the several tribes with the boundaries of their territories, and concludes with a brief notice of the death and burial of J. himself.

1. Invasion and Conquest of Western Palestine

Ch **1**: Renewal of the Divine promise to J. and exhortation to fearlessness and courage (vs 1–9); directions to the people to prepare for the passage of the river, and a reminder to the eastern tribes (Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh) of the condition under which they held their possession beyond Jordan; the renewal by these tribes of their pledge of loyalty to Moses' successor (vs 10–18).

Ch **2**: The sending of the two spies from Shittim and their escape from Jericho through the stratagem of Rahab.

Ch **3**: The passage of Jordan by the people over against Jericho, the priests bearing the ark, and standing in the dry bed of the river until all the people had crossed over.

Ch **4**: Erection of 12 memorial stones on the other side of Jordan, where the people encamped after the passage of the river (vs 1–14); the priests with the Ark of the Covenant ascend in their turn from out of the river-bed, and the waters return into their wonted course (vs 15–24).

Ch **5**: Alarm excited among the kings on the W. of Jordan by the news of the successful crossing of the river (ver 1); circumcision of the people at Gilgal (vs 2–9); celebration of the Passover at Gilgal in the plains of Jericho (vs 10.11); cessation of the supply of the manna (ver 12); appearance to J. of the captain of the Lord's host (vs 13–15).

Ch **6**: Directions given to J. for the siege and taking of Jericho (vs 1–5); capture of the city, which is destroyed by fire, Rahab and her household alone being saved (vs 6–25); a curse is pronounced on the man who rebuilds Jericho (ver 26).

Ch **7**: The crime and punishment of Achan, who stole for himself part of the spoil of the captured city (vs 1. 16–26); incidentally his sin is the cause of a disastrous defeat before Ai (vs 2–12).

Ch **8**: The taking of Ai by a stratagem, destruction of the city, and death of its king (vs 1–29); erection of an altar on Mt. Ebal, and reading of the Law before the assembled people (vs 30–35).

Ch **9**: Gathering of the peoples of Pal to oppose J. (vs 1–2); a covenant of peace made with the Gibeonites, who represent themselves as strangers from a far country (vs 3–26); they are, however, reduced to a condition of servitude (ver 27).

Ch **10**: Combination of 5 kings of the Amorites to punish the inhabitants of Gibeon for their defection, and defeat and rout of the kings by J. at Beth-horon (vs 1–14); return of the Israelites to Gilgal (ver 15); capture and death by hanging of the 5 kings at Makkedah (vs 16–27); taking and destruction of Makkedah (ver 28), Libnah (vs 29.30), Lachish (vs 31.32), Gezer (ver 33), Eglon (vs 34.35), Hebron (vs 36.37), Debir (vs 38.39), and summarily all the land, defined as from Kadesh-barnea unto Gaza, and as far N. as Gibeon (40–42); return to Gilgal (ver 43).

Ch **11**: Defeat of Jabin, king of Hazor, and allied kings at the waters of Merom (vs 1–9); destruction of Hazor (vs 10–15); reiterated summary of J.'s conquests (vs 16–23).

Ch **12**: Final summary of the Israelite conquests in Canaan, of Sihon and Og on the E. of the Jordan under the leadership of Moses (vs 1–6); of 31 kings and their cities on the W. of the river under J. (vs 7–24).

2. Allotment of the Country to the Tribes of Israel

Ch **13**: Command to J. to allot the land on the W. of the Jordan, even that which was still unsubdued, to the nine and a half tribes (vs 1–7); recapitulation of the inheritance given by Moses on the E. of the river (vs 8–13.32); the border of Reuben (vs 15–23), of Gad (vs 24–28), of the half-tribe of Manasseh (vs 29–31); the tribe of Levi alone received no landed inheritance (vs 14.33).

Ch **14**: Renewed statement of the principle on which the division of the land had been made (vs 1–5); Hebron given to Caleb for his inheritance (vs 6–15).

Ch **15**. The inheritance of Judah, and the boundaries of his territory (vs 1–20), including that of Caleb (vs 13–19); enumeration of the cities of Judah (vs 21–63).

Ch **16**: Inheritance of the sons of Joseph (vs 1–4); the border of Ephraim (vs 5–10).

Ch **17**: Inheritance of Manasseh and the border of the half-tribe on the W. of the Jordan (vs 1–13); complaint of the sons of Joseph of the insufficiency of their inheritance, and grant to them by J. of an extension of territory (vs 14–18).

Ch **18**: The land yet unsubdued divided by lot into 7 portions for the remaining 7 tribes (vs 1–10); inheritance of the sons of Benjamin and the border of their territory (vs 11–20); enumeration of their cities (vs 21–28).

Ch **19**: Inheritance of Simeon and his border (vs 1–9); of Zebulun and his border (vs 10–16); of Issachar and his border (vs 17–23); of Asher and his border (vs 24–31); of Naphtali and his border (vs 32–39); and of Dan and his border (vs 40–48); inheritance of Joshua (vs 49.50); concluding statement (ver 51).

Ch **20**: Cities of Refuge appointed, three on each side of the Jordan.

Ch **21**: 48 cities with their suburbs given to the Levites out of the territories of the several tribes (vs 1–41); the people had rest in the land, their enemies being subdued, according to the Divine promise (vs 43–45).

Ch **22**: Dismissal of the eastern tribes to their inheritance, their duty to their brethren having been fulfilled (vs 1–9); the erection by them of a great altar by the side of the Jordan aroused the suspicion of the western tribes, who feared that they intended to separate themselves from the common cause (vs 10–20); their reply that the altar is to serve the purpose of a witness between themselves and their brethren (vs 21–34).

Ch **23**: J.'s address of encouragement and warning to the people.

Ch **24**: Second address of J., recalling to the people their history, and the Divine interventions on their behalf (vs 1–23); the people's pledge of loyalty to the Lord, and formal covenant in Shechem (vs 24.25); the book of the law of God is committed to writing, and a stone is erected as a permanent memorial (vs 26–28); death and burial of J. (vs 29–31); burial in Shechem of the bones of Joseph, brought from Egypt (ver 32); death and burial of Eleazar, son of Aaron (ver 33).

III. Historical Character and Chronology.—As a historical narrative, therefore, detailing the steps taken to secure the conquest and possession of Canaan, Josh is incomplete and is marked by many omissions, and in some instances at least includes phrases or expressions which seem to imply the existence of parallel or even divergent accounts of the same event, e.g. in the

1. The Book of Josh as History

passage of the Jordan and the erection of memorial stones (chs **3**, **4**), the summary of the conquests of Joshua (**10** 40–43; **11** 16–23), or the references to Moses' victories over the Amorite kings on the E. of the Jordan.

This last fact suggests, what is in itself sufficiently probable, that the writer or compiler of the book made use of previously existing records or narratives, not necessarily in every instance written, but probably also oral and traditional, upon which he relied and out of which by means of excerpts with modifications and omissions, the resultant history was composed. The incomplete and defective character of the book therefore, considered merely as a history of the conquest of Western Pal and its allotment among the new settlers, would seem to indicate that the "sources" available for the writer's use were fragmentary also in their nature, and did not present a complete view either of the life of J. or of the experiences of Israel while under his direction.

2. Chronology

Within the limits of the book itself, moreover, notifications of chronological sequence, or of the length of time occupied in the various campaigns, are almost entirely wanting. Almost the only references to date or period are the statements that Joshua himself was 110 years old at the time of his death (**24** 29), and that his wars lasted "a long time" (**11** 18; cf **23** 1). Caleb also, the son of Jephunneh, companion of J. in the mission of the spies from Kadesh-barnea, describes himself as 85 years old, when he receives Hebron as his inheritance (**14** 10; cf **15** 13 ff); the inference would be, assuming 40 years for the wanderings in the desert, that 5 years had then elapsed since the passage of the Jordan "on the tenth day of the first month" (**4** 19). No indication, however, is given of the chronological relation of this event to the rest of the history; and 5 years would be too short a period for the conquest of Pal, if it is to be understood that the whole was carried out in consecutive campaigns under the immediate command of J. himself. On the other hand, "very much land" remained still unsubdued at his death (**13** 1). Christian tradition seems to have assumed that J. was about the same age as Caleb, although no definite statement to that effect is made in the book itself; and that, therefore, a quarter of a century, more or less, elapsed between the settlement of the latter at Hebron and Joshua's death (**14** 10; **24** 29). The entire period from the crossing of the Jordan would then be reckoned at from 28 to 30 years.

IV. Sources of the Written Narrative.—The attempt to define the "sources" of Josh as it now exists, and to disentangle them one from another, presents considerably more difficulty than is to be encountered for the most part in the Pent. The distinguishing criteria upon which scholars rely and which have led serious students of the book to conclude that there may be traced here also the use of the same "documents" or "documentary sources" as are to be found in the Pent, are essentially the same. Existing and traditional accounts, however, have been used apparently with greater freedom, and the writer has allowed himself a fuller liberty of adaptation and combination, while the personal element has been permitted wider scope in molding the resultant form which the composition should take. For the most part, therefore, the broad line of distinction between the various "sources" which have been utilized may easily be discerned on the ground of their characteristic traits, in style, vocabulary or general conception; in regard to detail, however, the precise point at which one "source" has been abandoned for another, or the writer himself has supplied deficiencies and bridged over gaps, there is frequent uncertainty, and the evidence available is insufficient to justify an absolute conclusion. The fusion of material has been more complete than in the 5 books of the law, perhaps because the latter were hedged about with a more reverential regard for the letter, and at an earlier period attained the standing of canonicity.

A detailed analysis of the sources as they have been distinguished and related to one another by scholars is here unnecessary. A complete discussion of the subject will be found in Dr. Driver's *LOT*^{6}, 105 ff, in other Introductions, or in the Comms. on Josh. Not seldom in the ultimate detail the distinctions are precarious, and there are differences of opinion among scholars themselves as to the precise limit or limits of the use made of any given source, or at what point the dividing line should be drawn. It is only in a broad and general sense that in Josh esp. the literary theory of the use of "documents," as generally understood and as interpreted in the case of the Pent, can be shown to be well founded. In itself, however, such a theory is eminently reasonable, and is both in harmony with the general usage and methods of ancient composition, and affords ground for additional confidence in the good faith and reliability of the narrative as a whole.

1. Parallel Narratives

V. Relation to the Book of Jgs.—A comparison moreover of the history recorded in Josh with the brief ∥ account in Jgs furnishes ground for believing that a detailed or chronological narrative was not contemplated by the writer or writers themselves. The introductory vs of Jgs (**1** 1—**2** 5) are in part a summary of incidents recorded in Josh, and in part supply new details or present a different view of the whole. The original notices that are added relate almost entirely to the invasion and conquest of Southern Pal by the united or allied tribes of Judah and Simeon and the destruction of Bethel by the "house of Joseph." The action of the remaining tribes is narrated in a few words, the brief record closing in each case with a reference to the condition of servitude to which the original inhabitants of the land were reduced. And the general scheme of the invasion as there represented is apparently that of a series of disconnected raids or campaigns undertaken by the several tribes independently, each having for its object the subjection of the territory assigned to the individual tribe. A general and comprehensive plan of conquest under the supreme leadership of Joshua appears to be entirely wanting. In detail, however, the only real inconsistency between the two narratives would appear to be that in Jgs (**1** 21) the failure to expel the Jebusites from Jerus is laid to the account of the Benjamites, while in Josh (**15** 63) it is charged against the children of Judah. The difficulties in the way of the formation of a clear conception of the incidents attending the capture of Jerus are perhaps insuperable upon any hypothesis; and the variation of the tribal name in the two texts may be no more than a copyist's error.

2. Omissions in the History

A perhaps more striking omission in both narratives is the absence of any reference to the conquest of Central Pal. The narrative of the overthrow of Bethel and Ai (**6** 1—**8** 29) is followed immediately by the record of the building of an altar on Mt. Ebal and the recitation of the Law before the people of Israel assembled in front of Mts. Ebal and Gerizim (**8** 30 ff). Joshua then turns aside to defeat at Beth-horon the combination of the Amorite kings, and completes the conquest of the southern country as far south as Kadesh-barnea (**10** 41). Immediately thereafter he is engaged in overthrowing a confederacy in the far north (**11** 1–15), a work which clearly could not have been undertaken or successfully accomplished, unless the central region had been already subdued; but of its reduction no account is given. It has been supposed that the silence of the narrator is an indication that at the period of the invasion this district was in the occupation of tribes friendly or even related to the Israelite clans; and in support of the conjecture reference has been made to the mention of Israel on the stele of Merenptah, the Egyp ruler in whose reign, according to the most probable view, the exodus took place. In this record the nation or a part thereof is regarded as already settled in Pal at a date earlier by half a century than their appearance under Moses and Joshua on the borders of the Promised Land. The explanation is possible, but perhaps hardly probable. The defects of the historical record are irremediable at this distance of time, and it must be acknowledged that with the available material no complete and consistent narrative of the events of the Israelite conquest of Pal can be constructed.

VI. Place of Josh in the Heb Canon.—In the Heb Canon Josh is the first in order of the prophetical books, and the first of the group of 4, viz. Josh, Jgs, S, K, which form the "Earlier Prophets" (*n*^{e}*bhī'īm rī'shōnīm*). These books, the contents of which are history, not prophecy in the ordinary sense of the term, were assigned by the Jews to the 2d division of their sacred Canon, and found a place by the side of the great writings of the "Later Prophets" (*n*^{e}*bhī'īm 'ahărōnīm*). This position was given to them in part perhaps because they were believed to have been written or composed by prophets, but mainly because Jewish history was regarded as in purpose and intent "prophetic," being directed and presided over by Jeh Himself, and conveying direct spiritual instruction and example. The Canon of the Law, moreover, was already closed; and however patent and striking might be the resemblance of Josh in style and method of composition to the books of the Pent, it was impossible to admit it therein, or to give a place within the Torah, a group of writings which were regarded as of Mosaic authorship, to a narrative of events which occurred after Moses' death. Later criticism reviewed and reversed the verdict as to the true character of the book. In every Canon except the Heb, its historical nature was recognized, and the work was classified accordingly. Modern criticism has gone further, and, with increasing consciousness of its close literary relationship to the books of the Law, has united it with them in a Hexateuch, or even under the more comprehensive title of Octateuch combines together the books of Jgs and Ruth with the preceding six on the ground of similarity of origin and style.

VII. Greek and Other Ancient Versions.—In the ancient VSS of Josh there is not much that is of interest.

1. The Greek The Gr tr bears witness to a Heb original differing little from the MT. In their renderings, however, and general treatment of the Heb text, the translators seem to have felt themselves at liberty to take up a position of greater independence and freedom than in dealing with the 5 books of the Law. Probably also the rendering of Josh into Gr is not to be ascribed to the same authors as the tr of the Pent. While faithful to the Heb, it is less constantly and exactly literal, and contains many slight variations, the most important of which are found in the last 6 chs.

Ch **19**: The LXX transposes vs 47.48, and, omitting the first clause of ver 47, refers the whole to the sons of Judah, without mention of Dan; it further adds vs 47*a*. 48*a* on the relation between the Amorites and Ephraim, and the Amorites and the Danites respectively. With ver 47*a* cf **16** 10 and Jgs **1** 29, and with ver 48*a* cf **19** 47 (Heb) and Jgs **1** 34.

Ch **20**: Vs 4–6 inclusive are omitted in B, except a clause from ver 6; A, however, inserts them in full. Cf Driver, *LOT*^{6}, 112, who, on the ground of their Deuteronomic tone, regards it as probable that the verses are an addition to P, and therefore did not form part of the original text as used by the Gr translators.

Ch **21**: Vs 36.37, which give the names of the Levitical cities in Judah, are omitted in the Heb printed text although found in many Heb MSS. Four vs also are added after ver 42, the first three of which repeat **19** 50 f, and the last is a reminiscence of **5** 3.

Ch **24**: Vs 29 f which narrate the death and burial of J. are placed in the Gr text after ver 31; and a verse is inserted after ver 30 recording that the stone knives used for the purposes of the circumcision (**5** 2 ff) were buried with Joshua in his tomb (cf **21** 42*d*). After ver 33 also two new verses appear, apparently a miscellany from Jgs **2** 6.11–15; **3** 7.12.14, with a statement of the death and burial of Phinehas, son and successor of Eleazar, of the idolatrous worship by the children of Israel of Astarte and Ashtaroth, and the oppression under Eglon, king of Moab.

The other VSS, with the exception of Jerome's tr from the Heb, are secondary, derived mediately through the Gr.

2. Other Ancient Versions The Old Lat is contained in a manuscript at Lyons, Cod. Lugdunensis, which is referred to the 6th cent. Of the Coptic version only small portions are extant; they have been published by G. Maspero, *Mémoires de la mission archéologique française*, tom. VI, fasc. 1, le Caire, 1892, and elsewhere. A Sam tr also is known, for parts of which at least an early origin and an independent derivation from the Heb have been claimed. The ancient character of the version, however, is contested, and it has been shown that the arguments on which reliance was placed are insufficient to justify the conclusions drawn. The tr appears to be in reality of quite recent date, and to have been made originally from the Arab., perhaps in part compared with and corrected by the MT. The subject was fully and conclusively discussed by Dr. Yehuda of Berlin, at the Oriental Congress in the summer of 1908, and in a separate pamphlet subsequently published. It was even stated that the author of the version was still living, and his name was given. Dr. Gaster, the original discoverer of the Sam MS, in various articles and letters maintains his contention that the tr is really antique, and therefore of great value, but he has failed to convince scholars. (See M. Gaster in *JRAS* [1908], 795 ff, 1148 ff; E. N. Adler, ib, 1143 ff. The text of the MS was published by Dr. Gaster in *ZDMG* [1908], 209 ff, and a specimen ch with Eng. rendering and notes in *PSBA*, XXXI [1909], 115 ff, 149 ff.)

VIII. Religious Purpose and Teaching.—As a whole, then, Josh is dominated by the same religious and hortatory purpose as the earlier writings of the Pent; and in this respect as well as in authorship and structure the classification which assigns to it a place by the side of the 5 books of Moses and gives to the whole the title of Hexateuch is not unjustified. The author or authors had in view not merely the narration of incident, nor the record of events in the past history of their people of which they judged it desirable that a correct account should be preserved, but they endeavored in all to subserve a practical and religious aim. The history is not for its own sake, or for the sake of the literal facts which it enshrines, but for the sake of the moral and spiritual lessons which may be elucidated therein, and enforced from its teaching. The Divine leading in history is the first thought with the writer. And the record of Israel's past presents itself as of interest to him, not because it is a record of events that actually happened, but because he sees in it the ever-present guidance and overruling determination of God, and would draw from it instruction and warning for the men of his own time and for those that come after him. Not the history itself, but the meaning and interpretation of the history are of value. Its importance lies in the illustrations it affords of the controlling working of a Divine Ruler who is faithful to His promises, loving righteousness and hating iniquity, and swaying the destinies of men in truth. Thus the selection of materials, and the form and arrangement of the book are determined by a definite aim: to set forth and enforce moral lessons, and to exhibit Israel's past as the working out of a Divine purpose which has chosen the nation to be the recipient of the Divine favor, and the instrument for the carrying forward of His purposes upon earth.

LITERATURE.—A complete bibliography of the lit. up to date will be found in the dictionaries, s.v. "Joshua," *DB*^{2}, 1893, *HDB*, II, 1899, *EB*, II, 1901; cf W. H. Bennett, "The Book of Josh," in *SBOT*, Leipzig, 1895; W. G. Blaikie, "Joshua," in *Expositor's Bible*, 1893; A. Dillmann, *Nu, Dt u. Josua*^{2}, Leipzig, 1886; H. Holzinger, "Das Buch Josua," in *Kurzer Hand-Comm. zum AT*, Tübingen, 1901; C. Steuernagel, "Josua," in Nowack's *Handcommentar zum AT*, 1899; S. Oettli, "Dt, Josua u. Richter," in *Kurzgef. Komm*, München, 1893; W. J. Deane, *Joshua, His Life and Times*, in "Men of the Bible Series," London.

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JOSIAH, jō-sī'a (יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ, *yō'shīyāhū*, "Jeh supports him"; **Ἰωσείας**, *Iōseías;* AV **Josias** [q.v.]):

I. SOURCES FOR HIS LIFE AND TIMES
    1. Annalistic
    2. Prophetic
    3. Memorial

II. Traits of His Reign
  1. Situation at the Beginning
  2. Finding of the Law
  3. The Great Reform
  4. Disaster at Megiddo

The name given 6 years before the death of his grandfather Manasseh resumes the Judaic custom, suspended in the case of that king and Amon, of compounding royal names with that of Jeh; perhaps a hint of the time, when, according to the Chronicler, Manasseh realized Jeh's claim on his realm (2 Ch **33** 12.13). One of the most eminent of the kings of Judah; came to the throne at 8 years of age and reigned c 637–608 BC.

1. Annalistic

I. Sources for His Life and Times.—The earliest history (2 K **22** 1—**23** 30) is dispassionate in tone, betraying its prophetic feeling, however, in its acknowledgment of Jeh's wrath, still menacing in spite of Josiah's unique piety (2 K **23** 26.27). For "the rest of his acts" (to which the rather bald account of his death is relegated as a kind of appendix), it refers to "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah." In the later history (2 Ch **34, 35**), written from the developed ecclesiastical point of view, he is considerably idealized: the festal and ceremonial aspects of his reform are more fully detailed, and the story of his campaign and death is more sympathetically told in the sense of it as a great national calamity.

2. Prophetic

For the spiritual atmosphere of his time and the prophetic consciousness of a day of wrath impending, the prophet Zephaniah is illuminating, esp. for the first half of the reign. Jeremiah, born at about the same time as J., began prophesying in the 13th year of the reign (Jer **1** 2). His intimate connection with state affairs, however, belongs to succeeding reigns; but some prophecies of his, notably those revealing his attitude toward the temple misuse (**7** 1–15) and toward the Deuteronomic reform (**11** 1–13), throw much light on the prevailing conditions. Nahum, writing near the end of the reign, and from an outlying village, is less concerned with home affairs than with the approaching end of Nineveh (fell 606 BC).

3. Memorial

In Jesus Sirach's Praise of Famous Men there is a passage (Sir **49** 1–4), wholly eulogistic of J., on the score that "in the days of wicked men he made godliness to prevail"; and along with David and Hezekiah he is one of the three who alone did not "commit trespass." Jeremiah's lamentation for J., mentioned in 2 Ch **35** 25, is not preserved to us; instead there is only an allusion (Jer **22** 10), naming his successor Shallum (Jehoahaz) as a fitter subject. The lamentations which became "an ordinance in Israel" (2 Ch **35** 25) are not to be referred to the Scripture book of that name; which has no hint of J., unless Lam **4** 20 be so construed.

1. Situation at Beginning

II. Traits of His Reign.—Until his 18th year 2 K gives no events of J.'s reign; 2 Ch, however, relates that in his 8th year (at 16 years of age) he "began to seek after the God of David his father," and that in the 12th year he began the purgation of Judah and Jerus. The Chronicler may be mistaken in putting the completion of this work before the finding of the law (2 Ch **34** 8), but of his disposition and of his beginning without documentary warrant on a work which Hezekiah had attempted before him, there is no reason to doubt. And indeed various influences were working together to make his procedure natural. The staunch loyalty to the Davidic house, as emphasized by the popular movement which seated him (see under Amon), would in itself be an influence to turn his mind to the God of David his father. Manasseh's all-embracing idolatry had indeed reduced his aristocracy to a people "settled on their lees, that say in their heart, Jeh will not do good, neither will he do evil" (Zeph **1** 12); but these represented merely the inertia, not the intelligence, of the people. Over against them is to be reckoned the spiritually-minded "remnant" with which since Isaiah the prophets had been working; a remnant now seasoned by persecution, and already committed to the virtue of meekness (Zeph **2** 3) and the willing acceptance of affliction as their appointed lot, as against the arrogance of the "proudly exulting ones" (Zeph **3** 11–13). To such courage and hope the redeeming element of Israel had grown in the midst of a blatant infidelity and worldliness. Nor were they so unconnected with the established order as formerly. The ministers of the temple-service, if not subjected to persecution, had been ranked on a level with devotees of other cults, and so had a common cause which would work to unite the sympathies of priests and prophets in one loyalty to Jeh. All this is adduced as indicating how the better elements of the nation were ripening for a forward step in enlightened religious progress.

2. Finding of the Law

The providential moment arrived when in the 18th year of his reign J. sent Shaphan the scribe to the temple to arrange with Hilkiah the high priest for the prescribed temple repairs. On giving his account of the funds for that purpose, Hilkiah also delivered to Shaphan a book which he had found in the "house of Jeh," that is, in the temple proper; which book, when Shaphan read therefrom to the king, caused the latter to rend his robe in dismay and consternation. It was a book in which were commands of Jeh that had long been unknown or disregarded, and along with these, fearful curses to follow the infraction of them. Such a discovery could not be treated lightly, as one might spurn a prophet or priest; nay, it immediately called the authority of the prophet into requisition. The king sent a deputation to Huldah the prophetess for her verdict on the book; and she, whether aware of its contents or not, assured him that the curses were valid, and that for impieties against which the prophets continually warned, all the woes written in the book were impending. One of the most voluminous discussions of Bib. scholarship has centered round the question what this book was, what its origin, and how it came there in the temple. The Chronicler says roundly it was "the book of the law of Jeh by the hand of Moses." That it was from the nation's great first prophet and lawgiver was the implicit belief of the king and all his contemporaries. There can be little doubt, judging from the nature of the reforms it elicited and the fact that the curses it contained are still extant, that this "book of the law" was virtually identical with our Book of Dt. But is this the work of Moses, or the product of a later literary activity? In answer, it is fair to say that it is so true to the soundest interpretation of the spirit and power of Moses that there need be no hesitation in calling it genuinely Mosaic, whatever adaptations and supplementations its laws received after his time. Its highly developed style, however, and its imperfect conformity to the nomadic conditions of Moses' time, make so remote an origin of its present form very doubtful. It comes to us written with the matured skill of Israel's literary prime, in a time too when, as we know (see under Hezekiah), men of letters were keenly interested in rescuing and putting to present use the literary treasures of their past. As to how it came to be left in the temple at a time so much before its discovery that none questioned its being what it purported to be, each scholar must answer for himself. Some have conjectured that it may have been a product of Solomon's time, and deposited, according to immemorial custom in temple-building, in the foundation of Solomon's temple, where it was found when certain ruins made repairs necessary. To the present writer it seems likelier that it was one of the literary products of Hezekiah's time, compiled from scattered statutes, precedents, and customs long in the keeping—or neglect—of priests and judges, put into the attractive form of oratory, and left for its providential moment. See further, Deuteronomy; Writing.

3. The Great Reform

J.'s immediate procedure was to call to the temple a representative assemblage—elders, prophets, priests, populace—and to read to them this "book of the covenant" (2 K **23** 2). Then he made a solemn covenant before Jeh to obey it, and all the people stood to the covenant. So, perhaps for the first time within a century, the people had for their guidance not only the case decisions of judges and priests, nor only the emergency warnings and predictions of prophets, but a written and accessible document, covering in a large and liberal way the duties of their civic, social and religious life. One of the most momentous productions of all history, the book became the constitution of the Jewish race; nor were its noble provisions superseded when, centuries later, the tethers of race were broken and a Christian civilization came into its heritage. But the book that was destined to have so large a significance in all coming history had its immediate significance too, and never had this been so pressing. J.'s consternation arose from the sense of how much of the nation's obvious duty had been left undone and unregarded. First of all, they had through heedless years and ages drifted into a medley of religious ideas and customs which had accumulated until all this lumber of Manasseh's idolatry was upon them. Hezekiah had tried to clear away some of its most crude and superstitious elements (see under Hezekiah), but he was handicapped by the lack of its clear issue and objective, which now this book supplied. Zephaniah too was showing what Jeh's will was (Zeph **1** 2–6); there must be a clean sweep of the debasing and obscuring cults, and the purgation must be done to stay. So J.'s first reforming step was to break up the high places, the numerous centers of the evil, to destroy the symbols and utensils of the idolatrous shrines and rites, and to defile them past resuscitation. His zeal did not stop with Jerus and Judah; he went on to Bethel, which had been the chief sanctuary of the now defunct Northern Kingdom, and in his work here was recognized the fulfilment of an old prophecy dating from the time of its first king (2 K **23** 17; cf **1** K **13** 1.2). This necessitated the concentration of public worship in the temple at Jerus, and in Dt was found the warrant for this, in the prescript, natural to Moses' point of view, that the worship of Israel must have a single center as it had in the wilderness. From this negative procedure he went on to the positive measure of reviving the festival services inseparable from a religion requiring pilgrimage, instituting a grand Passover on a scale unheard of since the time of the Judges (2 K **23** 21.22), a feature of his reform on which the Chronicler dwells with peculiar zest (2 Ch **35** 1–15). Thus both in the idolatries they must abolish and in the organized worship that they must maintain, the people were committed to a definite and documented issue; this it was which made J.'s reform so momentous. That the reform seemed after J.'s untimely death to have been merely outward, is what might reasonably be expected from the inveteracy of the unspirituality that it must encounter. Jeremiah had small faith in its saving power against the stubborn perversity of the people (Jer **11** 1–14); and the historian of 2 K intimates that more than the piety of a zealous king was needed to turn away the stern decree of Jeh's anger (2 K **23** 26.27). In spite of all hardness and apostasy, however, the nation that had once "stood to the covenant" of Dt could never again be at heart the nation it was before.

4. Disaster at Megiddo

Ardent and pious as he was, there seems to have been a lack of balance in J.'s character. His extreme dismay and dread of the curse pronounced on the realm's neglect of the law seems to have been followed, after his great reform had seemed to set things right, by an excess of confidence in Jeh's restored favor which went beyond sound wisdom, and amounted to presumption. The power of Assyria was weakening, and Pharaoh-necoh of Egypt, ambitious to secure control of Mesopotamia, started on the campaign in which he was eventually to suffer defeat at Carchemish. J., whose reforming zeal had already achieved success in Northern Israel, apparently cherished inordinate dreams of invincibility in Jeh's name, and went forth with a little army to withstand the Egyp monarch on his march through the northern provinces. At the first onset he was killed, and his expedition came to nothing. In his untimely death the fervid hopes of the pious received a set-back which was long lamented as one of the cardinal disasters of Israel. It was a sore calamity, but also a stern education. Israel must learn not only the enthusiasm but also the prudence and wisdom of its new-found faith.

(2) A contemporary of Zechariah (Zec **6** 10), at whose house in Jerus the prophet met some returned Jews from Babylon.

John Franklin Genung

JOSIAS, jō-sī′as (*TR* **Ἰωσίας**, *Iōsías;* WH **Ἰωσείας**, *Iōseías*):

(1) Gr form in AV of Josiah (Mt **1** 10.11; cf **1** Esd **1**; Bar **1** 8), king of Judah.

(2) In 1 Esd **8** 33 AV for Jesias (q.v.).

JOSIBIAH, jos-i-bī′a. See Joshibiah.

JOSIPHIAH, jos-i-fī′a (יוֹסִפְיָה, *yōṣiphyāh*, "Jeh adds"): Found in Ezr **8** 10, where MT is "and of the sons of . . . . Shelomith the son of Josiphiah." With the help of LXX A and 1 Esd **8** 36, the name "Bani" (which is the same in the unpointed text as "the sons of" and was omitted through haplography) can be supplied above before "Shelomith." J. is thus the father of Shelomith, one of Ezra's companions. 1 Esd **8** 36 has "Josaphias."

JOT, jot: "Jot" (RV, later edd of AV) is a corruption of *iote* (early edd of AV, Geneva, Rheims, Bishops'—pronounced i-ō′te), an Eng. transliteration of *ἰῶτα*, *iôta*, the 9th letter of the Gr alphabet (Mt **5** 18 ‖). "Iota," in turn, is the nearest Gr equivalent for the Heb *yōdh* (י), the smallest letter of the Heb alphabet, in NT times being little larger than an Eng. accent (′). The tittle (q.v.) is the smallest part of a letter (not part of a י, however). Consequently, thinking of the law as written out, the sense of Mt **5** 17, is: "From this code, so written, not the smallest letter nor part of a letter—not an 'i' nor the crossing of a 't'—shall be erased until all things come to pass." (For the meaning, see Law.) The reference is to the synagogue rolls, which were written in Heb, so that the passage has no bearing on the language used by Christ. For the form of the "jot," cf the tables in *HDB*, art. "Alphabet," more fully in Chwolson, *Corp. Inscr. Heb.* (1882). See Tittle.

Burton Scott Easton

JOTAPATA, jō-tap′a-ta (*BJ*, III, iii, 7). See Jotbathah.

JOTBAH, jot′ba (יָטְבָה, *yoṭbāh*, "pleasantness"): The home of Meshullemeth, the mother of King Amon, daughter of Haruz (2 K **21** 19). It may be the same as Jotbathah (q.v.).

JOTBATHAH, jot′ba-tha (יָטְבָתָה, *yoṭbāthāh*): A desert camp of the Israelites between Hor-hagidgad and Abronah (Nu **33** 33.34; Dt **10** 7). It was "a land of brooks of water" (Dt **10** 7). Site is unknown. See Wanderings of Israel.

JOTHAM, jō′tham (יוֹתָם, *yōthām*, "Jeh is perfect"; **'Ιωαθάμ**, *Iōathám*):

(1) The youngest son of Gideon-Jerubbaal, the sole survivor of the massacre of his seventy brothers by Abimelech (Jgs **9** 5), and (by **8** 22) the legitimate ruler of Shechem after their death. Recognizing, however, that he is powerless to assert his claim, J. delivers from the summit of Gerizim his famous fable (**9** 7–15), applies it to the situation in hand, and then flees for his life to Beer (ver 21). Nothing more is told of him, but the downfall of Abimelech is referred in part to his "curse" (ver 57). The fable tells of the kingship of the trees which, after having been declined by all useful plants, was finally offered to the bramble. The latter, inflated by its unexpected dignity, pompously offers its "shade" to its faithful subjects, while threatening all traitors with punishment (brambles carry forest fires), quite in the manner of an oriental monarch on assuming the throne. Having thus parodied the relationship of the worthless Abimelech to the Shechemites, J. ironically wishes both parties joy of their bargain, which will end in destruction for all concerned. Otherwise the connection between the fable and its application is loose, for, while the fable depicts the kingship as refused by all properly qualified persons, in the application the Shechemites are upbraided for their treachery and their murder of the rightful heirs. In fact, the fable taken by itself would seem rather to be a protest against kings as a class (cf 1 S **8** 10–18; **12** 19, etc); so it is possible that either the fable or its application has become expanded in transmission. Or an older fable may have been used for the sake of a single salient point, for nothing is more common than such an imperfect reapplication of fables, allegories and parables.

Burton Scott Easton

1. Accession and Regency

(2) Twelfth king of Judah, son of Uzziah and Jerusha, daughter of Zadok (2 K **15** 32–38; 2 Ch **27** 1–9). J. was 25 years of age at the time of his father's attack of leprosy, and was at once called upon to take the administration of the kingdom (2 K **15** 5; 2 Ch **26** 21). In doing this he not only judged the people of the land by presiding at the administration of justice, but also was over the household of the king, showing how complete was the isolation of his father. He was thus king in all but name, and is invariably spoken of as reigning in Jerus. His reign lasted for 16 years (2 K **15** 33; 2 Ch **27** 1), 759–744 (others put later). While the father loved husbandry and had much cattle (2 Ch **26** 10)—external affairs with which he could occupy himself in his retirement—to the son fell the sterner duties and heavier responsibilities of the state.

2. The War with Ammon

The relation between father and son is well brought out in the Chronicler's account of the Ammonite war. In 2 Ch **26** 8 we are told that "the Ammonites gave tribute [AV "gifts"] to Uzziah," such gifts being compulsory, and of the nature of tribute. In 2 Ch **27** 5 we are told that the actual conquest of Ammon was made by J., and that for 3 successive years he compelled them to pay an annual subsidy of 100 talents of silver and 10,000 "cors" each of wheat and barley (the cor [Heb *kōr*] was about 10 bushels). The campaign on the E. of the Jordan was the only one in which J. took part, but as the state suffered no loss of territory during his regency, the external provinces must have been strongly held and well governed.

3. Jotham's Building Operations

It is probable that before attempting to win any extension of territory, J. had spent some years in completing the unfinished building schemes in which his father was engaged at the time of his affliction. Like him, he became an enthusiastic builder (2 Ch **27** 3.4). He is recorded to have built towers, castles and cities, and specifically to have completed the Ophel wall in Jerus, which is still standing to the S. of the Ḥaram area. But the crowning architectural glory of his reign was the completion of the temple court by erecting, or setting up, "the upper gate of the house of Jeh" (ver 3; 2 K **15** 35). This particular gate was the entrance to, and exit from, the upper or new court of the temple, which had been begun so long ago as the time of Asa (cf the writer's *Solomon's Temple*, Part II, ch viii). Its situation is perfectly known, as it bore the same name and place in the Herodian temple as in each of its predecessors. It stood facing the S., and was on higher ground than any other of the temple gates. Hence its name. It gave entrance to that upper court of the temple, mentioned in Jer **36** 10, where it is spoken of as "the new gate of Jeh's house." As Jeremiah began his ministry about a century after J.'s death, Jeremiah's use of the name commemorates the fact that the gate was not built till long after the other parts of the structure.

4. The Syrian League

During J.'s regency, a formidable combination of the Northern Kingdom and the Syrian state, with Damascus as capital, began to show signs of hostility to Judah. For 4 years before J.'s death, Pekah occupied the throne of Samaria. The Assyr king, Tiglath-pileser III, was then pushing his arms westward, and a Syrian league was formed to oppose them. J. may have refused to join this league. The political situation at his death is thus described: "In those days Jeh began to send against Judah Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah" (2 K **15** 37).

5. Condition of Judah

J.'s character is represented in a moderately favorable light, it being put to his credit that he did not enter the temple (2 Ch **27** 2). The wisdom and vigor of his administration, and of his policy for the defence of the country, are recognized. It was owing to his completion of his father's plans for the protection of Jerus, and of the building of country fortresses, that Hezekiah, a few years afterward, was able to show so stout a resistance to Sennacherib. But within the state itself corruption and oppression were rife. The great prophets, Isaiah, Hosea and Micah, exercised their ministries in J.'s days, and in their pages we have a graphic picture of the moral condition of the time. Isa does not name J., except in the title (Isa **1** 1; cf **7** 1), but chs **1–5** of his book were probably written in this reign. Hosea's writings go back to the last years of Jeroboam II, who died the year J. came to the throne. Micah's evidence is valuable, telling us that Omri had formulated and published rules for the cult of the Zidonian Baal, and that these "statutes" were kept by some of the citizens of Samaria, and, possibly, of Jerus (Mic **6** 16).

J.'s name appears in the royal genealogical list of 1 Ch **3** 12, and in the genealogy of Jesus (Mt **1** 9).

(3) A Calebite (1 Ch **2** 47 AV).

W. Shaw Caldecott

JOURNEY, jûr′ni. See Day's Journey; Sabbath Day's Journey.

1. Terms

JOY, joi (שִׂמְחָה, *simḥāh;* **χαρά,** *chará*): The idea of joy is expressed in the OT by a wealth of synonymous terms that cannot easily be differentiated. The commonest is *simḥāh* (1 S **18** 6, etc), variously tr^{d} in EV "joy," "gladness," "mirth"; from *sāmē^{a}ḥ*, properly "to be bright," "to shine" (Prov **13** 9, "The light of the righteous rejoiceth," lit. "is bright"), but generally used **fig.** "to rejoice," "be glad" (Lev **23** 40 and very frequent).

Other nouns are *māsōs* and *sāsōn*, both from *sūs*, properly "to spring," "leap," hence "exult," "rejoice"; *rinnāh*, "shouting," "joy"; *gīl*, from vb. *gīl* or *gūl*, "to go in a circle," hence "be excited" (dancing round for joy), "rejoice." In the NT, far the commonest are *chara*, "joy," *chaírō*, "to rejoice" (cf χάρις, *cháris*, "grace"). But we have also *agallíasis*, which expresses "exuberant joy," "exultation" (not used in classical Gr, but often in LXX; in the NT, Lk **1** 14.44; Acts **2** 46; Jude ver 24; He **1** 9), and the corresponding vb. *agalliáō* (*-áomai*), "to exult," "rejoice exceedingly" (Mt **5** 12, etc). In EV we have sometimes "to joy" (now obsolete as a vb.), used in an intransitive sense = "to rejoice" (Hab **3** 18; 2 Cor **7** 13, etc).

2. In the OT

Besides joy in a general sense, as the response of the mind to any pleasurable event or state (1 K **1** 40; Est **8** 17, etc), joy as a *religious emotion* is very frequently referred to in the OT. Religion is conceived of as touching the deepest springs of emotion, including the feeling of exultant gladness which often finds outward expression in such actions as leaping, shouting, and singing. Joy is repeatedly shown to be the natural outcome of fellowship with God. "In thy presence is fulness of joy; in thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore" (Ps **16** 11; cf vs 8.9). God is at once the source (Ps **4** 7; **51** 12) and the object (Ps **35** 9; Isa **29** 19) of religious joy. The phrase "rejoice [be glad] in Jeh" and similar expressions are of frequent occurrence (e.g. Ps **97** 12; **149** 2; Isa **61** 10; Zec **10** 7). Many aspects of the Divine character call forth this emotion, such as His lovingkindness (Ps **21** 6.7; **31** 7), His salvation (Ps **21** 1; Isa **25** 9; Hab **3** 18), His laws and statutes (Ps **1** 2; **119** *passim*), His judgments (Ps **48** 11), His words of comfort in dark days (Jer **15** 15.16). The fundamental fact of the sovereignty of God, of the equity of the Divine government of the world, gives to the pious a joyous sense of security in life (Ps **93** 1 f; **96** 10; **97** 1) which breaks forth into songs of praises in which even inanimate Nature is poetically called upon to join (Ps **96** 11–13; **98** 4–9). In the case of those who held such views of God, it was natural that the service of God should elicit a joyous spirit ("I will offer in his tabernacle sacrifices of joy," Ps **27** 6; cf 1 Ch **29** 9), a spirit which is abundantly manifest in the jubilant shouting with which religious festivities were celebrated, and the trumpet-sound which accompanied certain sacrifices (2 S **6** 15; Ps **33** 1–3; Nu **10** 10; 2 Ch **29** 27), and esp. in psalms of praise, thanksgiving and adoration (Pss **47, 81, 100,** etc). "Rejoice before Jeh your God" is an oft-repeated phrase in Dt with reference to the sacrificial feast (e.g. **12** 12). But joy is a Divine, as well as a human, emotion; for God Himself is represented in the OT, not as a rigid, impassible Being, but as susceptible to pleasure and pain. God may be conceived of as "rejoicing in his works" (Ps **104** 31; cf Gen **1** 31), and over His people "for good" (Dt **30** 9). "He will rejoice over thee [Zion] with joy; he will rest in his love; he will joy over thee with singing" (Zeph **3** 17). Such noble and vivid anthropomorphisms are a nearer approach to the truth than the abstract doctrine of the impassibility of God which, owing to Platonic influences, dominated the theology of the early Christian centuries.

3. In the NT

The element of joy in religion is still more prominent in the NT. It is the appropriate response of the believer to the "good tidings of great joy" which constitute the gospel (Lk **2** 10). In the four Gospels, esp. Lk, this element is conspicuous. It is seen in the canticles of Lk **1** and **2**. It is both exemplified in the life and character, and set forth in the teaching of Jesus. There are many intimations that, in spite of the profound elements of grief and tragedy in His life, His habitual demeanor was gladsome and joyous, certainly not gloomy or ascetic: such as, His description of Himself as bridegroom, in defence of His disciples for not fasting (Mk **2** 18–20); the fact that He came "eating and drinking," giving occasion to the charge that He was "a gluttonous man and a winebibber" (Mt **11** 19); His "rejoicing in the Holy Spirit" (Lk **10** 21); the fact that His presence was found to be congenial at social festivities (Mk **14** 3; Lk **14** 1; Jn **12** 1), and at the wedding in Cana (Jn **2** 1 ff); His mention of "my joy" (Jn **15** 11; **17** 13). His teaching with reference to His followers harmonizes with this. The Christian virtues confer on those who attain them not only beatitude, a calm and composed state of felicity (Mt **5** 3–11), but also a more exuberant state of joy, which is in sharp contrast to the "sad countenance" of the hypocrites (**6** 16) ("Rejoice, and be exceeding glad," **5** 12). This spirit is reflected in many of the parables. The discovery of the true treasure of life brings joy (Mt **13** 44). The three parables in Lk **15** reveal the joy of the Divine heart itself at the repentance of sinners (see esp. vs 5–7.9.10.22–24.32). The parable of the Talents lays stress on the "joy of the Lord" which is the reward of faithfulness (Mt **25** 21.23). Jesus confers on His followers not only peace (Jn **14** 27; **16** 33), but participation in His own fulness of joy (Jn **15** 11; **16** 24; **17** 13), a joy which is permanent, in contrast to the sorrow which is transient (**16** 22). In the dark days of disappointment that succeeded the crucifixion, the joy of the disciples passed under a cloud, but at the resurrection (Lk **24** 41) and still more on the day of Pentecost it emerged into light, and afterward remained a marked characteristic of the early church (Acts **2** 46 f; **8** 39; **13** 52; **15** 3). Paul speaks of joy as one of the fruits of the spirit (Gal **5** 22) and of "joy in the Holy Spirit" as an essential mark of the kingdom of God (Rom **14** 17). This joy is associated with faith (Phil **1** 25), hope (Rom **5** 2; **12** 12), brotherly fellowship and sympathy (Rom **12** 15; 2 Cor **7** 13; Phil **2** 1 f). To "rejoice in the Lord" is enjoined as a Christian duty (Phil **3** 1; **4** 4; cf **2** 17 f; 1 Thess **5** 16). In Christ, the Christian "rejoices with joy unspeakable and full of glory" (1 Pet **1** 8), in spite of his temporary afflictions (ver 6). Christian joy is no mere gaiety that knows no gloom, but is the result of the triumph of faith over adverse and trying circumstances, which, instead of hindering, actually enhance it (Acts **5** 41; Rom **5** 3 f; Jas **1** 2.12; **5** 11; 1 Pet **4** 13; cf Mt **5** 11.12). Even Our Lord Himself "for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising shame" (He **12** 2).

D. Miall Edwards

JOZABAD, joz′a-bad (יוֹזָבָד, *yōzābhādh*, "Jeh has bestowed"):

(1) A Gederathite, and one of David's recruits at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 4 [Heb 5]). He is named with the Benjamites, but possibly he was a native of the town Gedara in Southern Judah. See Curtis, *Ch*, 196.

(2), (3) Two Manassite captains who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 20 [Heb 21]).

(4) A Levite overseer in Hezekiah's time (2 Ch **31** 13); may be the ancestor of the chief of the priests in 2 Ch **35** 9="Joram" of 1 Esd **1** 9.

(5) A Levite (Ezr **8** 33), mentioned again probably in Ezr **10** 23; Neh **8** 7; **11** 16. The name in 1 Esd **8** 63 (=Ezr **8** 33) is "Josabdus" (AV "Josabad").

(6) A priest who had married a foreign wife Ezr **10** 22)="Ocidelus" of 1 Esd **9** 22.

JOZABDUS, jō̇-zab′dus (**Ἰωζαβδός,** *Iōzabdós*): (1) Son of Jeshua the Levite (1 Esd **8** 63), called "Jozabad" in Ezr **8** 33.

(2) Son of Bebai (1 Esd **9** 29), called "Zabbai" in Ezr **10** 28.

JOZACAR, joz′a-kär, jō̇-zā′kär (יוֹזָכָר, *yōzākhār*, "Jeh has remembered"; AV **Jozachar**): Servant and murderer (with Jehozabad) of Joash, king of Judah (2 K **12** 21 [Heb 22]); called "Zabad" in 2 Ch **24** 26. Many MSS have "Jozabad" in 2 K.

JOZADAK, joz′a-dak. See Jehozadak.

JUBAL, jōō′bal (יוּבָל, *yūbhāl;* for meaning see Jabal): Son of Lamech by Adah, and inventor of musical instruments (Gen **4** 21).

JUBILEE, jōō′bi-lē, jū′bi-lē, **CYCLE OF THE.** See Luni-solar cycle, under Astronomy, I, 5.

JUBILEE YEAR (שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, *shᵉnath ha-yōbhēl;* **ἔτος τῆς ἀφέσεως,** *étos tḗs aphéseōs; annus jubilaeus*, "year of jubilee" [Lev **25** 13], or simply הַיּוֹבֵל, *ha-yōbhēl*, "the jubilee" [**25** 28; cf Nu **36** 4], AV and ERV **Jubile**): The Heb word *yōbhēl* stands for *ḳeren ha-yōbhēl*, meaning the horn of a ram. Now, such a horn can be made into a trumpet, and thus the word *yōbhēl* came to be used as a synonym of trumpet. According to Lev **25** 9 a loud trumpet should proclaim liberty throughout the country on the 10th day of the 7th month (the Day of Atonement), after the lapse of 7 sabbaths of years=49 years. In this manner, every 50th year was to be announced as a jubilee year. All real property should automatically revert to its original owner (**25** 10; cf ver 13), and those who, compelled by poverty, had sold themselves as slaves to their brothers, should regain their liberty (**25** 10; cf ver 39).

In addition to this, the Jubilee Year was to be observed after the manner of the sabbatic year, i.e. there should be neither sowing nor reaping nor pruning of vines, and everybody was expected to live on what the fields and the vineyards produced "of themselves," and no attempt should be made at storing up the products of the land (**25** 11 f). Thus there are three distinct factors constituting the essential features of the Jubilee Year: personal liberty, restitution of property, and what we might call the simple life.

1. Personal Liberty

The 50th year was to be a time in which liberty should be proclaimed to all the inhabitants of the country. We should, indeed, diminish the import of this institution if we should apply it only to those who were to be freed from the bonds of physical servitude. Undoubtedly, they must have been the foremost in realizing its beneficial effects. But the law was intended to benefit all, the masters as well as the servants. They should never lose sight of their being brothers and citizens of the theocratic kingdom. They owed their life to God and were subject to His sovereign will. Only through loyalty to Him were they free and could ever hope to be free and independent of all other masters.

2. Restitution of Property

The institution of the Jubilee Year should become the means of fixing the price of real property (**25** 15 f; cf vs 25–28); moreover, it should exclude the possibility of selling any piece of land permanently (**25** 23), the next verse furnishing the motive: "The land is mine: for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." The same rule was to be applied to dwelling-houses outside of the walled cities (**25** 31), and also to the houses owned by Levites, although they were built within walled cities (ver 32).

In the same manner the price of Heb slaves was to vary according to the proximity of the Jubilee Year (**25** 47–54). This passage deals with the enslaving of a Hebrew by a foreigner living among the Jews; it goes without saying that the same rule would hold good in the case of a Hebrew selling himself to one of his own people.

In **27** 17–25 we find a similar arrangement respecting such lands that were "sanctified unto Jeh." In all these cases the original owner was at liberty to redeem his property at any time, or have it redeemed by some of his nearest relatives (**25** 25–27.29.48 ff; **27** 19).

The crowning feature, though, was the full restitution of all real property in the Jubilee Year. The primary object of this regulation was, of course, the reversion of all hereditary property to the family which originally possessed it, and the reëstablishment of the original arrangement regarding the division of the land. But that was not all; for this legal disposition and regulation of external matters was closely connected with the high calling of the Jewish people. It was a part of the Divine plan looking forward to the salvation of mankind. "The deepest meaning of it (the Jubilee Year) is to be found in the *ἀποκατάστασις τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ*, *apokatástasis tḗs basileías toú theoú*, i.e. in the restoring of all that which in the course of time was perverted by man's sin, in the removing of all slavery of sin, in the establishing of the true liberty of the children of God, and in the delivering of the creation from the bondage of corruption to which it was subjected on account of man's depravity" (Rom **8** 19 ff) (cf Keil, *Manual of Bib. Archaeology*). In the Year of Jubilee a great future era of Jeh's favor is foreshadowed, that period which, according to Isa **61** 1–3, shall be ushered in to all those that labor and are heavy laden, by Him who was anointed by the spirit of the Lord Jehovah.

3. The Simple Life

The Jubilee Year, being the crowning point of all sabbatical institutions, gave the finishing touch as it were to the whole cycle of sabbatic days, months and years. It is, therefore, quite appropriate that it should be a year of rest for the land like the preceding sabbatic year (Lev **25** 11 f). It follows, of course, that in this instance there were two years, one after the other, in which there should be no sowing or systematic ingathering. This seems to be clear from Lev **25** 18–22: "And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat of the fruits, the old store; until the ninth year, until its fruits come in, ye shall eat the old store." Thus in the 7th and 8th years the people were to live on what the fields had produced in the 6th year and whatever grew spontaneously. This shows the reason why we may say that one of the factors constituting the Jubilee Year was the "simple life." They could not help but live simply for two consecutive years. Nobody can deny that this afforded ample opportunity to develop the habit of living within very limited means. And again we see that this external part of the matter did not fully come up to the intention of the Lawgiver. It was not the simple life as such that He had in view, but rather the laying down of its moral and religious foundations. In this connection we must again refer to **25** 18–22, "What shall we eat the seventh year?" The answer is very simple and yet of surpassing grandeur: "Then I will command my blessing upon you," etc. Nothing was expected of the people but faith in Jeh and confidence in His power, which was not to be shaken by any doubtful reflection. And right here we have found the root of the simple life: no life without the true God, and no simplicity of life without true faith in Him. "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" (Mt **4** 4; cf Dt **8** 3).

We may well ask: Did the Jewish people ever observe the Jubilee Year? There is no reason why they should not have observed it in preëxilic times (cf Lotz in *New Sch-Herz*, X, s.v. "Sabbatical Year" and "Year of Jubilee"). Perhaps they signally failed in it, and if so, we should not be surprised at all. Not that the institution in itself was cumbered with any obstacles that could not have been overcome; but what is more common than unbelief and unwillingness to trust absolutely in Jeh? Or, was it observed in post-exilic times? Here, too, we are in the dark. There is, indeed, a tradition according to which the Jubilee Year has never been observed—neither in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah nor at any later period. The truth of this seems to be corroborated by the silence of Jos, who, while referring quite frequently to the sabbatic year, never once mentions the Year of Jubilee.

William Baur

JUBILEES, BOOK OF. See Apocalyptic Literature.

JUCAL, jōō′kal. See Jehucal.

JUDA, jōō′da: Lk **1** 39 AV, see Juttah; **3** 26, see Joda; **3** 30, see Judas.

JUDAEA, jōō-dē′a, jū-dē′a (**Ἰουδαία,** *Ioudaía*): The "land of the Jews," the Gr-Rom equivalent of Judah. As most of the Israelites returning from the captivity belonged to the tribe of Judah, they came to be called Jews and their land Judaea. In Tob **1** 18 the name is applied to the old kingdom of Judah. For a general description of the physical geography and early history of this region see Judah. The limits of this district varied greatly, extending as the Jewish population increased, but in many periods with very indefinite boundaries.

Under the Pers empire, Judaea (or Judah) was a district administered by a governor who, like Zerubbabel (Hag **1** 14; **2** 2), was probably usually a Jew. Even as late as Judas Maccabaeus, Hebron and its surroundings—the very heart of old Judah—was under the domination of the Edomites, whom, however, Judas conquered (1 Macc **5** 65); in the time of his brother Jonathan (145 BC), three tetrarchies of Samaria, Aphaerema, Lydda and Ramathaim, were added to Judaea (1 Macc **10** 30.38; **11** 34); in some passages it is referred to at this time as the "land of Judah" (*Ἰούδα*) (1 Macc **10** 30.33.37). The land was then roughly limited by what may be called the "natural boundaries of Judah" (see Judah).

Strabo (xvi.11,21) extends the name Judaea to include practically all Pal; as does Lk (**4** 44 m; **23** 5; Acts **2** 9; **10** 37, etc). In several NT references (Mt **4** 25; Mk **1** 5; **3** 7; Lk **5** 17; Jn **3** 22; Acts **1** 8), Judaea is contrasted with its capital Jerus. The country bordering on the shores of the Dead Sea for some miles inland was known as the Wilderness of Judaea (see Judah; Jeshimon) (Mt **3** 1), or "the wilderness" (Mk **1** 4; Lk **3** 2); here John the Baptist appeared as a preacher. According to Mt **19** 1 (but cf Mk **10** 1, where RV has "Judaea *and* beyond Jordan"), some cities beyond Jordan belonged to Judaea. That this was an actual fact we know from Ptolemy (v.16,9) and Jos (*Ant*, XII, iv, 11).

According to Jos (*BJ*, III, iii, 5), Judaea extended from Anuath-Borkaeos (i.e. *Khan Berkît* near *Khan es Sâweh*, close to the most northerly frontier of Judah as described in Judah [q.v.]) to the village Jordan, possibly *Tell ʿArād*, near Arabia in the S. Its breadth was from Joppa in the W. to Jordan in the E. The seacoast also as far north as Ptolemais (*ʿAkka*), except Jamnia, Joppa and (according to the Talm) Caesarea, belonged to this province.

Wilderness of Judaea.

After the death of Herod the Great, Archelaus received Judaea, Samaria and Idumaea as his ethnarchy, but on his deposition Judaea was absorbed into the Rom province of Syria, the procurator of which lived at Caesarea.

Of later history it is only necessary to notice that in the 5th cent. Judaea became part of the land known as Palaestina Prima; that at the time of the Lat kingdom of Jerus (12th cent.) all the hill country of Judah from *Sinjil* to Tekoa was the royal domain, while the southern section to Beersheba belonged to the Seigneur de St. Abraham (i.e. of Hebron); and lastly that a district, the rough equivalent of the kingdom of Judah, though larger, and of the Judaea described by Jos (*BJ*, III, iii, 5), though slightly smaller, forms today the Mutaserraflic of *el Kuds*, an administrative area where more than in any spot in the world the problem of the "land of the Jews" is today increasingly acute.

E. W. G. Masterman

JUDAEA, WILDERNESS OF (Mt **3** 1). See Judaea.

JUDAH, jōō′da (יְהוּדָה, *y^{e}hūdhāh*, "praised"):

(1) 4th son of Jacob by Leah (see separate art.).

(2) An ancestor of Kadmiel, one of those who had the oversight of the rebuilding of the temple (Ezr **3** 9). He is the same as Hodaviah (Ezr **2** 40), and Hodevah (Neh **7** 43).

(3) A Levite who had taken a strange wife (Ezr **10** 23).

(4) A Levite who came up with Zerubbabel (Neh **12** 8).

(5) A priest and musician who took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerus (Neh **12** 36); (3), (4) and (5) may be the same person.

(6) A Benjamite, the son of Hassenuah, who was second over the city of Jerus in the days of Nehemiah (Neh **11** 9).

(7) One of the princes of Judah who took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerus (Neh **12** 34).

S. F. Hunter

JUDAH (יְהוּדָה, *yᵉhūdhāh;* in Gen **29** 35 B, **Ἰούδαν,** *Ioúdan,* A, **Ἰούδα,** *Ioúda;* elsewhere B and A, **Ἰούδας,** *Ioúdas*):

1. Jacob's Son The 4th son born to Jacob by Leah in Paddan-aram (Gen **29** 35, etc). Of this patriarch's life only scanty details remain to us. He turned his brethren from their purpose to slay Joseph, persuading them to sell him to the Midianites at Dothan (**37** 26 ff). A dark stain is left upon his memory by the disgraceful story told in ch **38**. Reuben forfeited the rights of primogeniture by an act of infamy; Simeon and Levi, who came next in order, were passed over because of their cruel and treacherous conduct at Shechem; to J., therefore, were assigned the honors and responsibilities of the firstborn (**34**; **35** 22; **49** 5 ff). On the occasion of their first visit to Egypt, Reuben acted as spokesman for his brethren (**42** 22.37). Then the leadership passed to J. (**43** 3, etc). The sons of Joseph evidently looked askance upon J.'s promotion, and their own claims to hegemony were backed by considerable resources (**49** 22 ff). The rivalry between the two tribes, thus early visible, culminated in the disruption of the kingdom. To J., the "lion's whelp," a prolonged dominion was assured (**49** 9 ff).

2. Tribe of Judah The tribe of Judah, of which the patriarch was the name-father, at the first census in the wilderness numbered 74,600 fighting men; at Sinai the number "from 20 years old and upward" was 76,500 (Nu **1** 27; **26** 22; see Numbers). The standard of the camp of J., with which were also the tribes of Zebulun and Issachar, was to the E. of the tabernacle "toward the sunrising," the prince of J. being Nahshon, the son of Amminadab (**2** 3). Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, represented J. among the spies (**13** 6); he also was told off to assist at the future allocation of the tribal portions (**34** 19).

3. Territory The land assigned to J. lay in the S. of Pal (see Judah, Territory of), comprising part of the mountain, the Shephelah, and the maritime plain. The information given of its conquest is meager and cannot be arranged in a self-consistent story. In Josh **11** 21 ff, the conquest is ascribed to Joshua. Caleb is described as conquering at least a portion in Josh **14** 12; **15** 13 ff; while in Jgs **1** the tribes of J. and Simeon play a conspicuous part; and the latter found a settlement in the S. within the territory of J. The tribal organization seems to have been maintained after the occupation of the land, and J. was so loosely related to the northern tribes that it was not expected to help them against Sisera. Deborah has no reproaches for absent J. It is remarkable that no judge over Israel (except Othniel, Jgs **3** 9–11) arose from the tribe of J. The first king of all Israel was chosen from the tribe of Benjamin. This made acquiescence on the part of J. easier than it would have been had Saul sprung from the ancient rival, Ephraim. But the dignity of J. was fully vindicated by the splendid reigns of David and Solomon, in lineal descent from whom the Saviour of the world should come. The further history of the tribe is merged in that of Israel.

W. Ewing

JUDAH, KINGDOM OF:

I. Canaan before the Monarchy
  1. The Coming of the Semites
  2. The Canaanites
  3. The Israelite Confederacy
  4. Migration into Canaan
  5. The Bond of Union
  6. Early Rulers
  7. The Judges
  8. Hereditary Kings
II. The First Three Kings
  1. The Benjamite King
  2. Rachel and Leah Tribes
  3. The Disruption
III. The Dual Monarchy
  1. War between Two Kingdoms
  2. First Reform of Religion
  3. Two Kingdoms at Peace
  4. Two Kingdoms Contrasted
  5. Revolution in the Northern Kingdom
  6. Effect on the Southern Kingdom
  7. Davidic House at Lowest Ebb
  8. Begins to Recover
  9. Reviving Fortunes
  10. Monarchy Still Elective
  11. Government by Regents
  12. Period of Great Prosperity
  13. Rise of Priestly Caste
  14. Advent of Assyria
  15. Judah a Protectorate
  16. Cosmopolitan Tendencies
IV. Period of Decline
  1. Judah Independent
  2. Reform of Religion
  3. Egypt and Judah
  4. Traffic in Horses
  5. Reaction under Manasseh
  6. Triumph of Reform Party
  7. Babylonia and Judah
  8. End of Assyrian Empire
  9. After Scythian Invasion
  10. Judah Again Dependent
  11. Prophets Lose Influence
  12. The Deportations
  13. Summary

I. Canaan before the Monarchy.—Some 4,000 years BC the land on either side of the valley of the Jordan was peopled by a race who, to whatever stock they belonged, were not Semites.

1. The Coming of the Semites It was not until about the year 2500 BC that the tide of Sem immigration began to flow from North Arabia into the countries watered by the Jordan and the Euphrates. One of the first waves in this human tide consisted of the Phoenicians who settled in the N.W., on the seashore; they were closely followed by other Can. tribes who occupied the country which long bore their name.

2. The Canaanites The Canaanites are known to us chiefly from the famous letters found at Tell Amarna in Egypt which describe the political state of the country during the years 1415–1360 BC—the years of the reigns of Amenophis III and IV. Canaan was at this time slipping out of the hands of Egypt. The native princes were in revolt: tribute was withheld; and but few Egyp garrisons remained. Meantime a fresh tide of invasion was hurling its waves against the eastern frontiers of the land. The newcomers were, like their predecessors, Sem Bedawin from the Syrian desert. Among them the Am Tab name the Chabiri, who are, no doubt, the people known to us as the Hebrews.

3. The Israelite Confederacy The Hebrews are so named by those of other nationality after one of their remoter ancestors (Gen **10** 24), or because they had come from beyond (*'ēbher*) the Jordan or the Euphrates. Of themselves they spoke collectively as Israel. Israel was a name assumed by the eponymous hero of the nation whose real name was Jacob. Similarly the Arabian prophet belonged to the tribe called from its ancestor Ḳoraish, whose name was Fihr. The people of Israel were a complex of some 12 or 13 tribes. These 12 tribes were divided into two main sections, one section tracing its descent from Leah, one of Jacob's wives, and the other section tracing its descent from Rachel, his other wife. The names of the tribes which claimed to be descended from Leah were Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and, indirectly, Gad and Asher; those which claimed to be descended from Rachel were Joseph, which was divided into two clans; Ephraim and Manasseh, Benjamin, and, indirectly, Dan and Naphtali. The rivalry between these two great divisions runs all through the national history of the Hebrews, and was only brought to an end by the annihilation of one of the opposing factions (Isa **11** 13). But not only was the Israelitish nation a combination of many clans; it was united also to other tribes which could not claim descent from Israel or Jacob. Such tribes were the Kenites and the Calebites. Toward such the pure Israelite tribes formed a sort of aristocracy, very much as, to change the parallel, the tribe of Ḳoraish did among the Arabs. It was rarely that a commander was appointed from the allied tribes, at least in the earlier years of the national life.

4. Migration into Canaan We find exactly the same state of things obtaining in the history of the Arabian conquests. All through that history there runs the rivalry between the South Arabian tribes descended from Ḳaḥṭân (the Heb Joktan, Gen **10** 25, etc) and the northern or Ishmaelite tribes of Moḍar. It is often stated that the OT contains two separate and irreconcilable accounts of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. According to the Book of Josh, it is said the invasion was a movement of the whole people of Israel under the leadership of Joshua; according to the Book of Jgs, it consisted of a series of expeditions made by individual tribes each on its own account (Jgs **1** 2.10, etc). But again, in the history of the Arabs we find precisely the same apparent discrepancy. For Persia, Syria and Egypt were conquered by the Arabs as a whole; but at the same time no tribe lost its individuality; each tribe made expeditions on its own account, and turned its arms against rival tribes even in the enemy's country. On the confines of China in the E. and in Spain on the W., the arms of the Yemen's tribes were employed in the destruction of those of Modar as fiercely as ever they had been within Arabia itself.

5. The Bond of Union

The bond which united the Israelite tribes, as well as those of Ḳayin (the eponym of the Kenites) and Caleb, was that of the common worship of Jeh. As Mohammed united all the tribes of Arabia into one whole by the doctrine of monotheism, so did Moses the Israelite tribes by giving them a common object of worship. And the sherîfs or descendants of ʿAlî today occupy a position very like what the Levites and the descendants of Aaron must have maintained in Israel. In order to keep the Israelite nation pure, intermarriage with the inhabitants of the invaded country was forbidden, though the prohibition was not observed (Jgs **3** 5 f). So too, the Arab women were not permitted to marry non-Arabs during the first years of conquest.

6. Early Rulers

It is customary to date the beginning of monarchy in Israel from Saul the son of Kish, but in point of fact many early leaders were kings in fact if not in name. Moses and Joshua may be compared with Mohammed and his caliph (properly *khalîfa*) or "successor," Abu Bekr. Their word was law; they reigned supreme over a united nation. Moreover, the word "king" (*melekh*) often means, both in Heb and Arab., nothing more than governor of a town, or local resident. There was more than one "king" of Midian (Jgs **8** 12). Balak seems to have been only *a* king of Moab (Nu **22** 4).

7. The Judges

Before the monarchy proper, the people of Israel formed, in theory, a theocracy, as did also the Arabs under the caliphs. In reality they were ruled by temporary kings called judges (*shophēt*, the Carthaginian *sufes*). Their office was not hereditary, though there were exceptions (cf Jgs **9**). On the other hand, the government of the Northern Kingdom of Israel was practically an elective monarchy, so rarely were there more than two of the same dynasty. The judge again was usually appointed in order to meet some special crises, and the theoretically ideal state of things was one in which there was no visible head of the state—a republic without a president. These intervals, however, always ended in disaster, and the appointment of another judge. The first king also was elected to cope with a specially serious crisis. The main distinction between judge and king was that the former, less than the latter, obscured the fact of the true King, upon the recognition of whom alone the continued existence of the nation depended. The rulers then became the "elders" or sheikhs of the tribes, and as these did not act in unison, the nation lost its solidarity and became an easy prey to any invader.

8. Hereditary Kings

During the period of the Judges a new factor entered into the disturbed politics of Canaan. This was an invader who came not from the eastern and southern deserts, but from the western sea. Driven out of Crete by invaders from the mainland, the last remnants of the race of Minos found refuge on the shores of the country which ever after took from them the name it still bears—*Philistīn* or Palestine. At the same time the Ammonites and Midianites were pressing into the country from the E. (1 S **11**). Caught between these two opposing forces, the tribes of Israel were threatened with destruction. It was felt that the temporary sovereignty of the judge was no longer equal to the situation. The supreme authority must be permanent. It was thus the monarchy was founded. Three motives are given by tradition as leading up to this step. The pretext alleged by the elders or sheikhs is the worthlessness and incapacity of Samuel's sons, who he intended should succeed him (1 S **8**). The immediate cause was the double pressure from the Philis (1 S **9** 16) and the Ammonite king (**12** 12). The real reason was that the system of government by elective kings or judges had proved a failure and had completely broken down. The times called for a hereditary monarchy.

II. The First Three Kings.—The most warlike of the clans of Israel shortly before this had been that of Benjamin—one of the Rachel tribes.

1. The Benjamite King

The national sanctuary, with the ark and the grandson of Aaron as priest, was at Bethel in their territory. Moreover, they had defeated the combined forces of the other tribes in two pitched battles. They had at last been defeated and almost exterminated, but they had recovered much of their strength and prestige (Jgs **20**; 1 S **4** 12). From this tribe the first king was chosen (see Saul). He, however, proved unequal to his task. After some years spent in war with the Philis and in repressing supposed disloyalty at home, he was defeated and killed.

Meantime, one of the less-known clans was coming to the front. The territory of the tribe of J. lay in the S. After its occupation (cf Jgs **1** 2.3), the tribe of J. appears to have settled down to the care of its flocks and herds. It is not mentioned in the Song of Deborah. None of the judges belonged to it, unless Ibzan, who seems to have been of little account (Jgs **12** 8 f). Under the leadership of David (q.v.), this tribe now came to the front, and proved in the end to be endowed with by far the greatest vitality of all the tribes. It outlived them all, and survives to this day.

2. Rachel and Leah Tribes

The Rachel tribes, led by Benjamin and Ephraim (2 S **2**, **3**), resisted for some time the hegemony of J., but were obliged in the end to submit. Under David Israel became again a united whole. By making Jerus his capital on the borders of J. and Benjamin, he did much to insure the continuance of this union (cf 1 Ch **9** 3). The union, however, was only on the surface. By playing off the Rachel tribes, Benjamin and Ephraim, against the rest, Absalom was able to bring the whole structure to the ground (2 S **15** ff), the tribe to which Saul belonged being esp. disloyal (2 S **16** 5 ff). Nor was this the only occasion on which the smoldering enmity between the two houses burst out into flame (2 S **20**). As soon as the strong hand of David was removed, disaffection showed itself in several quarters (1 K **11** 14 ff), and esp. the aspiration of the tribe of Ephraim, after independence was fomented by the prophets (**11** 26 ff). Egypt afforded a convenient asylum for the disaffected until opportunity should ripen. They had not long to wait.

3. The Disruption

Solomon was succeeded by Rehoboam, who found it politic to hold a coronation ceremony at Shechem as well, presumably, as at Jerus. The malcontents found themselves strong enough to dictate terms. These Rehoboam rejected, and the northern tribes at once threw off their allegiance to the dynasty of David. The disruption thus created in the Israelite nation was never again healed. The secession was like that of the Moors in Spain from the ʿAbbâsid caliphs. Henceforth "Israel," except in the Chronicler, denotes the Northern Kingdom only. In that writer, who does not recognize the kingdom of the ten tribes, it means Judah. It is usual at the present day to recognize in the Northern Kingdom the true Israelite kingdom. Certainly in point of extent of territory and in resources it was far the greater of the two. But as regards intellectual power and influence, even down to the present day, not to mention continuity of dynasty, the smaller kingdom is by far the more important. It is, therefore, treated here as the true representative of the nation. Lying, as it did, in the immediate vicinity of Jerus, the tribe of Benjamin could hardly do otherwise than throw in its lot with that of J. Bethel, which became one of the religious capitals of the Northern Kingdom, although nominally within their territory, in fact belonged to Ephraim (Jgs **1** 22 ff). With this union of opposing interests may be compared that of the ʿAlids and ʿAbbâsids, both belonging to the house of Mohammed and both aspirants to the caliphate, against the house of Umeiya.

1. War between Two Kingdoms

III. The Dual Monarchy.—Rehoboam made no decisive attempt to bring back the recalcitrant tribes to their allegiance (1 K **12** 21 ff), though the two countries made raids, one upon the other (**14** 30). For his own security he built numerous fortresses, the remains of some of which have, it is probable, been recovered within recent years (2 Ch **11** 5 ff). These excited the suspicion of Shishak of Egypt, who invaded the country and reduced it to vassalage (1 K **14** 25 ff). Under Rehoboam's son Abijah, actual war broke out between the two kingdoms (**15** 6 as corrected in ver 7; 2 Ch **13**). The war was continued during the long reign of his son Asa, whose opponent, Baasha, built a fort some 6 miles N. of Jerus in order to cut off that city from communication with the N. Asa confessed his weakness by appealing for help to Ben-hadad of Damascus. The end justified the means. The fort was demolished.

2. First Reform of Religion

The reign of Asa is also remarkable for the first of those reformations of worship which recur at intervals throughout the history of the Southern Kingdom. The high places were not yet, however, considered illegitimate (1 K **15** 14; but cf 2 Ch **14** 5). He also, like his grandfather, was a builder of castles, and with a similar, though more fortunate, result (2 Ch **14** 6.9 ff). Asa's old age and illness helped to bring to the rival kingdoms a peace which lasted beyond his own reign (1 K **15** 23).

3. Two Kingdoms at Peace

An effect of this peace is seen in the expanding foreign trade of the country under his successor Jehoshaphat. He rebuilt the navy as in the days of Solomon, but a storm ruined the enterprise (1 K **22** 48 f). During this reign the two kingdoms came nearer being united than they had done since the disruption. This was no doubt largely due to the Northern Kingdom having been greatly weakened by the wars with Syria and Assyria, and having given up the idea of annexing the smaller country. Moreover, Jehoshaphat had married his son Joram (Jehoram) to Ahab's daughter Athaliah. From a religious point of view, the two states reacted upon one another. Jehoram of Israel inaugurated a reformation of worship in the Northern Kingdom, and at the same time that of J. was brought into line with the practice of the sister kingdom (2 K **8** 18). The peace, from a political point of view, did much to strengthen both countries, and enabled them to render mutual assistance against the common foe.

4. Two Kingdoms Contrasted

Up to the death of Jehoram of Israel, which synchronized with that of Joram and Ahaziah of J., 6 kings had reigned in J. Of these the first 4 died in their beds and were buried in their own mausoleum. During the same period of about 90 years there were in Israel 9 kings divided into 4 dynasties. The second king of the Ist Dynasty was immediately assassinated and the entire family annihilated. Precisely the same fate overtook the IId Dynasty. Then followed a civil war in which two pretenders were killed, one perishing by his own hand. The IIId Dynasty lasted longer than the first two and counted 4 kings. Of these one was defeated and killed in battle and another assassinated. The fate of the kings of Israel is very like that of the middle and later 'Abbâsid caliphs. The murder of his brothers by the Judaean Jehoram, a proceeding once regular with the sultans of Turkey, must also be put down to the influence of his Israelite wife.

5. Revolution in the Northern Kingdom

It was obvious that a crisis was impending. Edom and Libnah had thrown off their allegiance, and the Philis had attacked and plundered Jerus, even the king's sons being taken prisoners, with the exception of the youngest (2 Ch **21** 16). Moreover, the two kingdoms had become so closely united, not only by intermarriage, but also in religion and politics, that they must stand and fall together. The hurricane which swept away the northern dynasty also carried off the members of the southern royal house more nearly connected with Ahab, and the fury of the queen-mother Athaliah made the destruction complete (2 K **11** 1).

6. Effect on the Southern Kingdom

For 6 years the daughter of Ahab held sway in Jerus. The only woman who sat on the throne of David was a daughter of the hated Ahab. In her uniqueness, she thus holds a place similar to that of Shejer ed-Durr among the Memlûk sultans of Egypt. The character of her reign is not described, but it can easily be imagined. She came to her inevitable end 6 years later.

7. Davidic House at Lowest Ebb

Successive massacres had reduced the descendants of David until only one representative was left. Jehoram, the last king but one, had murdered all his brothers (2 Ch **21** 4); the Arab marauders had killed his sons except the youngest (**22** 1; cf **21** 17). The youngest, Ahaziah, after the death of his father, was, with 42 of his "brethren," executed by Jehu (2 K **10** 14). Finally, Athaliah "destroyed all the seed royal." The *entente* with the Northern Kingdom had brought the Davidic dynasty to the brink of extinction.

8. Begins to Recover

But just as 'Abd er-Raḥmân escaped from the slaughter of the Umeiyads to found a new dynasty in Spain, so the Davidic dynasty made a fresh start under Joash. The church had saved the state, and naturally the years that followed were years in which the religious factor bulked large. The temple of Baal which Athaliah had built and supported was wrecked, the idols broken, and the priest killed. A fund was inaugurated for the repair of the national temple. The religious enthusiasm, however, quickly cooled. The priests were found to be diverting the fund for the restoration of the temple to their own uses. A precisely similar diversion of public funds occurred in connection with the Ḳarawîyîn mosque in Fez under the Almoravids in the 12th cent. The reign which had begun with so much promise ended in clouds and darkness (2 K **12** 17 ff; 2 Ch **24** 17 ff; Mt **23** 35), and Joash was the first of the Judaean kings to be assassinated by his own people (2 K **12** 20 f).

9. Reviving Fortunes

By a curious coincidence, a new king ascended the throne of Syria, of Israel and of Judah about the same time. The death of Hazael, and accession of Ben-hadad III led to a revival in the fortunes of both of the Israelite kingdoms. The act of clemency with which Amaziah commenced his reign (2 K **14** 5.6; Dt **24** 16) presents a pleasing contrast to the moral code which had come to prevail in the sister kingdom; and the story of his hiring mercenaries from the Ephraimite kingdom (2 Ch **25** 5–10) sheds a curious light on the relations subsisting between the two countries, and even on those times generally. It is still more curious to find him, some time after, sending, without provocation, a challenge to Jehoash; and the capture and release of Amaziah evinces some rudimentary ideas of chivalry (2 K **14** 8 ff). The chief event of the reign was the reconquest of Edom and taking of Petra (2 K **14** 7).

The principle of the election of kings by the people was in force in Judah, although it seemed to be in

10. Monarchy Still Elective

abeyance since the people were content to limit their choice to the Davidic line. But it was exercised when occasion required. Joash had been chosen by the populace, and it was they who, when the public discontent culminated in the assassination of Amaziah, chose his 16-year-old son Uzziah (or Azariah) to succeed him.

11. Government by Regents

The minority of the king involved something equivalent to a regency. As Jehoiada at first carried on the government for Joash, so Uzziah was at first under the tutelage of Zechariah (2 Ch **26** 5), and the latter part of his reign was covered by the regency of his son Jotham. It is obvious that with the unstable dynasties of the north, such government by deputy would have been impracticable.

12. Period of Great Prosperity

The reign of Uzziah (2 Ch **26**) was one of the most glorious in the annals of the Judaean kingdom. The Philis and southern Arabs, who had been so powerful in the reign of Jehoram, were subdued, and other Bedawîn were held in check. The frontiers were strengthened with numerous castles. Now that Edom was again annexed, the Red Sea trade was resumed. Irrigation was attended to, and the agricultural resources of the country were developed. Uzziah also established a standing army, properly equipped and trained. Artillery, in the shape of catapults and other siege engines, was manufactured. It is obvious that in this reign we have advanced far beyond the earlier and ruder times.

13. Rise of Priestly Caste

In this and the preceding reigns, we notice also how the priests are becoming a distinct and powerful caste. Zadok and Abiathar were no more than the domestic chaplains of David. The kings might at pleasure discharge the functions of the priest. But the all-powerful position of Jehoiada seems to have given the order new life; and in the latter part of the reign of Uzziah, king and priest come into conflict, and the king comes off second-best (2 Ch **26** 16 ff).

14. Advent of Assyria

Uzziah is the first king of J. to be mentioned in the Assyr annals. He was fighting against "Pul" in the years 742–740. The advent of the great eastern power upon the scene of Judaean politics could end but in one way—as it was soon to do with Israel also. The reign of Jotham may be passed over as it coincided almost entirely with that of his father. But in the following reign we find J. already paying tribute to Assyria in the year of the fall of Damascus and the conquest of the East-Jordan land, the year 734.

15. Judah a Protectorate

During the regency of Jotham, the effeminacy and luxury of the Northern Kingdom had already begun to infect the Southern (Mic **1** 9; **6** 16), and under the irresolute Ahaz the declension went on rapidly. This *rapprochement* in morals and customs did not prevent Israel under Pekah joining with Rezin of Syria against J., with no less an object than to subvert the dynasty by placing an Aramaean on the throne (Isa **7** 6). What the result might have been, had not Isaiah taken the reins out of Ahaz' hands, it is impossible to say. As it was, J. felt the strain of the conflict for many a year. The country was invaded from other points, and many towns were lost, some of which were never recovered (2 Ch **28** 17 ff). In despair Ahaz placed himself and his country under the protection of Assyria (2 K **16** 7 ff).

16. Cosmopolitan Tendencies

It was a part of the cosmopolitan tendencies of the time that the worship became tarnished with foreign innovations (2 K **16** 10). The temple for the first time in its history was closed (2 Ch **28** 24). Altars of Baal were set up in all the open spaces of Jerus, each representing some urban god (Jer **11** 13). About the closing of the temple Isaiah would not be greatly concerned. Perhaps it was his suggestion (cf Isa **1**). The priests who were supreme in the preceding reigns had lost their influence: their place had been taken by the prophets. The introduction of Baalism, however, was no doubt due to Ahaz alone.

1. Judah Independent

IV. Period of Decline.—The following reign—that of Hezekiah—was, perhaps as a result of the disappearance of the Northern Kingdom, a period of reformation. Isaiah is now supreme, and the history of the times will be found in his biography. It must have been with a sigh of relief that Hezekiah saw the Northern Kingdom disappear forever from the scene. The relations of the two countries had been too uniformly hostile to make that event anything but an omen for good. It was no doubt due to Isaiah that Hezekiah sought to recover the old independence of his country. Their patriotism went near to be their own undoing. Sennacherib invaded Pal, and Hezekiah found himself shorn of everything that was outside the walls of Jerus. Isaiah's patriotism rose to the occasion; the invading armies melted away as by a miracle; J. was once more free (2 K **18** 13 ff).

2. Reform of Religion

A curious result of Sennacherib's invasion was the disappearance of the high places—local shrines where Levitical priests officiated in opposition to those of the temple. When the Judaean territories were limited to the city, these of necessity vanished, and, when the siege was over, they were not restored. They were henceforward regarded as illegal. It is generally held by scholars that this reform occurred later under Josiah, on the discovery of the "Book of the Law" by Hilkiah in the temple (2 K **22** 8), and that this book was Dt. The high places, however, are not mentioned in the law book of Dt. The reform was probably the work of Isaiah, and due to considerations of morals.

3. Egypt and Judah

The Judaeans had always had a friendly feeling toward Egypt. When the great eastern power became threatening, it was to Egypt they turned for safety. Recent excavation has shown that the influence of Egypt upon the life and manners of Pal was very great, and that that of Assyria and Babylonia was comparatively slight, and generally confined to the N. In the reign of Hezekiah a powerful party proposed an alliance with Egypt with the view of check-mating the designs of Assyria (2 K **17** 4; Isa **30** 2.3; **31** 1). Hezekiah followed Isaiah's advice in rejecting all alliances.

4. Traffic in Horses

The commercial and other ties which bound Pal to Egypt were much stronger than those between Pal and the East. One of the most considerable of these was the trade in horses. This traffic had been begun by Solomon (1 K **10** 28 f). The chief seat of the trade in Pal was Lachish (Mic **1** 13). In their nomadic state the Israelites had used camels and donkeys, and the use of the horse was looked upon with suspicion by the prophets (Dt **17** 16; Zec **9** 10). When the horse is spoken of in the OT, it is as the chief weapon of the enemies of the nation (Ex **15** 1; Jgs **5** 22, etc).

5. Reaction under Manasseh

On the death of Hezekiah, the nation reverted to the culture and manners of the time of Ahaz and even went farther than he in corrupt practices. Esp. at this time human sacrifice became common in Israel (Mic **6** 7). The influence for good of the prophets had gone (2 K **21**). There is a curious story in 2 Ch **33** 11 f that Manasseh was taken captive by the Assyrians, and, after spending some time in captivity in Babylon, reformed and was restored to his throne. His son, however, undid these reforms, and public discontent grew to such an extent that he was assassinated (2 K **21** 19 ff).

6. Triumph of Reform Party

Once more the tide turned in the direction of reform, and on this occasion it rose higher than ever before. The reformation under Josiah was never again wholly undone. The enthusiasm of the iconoclasts carried them far beyond the frontiers of Judah (2 Ch **34** 6), for on this occasion they were backed up by the newly found "Book of the Law." All boded well for a prosperous reign, but unforeseen disasters came from without. The Scythian invasion swept over Southwestern Asia (Jer **1** 14–16; **6** 1, etc). The storm passed, and hope rose higher than before, for the power of Assyria had been shattered forever.

7. Babylonia and Judah

Already in 722, when Sargon seized the throne on the death of Shalmaneser, Babylonia had revolted, and crowned Marduk-baladan king (Isa **39** 1). Hezekiah received a deputation from Babylonia (2 K **20** 12 ff), no doubt in the hope of freeing himself from the Assyr danger by such an alliance. The revolt of Merodach-baladan was maintained for 12 years; then it was suppressed. There was, however, a second revolt of Babylonia on the accession of Sennacherib, Sargon's son, in 705, which went on till 691, and the events referred to in 2 K **20** may have happened at this time, for Hezekiah's reign seems to have ended prosperously.

8. End of Assyrian Empire

Sennacherib was assassinated in 681 (Isa **37** 38) and was succeeded by his son Esar-haddon, who rebuilt Babylon, razed to the ground by his father, and under whom the province remained quiet. In 674 hostilities with Egypt broke out, and that country was overrun, and TIRHAKAH (q.v.) was expelled in 670. Two years later, however, occurred the revolt of Egypt and the death of Esar-haddon. Assur-bani-pal succeeded, and Egypt regained her independence in 660. The revolt of Babylonia, the incursion of the Scythians (Jer **1** 14 ff) and the death of Assur-bani-pal followed. Two more kings sat on the throne of Assyria, and then Nineveh was taken by the combined Scythians (Mandor) and Babylonians (Herod. i.74; Nah; Zeph **2** 13–15; Hab **1** 5 f).

9. After Scythian Invasion

The Scythian tempest passed quickly, and when it was over the Assyr peril was no more. Pharaoh-necoh seized the opportunity to avenge the injuries of his country by the invasion of the erstwhile Assyr territories. Josiah, pursuing the policy of alliance with Babylonia inaugurated by Hezekiah, endeavored to arrest his progress. He was defeated and mortally wounded at Megiddo (Zec **12** 11).

10. Judah Again Dependent

By the foolhardy action of Josiah, J. lost its independence. The people, indeed, elected Jehoahaz (Shallum) king, but he was immediately deposed and carried to Egypt by the Pharaoh (Jer **22** 10 ff; Ezk **19** 3 f), who appointed Jehoiakim (Eliakim) as vassal-king. After the defeat of the Pharaoh at Carchemish, the old Hittite stronghold, by Nebuchadrezzar, Jehoiakim submitted, and J. became a dependency of Babylon. There must have been some return of prosperity, for Jehoiakim is denounced for his luxury and extravagance and oppressive taxation (Jer **22** 13 ff), but the country was raided by the neighboring Bedawîn (2 K **24** 2), and Jehoiakim came to an untimely end (Jer **22** 19).

11. Prophets Lose Influence

The prophets were no longer, as under Hezekiah, all-powerful in the state. The influence of Jeremiah was no doubt great, but the majority was against him. His program was both unpopular in itself and it had the fatal defect of being diametrically opposed to that of Isaiah, the patriot-politician (if such there be), who had saved the state from shipwreck. Isaiah had preached reliance upon the national God and through it the political independence of the nation. It was the sad duty of Jeremiah to advise the surrender of the national independence to the newly risen power of Babylon. (Jer **21** 4.9; **38** 2, etc). Isaiah had held that the Holy City was impregnable (2 K **19** 32); Jeremiah was sure that it would be taken by the Chaldaeans (Jer **32** 24.43). Events proved that each prophet was right for the time in which he lived.

12. The Deportations

Jehoiakim was the only Judaean king who was a vassal first to one overlord and then to another. J. took a step downward in his reign. It was under him also that the first deportation of the Judaeans occurred (Dnl **1** 1–17). He was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin who, on account of a rebellion which closed the reign of his father, was ere long deported, along with the best of the nation (Jer **22** 24 ff; Ezk **19** 5 ff). A 3d son of Josiah, Mattaniah, was set on the throne under the title of Zedekiah. Against the advice of Jeremiah, this, the last king of J., declared himself independent of Babylon, and threw in his lot with Egypt under Pharaoh Hophra (Apries), thus breaking his oath of fealty (Ezk **17** 15 ff). On the advance of the Chaldaeans, J. was deserted by her allies, the Edomites and Philis (see BOOK OF OB), and soon only Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*), Azekah (probably *Tell Zakarya*) and Jerus remained in the hands of Zedekiah. The siege of the city lasted two years. It was taken on the fatal 9th of Ab in the year 586. Zedekiah's family was put to the sword, and he himself was taken to Babylon. Egypt shared the fate of J., with whom she had been often so closely connected, and Hophra was the last of the Pharaohs.

13. Summary

The kingdom of J. had lasted 480 years, counting from its commencement, exactly twice as long as the kingdom of Israel, counting from the disruption. No doubt this longer existence was due in the first place to the religious faith of the people. This is clear from the fact that the national religion not only survived the extinction of the nation, but spread far beyond its original territories and has endured down to the present day. But there were also circumstances which conspired to foster the growth of the nation in its earliest and most critical period. One of these was the comparative isolation and remoteness of the country. Neither the kingdom of Israel nor that of Judah is for a moment to be compared to those of Egypt and Assyria. Even the combined kingdom under David and Solomon hardly deserves that comparison; and separate, the Northern Kingdom would be about the size of New Hampshire and the Southern Kingdom about that of Connecticut. The smaller kingdom survived the larger because it happened to be slightly farther removed from the danger zone. Even had the two kingdoms held together, it is impossible that they could have withstood the expansion of Assyria and Babylonia on the one side and of Egypt on the other. The Egyp party in Judaean politics in the times of Isaiah and Jeremiah were so far in the right, that, if J. could have maintained her independence in alliance with Egypt, these two countries combined might have withstood the power of

Assyria or Babylon. But it is because this ancient race, tracing its descent from remote antiquity, preserved its religious, at the expense of its national, independence, that its lit. continues to mold much of the thought of Europe and America today. See ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF. THOMAS HUNTER WEIR

JUDAH, TERRITORY OF (יְהוּדָה, yᵉhūdhāh):

I. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA
  1. The Natural Boundaries
  2. The Natural Divisions of Judah
    (1) The Maritime Plain
    (2) The Shephelah
    (3) The Hill Country of Judah
II. THE TRIBE OF JUDAH AND ITS TERRITORY
III. THE BOUNDARIES OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH
LITERATURE

I. Geographical Data.—Although the physical conformation of Western Pal divides this land into very definite areas running longitudinally N. and S., yet all through history there has been a recognition of a further—and politically more important—division into 3 areas running transversely, known in NT times as Galilee, Samaria and Judaea. These districts are differentiated to some extent by distinctive physical features which have in no small degree influenced the history of their inhabitants.

1. The Natural Boundaries

The southernmost of these regions possesses on 3 sides very definite natural boundaries: to the W. the Mediterranean, to the E. the Dead Sea, and the Jordan, and to the S. 60 miles, N. to S., of practically trackless desert, a frontier as secure as sea or mountain range. On the N. no such marked "scientific frontier" exists, and on this the one really accessible side, history bears witness that the frontier has been pushed backward and forward. The most ideal natural northern frontier, which only became the actual one comparatively late in Heb times (see JUDAEA), is that which passes from the river *'Aujeh* in the W., up the *Wādy Deir Balâṭ*, by the wide and deep *Wādy Ishār* to *'Akrabbeh* and thence E. to the Jordan. A second natural frontier commences at the same line on the W., but after following the *Wādy Deir Balâṭ*, branches off southward along the *Wādy Nimr* (now traversed by the modern carriage road from Jerus to *Nablûs*), crosses the water-parting close to the lofty *Tell Ashûr*, and runs successively down the *Wādy Sanieh* and the *Wādy 'Aujeh* and by the eastern river *'Aujeh* to the Jordan. This division-line is one conformable to the physical features, because north of it the table-lands of "Judaea" give place to the more broken mountain groups of "Samaria." Another less natural, though much more historic, frontier is that which traverses the Vale of Ajalon, follows the Beth-horon pass, and, after crossing the central plateau near *el Jīb* (Gibeon) and *er Râm* (Ramah of Benjamin), runs down the deep and rugged *Wādy Suweinit*, between *Jeba'* (Geba) and *Mukhmas* (Michmash), to Jericho and the Jordan. It was along this line that the great frontier fortresses, Bethel, Gibeon, Ramah, Adasa, Geba and Michmash, were erected. Such, on the N., S., E., and W., were the *natural* boundaries of the southern third of Pal; yet in all history the land thus inclosed scarcely ever formed a homogeneous whole.

2. The Natural Divisions of Judah

Within these boundaries lay four very different types of land—the maritime plain, the "lowland" or Shephelah, the "hill country" and, included usually with the last, the desert or Jeshimon.

(1) *The maritime plain*, the "land of the Philis" (1 S **6** 1; **27** 1; 2 K **8** 2; Zeph **2** 5), was ideally though never actually, the territory of Judah (cf Josh **15** 45–47); it may have been included, as it is by some modern writers, as part of the Shephelah, but this is not the usual use of the word. It is a great stretch of level plain or rolling downs of very fertile soil, capable of supporting a thriving population and cities of considerable size, esp. near the seacoast.

(2) *The Shephelah* (*shᵉphēlāh*), or "lowland" of Judah (Dt **1** 7; Josh **9** 1; **11** 2.16; **15** 33–44; 1 K **10** 27; 1 Ch **27** 28; Jer **17** 26).—In these references the word is variously rendered in AV, usually as "vale" or "valley," sometimes, as in the last two, as "plain." In RV the usual rendering is "lowland." In 1 Macc **12** 38, AV has "Shephela" and RV "plain country." The word "Shephelah" appears to survive in the Arab. *Sifla* about *Beit Jebrīn*.

This is a very important region in the history of Judah. It is a district consisting mainly of rounded hills, 500–800 ft. high, with fertile open valleys full of corn fields; caves abound, and there are abundant evidences of a once crowded population. Situated as it is between the "hill country" and the maritime plain, it was the scene of frequent skirmishes between the Hebrews and the Philis; Judah failed to hold it against the Philis who kept it during most of their history. The Shephelah is somewhat sharply divided off from the central mountain mass by a remarkable series of valleys running N. and S. Commencing at the Vale of Ajalon and passing S., we have in succession the *Wādy el Ghurāb* and, after crossing the *Wādy es Siwân*, the *Wādy en Najīl*, the *Wādy eṣ Ṣunt* (Elah) and the *Wādy eṣ Ṣûr*. It is noticeable that the western extremity of the most historic northern frontier of ancient Judah—that limited by the Vale of Ajalon in the W.—appears to have been determined by the presence of this natural feature. N. of this the hills of Samaria flatten out to the plain without any such intervening valleys.

(3) *The hill country of Judah* is by far the most characteristic part of that tribe's possessions; it was on account of the shelter of these mountain fastnesses that this people managed to hold their own against their neighbors and hide away from the conquering armies of Assyria and Egypt. No other section of the country was so secluded and protected by her natural borders. It was the environment of these bare hills and rugged valleys which did much to form the character and influence the lit. of the Jews. The hill country is an area well defined, about 35 miles long and some 15 broad, and is protected on three sides by natural frontiers of great strength; on the N. alone it has no "scientific frontier." On the S. lay the Negeb, and beyond that the almost waterless wilderness, a barrier consisting of a series of stony hills running E. and W., difficult for a caravan and almost impracticable for an army. On the W. the hills rise sharply from those valleys which delimit them from the Shephelah, but they are pierced by a series of steep and rugged defiles which wind upward to the central table-land. At the northwestern corner the Beth-horon pass—part of the northern frontier line—runs upward from the wide Vale of Ajalon; this route, the most historic of all, has been associated with a succession of defeats inflicted by those holding the higher ground (see BETH-HORON). S. of this is the *Wādy 'Ali*, up which runs the modern carriage road to Jerus, and still farther S. lies the winding rocky defile, up part of which the railway from Jaffa is laid, the *Wādy eṣ Surâr*. A more important valley, because of its width and easier gradient, is the great Vale of Elah (*Wādy eṣ Ṣunt*), to guard the highest parts of which (now the *Wādy eṣ Ṣûr*) was built the powerful fortress of Beth-zur (2 Ch **11** 7, etc), which Jos (*Ant*, XIII, v, 6) describes as "the strongest place in all Judaea" (see BETH-ZUR). Up this pass the Syrians successfully with the aid of elephants (*Ant*, XII, ix, 4) invaded Judaea. The eastern frontier of the hill country is one of extraordinary natural strength. Firstly, there were the Jordan and the Dead Sea; then along all but the northernmost part of the eastern frontier lay a long line of semi-precipitous cliffs, in places over 1,000 ft. high, absolutely unscalable and pierced at long intervals by passes all steep and dangerous. Within this again came a wide area of waterless and barren desert, the Wilderness of Judah (or Judaea) known in EV as JESHIMON (q.v.). To the northeasterly part of the frontier, where the ascent from the Jericho plain to the mountains presents no special difficulty in gradation, the waterless condition of the Jeshimon greatly restricted the possible routes for an enemy. The natural position for the first line of defence was the fortified city of Jericho, but as a frontier fortress

she failed from the days of Joshua onward (see Jericho). From Jericho four roads pass upward to the plateau of Judah; unlike the corresponding passes on the western frontier, they do not traverse any definite line of valley, but in many places run actually along the ridges.

These roads are: (*a*) The earliest historically, though now the least frequented, is the most northerly, which passes westward at the back of ancient Jericho (near *'Ain es Sultân*) and ascends by Michmash and Ai to Bethel; (*b*) the route traversed by the modern Jerus-Jericho road; (*c*) the more natural route which enters the hills by *Wādy Joreif Ghûsal* and runs by *Nebi Mûsa*, joining the line of the modern carriage road a mile or so after passing the deserted ruin of the Saracenic *Khan el Ahmar*. Here runs the road for the thousands of pilgrims who visit the shrine of *Nebi Mûsa* in the spring. (*d*) The most natural pass of all is by way of *Wādy el Kuneiterah*, across the open plateau of *el Bukeia'* and over the shoulder of *Jebel el Muntâr* to Bethlehem. From *'Ain Feshkhah* a very steep road, probably ancient, ascends to join this last route in *el Bukeia'*. From En-gedi (*'Ain Jidy*) a steep ascent—almost a stairway—winds abruptly to the plateau above, whence a road passes northwesterly by the *Wādy Huṣāṣeh* past Tekoa to Bethlehem and Jerus, and another branch goes west to Hebron and Juttah.

Somewhere along these routes must have lain the "Ascent of Ziz" and the "Wilderness of Jeruel," the scene of the events of 2 Ch **20**. The hill country of Judah is distinguished from other parts of Pal by certain physical characteristics. Its central part is a long plateau—or really series of plateaus—running N. and S., very stony and barren and supplied with but scanty springs: "dew" is less plentiful than in the north; several of the elevated plains, e.g. about Bethlehem, *Beit Jâla* and Hebron, are well suited to the growth of corn and olive trees; in the sheltered valleys and on the terraced hillsides to the W. of the water-parting, vines, olives, figs and other fruit trees flourish exceedingly. There is evidence everywhere that cultivation was far more highly developed in ancient times; on most of the hill slopes to the W. traces of ancient terraces can still be seen (see Botany). This district in many parts, esp. on its eastern slopes, is preëminently a pastoral land, and flocks of sheep and goats abound, invading in the spring even the desert itself. This last is ever in evidence, visible from the environs of all Judah's greater cities and doubtless profoundly influencing the lives and thoughts of their inhabitants.

The altitude attained in this "hill country" is usually below 3,000 ft. in the north (e.g. *Ramallah*, 2,850 ft., *Nebi Samwîl*, 2,935 ft.), but is higher near Hebron, where we get 3,545 ft. at *Rāmet el Khulîl*. Many would limit the term "hill country of Judaea" to the higher hills centering around Hebron, but this is unnecessary. Jerus is situated near a lower and more expanded part of the plateau, while the higher hills to its north, are, like that city itself, in the territory of Benjamin.

II. The Tribe of Judah and Its Territory.—In Nu **26** 19–22, when the tribes of the Hebrews are enumerated "in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho" (ver 3), Judah is described as made up of the families of the Shelanites, the Perezites, the Zerahites, the Hezronites and the Hamulites. "These are the families of Judah according to those that were numbered of them," a total of 76,500 (ver 22). In Jgs **1** 16 we read that the Kenites united with the tribe of J., and from other references (Josh **14** 6–15; **15** 13–19; Jgs **1** 12–15.20) we learn that the two Kenizzite clans of Caleb and Othniel also were absorbed; and it is clear from 1 S **27** 10; **30** 29 that the Jerahmeelites—closely connected with the Calebites (cf 1 Ch **2** 42)—also formed a part of the tribe of J. The Kenizzites and Jerahmeelites were probably of Edomite origin (Gen **36** 11; cf 1 Ch **2** 42), and this large admixture of foreign blood may partly account for the comparative isolation of J. from the other tribes (e.g. she is not mentioned in Jgs **5**).

The territory of the tribe of J. is described ideally in Josh **15**, but it never really extended over the maritime plain to the W. The natural frontiers to the W. and E. have already been described as the frontiers of the "hill country"; to the S. the boundary is described as going "even to the wilderness of Zin southward, at the uttermost part of the south," i.e. of the Negeb (ver 1), and (ver 3) as far south as Kadesh-barnea, i.e. the oasis of *'Ain Kadīs*, 50 miles S. of Beersheba, far in the desert; the position of the "Ascent of Akrabbim," i.e. of scorpions, is not known. The "Brook of Egypt" is generally accepted to be the *Wādy el 'Arīsh*. The fact is, the actual frontier shaded off imperceptibly into the desert—varying perhaps with the possibilities of agriculture and depending therefore upon the rainfall. The cities mentioned as on the boundaries, whose sites are now lost, probably roughly marked the edge of the habitable area (see Negeb).

The northern boundary which separated the land of J. from that of Benjamin requires brief mention. The various localities mentioned in Josh **15** 5–12 are dealt with in separate articles, but, omitting the very doubtful, the following, which are generally accepted, will show the general direction of the boundary line: The border went from the mouth of the Jordan to Beth-hoglah (*'Ain Hajlah*), and from the Valley of Achor (*Wādy Kelt*) by the ascent of Adummin (*Tāla'at ed Dumm*) to the waters of En Shemesh (probably *'Ain Haud*), En Rogel (*Bîr Eyyûb*), and the Valley of Hinnom (*Wādy er Rabâbi*). The line then crossed the Vale of Rephaim (*el Bukeia'*) to the waters of Nephtoah (*Lifta*), Kiriath-jearim (*Kuryet el 'Enab*), Chesalon (*Keslā*), Beth-shemesh (*'Ain Shems*), Ekron (*'Akir*), and Jabneel (*Yebnah*), "and the goings out of the border were at the sea." According to the above line, Jerus lay entirely within the bounds of Benjamin, though, according to a tradition recorded in the Talm, the site of the altar was in a piece of land belonging to Judah. The above frontier line can be followed on any modern map of Pal, and if it does not in many parts describe a natural frontier, it must be remembered that the frontiers of village and town possessions in modern Pal are extremely arbitrary, and though undetermined by any natural limits such as streams or mountain summits, they persist from generation to generation, and this too during periods—not long past—when there was constant warfare between different clans.

The territory of J. was small; even had it included all within its ideal boundaries, it would have been no more than 2,000 sq. miles; actually it was nearer 1,300 sq. miles, of which nearly half was desert.

III. The Boundaries of the Kingdom of Judah.—These were very circumscribed. In 2 Ch **11** 5–12 there is a list of the cities—chiefly those on the frontier—which Rehoboam fortified. On the E. were Bethlehem, Etam and Tekoa; and on the W. and S.W. were Beth-zur, Soco, Adullam, Gath, Mareshah, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Aijalon and Hebron. The sites of the great majority of these are known, and they are all upon the borders of the Shephelah or the hill country. It will be seen too that the military preparation then made was against an attack from the W. In the 5th year of the reign of Rehoboam the expected attack came, and Shishak (Sheshenq I) of Egypt swept over the land and not only conquered all J. and Jerus, but, according to the reading of some authorities in the account of this campaign given in the great temple of Karnak, he handed over to Jeroboam of Israel certain strongholds of Judah.

The usual northern frontier between the two Heb kingdoms appears to have been the southernmost of the three natural lines described in I above, namely by the Valley of Ajalon on the W. and the Gorge of Michmash (*Wādy Suweinîṭ*) on the E. Along the central plateau the frontier varied. Bethel (1 K **12** 29; 2 K **10** 29; Am **3** 14; **4** 4; **7** 10.13; Hos **10** 15) belonged to Israel, though once it fell to J. when Abijah took it and with it Jeshanah (*'Ain Sinia*) and Ephron (probably *eṭ Taiyibeh*) (2 Ch **13** 19). Geba (*Jeba'*), just to the S. of the *Wādy Suweinîṭ*, was on the northern frontier of J., hence instead of the old term "from Dan to Beer-sheba," we read now of "from Geba to Beer-sheba" (2 K **23** 8). Baasha, king of Israel, went S. and fortified Ramah (*er Râm*, but 4 miles from Jerus) against J. (1 K **15** 17), but Asa stopped his work, removed the fortifications and with the materials strengthened his own frontier at Geba and Mizpah (1 K **15** 21.22). In the Jordan valley Jericho was held by Israel (1 K **16** 34; 2 K **2** 4).

After the Northern Kingdom fell, the frontier of J. appears to have extended a little farther N., and Bethel (2 K **23** 15–19) and Jericho (to judge from Ezr **2** 34; Neh **3** 2; **7** 36) also became part of the kingdom of J. For the further history of this district. See Judaea, Kiriath-sepher.

Literature.—See esp. *HGHL*, chs viii–xv; *PEF*, **III**, and Saunders, *Intro to the Survey of Western Pal.*

E. W. G. Masterman

JUDAH AT (AV UPON) THE JORDAN (יְהוּדָה הַיַּרְדֵּן, *y^ehūdhāh ha-yardēn*): A place marking the eastern limit of the territory of Naphtali (Josh **19** 34). It is generally thought among scholars that the text is corrupt; but no very probable emendation has been suggested. Thomson (*LB*, II, 466) proposes to identify it with *Seiyid Jehūda*, a small white-domed sanctuary about 3 miles to the S.E. of *Tell el-Ḳāḍy*.

JUDAISM, jōō′dā-iz′m. See Israel, Religion of.

JUDAS, jōō′das (Ἰούδας, *Ioúdas*; Gr form of Heb "Judah"):

(1) A Levite mentioned in 1 Esd **9** 23=Judah (3).

(2) Judas Maccabaeus, 3d son of Mattathias (1 Macc **2** 4). See Maccabees.

(3) Judas, son of Chalphi, a Jewish officer who supported Jonathan bravely at the battle of Hazor (1 Macc **11** 70; *Ant*, XIII, v, 7).

(4) A person of good position in Jerus at the time of the mission to Aristobulus (2 Macc **1** 10); he has been identified with Judas Maccabaeus and also with an Essene prophet (*Ant*, XIII, xi, 2; *BJ*, III, 5).

(5) Son of Simon the Maccabee, and brother of John Hyrcanus (1 Macc **16** 2). He was wounded in the battle which he fought along with his brother against Cendebaeus (1 Macc **16** 1 ff; *Ant*, XIII, vii, 3), and was murdered by Ptolemy the usurper, his brother-in-law, at Dok (1 Macc **16** 11 ff).

J. Hutchison

JUDAS, JUDA:

(1) The name of an ancestor of Jesus (Lk **3** 30). In AV it occurs also in Lk **3** 26, but RV has "Joda" (WH Ἰωδά, *Iōdá*).

(2) Judas Iscariot (see separate art.).

(3) One of the brothers of Jesus (Mt **13** 55; Mk **6** 3). See Jude.

(4) An apostle, "not Iscariot" (Jn **14** 22). He is generally identified with Lebbaeus (Mt **10** 3) and Thaddaeus (Mk **3** 18). See Lebbaeus; Thaddaeus. He is called Judas of James (q.v.) (Lk **6** 16; Acts **1** 13), which means "the son of James," not (AV) "the brother of James."

(5) A Galilean who stirred up rebellion "in the days of the enrolment" (Acts **5** 37). See Judas of Galilee.

(6) One with whom Paul lodged in Damascus, whose house was in "the street which is called Straight" (Acts **9** 11). Nothing further is known of him. A house is pointed out as his, in a lane off the Straight Street.

(7) Judas Barsabbas (Acts **15** 22.27.32; see separate art.).

S. F. Hunter

JUDAS BARSABBAS, bär-sab′as (Ἰούδας Βαρσαββᾶς, *Ioúdas Barsabbás*): Judas was, with Silas, a delegate from the church in Jerus to the gentile Christians of Antioch, Syria and Cilicia. They were appointed to convey the letter containing the decision of "the apostles and the elders, with the whole church" regarding the attitude to be taken by gentile Christians toward the Mosaic law, and also to explain "the same things by word of mouth." They accompanied Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, and, "being themselves also prophets," i.e. preachers, they not only handed over the epistle but stayed some time in the city preaching and teaching. They seem to have gone no farther than Antioch, for "they were dismissed in peace from the brethren unto those that had sent them forth," and it was Paul and Silas who some time afterward strengthened the churches in Syria and Cilicia (Acts **15** 40.41).

According to ver 34 AV, Judas returned to Jerus without Silas, who remained at Antioch and afterward became Paul's companion (ver 40). The oldest MSS, however, omit ver 34, and it is therefore omitted from RV. It was probably a marginal note to explain ver 40, and in time it crept into the text. Judas and Silas are called "chief men among the brethren" (ver 22), probably elders, and "prophets" (ver 32).

Barsabbas being a patronymic, Judas was probably the brother of Joseph Barsabbas. He cannot be identified with any other Judas, e.g. "Judas not Iscariot" (Jn **14** 22). We hear no more of Judas after his return to Jerus (Acts **15** 22 ff).

S. F. Hunter

JUDAS ISCARIOT, is-kar′i-ot (Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης, *Ioúdas Iskariṑtēs*, i.e. *'īsh ḳ^erīyōth*, "Judas, man of Kerioth"): One of the twelve apostles and the betrayer of Jesus; for etymology, etc, see Judas.

I. Life.—Judas was, as his second name indicates, a native of Kerioth or Karioth. The exact locality of Kerioth (cf Josh **15** 25) is doubtful, but it lay probably to the S. of Judaea, being identified with the ruins of *el Karjetein* (cf A. Plummer, art. "Judas Iscariot" in *HDB*).

1. Name and Early History

He was the son of Simon (Jn **13** 2) or Simon Iscariot (Jn **6** 71; **13** 26), the meaning of Iscariot explaining why it was applied to his father also. The first Scriptural reference to J. is his election to the apostleship (cf Mt **10** 4; Mk **3** 19; Lk **6** 16). He may have been present at the preaching of John the Baptist at Bethany beyond Jordan (cf Jn **1** 28), but more probably he first met Jesus during the return of the latter through Judaea with His followers (cf Jn **3** 22). According to the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles (see Simon the Cananaean), J. was among those who received the call at the Sea of Tiberias (cf Mt **4** 18–22).

2. Before the Betrayal

For any definite allusion to J. during the interval lying between his call and the events immediately preceding the betrayal, we are indebted to St. John alone. These allusions are made with the manifest purpose of showing forth the nefarious character of J. from the beginning; and in their sequence there is a gradual development and growing clearness in the manner in which Jesus makes prophecy regarding his future betrayer. Thus, after the discourse on the Bread of Life in the synagogue of Capernaum (Jn **6** 26–59), when many of the disciples deserted Jesus (ver 66) and Peter protested the allegiance of the apostles (ver 69), Jesus answered, "Did not I choose you the twelve, and one of you is a devil" (ver 70). Then follows St. John's commentary, "Now he spake of Judas the son of Simon Iscariot, for he it was that should betray him, being one of the twelve" (ver 71), implying that Judas was already known to Jesus as being in spirit one of those who "went back, and walked no more with him" (ver 66). But the situation, however disquieting it must have been to the ambitious designs which probably actuated J. in his acceptance of the apostleship (cf below), was not sufficiently critical to call for immediate desertion on his part. Instead, he lulled his fears of exposure by the fact that he was not mentioned by name, and continued ostensibly one of the faithful. Personal motives of a sordid nature had also influence in causing him to remain. Appointed keeper of the purse, he disregarded the warnings of Jesus concerning greed and hypocrisy (cf Mt **6** 20; Lk **12** 1–3) and appropriated the funds to his own use. As a cloak to his avarice, he pretended to be zealous in their administration, and therefore, at the anointing of Jesus' feet by Mary, he asked "Why was not this ointment sold for 300 shillings, and given to the poor? Now this he said, not because he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and having the bag took away what was put therein" (Jn **12** 5.6; cf also Mt **26** 7–13; Mk **14** 3–8).

3. The Betrayal

Yet, although by this craftiness J. concealed for a time his true nature from the rest of the disciples, and fomented any discontent that might arise among them (cf Mk **14** 4), he now felt that his present source of income could not long remain secure. The pregnant words of his Master regarding the day of his burial (cf Mt **26** 12; Mk **14** 8; Jn **12** 7) revealed to His betrayer that Jesus already knew well the evil powers that were at work against Him; and it is significant that, according to Mt and Mk, who alone of the synoptists mention the anointing, J. departed immediately afterward and made his compact with the chief priests (cf Mt **26** 14.15; Mk **14** 10.11; cf also Lk **22** 3–6). But his absence was only temporary. He was present at the washing of the disciples' feet, there to be differentiated once more by Jesus from the rest of the Twelve (cf "Ye are clean, but not all" and "He that eateth my bread lifted up his heel against me," Jn **13** 10.18), but again without being named. It seemed as if Jesus wished to give Judas every opportunity, even at this late hour, of repenting and making his confession. For the last time, when they had sat down to eat, Jesus appealed to him thus with the words, "One of you shall betray me" (Mt **26** 21; Mk **14** 18; Lk **22** 21; Jn **13** 21). And at the end, in answer to the anxious queries of His disciples, "Is it I?" He indicated his betrayer, not by name, but by a sign: "He it is, for whom I shall dip the sop, and give it him" (Jn **13** 26). Immediately upon its reception, J. left the supper room; the opportunity which he sought for was come (cf Jn **13** 30; Mt **26** 16). There is some doubt as to whether he actually received the eucharistic bread and wine previous to his departure or not, but most modern commentators hold that he did not. On his departure, J. made his way to the high priests and their followers, and coming upon Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, he betrayed his Master with a kiss (Mt **26** 47–50; Mk **14** 43.44; Lk **22** 47; Jn **18** 2–5).

4. His Death

After the betrayal, Mk, Lk and Jn are silent as regards J., and the accounts given in Mt and Acts of his remorse and death vary in detail. According to Mt, the actual condemnation of Jesus awakened Judas' sense of guilt, and becoming still more despondent at his repulse by the chief priests and elders, "he cast down the pieces of silver into the sanctuary, and departed; and he went away and hanged himself." With the money the chief priests purchased the potter's field, afterward called "the field of blood," and in this way was fulfilled the prophecy of Zechariah (**11** 12–14) ascribed by Matthew to Jeremiah (Mt **27** 3–10). The account given in Acts **1** 16–20 is much shorter. It mentions neither Judas' repentance nor the chief priests, but simply states that J. "obtained a field with the reward of his iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out" (ver 18). The author of Acts finds in this the fulfilment of the prophecy in Ps **69** 25. The Vulg rendering, "When he had hanged himself, he burst asunder," suggests a means of reconciling the two accounts.

According to a legendary account mentioned by Papias, the death of J. was due to elephantiasis (cf Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen,* 5). A so-called "Gospel of Judas" was in use among the gnostic sect of the Cainites.

II. Character and Theories.—Much discussion and controversy have centered, not only around the discrepancies of the Gospel narratives of J., but also around his character and the problems connected with it.

1. Joined the Apostles to Betray Jesus

That the betrayer of Jesus should also be one of the chosen Twelve has given opportunity for the attacks of the foes of Christianity from the earliest times (cf Orig., *Con. Cel.,* ii.12); and the difficulty of finding any proper solution has proved so great that some have been induced to regard J. as merely a personification of the spirit of Judaism. The acceptance of this view would, however, invalidate the historical value of much of the Scriptural writings. Other theories are put forward in explanation, viz. that J. joined the apostolic band with the definite intention of betraying Jesus. The aim of this intention has again received two different interpretations, both of which seek to elevate the character of J., and to free him from the charge of sordid motives and cowardly treachery. According to one, J. was a strong patriot, who saw in Jesus the foe of his race and its ancient creed, and therefore betrayed Him in the interests of his country. This view is, however, irreconcilable with the rejection of J. by the chief priests (cf Mt **27** 3–10). According to the other, J. regarded himself as a true servant of Christianity, who assumed the rôle of traitor to precipitate the action of the Messiah and induce Him to manifest His miraculous powers by calling down the angels of God from heaven to help Him (cf Mt **26** 53). His suicide was further due to his disappointment at the failure of Jesus to fulfil his expectations. This theory found favor in ancient times with the Cainites (cf above), and in modern days with De Quincey and Bishop Whately. But the terms and manner of denunciation employed by Jesus in regard to J. (cf also Jn **17** 12) render this view also untenable.

2. Foreordained to Be a Traitor

Another view is that J. was foreordained to be the traitor: that Jesus was conscious from the first that He was to suffer death on the cross, and chose J. because He knew that he should betray Him and thus fulfil the Divine decrees (cf Mt **26** 54). Those holding this view base their arguments on the omniscience of Jesus implied in Jn **2** 24, Jesus "knew all men"; Jn **6** 64, "Jesus knew from the beginning who should betray him," and Jn **18** 4, "knowing all the things that were coming upon him." Yet to take those texts lit. would mean a too rigid application of the doctrine of predestination. It would treat J. as a mere instrument, as a means and not an end in the hands of a higher power; it would render meaningless the appeals and reproaches made to him by Jesus and deny any real existence of that personal responsibility and sense of guilt which it was Our Lord's very purpose to awaken and stimulate in the hearts of His hearers. John himself wrote after the event, but in the words of Our Lord there was, as we have seen, a growing clearness in the manner in which He foretold His betrayal. The omniscience of Jesus was greater than that of a mere clairvoyant who claimed to foretell the exact course of future events. It was the omniscience of one who knew on the one hand the ways of His Eternal Father among men, and who, on the other, penetrated into the deepest recesses of human character and beheld there all its secret feelings and motives and tendencies.

3. Betrayal the Result of Gradual Development

Although a full discussion of the character of J. would of necessity involve those ultimate problems of Free Will and Original Sin (Westcott) which no theology can adequately solve, the theory which regards the betrayal as the result of a gradual development within the soul of J. seems the most practical. It is significant that J. alone among the disciples was of southern extraction; and the differences in temperament and social outlook, together with the petty prejudices to which these generally give rise, may explain in part, though they do not justify, his after treachery—that lack of inner sympathy which existed between J. and the rest of the apostles. He undoubtedly possessed a certain business ability, and was therefore appointed keeper of the purse. But his heart could not have been clean, even from the first, as he administered even his primary charge dishonestly. The cancer of this greed spread from the material to the spiritual. To none of the disciples did the fading of the dream of an earthly kingdom of pomp and glory bring greater disappointment than to J. The cords of love by which Jesus gradually drew the hearts of the other disciples to Himself, the teaching by which He uplifted their souls above all earthly things, were as chafing bonds to the selfishness of J. And from his fettered greed and disappointed ambition sprang jealousy and spite and hatred. It was the hatred, not of a strong, but of an essentially weak man. Instead of making an open breach with his Lord, he remained ostensibly one of His followers: and this continued contact with a goodness to which he would not yield (cf Swete on Mk **14** 10), and his brooding over the rebukes of his Master, gave ready entrance for "Satan into his soul." But if he "knew the good and did not do it" (cf Jn **13** 17), so also he was weak in the carrying out of his nefarious designs. It was this hesitancy, rather than a fiendish cunning, which induced him to remain till the last moment in the supper room, and which prompted the remark of Jesus "What thou doest, do quickly" (Jn **13** 27). Of a piece with this weak-mindedness was his attempt to cast the blame upon the chief priests and elders (cf Mt **27** 3.4). He sought to set himself right, not with the innocent Jesus whom he had betrayed, but with the accomplices in his crime; and because that world which his selfishness had made his god failed him at the last, he went and hanged himself. It was the tragic end of one who espoused a great cause in the spirit of speculation and selfish ambition, and who weighed not the dread consequences to which those impure motives might lead him (cf also Bruce, *Training of the Twelve;* Latham, *Pastor Pastorum;* Stalker, *Trial and Death of Jesus Christ*).

C. M. Kerr

JUDAS ISCARIOT, GOSPEL OF: A "Gospel of Judas" is mentioned by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.*, i.31), Epiphanius (*Haer.*, xxxviii.1), Theodoret, etc, as current in the gnostic sect of the Cainites, to whom Judas was a hero. It must have been in existence in the 2d cent., but no quotation is given from it (see Baring-Gould, *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, III, ch v).

JUDAS, NOT ISCARIOT (’Ιούδας, οὐχ ὁ ’Ισκαριώτης, *Ioúdas ouch ho Iskariṓtēs*): One of the Twelve Apostles (Jn **14** 22). See Judas of James; Lebbaeus; Thaddaeus.

JUDAS MACCABAEUS. See Maccabaeus.

JUDAS OF DAMASCUS. See Judas, (6).

JUDAS OF GALILEE (ὁ Γαλιλαῖος, *ho Galilaíos*): Mentioned in Acts **5** 37 as the leader of an insurrection occasioned by the census of Quirinius in 7 AD (see Quirinius). He, and those who obeyed him, it is said, perished in that revolt. Jos also repeatedly mentions Judas by this same name, "the Galilean," and speaks of his revolt (*Ant*, XVIII, i, 6; XX, v, 2; *BJ*, II, viii, 1; xviii, 8; VII, viii, 1), but in *Ant*, XVIII, i, names him a Gaulonite, of the city of Gamala. As Gamala was in Gaulonitis, not far from the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, it may be regarded as belonging to that province. The party of Judas seems to have been identified with the Zealots.

James Orr

JUDAS OF JAMES (’Ιούδας ’Ιακώβου, *Ioúdas Iakṓbou*): One of the twelve apostles (Lk **6** 16; Acts **1** 13; for etymology, etc, see Judas). AV has the reading "brother of James," and RV reads "son of James." The latter is to be preferred. In Jn **14** 22 he is described as "Judas (not Iscariot)." The name corresponds with the "Thaddaeus" or "Lebbaeus whose surname was Thaddaeus" of Mt **10** 3 AV and Mk **3** 18 (cf Thaddaeus). The identification of Thaddaeus with Judas is generally accepted, though Ewald and others hold that they were different persons, that Thaddaeus died during Christ's lifetime, and that Judas was chosen in his place (cf Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*, 34). If the RV is accepted as the correct rendering of Lk **6** 16 and Acts **1** 13, this Judas cannot be identified either with the Juda (Mk **6** 3 AV), Judas (Mk **6** 3 RV), or Judas (Mt **13** 55), the brother of Jesus; or with the Judas (Jude ver 1 RVm) or Jude (Jude ver 1 AV), the brother of James, whether these two latter Judases are to be regarded as the same or not. The only incident recorded of Judas of James is in Jn **14** 22, where during Christ's address to the disciples after the last supper he put the question, "Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?"

C. M. Kerr

JUDAS, THE LORD'S BROTHER. See Jude.

JUDDAH, jud′a. See Juttah.

JUDE, jōōd (’Ιούδας, *Ioúdas*): Brother of the Lord, and author of the Ep. of Jude. See Judas of James and following article.

JUDE, THE EPISTLE OF:

The Writer
I. Jude's Position in the Canon
II. The Occasion of Its Composition
III. Description of the Libertines and Apostates
IV. Relation of Jude to the Second Epistle of Peter
  1. Resemblances
  2. Differences
  3. Further Contrasts
  4. Summary
  5. Evidence of Priority of Peter
  6. Confirmatory References
V. Date of the Epistle
VI. The Libertines of Jude's Epistle
Literature

The Writer

The writer of this short ep. calls himself Jude or Judas (’Ιούδας, *Ioúdas*). His name was a common one among the Jews: there were few others of more frequent use. Two among the apostles bore it, viz. Judas, mentioned in Jn **14** 22 (cf Lk **6** 16), and Judas Iscariot. Jude describes himself as "a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James" (ver 1). The James here mentioned is no doubt the person who is called "the Lord's brother" (Gal **1** 19), the writer of the ep. that bears his name. Neither of the two was an apostle. The opening sentence of Jude simply affirms that the writer is a "servant of Jesus Christ." This, if anywhere, should be the appropriate place for the mention of his apostleship, if he were an apostle. The appellation "servant of Jesus Christ" "is never thus barely used in an address of an ep. to designate an apostle" (Alford). Phil **1** 1 has a similar expression, "Paul and Timothy, servants of Jesus Christ," but "the designation common to two persons necessarily sinks to the rank of the inferior one." In other instances "servant" is associated with "apostle" (Rom **1** 1; Tit **1** 1). Jude vs 17.18 speaks of the "apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; that they said to you"—language which an apostle would hardly use of his fellow-apostles.

In Mk **6** 3 are found the names of those of whom Jesus is said to be the brother, namely, James and

Joses, and Judas and Simon. It is quite generally held by writers that the James and Judas here mentioned are the two whose epp. are found in the NT. It is noteworthy, however, that neither of them hints at his relationship with Jesus; their unaffected humility kept them silent. Jude mentions that he is the "brother of James," perhaps to give authority and weight to his words, for James was far more distinguished and influential than he. The inference seems legitimate that Jude addresses Christians among whom James was highly esteemed, or, if no longer living, among whom his memory was sacredly revered, and accordingly it is altogether probable that Jude writes to the same class of readers as James—Jewish Christians. James writes to the "Twelve Tribes of the Dispersion." Jude likewise addresses a wide circle of believers, viz. the "called, beloved in God the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ" (ver 1). While he does not designate a special and distinct class, yet as James's "brother," as belonging to the family of Joseph, and as in some true sense related to the Lord Jesus Himself, it seems probable, if not certain, that his Ep. was intended for Christian Hebrews who stood in urgent need of such testimony and appeal as Jude offers.

I. Jude's Position in the Canon.—It is now and for a long while has been an assured one. Its rank, though not altogether that of 1 Pet and 1 Jn, is high, for centuries indeed undoubted. Almost from the beginning of the Christian era men every way qualified to speak with authority on the question of genuineness and authenticity indorsed it as entitled to a place in the NT Scriptures. Origen repeatedly quotes it, in one place describing it as an "ep. of but few lines, but full of powerful words of heavenly grace" (*Matt.*, tom. X, 17). But Origen knew that it was not universally received. Clement of Alexandria "gave concise expositions of all the canonical Scriptures, not omitting the controverted books—the Ep. of Jude and the other Catholic epp." (quoted by Westcott, *Can.*, 322–23 and Salmon, *Intro*, 493). Tertullian (*Cult. Fem.* i.3) in striving to establish the authority of the Book of Enoch urges as a crowning argument that it is quoted by "the apostle Jude." "We may infer that Jude's Ep. was an unquestioned part of Tertullian's Canon." Athanasius inserted it in his list of NT books, but Eusebius placed it among the disputed books in his classification. The Canon of Muratori includes Jude among the books of Scripture, though it omits the Epp. of Jas, Pet and He. This is one of the earliest documents containing a list of the NT books now known. By the great majority of writers the date of the fragment is given as c 170 AD, as it claims to have been written not long after Pius was bishop of Rome, and the latest date of Pius is 142–57 AD. The words of the document are, "The Shepherd was written very recently in our own time by Hermas, while his brother Pius sat in the chair of the Church of Rome." Twenty or twenty-five years would probably satisfy the period indicated by the words, "written very recently in our own time," which would fix the date of the fragment at c 170 AD. Salmon, however, strongly inclines to a later date, viz. c 200–210 AD, as does Zahn.

Zahn (*Intro to the NT*, II, 259, ET), and Professor Chase (*HDB*) are of the decided opinion that the *Didache*, ii. 7: "Thou shalt not hate anyone, but some thou shalt rebuke, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thine own soul [or life]," is founded on Jude ver 22. Dr. Philip Schaff dates the *Didache* between 90–100 AD. L'Abbé E. Jacquier (*La doctrine des Douze Apôtres*, 1891) is persuaded that the famous document was written not later than 80 AD. It appears, therefore, more than probable that the Ep. of Jude was known and referred to as Scripture some time before the end of the 1st cent. From the survey we have thus rapidly taken of the field in which the Ep. circulated, we may conclude that in Pal, at Alexandria, in North Africa, and at Rome, it was received as the veritable letter of Jude, "the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James."

The chief reason why it was rejected by some and regarded with suspicion by others in primitive times is its quotation from the apocryphal Book of Enoch, so Jerome informs us (*Vir. Ill.*, 4). It is possible that Jude had in mind another spurious writing, viz. the Assumption of Moses, when he spoke of the contention of Michael the archangel with the devil about the body of Moses (ver 9). This, however, is not quite certain, for the date assigned to that writing is c 44 AD, and although Jude might have seen and read it, yet its composition is so near his own day that it could hardly have exerted much influence on his mind. Besides, the brevity of the Ep. and its dealing with a special class of errorists would limit to a certain extent its circulation among Christians. All this serves to explain its refusal by some and the absence of reference to it by others.

II. The Occasion of Its Composition.—Jude, after his brief introduction (vs 1.2), explains very definitely why he writes as he does. He indicates distinctly his anxiety on behalf of the saints (ver 3): "Beloved, while I was giving all diligence to write unto you of our common salvation, I was constrained to write unto you exhorting you to contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints." He had received very distressing knowledge of the serious state into which the Christian brotherhood was rapidly drifting, and he must as a faithful servant of Jesus Christ exhort them to stedfastness and warn them of their danger. He had in mind to write them a doctrinal work on the salvation common to all Christians. Perhaps he contemplated the composition of a book or treatise that would have discussed the great subject in an exhaustive manner. But in face of the perils that threatened, of the evils already present in the community, his purpose was indefinitely postponed. We are not told how he became acquainted with the dangers which beset his fellow-believers, but the conjecture is probably correct that it was by means of his journeys as an evangelist. At any rate, he was thoroughly conversant with the evils in the churches, and he deals with them as befitted the enormities that were practised and the ruin that impended.

The address of the Ep. is remarkable for the affection Jude expresses for these saints. Obviously they are distinct from the libertines of whom he speaks with such solemn condemnation. They were the faithful who kept aloof from the ungodly that surrounded them, and who held fast to the truth they had been taught. Jude describes them as those "that are called, beloved in God the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ: Mercy unto you and peace and love be multiplied." At the close of the Ep. he commends them "unto him that is able to guard you from stumbling, and to set you before the presence of his glory without blemish in exceeding joy." A separated and devoted band they certainly were, a noble and trustworthy company of believers for whose well-being Jude was supremely anxious.

III. Description of the Libertines and Apostates.—It is needful to gaze with steady vision on the hideous portrait Jude furnishes of these depraved foes, if we are to appreciate in any measure the force of his language and the corruption already wrought in the brotherhood. Some of their foul teachings and their vicious practices, not all, are here set down.

(1) *Surreptitious foes.*—"For there are certain men crept in privily . . . . ungodly men" (ver 4). They are enemies who feign to be friends, and hence in reality are spies and traitors; like a stealthy beast of prey they creep into the company of the godly, actuated by evil intent.

(2) *Perverters of grace and deniers of Christ.*—"Turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ" (ver 4). They are those who by a vile perverseness turn the grace and the liberty of the Gospel into a means for gratifying their unholy passions, and who in doctrine and life repudiate their Master and Lord.

(3) *Censorious and arrogant detractors.*—"In their dreamings defile the flesh, and set at nought dominion, and rail at dignities" (ver 8). Destitute of true reverence, they rail at the holiest and best things, and sit in judgment on all rule and all authority. They have the proud tongue of the lawless: "Our lips are our own: who is lord over us?" (Ps **12** 4).

(4) *Ignorant calumniators and brutish sensualists.*—"These rail at whatsoever things they know not: and what they understand naturally, like the creatures without reason, in these things are they destroyed" (ver 10). What they do not know, as something lofty and noble, they deride and denounce; what they know is that which ministers to their disordered appetites and their debased tastes.

(5) *Hypocrites and deceivers.*—"These are they who are hidden rocks in your love-feasts when they feast with you, shepherds that without fear feed themselves; clouds without water . . . . autumn trees without fruit . . . . wild waves of the sea . . . . wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved forever" (vs 12.13). A most graphic picture of the insincerity, the depravity, and the doom of these insolents! And yet they are found in the bosom of the Christian body, even sitting with the saints at their love-feasts!

(6) *Grumblers, fault-finders, pleasure-seekers, boasters, parasites.*—"These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts . . . . showing respect of persons for the sake of advantage" (ver 16). They impeach Divine wisdom, are the foes of peace and quietness, boast of their capacities to manage things, and yet they can be servile, even sycophants, when thereby advantage is secured.

(7) *Schismatics and sensualists.*—"These are they who make separations, sensual, having not the Spirit" (ver 19). It was characteristic of the false teachers and mockers who had invaded the Christian church that they drew lines of demarkation between themselves and others, or between different classes of believers, which the Holy Spirit did not warrant, but which was the product of their own crafty and wicked wills. There seems to be a hint in these words of incipient Gnosticism, that fatal heresy that boasted of a recondite knowledge, a deep mystery which only the initiated possessed, of which the great mass of Christians were ignorant. Jude brands the pretension as the offspring of their own sensuality, not at all of God's Spirit.

Such is the forbidding portrait drawn of the libertines in the Ep. But Jude adds other and even darker features. He furnishes a number of examples of apostates and of apostasy which disclose even more strikingly the spirit and the doom of them that pervert the truth, that deny the Lord Jesus Christ, and that mock at the things of God. These all mark a fatal degeneracy, a "falling away," which bodes nothing but evil and judgment. Against the corrupters and skeptics Jude writes with a vehemence that in the NT is without a parallel. Matters must have come to a dreadful pass when the Spirit of God is compelled to use such stern and awful language.

IV. Relation of Jude to the Second Epistle of Peter.—The relation is confined to 2 Pet **2**—**3** 4.

1. Resemblances

A large portion of Peter's Ep., viz. ch **1** and **3** 5–18, bears no resemblance to Jude, at least no more than does Jas or 1 Pet. Between the sections of 2 Pet indicated above and Jude the parallelism is close, both as to the subjects treated and the historical illustrations introduced, and the language itself to some considerable extent is common to both. All readers must be impressed with the similarity. Accordingly, it is very generally held by interpreters that one of the writers copied from the other. There is not entire agreement as to which of the two epp. is the older, that is, whether Peter copied from Jude, or Jude from Peter. Perhaps a majority favor the former of the two alternatives, though some of the very latest and most learned of those who write on Introductions to the NT hold strongly to the view that Jude copied from 2 Pet. Reference is made particularly to Dr. Theodore v. Zahn, whose magnificent work on Introduction has been but recently tr^{d} into Eng., and who argues convincingly that Jude copied from 2 Pet.

However, it must be admitted that there are in the two epp. as pronounced differences and divergences as there are resemblances. If one of the two did actually copy from the other, he was care-

2. Differences

ful to add, subtract, and change what he found in his "source" as best suited his purpose. A servile copyist he certainly was not. He maintained his independence throughout, as an exact comparison of the one with the other will demonstrate.

If we bring them into close proximity, following the example of Professor Lumby in the "Bible Comm." (*Intro to 2 Pet*), we shall discover a marked difference between the two pictures drawn by the writers. We cannot fail to perceive how much darker and more sinister is that of Jude. The evil, alarming certainly in Peter, becomes appalling in Jude. Subjoined are proofs of the fact above stated:

2 Pet **2** 1	Jude ver 4
But there arose false prophets also among the people, as among you also there shall be false teachers	For there are certain men crept in privily . . . .

2 Pet **2** 1	Jude ver 4
who shall privily bring in destructive heresies, denying even the Master that bought them	. . . . ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ.

2 Pet **2** 3	Jude ver 16
And in covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you	. . . . murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts (and their mouth speaketh great swelling words), showing respect of persons for the sake of advantage.

These contrasts and comparisons between the two epp. prove (1) that in Jude the false teachers are worse, more virulent than in Peter, and (2) that in Peter the whole description is predictive, whereas in Jude the deplorable condition is actually present. If 2 Pet is dependent on Jude, if the apostle cited from Jude, how explain the strong predictive element in his opening verses (2 Pet **2** 1–3)? If as Peter wrote he had lying before him Jude's letter, which represents the corrupters as already within the Christian community and doing their deadly work, his repeated use of the future tense is absolutely inexplicable. Assuming, however, that he wrote prior to Jude, his predictions become perfectly intelligible. No doubt the virus was working when he wrote, but it was latent, undeveloped; far worse would appear; but when Jude wrote the poison was widely diffused, as vs 12.19 clearly show. The very life of the churches was endangered.

2 Pet **2** 4.5	Jude vs 5.6
For if God spared not the angels when they sinned . . . . and spared not the ancient world, but preserved Noah with seven others	. . . . The Lord, having saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them . . . . and angels that . . . . left their proper habitation . . . .

Peter speaks of the angels that sinned, Jude of their apostasy. Peter makes prominent the sal-

3. Further Contrasts

vation of Noah and his family when the flood overwhelmed the world of the ungodly, while Jude tells of those who, delivered from bondage, afterward were destroyed because of their unbelief. He speaks of no rescue; we know of but two who survived the judgments of the wilderness and who entered the Land of Promise, Caleb and Joshua. Peter mentions the fate of the guilty cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, but he is careful to remind us of the deliverance of righteous Lot, while Jude makes prominent their nameless crimes and consigns them to "the punishment of eternal fire," but he is silent on the rescue of Lot. Manifestly Jude's illustrations are darker and more hopeless than Peter's.

Peter instances Balaam as an example of one who loved the hire of wrongdoing and who was rebuked for his transgression. But Jude cites three notable instances in the OT to indicate how far in apostasy and rebellion the libertines had gone. Three words mark their course, rising into a climax, "way," "error," "gainsaying." They went in the way of Cain, i.e. in the way of self-will, of hate, and the spirit of murder. Moreover, they "ran riotously in the error of Balaam for hire." The words denote an activity of viciousness that enlisted all their eagerness and all their might. Balaam's error was one that led into error, one that seduced others into the commission of the like sins. The reference seems to be to the whole career of this heathen prophet, and includes his betrayal of the Israelites through the women of Moab (Nu **31** 16). Balaam is the prototype of Jude's libertines, both in his covetousness and his seductive counsel. Furthermore, they "perished in the gainsaying of Korah." This man with 250 followers rebelled against the Divinely appointed leaders and rulers of Israel, Moses and Aaron, and sought to share their authority in Israel, if not to displace them altogether. Comparable with these rebels in ancient Israel are the treacherous and malignant foes whom Jude so vigorously denounces.

Peter speaks of them as "daring, self-willed, they tremble not to rail at dignities: whereas angels, though greater in might and power, bring not a railing judgment against them before the Lord" (vs 10.11). Jude is more specific: These dreamers "defile the flesh, and set at nought dominion, and rail at dignities." They repudiate all authority, despise every form of lordship, and revile those in positions of power. He cites the contention of Michael the archangel with the devil about the body of Moses, and yet this loftiest of the heavenly spirits brought no railing judgment against the adversary. Jude's description is more vivid and definite: he describes an advanced stage of apostasy.

Very noteworthy is Jude vs 22.23. He here turns again to the loyal and stedfast believers whom he addresses at the beginning of his letter, and he gives them directions how they are to deal with those who were ensnared by the wily foes. (The text in ver 22 is somewhat uncertain, but the revision is followed.) There were some who were "in doubt." They were those who had been fascinated by the new teaching, and although not captured by it, they were engaged in its study, were drawn toward it and almost ready to yield. On these the faithful were to have mercy, were to convince them of their danger, show them the enormities to which the false system inevitably leads, and so win them back to Christ's allegiance. As if Jude said, Deal with the wavering in love and fidelity; but rescue them if possible.

There were others whose peril was greater: "And some save, snatching them out of the fire." These were identified with the wicked, were scorched by the fires of destruction and hence almost beyond reach of rescue; but if possible they are to be saved, however scathed and blackened. Others still there were who were in worse state than the preceding, who were polluted and smirched by the foul contamination of the guilty seducers, and such were to be saved, and the rescuers were to fear lest they should be soiled by contact with the horrible defilement. This is Jude's tremendous summary of the shameful work and frightful evils wrought in the bosom of the church by the libertines. He discloses in these trenchant verses how deeply sunk in sin the false teachers were, and how awful the ruin they had wrought. The description is quite unparalleled in 2 Pet. The shadings in Jude are darker and deeper than those in 2 Pet.

4. Summary

The comparison between the two writings warrants, we believe, the following conclusions: (1) that Peter and Jude have in view the same corrupt parties; (2) that Peter paints them as godless and extremely dangerous, though not yet at their worst; while Jude sets them forth as depraved and as lawless as they can well be; (3) that Peter's is the older writing and that Jude was acquainted with what the apostle had written.

Stronger evidence than any yet produced of Peter's priority is now to be submitted, and here we avail ourselves in part of Zahn's array of evidence.

5. Evidence of Priority of Peter

Jude asserts with great positiveness that (ver 4) certain men had crept in privily into the Christian fold, "even they who were of old written of beforehand unto this condemnation, ungodly men." Obviously Jude is here speaking of the enemies whom he afterward goes on to describe and denounce in his Ep. He distinctly affirms that these foes had been of old written of and beforehand designated unto "this condemnation." He clearly has in mind an authoritative writing that spoke of the identical parties Jude himself deals with. He does not tell us whose writing it is that contains the "condemnation" of the errorists; he only declares that there is such a Scripture existing and that he is acquainted with it. Now, to what writing does he refer? Not to any OT prophecy, for none can be found that answers to the words. Nor yet to the prediction of Enoch (vs 14.15), for it speaks of the advent of the Lord in judgment at the last day, whereas Jude applies his reference to the ungodly who were then present in the Christian assemblies, corrupting the churches with their wicked teaching and practices. "In 2 Pet **2**—**3** 4, we have a prophecy which exactly suits, namely, the announcement that false teachers whose theory and practice exactly correspond to those godless bearers of the Christian name in Jude will appear among a certain group of Jewish Christian churches" (Zahn). Peter's account of them is so particular that Jude would encounter no difficulty in identifying them. He is furnished by the apostle with such characteristics of them, with such illustrations and even words and phrases that he has only to place the description alongside of the reality to see how completely they match.

It may be objected that the words, "were of old written of beforehand," denote a long period, longer than that which elapsed between the two epp. But the objection is groundless. The original term for "of old" (*pálai*) sometimes indicates but a brief space of time, e.g. Mk **15** 44 (according to the text of Weymouth and Nestle, and RV) relates that Pilate asked the centurion if Jesus had been "any while" (*palai*) dead, which limits the term to a few hours. In 2 Cor **12** 19 the word occurs, and there it must be restricted to Paul's self-defence which occupies the part of the Ep. preceding, and hence does not extend beyond a day or two. Probably some years lie between the composition of these two epp., ample time to justify Jude's use of the word if he is referring to 2 Pet **2**—**3** 4, as we certainly believe he is.

6. Confirmatory References

This interpretation of Jude ver 4 is confirmed by Jude vs 17.18. These verses are intimately connected with 2 Pet **3** 2–4. Jude's readers are told to keep in remembrance the words spoken by the apostles of Christ, namely, "In the last time there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts." Peter writes, "that in the last days mockers shall come with mockery, walking after their own lusts." The resemblance of the one passage to the other is very close, indeed, they are almost identical. Both urge their readers to remember what had been said by the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ, and both speak of the immoral scoffers who would invade or had invaded the Christian brotherhood. But Peter distinctly asserts that these mockers shall appear in the last days. His words are, "Knowing this first, that in the last days mockers shall come with mockery, walking after their own lusts." Jude writes that "in the last time there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts." The phrases, "the last days," and "the last time," denote our age, the dispensation in which we live, as He **1** 2 proves. Peter puts the appearance of the scoffers in the future, whereas Jude, after quoting the words, significantly adds, "These are they who make separations, sensual, having not the Spirit." He means, of course the mockers just mentioned, and he affirms they are now present. With Peter they are yet to come when he wrote, but with Jude the prediction is already fulfilled, so far as the scoffers are concerned. Therefore Jude's writing is subsequent to Peter's, and if there be copying on the part of either, it is Jude who copies.

Peter mentions "your apostles," including himself in the phrase, but Jude does not employ the pl. pronoun, for he was not of the apostolic body. But why the pl., "apostles"? Because at least one other apostle had spoken of the perilous times which were coming on the church of God. Paul unites his testimony with that of Peter, and writes, "But know this, that in the last days grievous times shall come" (2 Tim **3** 1–5). His prediction is near akin to that of Peter; it belongs apparently to the same historic time and to the same perilous class of evil-doers and corrupters. In 2 Pet **3** 15 the apostle lovingly and tenderly speaks of his "brother Paul," and says suggestively that in his Ep. he speaks of these things—no doubt about the scoffers of the last days among the rest. He certainly seems to have Paul in mind when he penned the words, "Knowing this first, that in the last days mockers shall come."

Here, then, is positive ground for the reference in Jude ver 4 to a writing concerning those who had crept into the fold and who were of old doomed to this condemnation, with which writing his readers were acquainted; they had it in the writing of the apostles Peter and Paul both, and so were forewarned as to the impending danger. Jude's Ep. is subsequent to Peter's.

V. Date of the Epistle.—There is little or no agreement as to the year, yet the majority of writers hold that it belongs to the latter half of the 1st cent. Zahn assigns it to 70–75 AD; Lumby, c 80 AD; Salmon, before the reign of Domitian (81 AD); Sieffert, shortly prior to Domitian; Chase, not later than 80 AD, probably within a year or two of the Pastoral Epp. Zahn strongly insists on 64 AD as the date of Peter's death. If the 2d Ep. bearing his name is authentic, the apostle could not possibly have copied from Jude, for Jude's letter was not in existence when he died. Even on the supposition that he suffered death 65–66 AD, there could have been no copying done save by Jude, for it is almost demonstrable that Jude was written after the destruction of Jerus in 70 AD. If 2 Pet is pseudonymous and written about the middle of the 2d cent., as some confidently affirm, it has no right to a place in the Canon nor any legitimate relation to Jude. If genuine, it antedates Jude.

VI. The Libertines of Jude's Epistle.—Their character is very forcibly exhibited, but no information is given us of their origin or to what particular region they belonged. They bore the Christian name, were of the loosest morals, and were guilty of shameful excesses. Their influence seems to have been widespread and powerful, else Jude would not denounce them in such severe language. Their guilty departure from the truth must not be confounded with the Gnosticism of the 2d cent., though it tended strongly in that direction; it was a 1st-cent. defection. Were they newly risen sensualists, without predecessors? To some extent their forerunners had already appeared. Sensuality in some of its grosser forms disgraced the church at Corinth (1 Cor **5** 1–13; **6** 13–20). In the common meals of this congregation which ended in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, they indulged in revelry and gluttony, some of them even being intoxicated (1 Cor **11** 17–22). Participation in a heathen festival exposed the Christians to the danger of sharing in idolatry, and yet some of the Corinthians were addicted to it (1 Cor **8**; **10** 14–32). In reading of the state of things in the church at Colosse, one perceives how fatal certain views and practices there would soon become if suffered to grow (Col **2** 16–23; **3** 5–11). Twenty years after the probable date of Jude, in some of the churches of Asia Minor, wicked parties flourished and dominated Christian assemblies that were closely allied in teaching and conduct with the ungodly of Jude. The Nicolaitans, and the "woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess; and she teacheth and seduceth my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols" (Rev **2** 20) belong to the same company of libertines as those of Jude. It should be no surprise to us with these examples before us, that according to Jude there were found in the bosom of the Christian community moral delinquents and shameless profligates whose conduct shocks our sense of propriety and decency, for the like evils, though not so flagrant, troubled the churches in Paul's lifetime.

Jude brands them as enemies and apostates. He pronounces their doom in the words of Enoch: "Behold, the Lord came with ten thousands of his holy ones, to execute judgment upon all" (vs 14.15). It is generally believed that this prophecy of Enoch is quoted by Jude from the apocryphal Book of Enoch. Granting such quotation, that fact does not warrant us to affirm that he indorsed the book. Paul cites from three Gr poets: from Aratus (Acts **17** 28), from Menander (1 Cor **15** 33; see Earle, *Euripides*, "Medea," Intro, 30, where this is attributed to Euripides), and from Epimenides (Tit **1** 12). Does anyone imagine that Paul indorses all that these poets wrote? To the quotation from Epimenides the apostle adds, "This testimony is true" (Tit **1** 13), but no one imagines he means to say the whole poem is true. So Jude cites a passage from a non-canonical book, not because he accepts the whole book as true, but this particular prediction he receives as from God. Whence the writer of Enoch derived it is unknown. It may have been cherished and transmitted from generation to generation, or in some other way faithfully preserved, but at any rate Jude accepted it as authentic. Paul quotes a saying of the Lord Jesus (Acts **20** 35) not recorded in the Gospels, but whence he derived it is unknown. As much may be said of this of Enoch which Jude receives as true.

LITERATURE.—Zahn, *Intro to NT;* Salmon, *Intro to NT;* Westcott, *Canon of NT;* Purves, *Apostolic Age;* Alford, *Gr Test.;* Plumptre, *Comm.*, "Cambridge Bible Series"; Lillie, *Comm. on 1 and 2 Pet;* Bigg, *ICC;* Vincent, *Word Studies.*

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JUDEA, jōō-dē′a: In Ezr **5** 8 for "Judah"; thus RV. In the NT the form is JUDAEA (q.v.).

JUDGE, juj (שֹׁפֵט, *shōphēṭ;* NT **δικαστής**, *dikastḗs*, **κριτής**, *kritḗs*): In the early patriarchal times the heads of families and the elders of the tribes were the judges (cf Gen **38** 24), and their authority was based on custom. In the wilderness Moses alone was the judge until Jethro suggested a scheme of devolution. On his advice Moses divided the people into groups of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, and over each group a wise and good man was set as a judge. Thereafter only the most important cases were brought before Moses (Ex **18**

13–26; Dt **1** 9–17). This arrangement ceased to be practicable when the children of Israel settled down in Canaan. Although David took counsel with the heads of thousands and hundreds (1 Ch **13** 1), it need not be assumed that this was a continuation of the plan adopted by Moses. Probably the local courts were not organized till the time of David. In the days of the Judges justice was administered by those who had risen by wisdom or valor to that rank (Jgs **4** 5). An organized circuit court was established by Samuel, who judged cases himself, and also made his sons judges (1 S **7** 16; **8** 1). After the monarchy was instituted, the king tried all cases, when requested to do so by the wronged person, in the palace gate (1 K **7** 7; Prov **20** 8). There was no public prosecutor (2 S **14** 4; **15** 2–6; 1 Ch **18** 14; 1 K **3** 16; 2 K **15** 5). Under David and Solomon there were probably local courts (1 Ch **23** 4; **26** 29). Jehoshaphat organized a high court of justice (2 Ch **19** 8). The prophets often complain bitterly that the purity of justice is corrupted by bribery and false witness (Isa **1** 23; **5** 23; **10** 1; Am **5** 12; **6** 12; Mic **3** 11; **7** 3; Prov **6** 19; **12** 17; **18** 5). Even kings sometimes pronounced unjust sentences, esp. in criminal cases (1 S **22** 6–19; 1 K **22** 26; 2 K **21** 16; Jer **36** 26). An evil king could also bend local courts to do his will, as may be gathered from the case of Naboth's vineyard (1 K **21** 1–13).

The first duty of a judge was to execute absolute justice, showing the same impartiality to rich and poor, to Jew and foreigner. He was forbidden to accept bribes or to wrest the judgment of the poor (Ex **23** 6–8; Dt **16** 19). He must not let himself be swayed by popular opinion, or unduly favor the poor (Ex **23** 2.3).

The court was open to the public (Ex **18** 13; Ruth **4** 1.2). Each party presented his view of the case to the judge (Dt **1** 16; **25** 1). Possibly the accused appeared in court clad in mourning (Zec **3** 3). The accuser stood on the right hand of the accused (Zec **3** 1; Ps **109** 6). Sentence was pronounced after the hearing of the case, and the judgment carried out (Josh **7** 24.25). The only evidence considered by the court was that given by the witnesses. In criminal cases, not less than two witnesses were necessary (Dt **19** 15; Nu **35** 30; Dt **17** 6; cf Mt **18** 16; 2 Cor **13** 1; 1 Tim **5** 19). In cases other than criminal the oath (see OATH) was applied (Ex **22** 11; cf He **6** 16). The lot was sometimes appealed to (Josh **7** 14–18), esp. in private disputes (Prov **18** 18), but this was exceptional. When the law was not quite definite, recourse was had to the Divine oracle (Lev **24** 12; Nu **15** 34).

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JUDGES, juj'iz, BOOK OF:

1. Title
2. Place in the Canon
3. Contents
    (1) Introductory, **1—2** 5
    (2) Central and Main Portion, **2** 6—**16**
    (3) An Appendix, **17–21**
4. Chronology
5. Authorship and Sources
6. Relation to Preceding Books
7. Relation to LXX and Other VSS
8. Religious Purpose and Value
LITERATURE

1. Title The Eng. name of the Book of Jgs is a tr of the Heb title (שֹׁפְטִים, *shōphᵉṭīm*), which is reproduced in the Gr Κριταί, *Kritaí*, and the Lat *Liber Judicum*. In the list of the canonical books of the OT given by Origen (*apud* Euseb., *HE*, VI, 25) the name is transliterated Σαφατείμ, *Saphateím*, which represents rather "judgments" (*shᵉphāṭīm;* κρίματα, *krímata*) than "judges." A passage also is quoted from Philo (*De Confus. Linguarum*, 26), which indicates that he recognized the same form of the name; compare the Gr title of "Kingdoms" (**Βα**σιλεῖαι, *Basileíai*) for the four books of S and K.

2. Place in the Canon In the order of the Heb Canon the Book of Jgs invariably occupies the 7th place, following immediately upon Josh and preceding S and K. With these it formed the group of the four "earlier prophets" (נְבִיאִים רִאשֹׁנִים, *nᵉbhī'īm rī'shōnīm*), the first moiety of the 2d great division of the Heb Scriptures. As such the Book of Jgs was classified and regarded as "prophetical," equally with the other historical books, on the ground of the religious and spiritual teaching which its history conveyed. In the rearrangement of the books, which was undertaken for the purposes of the Gr tr and Canon, Jgs maintained its position as 7th in order from the beginning, but the short historical Book of Ruth was removed from the place which it held among the Rolls (*mᵉghillōth*) in the 3d division of the Jewish Canon, and attached to Jgs as a kind of appendix, probably because the narrative was understood to presuppose the same conditions and to have reference to the same period of time. The Gr order was followed in all later VSS, and has maintained itself in modern Bibles. Origen (loc. cit.) even states, probably by a mere misunderstanding, that Jgs and Ruth were comprehended by the Jews under the one title *Saphateim.*

3. Contents The Book of Jgs consists of 3 main parts or divisions, which are readily distinguished.

(1) *Introductory* (***1—2** 5*).—A brief summary and recapitulation of the events of the conquest of Western Pal, for the most part parallel to the narrative of Josh, but with a few additional details and some divergences from the earlier account, in particular emphasizing (**1** 27–36) the general failure of the Israelites to expel completely the original inhabitants of the land, which is described as a violation of their covenant with Jeh (**2** 1–3), entailing upon them suffering and permanent weakness. The introductory ver (**1** 1), which refers to the death of Joshua as having already taken place, seems to be intended as a general indication of the historical period of the book as a whole; for some at least of the events narrated in **1—2** 5 took place during Joshua's lifetime.

(2) *The central and main portion* (**2** *6*—**16**).—A series of narratives of 12 "judges," each of whom in turn, by his devotion and prowess, was enabled to deliver Israel from thraldom and oppression, and for a longer or shorter term ruled over the people whom he had thus saved from their enemies. Each successive repentance on the part of the people, however, and their deliverance are followed, on the death of the judge, by renewed apostasy, which entails upon them renewed misery and servitude, from which they are again rescued when in response to their prayer the Lord "raises up" for them another judge and deliverer. Thus the entire history is set as it were in a recurrent framework of moral and religious teaching and warning; and the lesson is enforced that it is the sin of the people, their abandonment of Jeh and persistent idolatry, which entails upon them calamity, from which the Divine long-suffering and forbearance alone makes for them a way of escape.

(*a*) **2** 6—**3** 6: A second brief introduction, conceived entirely in the spirit of the following narratives, which seems to attach itself to the close of the Book of Josh, and in part repeats almost verbally the account there given of the death and burial of Israel's leader (Jgs **2** 6–9 ‖ Josh **24** 28–31), and proceeds to describe the condition of the land and people in the succeeding generation, ascribing their misfortunes to their idolatry and repeated neglect of the warnings and commands of the judges; closing with an enumeration of the peoples left in the land, whose presence was to be the test of Israel's willingness to obey Jeh and at the same time to prevent the nation from sinking into a condition of lethargy and ease.

(*b*) **3** 7—**3** 11: Judgeship of Othniel who delivered Israel from the hand of Cushan-rishathaim.

(*c*) **3** 12–30: Victory of Ehud over the Moabites, to whom the Israelites had been in servitude 18 years. Ehud slew their king Eglon, and won for the nation a long period of tranquillity.

(*d*) **3** 31: In a few brief words Shamgar is named as the deliverer of Israel from the Philis. The title of "judge" is not accorded to him, nor is he said to have exercised authority in any way. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the writer intended him to be regarded as one of the judges.

(*e*) Chs **4, 5**: Victory of Deborah and Barak over Jabin the Can. king, and death of Sisera, captain of his army, at the hands of Jael, the wife of a Kenite chief; followed by a Song of Triumph, descriptive and commemorative of the event.

(*f*) Chs **6–8**: A 7-year oppression at the hands of the Midianites, which is described as peculiarly severe, so that the land became desolate on account of the perpetual raids to which it was subject. After a period of hesitation and delay, Gideon defeats the combined forces of the Midianites and Amalekites and the "children of the east," i.e. the wandering Bedawin bands from the eastern deserts, in the valley of Jezreel. The locality and course of the battle are traced by the sacred writer, but it is not possible to follow his account in detail because of our inability to identify the places named. After the victory, Gideon is formally offered the position of ruler for himself and his descendants, but refuses; nevertheless, he seems to have exercised a measure of restraining influence over the people until his death, although he himself and his family apparently through covetousness fell away from their faithfulness to Jeh (**8** 27.33).

(*g*) Ch **9**: Episode of Abimelech, son of Gideon by a concubine, who by the murder of all but one of his brethren, the legitimate sons of Gideon, secured the throne at Shechem for himself, and for 3 years ruled Israel. After successfully stamping out a revolt at Shechem against his authority, he is himself killed when engaged in the siege of the citadel or tower of Thebez by a stone thrown by a woman.

(*h*) (*i*) **10** 1–5: Tola and Jair are briefly named as successive judges of Israel for 23 and 22 years respectively.

(*j*) **10** 6—**12** 7: Oppression of Israel for 18 years by the Philis and Ammonites. The national deliverance is effected by Jephthah, who is described as an illegitimate son of Gilead who had been on that account driven out from his home and had become the captain of a band of outlaws. Jephthah stipulates with the elders of Gilead that if he undertakes to do battle on their behalf with the Ammonites, he is afterward to be recognized as their ruler; and in accordance with the agreement, when the victory has been won, he becomes judge over Israel (**11** 9 f; **12** 7). See JEPHTHAH.

(*k*) (*l*) (*m*) **12** 8–15: Three of the so-called "minor" judges, Ibzan, Elon and Abdon, judged Israel in succession for 7, 10 and 8 years respectively. As they are not said to have delivered the nation from any calamity or oppression, it is perhaps to be understood that the whole period was a time of rest and tranquillity.

(*n*) Chs **13–16**: The history of Samson (see separate art.).

(3) *An appendix, chs **17–21**.*—The final section, in the nature of an appendix, consisting of two narratives, independent apparently of the main portion of the book and of one another. They contain no indication of date, except the statement 4 t repeated that "in those days there was no king in Israel" (**17** 6; **18** 1; **19** 1; **21** 25). The natural inference is that the narratives were committed to writing in the days of the monarchy; but the events themselves were understood by the compiler or historian to have taken place during the period of the Judges, or at least anterior to the establishment of the kingdom. The lawless state of society, the violence and disorder among the tribes, would suggest the same conclusion. No name of a judge appears, however, and there is no direct reference to the office or to any central or controlling authority. Jos also seems to have known them in reverse order, and in a position preceding the histories of the judges themselves, and not at the close of the book (*Ant*, V, ii, 8–12; iii, 1; see E. König in *HDB*, II, 810). Even if the present form of the narratives is thus late, there can be little doubt that they contain elements of considerable antiquity.

(*a*) Chs **17–18**: The episode of Micah the Ephraimite and the young Levite who is consecrated as priest in his house. A war party, however, of the tribe of Dan during a migration northward, by threats and promises induced the Levite to accompany them, taking with him the priestly ephod, the household goods of his patron, and a costly image which Micah had caused to be made. These Micah in vain endeavors to recover from the Danites. The latter sack and burn Laish in the extreme N. of Pal, rebuilding the city on the same site and renaming it "Dan." There they set up the image which they had stolen, and establish a rival priesthood and worship, which is said to have endured "all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh" (**18** 31).

(*b*) Chs **19–21**: Outrage of the Benjamites of Gibeah against the concubine of a Levite lodging for a night in the city on his way from Bethlehem to the hill country of Ephraim. The united tribes, after twice suffering defeat at the hands of the men of Benjamin, exact full vengeance; the tribe of Benjamin is almost annihilated, and their cities, including Gibeah, are destroyed. In order that the tribe may not utterly perish, peace is declared with the 600 survivors, and they are provided with wives by stratagem and force, the Israelites having taken a solemn vow not to permit intermarriage between their own daughters and the members of the guilty tribe.

4. Chronology

The period covered by the history of the Book of Jgs extends from the death of Joshua to the death of Samson, and adds perhaps a later reference in **18** 31, "all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh" (cf 1 S **1** 3). It is, however, difficult, perhaps impossible, to compute in years the length of time that the writer had in mind. That he proceeded upon a fixed chronological basis, supplied probably by tradition but modified or arranged on a systematic principle, seems evident. The difficulty may be due in part to the corruption which the figures have suffered in the course of the transmission of the text. In 1 K **6** 1 an inclusive total of 480 years is given as the period from the Exodus to the building of the Temple in the 4th year of the reign of Solomon. This total, however, includes the 40 years' wandering in the desert, the time occupied in the conquest and settlement of the Promised Land, and an uncertain period after the death of Joshua, referred to in the Book of Jgs itself (**2** 10), until the older generation that had taken part in the invasion had passed away. There is also to be reckoned the 40 years' judgeship of Eli (1 S **4** 18), the unknown length of the judgeship of Samuel (**7** 15), the years of the reign of Saul (cf 1 S **13** 1, where, however, no statement is made as to the length of his reign), the 40 years during which David was king (1 K **2** 11), and the 4 years of Solomon before the building of the Temple. The recurrence of the number 40 is already noticeable; but if for the unknown periods under and after Joshua, of Samuel and of Saul, 50 or 60 years be allowed—a moderate estimate—there would remain from the total of 480 years a period of 300 years in round numbers for the duration of the times of the Judges. It may be doubted whether the writer conceived of the period of unsettlement and distress, of alternate oppression and peace, as lasting for so long a time.

The chronological data contained in the Book of Jgs itself are as follows:

	Years
Oppression of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia (**3** 8)	8
Deliverance by Othniel and rest (**3** 11)	40
Oppression of Eglon, king of Moab (**3** 14)	18
Deliverance by Ehud and rest (**3** 30)	80
Oppression of Jabin, king of Canaan (**4** 3)	20
Deliverance by Barak and rest (**5** 31)	40
Oppression of Midian (**6** 1)	7
Deliverance by Gideon and rest (**8** 28)	40
Rule of Abimelech (**9** 22)	3
Judgeship of Tola (**10** 2)	23
Judgeship of Jair (**10** 3)	22
Oppression of the Philis and Ammonites (**10** 8)	18
Deliverance by Jephthah, and his judgeship (**12** 7)	6
Judgeship of Ibzan (**12** 9)	7
Judgeship of Elon (**12** 11)	10
Judgeship of Abdon (**12** 14)	8
Oppression of the Philis (**13** 1)	40
Judgeship of Samson (**15** 20; **16** 31)	20

A total of 410 years, or, if the years of foreign oppression and of the usurpation of Abimelech are omitted, of 296.

It has been supposed that in some instances the rule of the several judges was contemporaneous, not successive, and that therefore the total period during which the judges ruled should be reduced accordingly. In itself this is sufficiently probable. It is evident, however, that this thought was not in the mind of the writer, for in each case he describes the rule of the judge as over "Israel" with no indication that "Israel" is to be understood in a partial and limited signification. His words must therefore be interpreted in their natural sense, that in his own belief the rulers whose deeds he related exercised control in the order named over the entire nation. Almost certainly, however, he did not intend to include in his scheme the years of oppression or the 3 years of Abimelech's rule. If these be deducted, the resultant number (296) is very near the total which the statement in 1 K **6** 1 suggests.

No stress, however, must be laid upon this fact. The repeated occurrence of the number 40, with its double and half, can hardly be accidental. The geography of the judgships reveals the fact that there were three districts, a north, an east, and a southwest district; the historian goes round these districts in regular order four times. The order is thus the order of narration, not necessarily, and not probably, the order of succession of judgeships.

5. Authorship and Sources

Within the Book of Jgs itself no author is named, nor is any indication given of the writer or writers who are responsible for the form in which the book appears; and it would seem evident, also, that the 3 parts or divisions of which the book is composed are on a different footing as regards the sources from which they are drawn. The Talmudic tradition which names Samuel as the author can hardly be seriously regarded. The historical introduction presents a form of the traditional narrative of the conquest of Pal which is parallel to but not identical with that contained in the Book of Josh. Brief and disconnected as it is, it is of the greatest value as a historical authority, and contains elements which in origin, if not in their present form, are of considerable antiquity. The main portion of the book, comprising the narratives of the judges, is based upon oral or written traditions of a local and perhaps a tribal character, the value of which it is difficult to estimate, but which undoubtedly in some instances have been more carefully preserved than in others. In particular, around the story of Samson there seem to have gathered elements derived from the folklore and the wonder-loving spirit of the countryside; and the exploits of a national hero have been enhanced and surrounded with a glamor of romance as the story of them has passed from lip to lip among a people who themselves or their forefathers owed so much to his prowess. Of this central part of Jgs the Song of Deborah (ch **5**) is the most ancient, and bears every mark of being a contemporary record of a remarkable conflict and victory. The text is often difficult, almost unintelligible, and has so greatly suffered in the course of transmission as in some passages to be beyond repair. As a whole the song is an eloquent and impassioned ode of triumph, ascribing to Jeh the great deliverance which has been wrought for His people over their foes.

The narratives of Jgs, moreover, are set in a framework of chronology and of ethical comment and teaching, which are probably independent of one another. The moral exhortations and the lessons drawn from hardships and sufferings, which the people of Israel incur as the consequence of their idolatry and sin, are conceived entirely in the spirit of Dt, and even in the letter and form bear a considerable resemblance to the writings of that book. In the judgment of some scholars, therefore, they are to be ascribed to the same author or authors. Of this, however, there is no proof. It is possible, but perhaps hardly probable. They certainly belong to the same school of thought, of clear-sighted doctrine, of reverent piety, and of jealous concern for the honor of Jeh. With the system of chronology, the figures and dates, the ethical commentary and inferences would seem to have no direct relation. The former is perhaps a later addition, based in part at least upon tradition, and applied to existing accounts, in order to give them their definite place and succession in the historical record. Finally, the three strands of traditional narrative, moral comment, and chronological framework were woven into one whole by a compiler or reviser who completed the book in the form in which it now exists. Concerning the absolute dates, however, at which these processes took place very little can be determined.

The two concluding episodes are distinct, both in form and character, from the rest of the book. They do not relate the life or deeds of a judge, nor do they, explicitly at least, convey any moral teaching or warning. They are also mutually independent. It would seem therefore that they are to be regarded as accounts of national events or experiences, preserved by tradition, which, because they were understood to have reference to the period of the Judges, were included in this book. The internal nature of the narratives themselves would suggest that they belong rather to the earlier than the later part of the time during which the judges held rule; and their ancient character is similarly attested. There is no clue, however, to the actual date of their composition, or to the time or circumstances under which they were incorporated in the Book of Jgs.

6. Relation to Preceding Books

The discussion of the relation of the Book of Jgs to the generally recognized sources of the Pent and to Josh has been in part anticipated in the previous paragraph. In the earliest introductory section of the book, and in some of the histories of the judges, esp. in that of Gideon (chs **6**–**8**), it is not difficult to distinguish two threads of narrative, which have been combined together in the account as it now stands; and by some scholars these are identified with J and E in the Pent. The conclusion, however, is precarious and uncertain, for the characteristic marks of the Pent "sources" are in great measure absent. There is more to be said for the view that regards the introduction (**1**—**2** 5), with its verbal parallels to Josh as derived ultimately from the history of JE, from which, however, very much has been omitted, and the remainder adapted and abbreviated. Even this moderate conclusion cannot be regarded as definitely established. The later author or compiler was in possession of ancient documents or traditions, of which he made use in his composite narrative, but whether these were parts of the same historical accounts that are present in the books of Moses and in Josh must be regarded as undetermined. There is no trace, moreover, in Jgs of extracts from the writing or school of P; nor do the two concluding episodes of the book (chs **17–21**) present any features which would suggest an identification with any of the leading "sources" of the Pent.

The moral and religious teaching, on the other hand, which makes the varied national experiences in the times of the Judges a vehicle for ethical instruction and warning, is certainly derived from the same school as Dt, and reproduces the whole tone and spirit of that book. There is no evidence, however, to identify the writer or reviser who thus turned to spiritual profit the lessons of the age of the Judges with the author of Dt itself, but he was animated by the same principles, and endeavored in the same way to expound the same great truths of religion and the Providence of God.

7. Relation to LXX and Other Versions

There are two early Gr tr^{s} of the Book of Jgs, which seem to be on the whole independent of one another. These are represented by the two great uncial MSS, B (Vatican) and A (Alexandrine). With the former is associated a group of cursive MSS and the Sahidic or Upper Egyp VS. It is therefore probable that the tr is of Egyp origin, and by some it has been identified with that of Hesychius. It has been shown, moreover, that in this book, and probably elsewhere, the ancient character of the text of B is not always maintained, but in parts at least betrays a later origin. The other VS is contained in A and the majority of the uncial and cursive MSS of the Gr texts, and, while certainly a real and independent tr from the original, is thought by some to show acquaintance with the VS of B. There is, however, no definite evidence that B's tr is really older. Some of the cursives which agree in general with A form sub-groups; thus the recension of Lucian is believed to be represented by a small number of cursives, the text of which is printed by Lagarde (*Librorum VT Canonicorum, Pars Prior*, 1883), and is substantially identical with that in the "Complutensian Polyglot" (see G. F. Moore, *Critical and Exegetical Comm. on Jgs*, Edinburgh, 1895, xliii ff). It is probable that the true original text of the LXX is not represented completely either by the one or the other VS, but that it partially underlies both, and may be traced in the conflicting readings which must be judged each on its own merits.

Of the other principal VSS, the Old Lat and the Hexaplar Syr, together with the Armenian and the Ethiopic, attach themselves to a sub-group of the MSS associated with A. The Bohairic VS of the Book of Jgs has not hitherto been published, but, like the rest of the OT, its text would no doubt be found to agree substantially with B. Jerome's tr follows closely the MT, and is independent of both Gr VSS; and the Pesh also is a direct rendering from the Heb.

8. Religious Purpose and Value

Thus the main purpose of the Book of Jgs in the form in which it has been preserved in the OT is not to record Israel's past for its own sake, or to place before the writer's contemporaries a historical narrative of the achievements of their great men and rulers, but to use these events and the national experiences of adversity as a text from which to educe religious warning and instruction. With the author or authors spiritual edification is the first interest, and the facts or details of the history, worthy of faithful records, because it is the history of God's people, find their chief value in that they are and were designed to be admonitory, exhibiting the Divine judgments upon idolatry and sin, and conveying the lesson that disobedience and rebellion, a hard and defiant spirit that was forgetful of Jeh, could not fail to entail the same disastrous consequences. The author is preëminently a preacher of righteousness to his fellow-countrymen, and to this aim all other elements in the book, whether chronological or historical, are secondary and subordinate. In his narrative he sets down the whole truth, so far as it has become known to him through tradition or written document, however discreditable it may be to his nation. There is no ground for believing that he either extenuates on the one hand, or on the other paints in darker colors than the record of the transgressions of the people deserved. Neither he nor they are to be judged by the standards of the 20th cent., with its accumulated wealth of spiritual experience and long training in the principles of righteousness and truth. But he holds and asserts a lofty view of the character of Jeh, of the immutability of His wrath against obstinate transgression and of the certainty of its punishment, and yet of the Divine pitifulness and mercy to the man or nation that turns to Him with a penitent heart. The Jews were not mistaken when they counted the Book of Jgs among the Prophets. It is prophecy, more than history, because it exhibits and enforces the permanent lessons of the righteousness and justice and loving-kindness of God.

LITERATURE.—A complete bibliography of the lit. up to date will be found in the Dicts. s.v. "Judges," *DB*^{2}, 1893; *HDB*, II, 1899; *EB*, II, 1901; cf G. F. Moore, *Critical and Exegetical Comm. on Jgs*, Edinburgh, 1895; *SBOT*, Leipzig, 1900; R. A. Watson, "Jgs" and "Ruth," in *Expositor's Bible*, 1889; G. W. Thatcher, "Jgs" and "Ruth," in *Century Bible;* S. Oettli, "Das Deuteronomium und die Bücher Josua und Richter," in *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, München, 1893; K. Budde, "Das Buch der Richter," in *Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum AT*, Tübingen, 1897; W. Nowack, "Richter," in *Handkommentar zum AT*, 1900.

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JUDGES, PERIOD OF:

I. SOURCES
II. CHRONOLOGY
III. GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION
    1. The Canaanites
    2. Foes Without
IV. MAIN EVENTS
    1. Struggles of Individual Tribes
    2. Civil Strife
    3. The Six Invasions
    4. Need of Central Government
V. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS
VI. THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION
LITERATURE

I. Sources.—Our chief sources of information are the Book of Jgs and 1 S **1–12**. The material contained in these is not all of the same age. The oldest part, by common consent, is the Song of Deborah (Jgs **5**). It is a contemporaneous document. The prose narratives, however, are also early, and are generally regarded as presenting a faithful picture of the times with which they deal. The Book of Ruth, which also refers to this period, is probably in its present form a later composition, but there is no adequate ground for denying to it a historical basis (König, *Einleitung*, 286 ff; Kent, *Student's OT*, I, 310 f).

II. Chronology.—The period of the Judges extends from the death of Joshua to the establishment of the monarchy. How long a time elapsed between these limits is a matter of wide difference of opinion. The chronological data in the Book of Jgs, i.e. omitting Eli and Samuel, make a total of 410 years. But this is inconsistent with 1 K **6** 1, where the whole period from the Exodus to the 4th year of Solomon is reckoned at 480 years. Various attempts have been made to harmonize these divergent figures, e.g. by eliminating the 70 years attributed to the Minor Judges (**10** 1–5; **12** 7–15), by not counting the 71 years of foreign domination, and by the theory that some of the judges were contemporaneous. It is probable that the 480 years of 1 K **6** 1 was a round number and did not rest on exact records. Indeed, it is doubtful if there was any fixed calendar in Israel before the time of the monarchy. The only way then to determine the length of the period of the Judges is from the date of the Exodus. The common view is that the Exodus took place during or just after the reign of Merenptah in the latter half of the 13th cent. BC. This, however, leaves hardly more than 150 years to the period of the Judges, for Saul's reign fell in the 2d half of the 11th cent. BC. Hence some, to whom this seems too short, assign the Exodus to the reign of Amenophis II, about 1450 BC. This harmonizes with the 480 years of 1 K **6** 1, and is supported by other considerations (*POT*, 422–24). Still others have connected the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos about 1580 BC (G. A. Reisner); and this would fit in very well with the chronological data in the Book of Jgs. The objection to the last two views is that they require a rather long period of subjection of the Israelites in Canaan to Egypt, of which there is no trace in the Book of Jgs. See, further, Judges, Book of, IV.

III. General Political Situation.—The death of Joshua left much land yet to be possessed by the Israelites.

1. The Canaanites

The different tribes had received their respective allotments (Jgs **1** 3), but the actual possession of the territory assigned each still lay in the future and was only gradually achieved. The Canaanites remained in the land, and were for a time a serious menace to the power of Israel. They retained possession of the plains and many of the fortified cities, e.g. Gezer, Harheres, Aijalon, Shaalbim, and Jerus on the northern border of Judah (Jgs **1** 21.29.35), and Bethshean, Ibleam, Taanach, Megiddo, and Dor along the northern border of Manasseh (Jgs **1** 27.28).

2. Foes Without

Besides these foes within Canaan, the Israelites had enemies from without to contend with, viz. the Moabites, Midianites, Ammonites, and Philis. The danger from each of these quarters, except that from the Philis, was successfully warded off. The conflicts in which the Israelites were thus involved were all more or less local in character. In no case did all the tribes act together, though the duty of such united action is clearly taught in the Song of Deborah, at least so far as the 10 northern tribes are concerned. The omission of Judah and Simeon from this ancient song is strange, but may not be so significant as is sometimes supposed. The judges, who were raised up to meet the various emergencies, seem to have exercised jurisdiction only over limited areas. In general the different tribes and clans acted independently of each other. Local home rule prevailed. "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Jgs **17** 6).

That Canaan was not during this period subdued and kept in subjection by one of the great world-powers, Egypt or Babylonia, is to be regarded as providential (*HPM*, I, 214 f). Such subjection would have made impossible the development of a free national and religious life in Israel. The Cushan-rishathaim of Jgs **3** 7–10 was more likely a king of Edom than of Mesopotamia (Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, 161–62).

IV. Main Events.—Much of what took place during this period is unrecorded.

1. Struggles of Individual Tribes

Of the struggles through which the individual tribes passed before they succeeded in establishing themselves in the land, little is known. One interesting episode is preserved for us in Jgs **17, 18**. A considerable portion of the tribe of Dan, hard pressed by the Amorites (Jgs **1** 34 f), migrated from their allotted home W. of Judah to Laish in the distant north, where they put the inhabitants to the sword, burnt the city and then rebuilt it under the name of Dan. This took place early in the period of the Judges, apparently during the first generation after the conquest (Jgs **18** 30).

2. Civil Strife

At about the same time also (Jgs **20** 28) seems to have occurred the war with Benjamin (Jgs **19–21**), which grew out of an outrage perpetrated at Gibeah and the refusal of the Benjamites to surrender the guilty parties for punishment. The historicity of this war has been called in question, but it seems to be attested by Hos **9** 9; **10** 9. And that civil strife in Israel was not otherwise unknown during this period is clear from the experiences of Gideon (Jgs **8** 1–3) and Jephthah (Jgs **12** 1–6), not to mention those of Abimelech (Jgs **9**). It is a current theory that the tribes of Simeon and Levi early in this period suffered a serious reverse (Gen **49** 5–7), and that a reflection of this event is to be found in Gen **34**; but the data are too uncertain to warrant any confidence in this view.

3. The Six Invasions

Six wars with other nations are recorded as taking place in this period, and each called forth its judge or judges. Othniel delivered the Israelites from the Mesopotamians or Edomites (Jgs **3** 7–11), Ehud from the Moabites (**3** 12–30), Deborah and Barak from the Canaanites (chs **4, 5**), Gideon from the Midianites (chs **6–8**), and Jephthah from the Ammonites (**10** 6–12.17). In the strife with the Philis, which was not terminated during this period, Samson (Jgs **13–16**), Eli (1 S **4–6**), and Samuel (1 S **7** 3–14; **9** 16) figure. Of these six wars those which brought Othniel, Ehud and Jephthah to the front were less serious and significant than the other three. The conflicts with the Canaanites, Midianites and Philis mark distinct stages in the history of the period.

After the first successes of the Israelites in Canaan a period of weakness and disintegration set in. The Canaanites, who still held the fortified cities in the plain of Esdraelon, banded themselves together and terrorized the region round about. The Hebrews fled from their villages to the caves and dens. None had the heart to offer resistance (Jgs **5** 6.8). It seemed as though they were about to be subdued by the people they had a short time before dispossessed. Then it was that Deborah appeared on the scene. With her passionate appeals in the name of Jeh she awakened a new sense of national unity, rallied the discouraged forces of the nation, and administered a final crushing defeat upon the Canaanites in the plain of Megiddo.

But the flame thus kindled after a time went out. New enemies came from without. The Midianites invaded the land year after year, robbing it of its produce (Jgs **6** 1.3). This evil was suddenly put an end to by the bold stroke of Gideon, whose victory was long treasured in the public memory (Isa **9** 4; **10** 26; Ps **83** 9–12). But the people, at least of Manasseh and perhaps also of Ephraim, now realized that it was no longer safe to depend upon such temporary leadership. They needed a permanent organization to ward off the dangers that beset them. They therefore offered the kingship to Gideon. He formally declined it (Jgs **8** 22.23), but still set up a government at Ophrah which the people looked upon as hereditary (Jgs **9** 2). He was succeeded by his son Abimelech, who, after slaying all but one of his 70 brothers, assumed the title of king. The new kingdom, however, was of short duration. It ended after three years with the ignominious death of the king.

4. Need of Central Government

A great danger was needed before the people of Israel could be welded into unity and made to see the necessity of a strong central government. This came eventually from the Philis, who twice defeated the Israelites in battle, captured the ark, and overran a large part of the country (1 S **4–6**). In the face of such a foe as this it was clear that only a strong and permanent leadership of the whole people would suffice (1 S **9** 15; **10** 1); and thus the rule of the Judges gave way to the monarchy.

V. Religious Conditions.—The Heb mind to which Moses addressed himself was not a *tabula rasa,* and the Palestinian world into which the Israelites entered was not an intellectual blank. Formative influences had for ages been at work on the Heb mind, and Pal had long been inhabited by a people with fixed institutions, customs and ideas. When then Israel settled in Canaan, they had both a heathen inheritance and a heathen environment to contend with. It should therefore occasion no surprise to find during this period such lapses from the purity of the Mosaic faith as appear in the ephod of Gideon (Jgs **8** 24–27), the images of Micah (Jgs **17–18**), and the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter (**11** 34–40). In the transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life it was inevitable that the Hebrews with their native heathen proclivities would adopt many of the crude and even immoral religious customs and beliefs of the people among whom they settled. But the purer Mosaic faith still had its representatives. The worship of the central sanctuary at Shiloh remained imageless. Leaders like Deborah and Samuel revived the spirit of Moses. And there can hardly be a doubt that in many a quiet home a true and earnest piety was cultivated like that in the home of Elimelech and Naomi.

VI. Theological Interpretation.—The Bib. historian was not content simply to narrate events. What concerned him most was the meaning lying back of them. And this meaning he was interested in, not for its own sake, but because of its application to the people of his own day. Hence intermingled with the narratives of the period of the Judges are to be found religious interpretations of the events recorded and exhortations based upon them. The fundamental lesson thus inculcated is the same as that continually insisted upon by the prophets. The Divine government of the world is based upon justice. Disobedience to the moral law and disloyalty to Jeh means, therefore, to Israel suffering and disaster. All the oppressions of the period of the Judges arose in this way. Relief and deliverance came only when the people turned unto Jeh. This religious pragmatism, as it is called, does not lie on the surface of the events, so that a naturalistic historian might see it. But it is a correlate of the ethical monotheism of the prophets, and constitutes the one element in the OT which makes the study of Israel's history supremely worth while.

LITERATURE.—Jos, *Ant*, V, ii–vi, 5; Ottley, *Short History of the Hebrews*, 101–24; Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, II, 60f, 2d Ger. ed, II, 52–135.

ALBERT CORNELIUS KNUDSON

JUDGING, juj′ing, **JUDGMENT**, juj′ment: Often in the OT for "to act as a magistrate" (Ex **18** 13; Dt **1** 16; **16** 18, etc), justice being administered generally by "elders" (Ex **18** 13–27), or "kings" (1 S **8** 20) or "priests" (Dt **18** 15); applied to God as the Supreme Judge (Ps **9** 7.8; **10** 18; **96** 13; Mic **4** 3, etc; Ps **7** 8: "Jeh ministereth judgment," vividly describes a court scene, with Jeh as Judge).

Often in the NT, ethically, for (1) "to decide," "give a verdict," "declare an opinion" (Gr *krinō*); (2) "to investigate," "scrutinize" (Gr *anakrinō*); (3) "to discriminate," "distinguish" (Gr *diakrinō*). For (1), see Lk **7** 43; Acts **15** 19; for (2) see 1 Cor **2** 15; **4** 3; for (3) see 1 Cor **11** 31; **14** 29m. Used also forensically in Lk **22** 30; Acts **25** 10; and applied to God in Jn **5** 22; He **10** 30. The judgments of God are the expression of His justice, the formal declarations of His judgments, whether embodied in words (Dt **5** 1 AV, RV "statutes"), or deeds (Ex **6** 6; Rev **16** 7), or in decisions that are yet to be published (Ps **36** 6). Man's consciousness of guilt inevitably associates God's judgments as declarations of the Divine justice, with his own condemnation, i.e. he knows that a strict exercise of justice means his condemnation, and thus "judgment" and "condemnation" become in his mind synonymous (Rom **5** 16); hence the prayer of Ps **143** 2, "Enter not into judgment"; also, Jn **6** 29, "the resurrection of judgment" (AV "damnation"); 1 Cor **11** 29, "eateth and drinketh judgment" (AV "damnation").

H. E. JACOBS

JUDGMENT, DAY OF. See JUDGMENT, LAST.

JUDGMENT HALL, juj′ment hôl (**τὸ πραιτώριον**, *tó praitṓrion*, "Then led they Jesus . . . . unto the hall of judgment . . . . and they themselves went not into the judgment hall" [Jn **18** 28 AV]; "Then Pilate entered into the judgment hall again" [**18** 33 AV]; "[Pilate] went again into the judgment hall" [**19** 9]; "He commanded him to be kept in Herod's judgment hall" [Acts **23** 35]):

"Judgment hall" is one of the ways in which AV translates *praitṓrion*, which it elsewhere renders "Praetorium" (Mk **15** 16); "the common hall" (Mt **27** 27). In this passage ERV renders it "palace"; in Jn **18** 33; **19** 9; Acts **23** 35, "palace" is also given by ERV; in Phil **1** 13, AV renders "palace," while RV gives "the praetorian guard." *Praitṓrion* accordingly is trd in all these ways, "Praetorium," "the common hall," "the judgment hall," "the palace," "the praetorian guard." In the passages in the Gospels, ARV renders uniformly "Praetorium."

The word originally meant the headquarters in the Rom camp, the space where the general's tent stood, with the camp altar; the tent of the commander-in-chief. It next came to mean the military council, meeting in the general's tent. Then it came to be applied to the palace in which the Rom governor or procurator of a province resided. In Jerus it was the magnificent palace which Herod the Great had built for himself, and which the Rom procurators seem to have occupied when they came from Caesarea to Jerus to transact public business.

Praitṓrion in Phil **1** 13 has been variously rendered, "the camp of the praetorian soldiers," "the praetorian guard," etc. For what is now believed to be its true meaning, see PRAETORIUM.

JOHN RUTHERFURD

1. A Transcendental Doctrine

JUDGMENT, LAST: In Christian theology the Last Judgment is an act in which God interposes directly into human history, brings the course of this world to a final close, determines the eternal fate of human beings, and places them in surroundings spiritually adapted to their final condition. The concept is purely transcendental, and is to be distinguished from the hope that God will interfere in the history of this world to determine it undeviatingly toward good. The transcendental doctrine is possible only when an exalted idea of God has been attained, although it may afterward be united with crasser theories, as in certain naïve conceptions of Christianity at the present day.

2. The Doctrine in the Religion of Israel

In the religion of Israel, the doctrine of the Last Judgment arose from "transcendentalizing" the concept of the "Day of the Lord." Just as hope of immortality replaced desire for length of days on earth, just as for "the rejuvenation of Pal" was substituted "an eternal abode in a new earth," so the ideal of a military victory over Israel's enemies expanded into God's solemn condemnation of evil. The concept thus strictly defined is hardly to be sought in the OT, but Dnl **12** 1–3 may contain it. The first unequivocal assertion would appear to be in En **91** 17, where the final state is contrasted with a preceding reign of earthly happiness. (If there has been no redaction in the latter part of this section, its date is prior to 165 BC.) Hereafter the idea is so prevalent in the Jewish writings that detailed reference is needless. But it is by no means universal. Writings touched with Gr thought (En **108**; 4 Macc;

Philo) are content with an individual judgment at death. A unique theory is that of the Test. XII P (Levi **18** 8–14, e.g.), where the world *grows* into final blessedness without catastrophe. But much more common is the persistence of the non-transcendental ideas, ingrained as they were in the thought of the people (even in Philo; cf his prophecy of national earthly glory in *Excr* **9**). This type of thought was so tenacious that it held its own alongside of the transcendental, and *both* points of view were accepted by more than one writer. Then the earthly happiness precedes the heavenly (as in En **91**), and there are *two* judgments, one by the Messiah and the other by God (2 Esd **7**; Syr Bar **29**, **30**). So in Rev, where in ch **19** Christ overcomes the enemies in battle-symbolism and establishes the Millennium, while the Last Judgment is held by God (**20** 11 ff). Otherwise the Messiah is never the judge except in the Parables of Enoch, where He appears as God's vicar uniformly (in **47** 3 God fixes the *time* of judgment only). Possibly in Wisd **4** 16; **5** 1 *men* share in the judgment-act but otherwise they (and angels) appear only as "assessors" or as executors of the sentence. In Wisd **3** 8, "judging" is used in the OT sense of "rule" (Jgs **3** 10, etc), as is the case in Mt **19** 28 ‖ Lk **22** 30; 1 Cor **6** 2.3 (in the last case with the word in two senses). Further studies in the variation of the (rather conventionally fixed) details of the judgment will interest the special student only.

For discussions of the relevant Bib. passages, see Day of the Lord; Eschatology; Parousia. The doctrine has real religious value, for it insists on a culmination in the evolution (or degeneration!) of the race as well as of the individual. So it is contrasted with the pessimism of natural science, which points only toward the gradual extinction of humanity through the cooling of the sun.

Literature.—The variations of the concept are treated fully only in Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*. For general lit. see Eschatology; Parousia.

Burton Scott Easton

JUDGMENT SEAT (**βῆμα**, *bēma*, "a raised place," "platform," "tribune," Mt **27** 19; Jn **19** 13; see Gabbatha; Acts **12** 21 m [text "throne"]; **18** 12.16 ff; **25** 6.17): In Gr law courts, one *bēma* was provided for the accuser, another for the accused; but in the NT the word designates the official seat of a judge, usually of the Rom governor; also of the emperor (Acts **25** 10); then of God (Rom **14** 10), of Christ (2 Cor **5** 10). The word κριτήριον, *kritērion*, "a tribunal," "bench of judges" (Jas **2** 6) occurs also in 1 Cor **6** 2–4, and is there tr^{d} in RVm by "tribunals." See also Judge.

JUDICIAL, jōō-dish'al, **BLINDNESS.** See Blindness, Judicial.

JUDICIAL COURTS. See Courts, Judicial.

JUDICIAL HARDENING. See Harden.

JUDITH, jōō'dith (for etymology, see next article):

(1) A wife of Esau, daughter of Beeri the Hittite (Gen **26** 34).

(2) The heroine of the Book of Jth in Apoc—a pious, wealthy, courageous, and patriotic widow who delivered Jerus and her countrymen from the assault of Holofernes, the general of Nebuchadnezzar who had arranged the expedition which aimed at making Nebuchadnezzar the object of universal human worship.

The 8th and following chapters of the book describe her actions which resulted in the cutting off of the head of Holofernes, the rout of the Assyr army, and the deliverance of the Jews. See Judith, Book of.

JUDITH, BOOK OF:

I. Name
II. Canonicity
III. Contents
IV. Fact or Fiction?
V. Date
  1. Probably during the Maccabean Age
  2. Other Opinions
    (1) Invasion of Pompey
    (2) Insurrection under Bar Cochba
VI. Original Language
VII. Versions
  1. Greek
  2. Syriac
  3. Latin
  4. Hebrew
Literature

I. Name.—This apocryphal book is called after the name of its principal character Judith (יְהוּדִית, *yehūdhīth*, "a Jewess"; **Ἰουδίθ**, *Ioudíth*, **Ἰουδήθ**, *Ioudḗth*). The name occurs in Gen **26** 34 and the corresponding masc. form (יְהוּדִי, *yehūdhī*, "a Jew") in Jer **36** 14.21.23 (name of a scribe). In other great crises in Heb history women have played a great part (cf Deborah, Jgs **5**, and Esther). The Books of Ruth, Est, Jth and Susannah are the only ones in the Bible (including the Apoc) called by the names of women, these women being the principal characters in each case.

II. Canonicity.—Though a tale of Jewish patriotism written originally in Heb, this book was never admitted into the Heb Canon, and the same applies to the Book of Tob. But both Jth and Tob were recognized as canonical by the Council of Carthage (397 AD) and by the Council of Trent (1545 AD). Though, however, all Romanists include these books in their Bible (the Vulg), Protestant VSS of the Bible, with very few exceptions, exclude the whole of the Apoc (see Apocrypha). In the LXX and Vulg, Tob and Jth (in that order) follow Neh and precede Est. In the EV of the Apoc, which unfortunately for its understanding stands alone, 1 Esd, 2 Esd, Tob and Jth occupy the first place and in the order named. In his tr of the Apoc, Luther, for some unexplained reason, puts Jth at the head of the apocryphal books, Wisdom taking the next place.

III. Contents.—The book opens with an account of the immense power of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Assyria, whose capital was Nineveh. (In the days of the real Nebuchadnezzar, Assyria had ceased to be, and its capital was destroyed.) He calls upon the peoples living in the western country, including Pal, to help him to subdue a rival king whose power he feared—Arphaxad, king of the Medes (otherwise quite unknown). But as they refused the help he demanded, he first conquered his rival, annexing his territory, and then sent his general Holofernes to subdue the western nations and to punish them for their defiance of his authority. The Assyr general marched at the head of an army 132,000 strong and soon took possession of the lands N. and E. of Pal, demolishing their idols and sanctuaries that Nebuchadnezzar alone might be worshipped as god (chs **1–3**). He now directed his forces against the Jews who had recently returned from exile and newly rebuilt and rededicated their temple. Having heard of the ruin of other temples caused by the invading foe, the Jews became greatly alarmed for the safety of their own, and fortified the mountains and villages in the south, providing themselves with food to meet their needs in the event of war. At the urgent request of Joakim ("Eliakim" in the Vulg and Pesh), the inhabitants of Bethulia (so the Lat, Eng., and other VSS, but Βετυλούα, *Betuloúa* is more correct according to the Gr) and of Betomestham (both places otherwise unknown) defended the adjoining mountain passes which commanded the way to Jerus. Holofernes at once laid siege to Bethulia, and by cutting off the water supply aimed at starving the people to submission. But he knows little of the people he is seeking to conquer, and asks the chiefs who are with him who and what these Jews are. Achior, the Ammonite chief, gives an account of the Israelites, concluding that when faithful to their God they were invincible, but that when they disobeyed Him they were easily overcome. Achior is for this saying expelled and handed over to the Jews. After holding out for some days, the besieged people insisted that Onias their governor should surrender. This he promises to do if no relief comes in the course of five days. A rich, devout and beautiful widow called Judith (daughter of Merari, of the tribe of Simeon [**8** 1]), hearing of these things, rebukes the murmurers for their lack of faith and exhorts them to trust in God. As Onias abides by his promise to the people, she resolves to attempt another mode of deliverance. She obtains consent to leave the fortress in the dead of night, accompanied by her maidservant, in order to join the Assyr camp. First of all she prays earnestly for guidance and success; then doffing her mourning garb, she puts on her most gorgeous attire together with jewels and other ornaments. She takes with her food allowed by Jewish law, that she might have no necessity to eat the forbidden meats of the Gentiles. Passing through the gates, she soon reaches the Assyrians. First of all, the soldiers on watch take her captive, but on her assuring them that she is a fugitive from the Hebrews and desires to put Holofernes in the way of achieving a cheap and easy victory over her fellow-countrymen, she is warmly welcomed and made much of. She reiterates to Holofernes the doctrine taught by Achior that these Jews can easily be conquered when they break the laws of their Deity, and she knows the necessities of their situation would lead them to eat food prohibited in their sacred laws, and when this takes place she informs him that he might at once attack them. Holofernes listens, applauds, and is at once captured by her personal charms. He agrees to her proposal and consents that she and her maid should be allowed each night to say their prayers out in the valley near the Heb fortress. On the 4th night after her arrival, Holofernes arranges a banquet to which only his household servants and the two Jewesses are invited. When all is over, by a preconcerted plan the Assyr general and the beautiful Jewish widow are left alone. He, however, is dead drunk and heavily asleep. With his own scimitar she cuts off his head, calls her maid who puts it into the provision bag, and together they leave the camp as if for their usual prayers and join their Heb compatriots, still frantic about the immediate future. But the sight of the head of their arch foe puts new heart into them, and next day they march upon the enemy now in panic at what had happened, and win an easy victory. Judith became ever after a heroine in Jewish romance and poetry, a Heb Joan of Arc, and the tale of the deliverance she wrought for her people has been told in many languages. For later and shorter forms of the tale see VII, 4 (Heb Midrashes).

IV. Fact or Fiction?—The majority of theologians down to the 19th cent. regarded the story of Jth as pure history; but with the exception of O. Wolf (1861) and von Gumpach, Protestant scholars in recent times are practically agreed that the Book of Jth is a historical novel with a purpose similar to Dnl, Est and Tob. Schürer classes it with "parenetic narratives" (*paränetische Erzählung*). The Heb novel is perhaps the earliest of all novels, but it is always a didactic novel written to enforce some principle or principles. Roman Catholic scholars defend the literal historicity of the book, though they allow that the proper names are more or less disguised. But the book abounds with anachronisms, inconsistencies and impossibilities, and was evidently written for the lesson it teaches: obey God and trust Him, and all will be well. The author had no intention to teach history. Torrey, however, goes too far when he says (see *Jew Enc*, "Book of Jth") that the writer aimed at nothing more than to write a tale that would amuse. A tone of religious fervor and of intense patriotism runs through the narrative, and no opportunity of enforcing the claims of the Jewish law is lost. Note esp. what is taught in the speeches of Achior (**5** 12–21) and Judith (**8** 17–24; cf **11** 10), that, trusting in God and keeping His commandments, the nation is invulnerable.

According to the narrative Nebuchadnezzar has been for 12 years king of Assyria and has his capital at Nineveh, though we know he never was or could be king of Assyria. He became king of Babylon in 604 BC, upon the death of his father Nabopolassar, who in 608 had destroyed Assyria. The Jews had but recently returned from exile (**4** 3; **5** 19), but were independent, and Holofernes knew nothing about them (**5** 3). Nebuchadnezzar died in 561 BC and the Jews returned under Cyrus in 538. Bethulia to which Holofernes lay siege was otherwise quite unknown: it is probably a disguised form of *Bĕth 'Ĕlōhīm* or *Bĕth 'Ĕlō^{a}h*, "house of God," and means the place where God is with His people. The detailed description of the site is but part of the writer's art; it was the place which every army must pass on its way to Jerus. As a matter of fact, there is no such position in Pal, and least of all Shechem, which Torrey identified with Bethulia. We know nothing besides what ch **1** tells us of "Arphaxad who reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana"; on the contrary, in every other mention of the name it stands for a country or a race (see Gen **10** 22.24; **11** 10–13).

1. During the Maccabean Age

V. Date.—It is evident that this religious romance was prompted by some severe persecution in which the faith of the Jews was sorely tried, and the writer's dominant aim is identical with that of the author of Dnl, viz. to encourage those suffering for their religion by giving instances of Divine deliverance in the darkest hour. "Only trust and keep the law; then deliverance will unfailingly come"—that is the teaching. Jth might well have been written during the persecution of the Maccabean age, as was almost certainly the Book of Dnl. We have in this book that zeal for orthodox Judaism which marked the age of the Maccabees, and the same strong belief that the war in which the nation was engaged was a holy one. The high priest is head of the state (see **4** 6), as suiting a period when the religious interest is uppermost and politics are merged in religion, though some say wrongly that John Hyrcanus (135–106 BC) was the first to combine priestly and princely dignities. We have another support for a Maccabean date in the fact that Onias was high priest during the siege of Bethulia (**4** 6), the name being suggested almost certainly by Onias III, who became high priest in 195 (or 198) BC, and who died in 171 after consistently opposing the Hellenizing policy of the Syrians and their Jewish allies.

That the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 BC) supply as good a background for this book as any other event in Jewish history is the least that can be said; but one may not be dogmatic on the matter, as similar conditions recurred in the nation's history, and there is no external or internal evidence that fixes the date definitely. The following scholars decide for a date in the Maccabean age: Fritzsche, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Schürer, Ball, Cornill and Löhr. The author was certainly a resident in Pal, as his local knowledge and interests show; and from his punctilious regard for the law one may judge that he belonged to the Hasidaean (*ḥăṣīdhīm*) party. Since he so often mentions Dothan (Gr Dothae, Dothaim) (**3** 9; **4** 6; **7** 3.18; **8** 3), it is probable that he belonged to that neighborhood. Though, however, the author wrote in the time of the Maccabees, he seems to set his history in a framework that is some 200 years earlier, as Nöldeke (*Die alttest. Lit.*, 1868, 96; *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, 1887, 78) and Schürer (*GJV*, III, 323 ff) show. In 350 BC, Artaxerxes Ochus (361–338 BC) invaded Phoenicia and Egypt, his chief generals being Holofernes (**2** 4, etc) and Bagoas (**12** 11), both of whom are in Jth officials of King Nebuchadnezzar and take part in the expedition against the Jews. This was intended probably to disarm the criticism of enemies who might resent any writing in which they were painted in unfavorable colors.

2. Other Opinions about the Date

(1) *Invasion of Pompey.*—That it was the invasion of Pompey which gave rise to the book is the opinion held by Gaster. If this were so, Jth and the Ps Sol arose under the pressure of the same circumstances (see Ryle and James, *The Psalms of Solomon*, XL, and J. Rendel Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, XIII). But in the Ps Sol the supreme ruler is a king (**17** 22), not a high priest (Jth **4** 6). Besides, anyone who reads the Ps Sol and Jth will feel that in the former he has to do with a different and later age.

(2) *Insurrection under Bar Cochba.*—Hitzig (who held that the insurrection under Bar Cochba, 132 AD, is the event referred to), Volkmar and Graetz date this book in the days of the emperor Trajan (or Hadrian ?). Volkmar gives himself much trouble in his attempt to prove that the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar stand really for those of Trajan. But it is a sufficient refutation of this opinion that the book is quoted by Clement of Rome (55), who died in 100 AD, and whose reference to the book shows that it was regarded in his day as authoritative and even as canonical, so that it must have been written long before.

VI. Original Language.—That a Heb or (less likely) an Aram. original once existed is the opinion of almost all modern scholars, and the evidence for this seems conclusive. There are many Hebraisms in the book, e.g. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, *en taís hēmérais* ("in the days of," **1** 7, and 9 t besides); the frequent use of σφόδρα, *sphódra*, in the sense of the Heb מְאֹד, *m^{e}'ōdh*, and even its repetition (also a Hebraism, **4** 8); cf ἐπὶ πολὺ σφόδρα, *epí polú sphódra* (**5** 18) and πλῆθος πολὺ σφόδρα, *plḗthos polú sphódra* (**2** 17). Note further the following: "Let not thy eye spare," etc (**2** 11; cf Ezk **5** 11, etc); "as I live" (in an oath, **2** 12); "God of heaven" (**5** 8; **11** 17); "son of man," parallel with "man," and in the same sense (**8** 16); "and it came to pass when she had ceased crying," etc (**10** 1); "the priests who serve in Jerus before *the face of* our God" (**11** 13). In **16** 3 we have the words: "For a god that shatters battle is [the] Lord." Now "Lord" without the article can be only the Heb "Yahweh," read always *'ădhōnāy*, "Lord." But the phrase, "to shatter battle," is not good Gr or good sense. The Heb words *shābhath* ("to rest"; cf *shabbāth*, "Sabbath") and *shābhar* ("to break") are written much alike, and in the original Heb we must have had the causative form of the first vb.: "A God that makes war cease is [the] Lord" (see Ps **46** 9). Moreover, the Heb idiom which strengthens a finite vb. by placing a cognate (absolute) infinitive before it is represented in the Gr of this book in the usual form in which it occurs in the LXX (and in Welsh), viz. a participle followed by a finite vb. (see **2** 13). The present writer has noted other examples, but is prevented by lack of space from adding them here. That the original book was Heb and not Aram. is made extremely likely by the fact that the above examples of Heb idiom are peculiar to this language. Note esp. the idiom, "and it came to pass that," etc (**2** 4), with the implied "waw consecutive," and what is said above about **11** 13, where the senseless Gr arose through the confusion of two similarly written Heb (not Aram.) words. There are cases also of mistakes in the Gr text due to wrong tr from the Heb, as in **1** 8 (where for "nations" read "cities" or "mountains"); **2** 2 (where for "concluded," Heb וַיְכַל, *wa-y^{e}khal*, read "revealed," וַיְגַל, *wa-y^{e}ghal*); **3** 1.9.10 (see Fritzsche, s.v.), etc.

VII. Versions.—The Gr text appears in three forms:

1. Greek

(1) that of the principal Gr uncials (A, B, agreeing closely), which is followed in printed editions of the LXX; (2) that of codd. 19, 108 (Lucian's text), an evident revision of (1); (3) cod. 58 which closely resembles (2) and with which the Old Lat and Pesh agree in most points.

2. Syriac

There are two extant Syr VSS, both of them dependent on the Gr text (3) noted above. The Pesh is given in Walton's *Polyglot* and in a critically revised form in Lagarde, *Lib. Vet. Test Apoc Syr*, 104–26. The so-called Hexaplar Syr text was made by Paul of Tella in the 6th cent.

3. Latin

(1) The Old Lat seems to have been made from the Gr text, cod. 58 (see above). (2) Jerome made his Lat VS (with which the Vulg is identical) from a lost Chaldee VS. That this last is not the original text of the book is certain, because neither Origen nor his Jewish teachers knew anything of a Heb or Aram. text of Jth.

4. Hebrew Midrashes

Several late Heb VSS of the book have been found, no one of them with strong claims to be considered the original text, though Gaster (see *EB*, II, col 2,642) does make such a claim for the MS found, edited and tr^{d} by him (see *PSBA*, XVI, 156–63). The Heb midrashes were made to be read in Jewish homes and vary according to the circumstances of their origin. But they agree in these points: Proper names are often omitted. Jerus is the scene of action, the wars being those of the Maccabees. Judith is a Jewish maiden and daughter of Ahitah, according to the Gaster MS, and she belongs apparently to the Maccabean family. It is Nicanor who is beheaded, the occasion being the Feast of Dedication; in the Gaster MS it is the king who is killed. Translations of these midrashes may be seen in Jellinck, *Beth Hammidrash*, I, 130–41; II, 12 f; Lepsius, *Zeitschr. für wiss. Theologie*, 1867, 337 ff; Ball, *Speaker's Apoc*, I, 25 ff; Scholz, *Comm.*^{2}, Anhänge I and II; Gaster, op. cit. Gaster argues that the much shorter form of the tale in his MS is older than the longer VS. But if a writer were to expand a short story, he would hardly be likely to invent several proper names and to change others. It is probable that Judith came to be represented as a pure maiden (a virgin) under the influence of the low conception of marriage fostered in the mediaeval Christian church.

LITERATURE.—For the editions of the Gr text and for comms. on the Apoc, see under APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE. But on Jth note in particular the commentaries by Fritzsche and Ball, the latter containing elaborate bibliography. But the following must in addition be mentioned: Scholz, *Commentar über das Buch Judith und über Bel und Drache*, 1896; a 2d ed has appeared; A. S. Weissmann, *Das Buch Judith historisch-kritisch beleuchtet*, Wien, 1891; Schürer, *GJV*^{4}, III, 230–37, with full bibliography; cf *HJP*, II, iii, 32–37; Pentin, *The Apoc in English Lit., Judith*, 1908; and the relevant articles in the Bible dicts., esp. that by F. C. Porter in *HDB*.

T. WITTON DAVIES

JUEL, jōō'el ([1] **'Ιουνά**, *Iouná;* [2] **'Ιουήλ**, *Iouḗl*):

(1) 1 Esd **9** 34="Uel" in Ezr **10** 34.
(2) 1 Esd **9** 35="Joel" in Ezr **10** 43.

JUGGLERY, jug'lẽr-i (**γοητία**, *goētía*): The word occurs once in 2 Macc **12** 24 RVm (AV "craft," RV "crafty guile").

JUICE, jōōs, jūs: The word occurs once in Cant **8** 2 (tr of עָסִיס, *'āṣīṣ*, RVm "sweet wine"), and once in RVm of Job **6** 6, where for "the white of an egg" m reads, "the juice of purslain." LXX has ῥήμασιν κενοῖς, *rhḗmasin kenois*, "empty words."

JULIA, jōō'li-a (**'Ιουλία**, *Ioulía*): The name of a Rom Christian to whom St. Paul sent greetings, the wife or sister of Philologus with whose name hers is coupled (Rom **16** 15). The name points to a member of the imperial household.

JULIUS, jōō'li-us (**'Ιούλιος**, *Ioúlios*): The centurion of the Augustan cohort under whose charge Paul was sent a prisoner to Rome (Acts **27** 1.3). See ARMY, ROMAN; BAND, AUGUSTAN.

JUMPING, jum'ping. See GAMES.

JUNIAS, jōō′ni-as **or JUNIA,** jōō′ni-a (**Ἰουνίας,** *Iounías,* **Ἰουνία,** *Iounía*): One to whom, with Andronicus, greetings are sent by Paul at the close of his letter to the Romans (Rom **16** 7). The name may be masc., *Junias,* a contraction of Junianus, or fem. *Junia;* it is *Iounían,* the accus. form, that is given. In all probability this is the masc., *Junias.* Paul defines the two as (1) "my kinsmen," (2) "my fellow-prisoners," (3) "who are of note among the apostles," and (4) "who also have been in Christ before me."

(1) They were Jews. Paul calls the Jews "my brethren," "my kinsmen according to the flesh" (Rom **9** 3). Because Prisca and Aquila, a Jew and Jewess, are not designated as kinsfolk, Conybeare and Howson suppose "the epithet to denote that the persons mentioned were of the tribe of Benjamin."

(2) They had been companions of Paul in some unrecorded imprisonment. The phrase denotes more than the fact that they, like Paul, had suffered imprisonment for the sake of Christ.

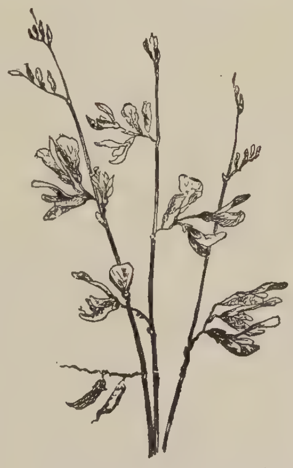
(3) This may mean (*a*) that they were well known to the apostolic circle (so Gifford and Weiss), or (*b*) distinguished as apostles. The latter is probably correct, "apostle" being used in a wide sense (cf 1 Cor **15** 7). The prophetic ministry of the early church consisted of apostles, prophets and teachers (1 Cor **12** 28; Eph **4** 11), the apostles being missionaries in the modern sense (see Lindsay, *Church and Ministry,* ch iii). Some apostles were missionaries sent out by particular churches (Acts **13** 2.3; 2 Cor **8** 23; Phil **2** 25).

(4) They were among the first converts, "early disciples" like Mnason of Cyprus (Acts **21** 16).

S. F. Hunter

JUNIPER, jōō′ni-pẽr (רֹתֶם, *rōthem;* **ῥαθμέν,** *rhathmén,* 1 K **19** 4 f, m "broom"; Ps **120** 4, m "broom"; Job **30** 4 trd "broom"): This is quite certainly the Arab. *ratam* (*Retama retem,* N.O. *Leguminosae*), a variety of broom which is one of the most characteristic shrubs of the deserts of Southern Pal and southward to Egypt. Though the shade it affords is but scanty, in the absence of other shrubs it is frequently used by desert travelers as a refuge from the sun's scorching rays (cf 1 K **19** 4). The root yields good charcoal, giving out much heat (Ps **120** 4). For people to be reduced to chew it for nourishment betokens the lowest depth of starvation (Job **30** 4). Indeed so hopeless is this root as a source of food that many commentators believe that the accepted text is in error, and by altering a single letter, substituting ח for ה, they get a reading, which has been adopted in RVm, "to warm them" instead of "their meat," which certainly is much more probable.

E. W. G. Masterman



Retem Bush (*Retama retem*).

JUPITER, jōō′pi-tẽr, jū′pi-tẽr (**Ζεύς,** *Zeús*): "Jupiter" is mentioned in 2 Macc **6** 2; Acts **14** 12.13, with "Zeus" in the RVm in all cases. In addition the Gr stem appears in *διοπετοῦς, diopetoús,* in Acts **19** 35, EV "which fell down from Jupiter"; but the word means "from the clear sky" (cf "from heaven" in the RVm). "Jupiter" was considered the Lat equivalent of the Gr "Zeus," the highest god in the developed Gr pantheon, and Zeus in turn, in accord with the syncretism of the period, was identified with countless deities in the local cults of Asia Minor and elsewhere. So in Acts **14** 12.13, "Zeus" and "Hermes" are local deities that had been renamed. On the other hand, the Zeus of 2 Macc **6** 2 is the genuine Gr deity, who had been adopted as a special patron by Antiochus Epiphanes and to whose temple in Athens Antiochus had contributed largely. The title "Olympius" (2 Macc **6** 2) is derived from the early worship on Mt. Olympus, but had come to be thought one of the god's highest appellations; Xenios, "protector of strangers," was a title in a cult particularly popular with travelers. See Abomination of Desolation, and Smith, *HGHL,* 333–34.

Burton Scott Easton

JUPITER AND MERCURY. See Astrology, III, 1; Mercury; Jupiter.

JURISDICTION, jōō-ris-dik′shun (**ἐξουσία,** *exousía*): The word *exousia* is well known in NT Gr. It is derived from the word *éxesti,* and suggests the absence of any hindrance to an act. It contains the idea of right and might (Cremer). In the NT it means right, authority, capability (Rom **9** 21); power, strength (Mt **9** 8); right and might (Jn **5** 27). Thus it gets the meaning of the powers of the magistrate, which it bears in later Gr (Tit **3** 1; Rom **13** 1–3). And in this sense it is used in Lk **23** 7, where it is trd "jurisdiction."

JUSHAB-HESED, jōō′shab-hē′sed (יוּשַׁב חֶסֶד, *yūshabh ḥeṣedh,* "loving-kindness is returned"): Son of Zerubbabel. The name is probably symbolical (1 Ch **3** 20); cf Shear-Jashub.

JUSTICE, jus′tis (צְדָקָה, *çedhāķāh,* צֶדֶק, *çedheķ;* **δικαιοσύνη,** *dikaiosúnē*): The original Heb and Gr words are the same as those rendered "righteousness." This is the common rendering, and in about half the cases where we have "just" and "justice" in AV, ARV has changed to "righteous" and "righteousness." It must be constantly borne in mind that the two ideas are essentially the same. See Righteousness.

1. Human Justice

Justice had primarily to do with conduct in relation to others, esp. with regard to the rights of others. It is applied to business, where just weights and measures are demanded (Lev **19** 35.36; Dt **25** 13–16; Am **8** 5; Prov **11** 1; **16** 11; Ezk **45** 9.10). It is demanded in courts, where the rights of rich and poor, Israelite and sojourner, are equally to be regarded. Neither station nor bribe nor popular clamor shall influence judge or witness. "Justice, justice shalt thou follow" (Dt **16** 20 m; cf vs 18–20; Ex **23** 1–3.6–9). In general this justice is contrasted with that wickedness which "feared not God, and regarded not man" (Lk **18** 2).

In a larger sense justice is not only giving to others their rights, but involves the active duty of establishing their rights. So Israel waits upon God's justice or cries out: "The justice due to me [lit. "my justice"] is passed away from my God" (Isa **40** 27). Jeh is to show her to be in the right as over against the nations. Justice here becomes mercy. To "seek justice" means to "relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow" (Isa **1** 17; cf **11** 4; Jer **22** 15.16; Ps **82** 2–4). The same idea appears in Dt **24** 12.13; Ps **37** 21.26; **112** 4–6, where the tr is "righteous" instead of "just."

In this conception of justice the full meaning of the NT is not yet reached. It does not mean sinlessness or moral perfection. Job knows the sin in his heart (Job **13** 23.26; **7** 21), and yet speaks of himself as a just or righteous man (**12** 4; **13** 18). The Psalmist confidently depends upon the righteousness of God though he knows that no man is righteous in God's sight (Ps **143** 1.2; cf **7** 8; **18** 20–24). It is not a lack of humility or dependence upon God when the Psalmist asks to be judged according to his righteousness. In relation to God, the just, or righteous, man is the one who holds to God and trusts in Him (Ps **33** 18–22). This is not the later Judaistic legalism with its merit and reward, where God's justice is simply a matter of giving each man what he has earned.

The word "justice" does not occur in the NT, and in most cases where we find "just" in AV it is changed to "righteous" in ARV. The idea of justice or righteousness (remembering that these are essentially the same) becomes more spiritual and ethical in the NT. It is a matter of character, and God's own spirit is the standard (1 Jn **3** 7; Mt **5** 48). The mere give-and-take justice is not enough. We are to be merciful, and that to all. The ideal is righteousness, not rights. As Holtzmann says, "The keynote of the Sermon on the Mount is *justitia* and not *jus*."

2. Justice of God

God's justice, or righteousness, is founded in His essential nature. But, just as with man, it is not something abstract, but is seen in His relation to the world. It is His kingship establishing and maintaining the right. It appears as retributive justice, "that reaction of His holy will, as grounded in His eternal being, against evil wherever found." He cannot be indifferent to good and evil (Hab **1** 13). The great prophets, Isaiah, Micah, Amos, Hosea, all insist upon Jeh's demand for righteousness.

But this is not the main aspect of God's justice. Theology has been wont to set forth God's justice as the fundamental fact in His nature with which we must reconcile His mercy as best we may, the two being conceived as in conflict. As a matter of fact, the Scriptures most often conceive God's justice, or righteousness, as the action of His mercy. Just as with man justice means the relief of the oppressed and needy, so God's justice is His kingly power engaged on behalf of men, and justice and mercy are constantly joined together. He is "a just God and a Saviour" (Isa **45** 21). "I bring near my righteousness [or "justice"] . . . . and my salvation shall not tarry" (Isa **46** 13; cf Ps **51** 14; **103** 17; **71** 15; **116** 5; Isa **51** 5.6). The "righteous acts of Jeh" mean His deeds of deliverance (Jgs **5** 11). And so Israel sings of the justice, or judgments, or righteousness of Jeh (they are the same), and proclaims her trust in these (Ps **7** 17; **35** 23.24.28; **36** 6; **140** 12.13; **50** 5.6; **94** 14.15; **103** 6; **143** 1).

The NT, too, does not lack the idea of retributive justice. The Son of Man "shall render unto every man according to his deeds" (Mt **16** 27; cf **25** 14–46; Lk **12** 45–48; Rom **2** 2–16; **6** 23; 2 Cor **5** 10; Col **3** 24.25; 2 Thess **1** 8.9; He **2** 2.3; **10** 26–31). But God's justice is far more than this. The idea of merit and reward is really superseded by a higher viewpoint in the teaching of Jesus. He speaks, indeed, of recompense, but it is the Father and not the judge that gives this (Mt **6** 1.4.6.18). And it is no mere justice of earth, because the reward transcends all merit (Mt **24** 46.47; Mk **10** 30; Lk **12** 37). This is grace not desert (Lk **17** 10). And the parable of Mt **20** 1–15 gives at length the deathblow to the whole Judaistic scheme of merit and reward.

And God's justice is not merely gracious, but redemptive. It not simply apportions rights, it establishes righteousness. Thus, just as in the OT, the judge is the Saviour. The difference is simply here: in the OT the salvation was more national and temporal, here it is personal and spiritual. But mercy is opposed to justice no more here than in the OT. It is by the forgiveness of sins that God establishes righteousness, and this is the supreme task of justice. Thus it is that God is at the same time "just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus" (Rom **3** 26). "He is faithful and righteous [or "just"; see AV] to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (1 Jn **1** 9).

LITERATURE.—See Comm., and Bib. Theologies under "Justice" and "Righteousness," and esp. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. of NT Gr.*

HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL

JUSTIFICATION, jus-ti-fi-kā′shun (צֶדֶק, *çedheḳ*, vb. צָדֵק, *çādhēḳ;* LXX and NT **δικαίωμα,** *dikaíōma*, **δικαίωσις,** *dikaíōsis*, vb. **δικαιόω,** *dikaióō*, "justification," "to justify," in a legal sense, the declaring just or righteous. In Bib. lit. **δικαιοῦν,** *dikaioún*, without denying the *real* righteousness of a person, is used invariably or almost invariably in a declarative or forensic sense. See Simon, *HDB*, II, 826; Thayer, Grimm, and Cremer under the respective words):

I. THE WRITINGS OF PAUL
  1. Universality of Sin
  2. Perfection of the Law of God
  3. Life, Work and Death of the Atoning Saviour
    (1) Paul's Own Experience
    (2) The Resurrection Connected with the Death
    (3) Faith, Not Works, the Means of Justification
    (4) Baptism Also Eliminated
    (5) Elements of Justification
      (*a*) Forgiveness of Sins
      (*b*) Declaring or Approving as Righteous
    (6) Justification Has to Do with the Individual
II. THE OTHER NT WRITINGS
  1. The Synoptic Gospels
  2. John's Writings
  3. 1 Peter and Hebrews
  4. Epistle of James
III. THE OT
IV. LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE
  1. Apostolic and Early Church Fathers
  2. Council of Trent
  3. Luther
  4. Schleiermacher
  5. Meaning and Message to the Modern Man
LITERATURE

I. The Writings of Paul.—In this article reference will first be made to the writings of Paul, where justification receives its classic expression, and from there as a center, the other NT writers, and finally the OT, will be drawn in. According to Paul, justification rests on the following presuppositions:

1. The Universality of Sin

The universality of sin. All men are not only born in sin (Eph **2** 3), but they have committed many actual transgressions, which render them liable to condemnation. Paul proves this by an appeal to the OT witnesses (Rom **3** 9 ff), as well as by universal experience, both of the heathen (**1** 18–32) and Jews (**2** 17–28; **3** 9).

2. The Perfection of the Law of God

The perfection of the Law of God and the necessity of its perfect observance, if justification is to come by it (**3** 10). The modern notion of God as a good-natured, more or less nonchalant ruler, to whom perfect holiness is not inexorable, was not that of Paul. If one had indeed kept the law, God could not hold him guilty (**2** 13), but such an obedience never existed. Paul had no trouble with the law as such. Those who have tried to find a difference here between Gal and Rom have failed. The reminder that the law was ordained by angels (Gal **3** 19) does not mean that it was not also given by God. It might be reckoned in a sense among the elements of the world (*kósmos*,

4 3), as it is an essential part of an ordered universe, but that does not at all mean that it is not also holy, right and good (Rom **7** 12). It was added, of course, on account of transgressions (Gal **3** 19), for it is only a world of intelligent, free spirits capable of sin which needs it, and its high and beautiful sanctions make the sin seem all the more sinful (Rom **7** 13).

3. The Life, Work and Death of the Atoning Saviour

It was fundamental in Paul's thinking that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures (1 Cor **15** 3). In due season He died for the ungodly (Rom **5** 6); while we were yet sinners He died for us (ver 8); we are justified in His blood (ver 9), and it is through Him that we are saved from the wrath (ver 9). While we were enemies we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son (ver 10), being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus whom God set forth as a propitiation (**3** 24.25). There is no reconciliation, no justification, except through and by and for Christ.

(1) *Paul's own experience.*—Paul's own experience cannot be left out of the account. He lived through the doctrine, as well as found it through illumination of the Spirit in the OT. It was not that he had only outwardly kept the law. He had been jealous for it, and had been blameless in every requirement of its righteousness (Phil **3** 6). What was borne in upon him was how little such blamelessness could stand before the absolute standard of God. Just how far he was shaken with doubts of this kind we cannot say with certainty; but it seems impossible to conceive the Damascus conversion scene in the case of such an upright man and strenuous zealot without supposing a psychological preparation, without supposing doubts as to whether his fulfilling of the law enabled him to stand before God. Now, for a Pharisaically educated man like himself, there was no way of overcoming these doubts but in a renewed struggle for his own righteousness shown in the fiery zeal of his Damascus journey, pressing on even in the blazing light of noonday. This conversion broke down his philosophy of life, his *Lebensgewissheit*, his assurance of salvation through works of the law done never so conscientiously and perfectly. The revelation of the glorified Christ, with the assurance that He, the God-sent Messiah, was the very one whom he was persecuting, destroyed his dependence on his own righteousness, a righteousness which had led him to such shocking consequences. Although this was for him an individual experience, yet it had universal applications. It showed him that there was an inherent weakness in the law through flesh, that is, through the whole physical, psychical and spiritual nature of man considered as sinful, as working only on this lower plane, and that the law needed bracing and illuminating by the Son, who, though sent in the likeness of the flesh of sin, yet (as an offering) for sin condemned sin and cast it out (Rom **8** 3), to the end that the law might be fulfilled in those who through Him walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit (ver 4). That was the glory of the new righteousness thus revealed. If the law had been able to do that, to give life, Christ need not have come, righteousness would have been by the law (Gal **3** 21). But the facts show that the law was not thus able, neither the law written on the heart given to all, nor the law given to Moses (Rom **1** 18—**3** 19). Therefore every mouth is stopped, and all flesh is silent before God. On the ground of law-keeping, what the modern man would call morality, our hope of salvation has been shattered. The law has spoken its judgment against us (Gal **3** 10). It cannot therefore lead us to righteousness and life, nor was that its supreme intention: *it was a pedagogue or tutor ("paidagōgós") to lead us to Christ that we might be justified by faith* (ver 24; see *Ihmels* in RE^3, 16, 483–84). What made Paul to differ from his companions in the faith was that his own bitter experience under the revelation of Christ had led him to these facts.

(2) *The resurrection connected with the death.*—It was remarked above that the ground of justification according to Paul is the work of Christ. This means esp. His death as a sacrifice, in which, as Ritschl well says (*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, 3. Aufl., 1899, II, 157), the apostles saw exercised the whole power of His redemption. But that death cannot be separated from His resurrection, which first awakened them to a knowledge of its decisive worth for salvation, as well as finally confirmed their faith in Jesus as the Son of God. "The objective salvation," says Ritschl (p. 158), "which was connected with the sacrificial death of Christ and which continued on for the church, was made secure by this, that it was asserted also as an attribute of the resurrected one," who was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification (Rom **4** 25). But this last expression is not to be interpreted with literal preciseness, as though Paul intended to distinguish between the forgiveness of sins as brought about by the death, and justification, by the resurrection, for both forgiveness and justification are identified in **4** 6–8. It was the resurrection which gave Christians their assurance concerning Christ (Acts **17** 31); by that resurrection He has been exalted to the right hand of God, where He maketh intercession for His people (Rom **8** 34), which mediatorship is founded upon His death—the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world (Rev **13** 8 m; cf Gr text).

B. Weiss well says: "It was by the certainty of the exaltation of Christ to Messianic sovereignty brought about by the resurrection that Paul attained to faith in the saving significance of His death, and not conversely. Accordingly, the assurance that God cannot condemn us is owing primarily to the death of Christ, but still more to His resurrection and exaltation to God's right hand (Rom **8** 34), inasmuch as these first prove that His death was the death of the mediator of salvation, who has redeemed us from condemnation. . . . The objective atonement was accomplished by the death of Christ, but the appropriation of it in justification is possible only if we believe in the saving significance of His death, and we can attain to faith in that only as it is sealed by the resurrection" (*Bib. Theol. of NT*, I, 436–37).

(3) *Faith, not works, the means of justification.*—The means or condition of justification is faith (Rom **3** 22.25.26.28, etc) which rests upon the pure grace of God and is itself, therefore, His gift (Eph **2** 8). This making faith the only instrument of justification is not arbitrary, but because, being the receptive attitude of the soul, it is in the nature of the case the only avenue through which Divine blessing can come. The gifts of God are not against the laws of the soul which He has made, but rather are in and through those laws. Faith is the hand outstretched to the Divine Giver, who, though He sends rain without our consent, does not give salvation except through an appropriate spiritual response. This faith is not simply belief in historical facts, though this is presupposed as to the atoning death (Rom **3** 25), and the resurrection (**10** 9) of Jesus, but is a real heart reception of the gift (ver 10), and is therefore able to bring peace in our relation to God (**5** 1). The object of this faith is Jesus Christ (**3** 22, etc), through whom only comes the gift of righteousness and the reigning in life (**5** 17), not Mary, not angels, not doctrine, not the church, but Jesus only. This, to be sure, does not exclude God the Father as an object of faith, as the redeeming act of Christ is itself the work of God (2 Cor **5** 19), whose love expressed itself toward us in this way (Rom **5** 8). Faith in the only one God is always presupposed (1 Cor **8** 6), but it was the apostolic custom rather to refer repentance to God and faith to Christ (Acts **20** 21). But the oneness of God the Father and Christ the Son in a work of salvation is the best guaranty of the Divinity of the latter, both as an objective fact and as an inner experience of the Christian.

The justification being by faith, it is not by works or by love, or by both in one. It cannot be by the former, because they are lacking either in time or amount or quality, nor could they be accepted in any case until they spring from a heart renewed, for which faith is the necessary presupposition. It cannot be by the latter, for it exists only where the Spirit has shed it abroad in the heart (Rom **5** 5), the indispensable prerequisite for receiving which is faith. This does not mean that the crown of Christianity is not love, for it is (1 Cor **13** 13); it means only that the root is faith. Nor can love be foisted in as a partial condition of justification on the strength of the word often quoted for that purpose, "faith working through love" (Gal **5** 6). The apostle is speaking here only of those who are already "in Christ," and he says that over against the Galatian believers bringing in a lot of legal observances, the only availing thing is not circumcision or its lack, but faith energizing through love. Here the interest is, as Ritschl says (II, 343), in the kingdom of God, but justification proper has reference to the sinner in relation to God and Christ. See the excellent remarks of Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1894, 226–27. At the same time this text reveals the tremendous ethical religious force abiding in faith, according to St. Paul. It reminds us of the great sentence of Luther in his preface to the Ep. to the Rom, where he says: "Faith is a Divine work within us which changes and renews us in God according to Jn **1** 13, 'who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.' This destroys the old Adam and makes new creatures of us in heart, will, disposition, and all our powers. Oh, faith is a living, active, jealous, mighty thing, inasmuch as it cannot possibly remain unproductive of good works" (*Werke*, Erl. Ausg., 63, 124–25).

(4) *Baptism also eliminated.*—Not only are good works and love removed as conditions or means of justification of the sinner, but baptism is also eliminated. According to Paul, it is the office of baptism not to justify, but to cleanse, that is, symbolically to set forth and seal the washing away of sin and the entrance into the new life by a dramatic act of burial, which for the subject and all witnesses would mark a never-to-be-forgotten era in the history of the believer. "Baptism," says Weiss (I, 454), "presupposes faith in Him as the one whom the church designates as Lord, and also binds to adherence to Him which excludes every dependence upon any other, inasmuch as He has acquired a claim upon their devotion by the saving deed of His self-surrender on the cross." So important was baptism in the religious atmosphere at that time that hyperbolical expressions were used to express its cleansing and illuminating office, but these need not mislead us. We must interpret them according to the fundamental conceptions of Christianity as a religion of the Spirit, not of magic nor of material media. Baptism pointed to a complete parting with the old life by previous renewal through faith in Christ, which renewal baptism in its turn sealed and announced in a climax of self-dedication to him, and this, while symbolically and in contemporary parlance of both Jew and Gentile called a new birth, was probably often actually so in the psychological experience of the baptized. But while justification is often attributed to faith, it is never to baptism.

(5) *Elements of justification.*—What are the elements of this justification? There are two: (*a*) Forgiveness of sins (Rom **4** 5–8; cf Acts **13** 38.39). With this are connected peace and reconciliation (Rom **5** 1.9.10; cf **10** 11). (*b*) The declaring or approving as righteous or just (Rom **3** 21–30; **4** 2–9.22; **5** 1.9–11.16–21, etc). C. F. Schmid is perfectly right when he says that Paul (and James) always uses *dikaioun* in the sense of esteeming and pronouncing and treating as righteous, both according to the measure of the law (Rom **2** 13; **3** 20) and also according to grace (*Bib. Theol. of the NT*, 1870, 497). The word is a forensic one, and Godet goes so far as to say that the word is never used in all Gr lit. for making righteous (*Comm. on Rom*, ET, I, 157, Amer. ed, 95). This is shown further by the fact that it is the ungodly who are justified (Rom **4** 5), and that the justification is a reckoning or imputation (*logízesthai*) of righteousness (Rom **4** 6.22), not an infusing or making righteous. The contrast of "to justify" is not "to be a sinner," but is "to accuse" or "to condemn" (Rom **8** 33.34), and the contrast of "justification" is "condemnation" (**5** 18). Besides, it is not the infusing of a new life, of a new holiness, which is counted for righteousness, but it is faith which is so counted (Rom **4** 5; Phil **3** 9). That upon which God looks when He justifies is not the righteousness He has imparted or is to impart, but the atonement He has made in Christ. It is one of the truest paradoxes of Christianity that unless a righteous life follows, there has been no justification, while the justification itself is for the sake of Christ alone through faith alone. It is a "*status*, rather than a character," says Stevens (*The Pauline Theology*, 1892, 265); "it bears the stamp of a legal rather than of an ethical conception," and he refers to the elaborate and convincing proof of the forensic character of Paul's doctrine of justification," in Morison, *Exposition of Romans*, ch III, 163–200. An interesting illustration of how further study may correct a wrong impression is given by Lipsius, who, in his *Die Paulinische Rechfertigungslehre*, 1853, maintained that righteousness or justification meant not "exclusively an objectively given external relation to God, but always at the same time a real inner condition of righteousness" (p. 10), whereas in his *Lehrbuch der evangelisch-protestantischen Dogmatik*, 1876, 3. Aufl., 1893, he makes the righteousness of God properly an "objective gift of grace, not simply in the sense in which the OT just one judged his position of salvation as a gift of grace, but as a righteousness specially reckoned and adjudicated by way of grace and acknowledged before the judgment (or court, *Gericht*) of God (Rom **4** 6; cf vs 1–8.11; **3** 23; Gal **3** 6). This is always the meaning of *dikaioun*, *dikaioústhai*, or *dikaiōsis* in Paul. It consists in the not-reckoning of sins," etc (p. 658). Of course justification is only a part of the process of salvation, which includes regeneration and sanctification, but these are one thing and justification is another.

(6) *Justification has to do with the individual.*—Finally it is asked whether justification in Paul's mind has to do with the individual believer or with the society or Christian congregation. Ritschl (II, 217 f) and Sanday-Headlam (*The Ep. to the Rom*, 122–23) say the latter; Weiss (I, 442), the former. It is indeed true that Paul refers to the church as purchased with Christ's blood (Acts **20** 28, or God's blood, according to the two oldest MSS and ancient authorities; cf Eph **5** 25), and he uses the pronoun "we" as those who have received redemption, etc (Col **1** 14; Eph **2** 18); but it is evident on the other hand that faith is an individual matter, a thing first between man and his God, and only after a man has been united to Christ by faith can he enter into a spiritual fellowship with fellow-believers. Therefore the subject of justification must be in the first place the individual, and only in the second place and by consequence the society. Besides, those justified are not the cleansed and sanctified members of churches, but the ungodly (Rom **4** 5).

As to the argument from baptism urged by Sanday-Headlam, it must be said that Paul always conceives of baptism as taking place in the Christian community with believers and for believers, that that for and to which they are baptized is not justification, but the death and resurrection of Christ (**6** 3.4), and that the righteousness of God has been manifested not through baptism but through faith in Jesus Christ unto all that believe (**3** 22), being justified freely, not through baptism, but through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus (ver 24). With Paul baptism has always a mystical significance as symbolizing and externally actualizing union with the death of the Lord, and would be both impossible and impertinent in the case of those not already believers in Christ and thus inwardly united to His society.

II. The Other NT Writings.—So much for Paul. Let us now take a glance at the other NT books. It is a commonplace of the theology that is called "modern" or "critical," that Paul and not Jesus is the founder of Christianity as we know it, that the doctrines of the Divinity of Christ, atonement, justification, etc, are Paul's work, and not his Master's. There is truth in this. It was part of the humiliation of Christ as well as His pedagogical method to live, teach and act under the conditions of His time and country, on the background of Pal of 30 AD; and it was specially His method to do *His* work and not His disciples', to live a life of love and light, to die for the sins of the world, and then go back to the Father that the Holy Spirit might come and lead His followers into all truth. A full statement of the doctrines of Christianity on His part would have been premature (Jn **16** 12), would have been pedagogically unwise, if not worthless. First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear (Mk **4** 28). It would also have been spiritually and philosophically impossible, for Christianity was not a set of teachings by Christ—but a religion springing out of His life, death, resurrection, ascension, intercession, mediatorial activity in history through the Spirit who works in His disciples and on the world through and by that life, death, etc. The only question is whether the apostles were true to the spirit and content of His teachings in its moral and religious outlines. And esp. in this matter of justification, a teaching by Christ is not to be looked for, because it is the very peculiarity of it that its middle point is the exalted Lord, who has become the mediator of salvation by His death and resurrection. Did the Pauline doctrine fit into the concrete situation made by the facts of Christ mentioned above, and was it the necessary consequence of His self-witness? Let us look into the Synoptic Gospels.

1. The Synoptic Gospels

So far is it from being true, as Harnack says (*What Is Christianity?* 2d ed, rev., New York, 1901, 68), that the "whole of Jesus' message may be reduced to these two heads: God as Father, and the human soul so ennobled that it can and does unite with Him," that an essential part of His message is omitted, viz. that salvation is bound up in His (Christ's) own person. (The reader is asked to verify the references for himself, as space will not allow quotation.) See Mt **10** 37–39; **16** 24–27. Confession of Him (not simply of the Father) determines acknowledgment above (**10** 32), where judgment is rendered according to our attitude to Him in His unfortunate ones (**25** 35 ff). No sooner was His person rightly estimated than He began to unfold the necessity of His death and resurrection (**16** 21). The evening before that death occurred, He brings out its significance, perpetuates the lesson in the institution of the Supper (Mk **14** 24), and reënforces it after His resurrection (Lk **24** 26). Paul himself could hardly have expressed the fact of the atonement through Christ's death more decisively than Mt **20** 28; **26** 28. With this foundation, could the Christian doctrine of salvation take any other course than that it actually did take? Instead of referring men to the Father, Christ forgives sins Himself (**9** 2–6), and He reckons all men as needing this forgiveness (**6** 12). While the time had not arrived for the Pauline doctrine of righteousness, Jesus prepared the way for it, negatively, in demanding a humble sense of sin (**5** 3), inner fitness and perfection (vs 6.8.20.48), and positively in requiring recourse to Him by those who felt the burden of their sins (**11** 28), to Him who was the rest-giver, and not simply to God the Father, a passage of which Rom **5** 1 is an echo. For it was specially to those to whom, as to the awakened Paul, the law brought condemnation that He came, came to heal and to save (Mk **2** 17; Mt **9** 13; Lk **15** 7). It was for sinners and to sinners that He came (Lk **15** 2; **7** 39; **19** 7; Mt **11** 19), just as Paul understood; and the way for their salvation was not better law-keeping, but trusting prayer in the confession of sin (Lk **18** 13), really equivalent to faith, the humble heart and a hunger for righteousness (=faith). See Mt **5** 3.6. He who brings most of himself, of his own pride and works, is the least likely to obtain the kingdom of heaven (**18** 3.4; Mk **10** 14). Not only entrance, but the final reward itself is of grace (Mt **19** 30; **20** 1–16), a parable in the true spirit of Paul, and in anticipation of whose message was the promise of Paradise to the penitent robber (Lk **23** 43). At the very beginning the message sounded out, "Repent ye, and believe in the gospel" (Mk **1** 15), the gospel which was summed up in Christ, who would gather the people, not directly to God the Father, but to Himself (Mt **23** 37). All this means justification through that faith in Himself, in His Divine-human manifestation (Mt **16** 13–16), of which faith He expresses Himself with anxiety in Lk **18** 8, and the presence of which he greeted with joy in Mt **8** 10. Ihmels is right therefore in holding (*RE*³, XVI, 490) that Paul's proclamation was continuous with the self-witness of Jesus, which conversely pointed as a consequence to the witness of Paul.

2. John's Writings

Justification by faith is not more implicit in John's Gospel than in the first three; it is only more explicit (Jn **3** 14–16). Eternal life is the blessing secured, but this of course is only possible to one not under condemnation (**3** 36). The new Sonship of God came also in the wake of the same faith (**1** 12). The Epp. of John vary from Paul in word rather than in substance. The atoning work of Jesus is still in the background; walking in the light is not conceivable in those under condemnation and without faith; and the confession of sins that leads to forgiveness seems only another name for the justification that brings peace (1 Jn **1** 9.10; cf **2** 1.2). Everything is, as with Paul (Eph **2** 7; Tit **3** 4), led back to the love of God (1 Jn **3** 1), who sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins (**4** 10).

3. 1 Peter and Hebrews

Seeberg's point that the "Pauline doctrine of justification is not found in any other NT writer" (*History of Doctrine*, I, 48) is true when you emphasize the word "doctrine." Paul gave it full scientific treatment, the others presuppose the fact, but do not unfold the doctrine. Peter's "Repent ye, and be baptized . . . . in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts **2** 38) is meaningless unless faith were exercised in Christ. It is He in whom, though we see Him not, yet believing, we rejoice greatly with joy unspeakable (1 Pet **1** 8), receiving the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls (ver 9). It is only, however, through the precious blood as of a lamb without blemish, even that of Christ (ver 19), and is only through Him that we are believers in God ver 21). The familiar expression, "Come to Jesus," which simply means have faith in Jesus for justification and salvation, goes back to Peter (**2** 4). The Ep. to the He has other interests to look after, but it does not deny faith, but rather exhorts us to draw near with a true heart in fulness of faith (**10** 22), which it lays at the foundation of all true religion, thinking and achievement (ch **11**). The writer can give no better exhortation than to look unto Jesus the author and perfecter of our faith (**12** 2), an exhortation in the true spirit of Paul, whose gospel of faith for justification is also summed up in **4** 16.

4. Epistle of James

We come lastly to the core of the matter in regard to NT representations of justification—the famous passage in Jas **2** 14–26, which at first sight seems a direct blow at Paul. Here we are met by the interesting question of the date of James. As we cannot enter into this (see James, Epistle of), what we say must be independent of this question. A careful look at this vigorous and most valuable letter (valuable in its own place, which is not that of Paul's letters, in comparison with which it is a "right strawy epistle," as Luther truthfully said [*Erl. Ausg.*, 63, 115; see also pp. 156–57], in saying which he did not mean to reject it as useless [straw has most important uses], but as giving the doctrine of salvation, for which we must look to Paul) will show us that contradiction on the part of James to Paul is apparent and not real.

(1) In this section James uses the word faith simply for intellectual belief in God, and esp. in the unity of God (**2** 19; see also context), whereas Paul uses it for a saving trust in Christ. As Feine well says (*Theol. d. NT*, Leipzig,^{2} 1911, 660–63), for Paul faith is the appropriation of the life-power of the heavenly Christ. Therefore he knows no faith which does not bring forth good works corresponding to it. What does not come from faith is sin. For James faith is subordination of man to the heavenly Christ (**2** 1), or it is the theoretic acknowledgment of one God (**2** 19). Justification is for James a speaking just of him who is righteous, an analytical judgment. (Feine also says that James did not understand Paul, but he did not fight him. It was left to Luther through his deep religious experience *first* to understand Paul's doctrine of justification.) (2) James uses the word "works" as meaning practical morality, going back behind legalism, behind Pharisaism, to the position of the OT prophets, whereas Paul uses the word as meritorious action deserving reward. (3) When James is thinking of a deeper view, faith stands central in Christianity (**1** 3.6; **2** 1; **5** 15). (4) Paul also on his part is as anxious as James vitally to connect Christianity and good works through faith (1 Thess **1** 3; Gal **5** 6; 1 Cor **13** 2; Rom **2** 6.7; see Mayor, *The Ep. of Jas*, 1892, lxxxviii ff; Franks, in *DCG*, I, 919–20; Findlay in *HDB*, 1-vol ed, 511). (5) The whole argument of James is bent on preserving a real practical Christianity that is not content with words merely (**2** 15–16), but shows itself in deeds. He is not trying to show, as Paul, how men get rid of their guilt and become Christians, but how they prove the reality of their profession *after* they receive the faith. He is not only writing to Christians, as of course Paul was, but he was writing to them *as* Christians ("my brethren," ver 14), as already justified and standing on the "faith of our Lord Jesus Christ" (ver 1), whereas Paul was thinking of men, Gentile and Jew, shivering in their guilt before the Eternal Justice, and asking, How can we get peace with God? "There is not," says Beyschlag (*NT Theology*, Edinburgh, 1895, I, 367–68), "an objective conflict between the Pauline and Jacobean doctrines; both forms of teaching exist peacefully beside each other. James thought of justification in the simple and most natural sense of *justificatio justi*, as the Divine recognition of an actually righteous man, and he thought of it as the final judgment of God upon a man who is to stand in the last judgment and become a partaker of the final *sōtēría* ('salvation'). Paul also demands as a requisite for this last judgment and the final *sōtēria* right works, the love that fulfils the law and the perfected sanctification, but he (except in Rom **2** 13) does not apply the expression *dikaiousthai* ('to be justified') to the final judgment of God, which recognizes this righteousness of life as actual. He applies it rather to that first sentence of God with which He graciously receives the believing sinner returning to Him, and takes him into fellowship with Himself." Beyschlag rightly insists that James undoubtedly taught with the first apostles that whoever believes in Christ and is baptized receives the forgiveness of sins (Acts **2** 38; **3** 19; **10** 43), and that he would not have contested the Pauline idea of justification by grace on account of faith, insisting only that works must follow. Theologically, the chief if not the only difference is that James has not yet made the cross of Christ the center of his point of view, while the atonement was fundamental with all Paul's thinking. See, further, JAMES, EPISTLE OF.

III. The Old Testament.—A word in conclusion as to the OT. All the NT writers built on the OT. That there should be a cleft or contradiction between the OT and what we call the NT would have been to them inconceivable. But they realized that that was the early dawn, while they lived in the light of day. Abraham believed in Jeh; and He reckoned it to him for righteousness (Gen **15** 6; Rom **4** 3). Who does not keep all parts of the law all the time is condemned (Dt **27** 26 LXX; Gal **3** 10; cf Ps **14**; **143** 2; Rom **3** 20; see vs 9–20, and the references to the OT in ARV). The prophets insisted upon the practical works of righteousness—"What doth Jeh require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Mic **6** 8). No religious attitude or services could take the place of uprightness of life. This does not mean that the OT writers understood that men were justified simply by their good deeds, for it was always believed that underneath all was the mercy and lovingkindness of God, whose forgiving grace was toward the broken and contrite spirit, the iniquities of whom were to be carried by the Servant of Jeh, who shall justify many (Ps **103** 8–13; **85** 10; Isa **57** 15; **53** 11, and many other passages).

IV. Later Development.—A brief statement now on the development of the doctrine in the Christian church.

1. Apostolic and Early Church Fathers

It is humiliating to confess that the witness immediately after the apostles (the apostolic Fathers) did not reach the serene heights of Paul, or even the lower levels of his brethren. There are passages which remind one of him, but one feels at once that the atmosphere is different. Christianity is conceived as a new law rather than as a gospel of the grace of God. We cannot go into the reasons for this: suffice it to say that in gentile Christendom the presuppositions for that gospel failed, and the NT writings were not yet in the consciousness of the church to the extent that they dominated her thinking. The fine passage in Clement of Rome (97 AD, ch xxxii: "They all therefore [i.e. Abraham and other early saints] were glorified and magnified, not through themselves or their own works or the righteous doings which they wrought, but through His [God's] will. And so we, having been called through His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith, whereby the Almighty God justified all men that ever have been from the beginning; to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.") is not at all on a par with his whole Ep., as he coördinates faith with other virtues in ch xxxv, makes hospitality and godliness the saving virtues for Lot in ch xi, couples hospitality and faith together as equal for Rahab in ch xii, and represents forgiveness of sins through keeping commandments and love in ch l. Ignatius (about 110–15 AD) speaks in one place about Jesus Christ dying for us, that believing on His death we might escape death (*Tral.* 2), but with him the real saving things are love, concord, obedience to bishops, and the indwelling God = Christ, though he has also the excellent passage: "None of these things is hidden from you if ye be perfect in your faith and love toward Jesus Christ, for these things are the beginning and end of life—faith is the beginning and love the end, and the two being found in unity are God, while all things else follow in their train unto true nobility" (Eph **14**). The so-called Barnabas (date uncertain) puts the death of Christ Jesus at the foundation of salvation, which is expressed by the remission of sins through His blood (Ch **5**), the kingdom of Jesus being on the cross, so that they who set their hope on Him shall live forever (ch **8**), while at the time even believers are not yet justified (ch **4**), for which finally a whole series of works of light must be done and works of darkness avoided (ch **19**). The Shepherd of Hermas and the Ancient Homily = 2 Clem are even more moralistic, where with whatever praise of faith we have the beginning of merit. The same legalistic tone sounds through that invaluable little roll found by Bryennios in 1873 and first published by him in Constantinople in December, 1883, *The Teaching (Didache) of the XII Apostles.* That Catholic trend went forward till it is almost full-fledged as early as Tertullian (fl. 200 AD) and Cyprian (250 AD). See a full statement in my *Cyprian*, 1906, 146 ff. And thus it continued until—so far as our outline is concerned—it struck Augustine, bishop of Hippo (396 ff), who in a masterly and living way united, so far as they could be united, the Pauline thoughts of sin, grace, and justification with the regular Catholic legalism. His book, *De Spiritu et Litera* (412 AD), was largely after Paul's own heart, and the Reformers hailed it with joy. But the Catholic elements he still kept, as for instance, that in justification a good concupiscence and a good-will are infused, that justification grows, that our merits must be taken into the account even though they are God's merits, that the faith which justifies is a faith which works by love, that faith is the holding true what God (and the church) says, though occasionally a deeper view of faith is seen, and that works are emphasized, as in *De fide et operibus*, in a Catholic fashion. With profound and thoroughly Christian thoughts, Augustine had not so worked himself clear of his Catholic inheritance that he could reproduce Paul purely. He made a bridge by which we could go either back to Paul or forward to Aquinas. As Harnack well says, Augustine experienced, on the one hand, the last revival in the ancient church of the principle that "faith alone saves," and, on the other, he silenced that principle for a thousand years. The very Catholic theologian who stood nearest to that principle overcame it (*Zeitschrift f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1891, 177). His misunderstanding of Paul's "faith that worketh through love" had momentous consequences.

Those consequences are best seen in the decrees of the Council of Trent (Session 6, 1547), to which we now turn, and which are the definite and final

2. Council of Trent

crystallization of the mediaeval development, so far as that development was Catholic. (1) Justification is a translation from a natural state to a state of grace. With this works prevenient grace, awakening and assisting, and with this in his turn man coöperates and prepares himself for justification. This coöperation has the merit of congruity, though the first call comes before any merit. (2) Faith is an element in justification. "Receiving faith by hearing, they of free will draw near to God, believing those things to be true which have been Divinely revealed and promised." Faith as a living trust in a personal Saviour for salvation is lacking. Among the truths believed is the mercy of God and that He wishes to justify the sinner in Christ. (3) This faith begets love to Christ and hatred to sin, which are elements also of the justifying process. (4) Now follows justification itself, "which is not a bare remission of sins, but also sanctification and renewal of the inner man through the voluntary reception of grace and of gifts." (5) But this renewal must take place through baptism, which, to the prepared adult, both gives and seals all the graces of salvation, forgiveness, cleansing, faith, hope and love. (6) Justification is preserved by obeying the commandments and by good works, which also increase it. (7) In case it is lost—and it can be lost, not by venial, but by mortal sin and by unbelief—it can be regained by the sacrament of penance. (8) To get it, to keep or regain it, it is also necessary to believe the doctrines as thus laid down and to be laid down by this Council (see the decrees in any ed, or in Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*, 2. Aufl., 206–16, or in Buckley's or in Waterworth's translations, and for an admirable and objective summary see Seeberg, *History of Doctrine*, II, 433–38).

3. Luther

Recent researches in Luther's early writings have shown that almost from the beginning of his earnest study of religious questions, he mounted up to Paul's view of justification by faith alone (Loofs, *DG*, 4. Aufl., 1906, 696–98). Faith is the trust in the mercy of God through Christ, and justification is the declaring righteous for His sake, which is followed by a real making righteous. From the beginning to the end of his life as a religious teacher these are the elements of his doctrine. Speaking of 1513–15, Loofs says (p. 697): "Upon these equations [to justify = to forgive, grace = mercy of the non-imputing God, faith = trust in His mercy] as the regulators of his religious self-judgment, Luther's piety rests, and corresponding to them his view of Christianity, and even later" (than 1513–15); and he adds that "to reckon as righteous" (*reputari justum*) must not be understood with Luther as an *opposition* "to make righteous," for his "to be justified without merits" in the sense of "to forgive" (*absolvi*) is at the same time the beginning of a new life: *remissio peccati . . . . ipsa resurrectio.* "His constantly and firmly held view, even more deeply understood later than in 1513–15, that 'to be justified without merit' = 'to be resurrected [to be born again]' = 'to be sanctified' is a pregnant formulation of his Christianity." So much being said, it is not necessary to draw out Luther's doctrine further, who in this respect "rediscovered Christianity as a religion," but it will suffice to refer to the Histories of Doctrine (Seeberg gives a full and brilliant exposition), to Köstlin, *Luthers Theologie*, 2. Aufl., 1901 (see Index s.v. "Rechtfertigung," and I, 349), and esp. to Thieme, *Die sittliche Triebkraft des Glaubens: eine Untersuchung zu Luthers Theologie*, 1895, 103–314.

From Luther and the other reformers the NT doctrine went over to the Protestant churches without essential modification, and has remained their nominal testimony until the present. A classic expression of it, which may be taken as representing evangelical Christendom, is the 11th of the 39 Articles of Religion of the Church of England: "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings: wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification." It is true that at one time Wesley's opponents accused him of departing from this doctrine, esp. on account of his famous Minute of 1770, but this was due to a radical misunderstanding of that Minute, for to the last he held staunchly Paul's doctrine (for proof see my article in *Lutheran Quarterly*, April, 1906, 171–75).

4. Schleiermacher

A new point of view was brought into modern theology by Schleiermacher, who starts from the fundamental fact of Christian experience that we have redemption and reconciliation with Christ, which fact becomes ours by union with Christ through faith. This union brings justification with other blessings, but justification is not considered as even in thought a separate act based on Christ's death, but as part of a great whole of salvation, historically realized step by step in Christ. The trend of his teaching is to break down the distinction between justification and regeneration, as they are simply different aspects of union with Christ.

Ritschl carried forward this thought by emphasizing the grace of the heavenly Father mediated in the first instance through the Son to the Christian community, "to which God imputes the position toward him of Christ its founder," and in the second instance to individuals "as by faith in the Gospel they attach themselves to this community. Faith is simply obedience to God and trust in the revelation of his grace in Christ." This brings sinners into fellowship with God which means eternal life, which is here and now realized, as the Fourth Gospel points out, in lordship over the world (cf Franks in *DCG*, I, 922–23). The judicial or forensic aspect of justification so thoroughly in-wrought in Paul's thought is denied by Ritschl. "In whatsoever way we view the matter," he says, "the attitude of God in the act of justification cannot be conceived as that of a judge" (*Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, ET, 1900, 90). W. N. Clarke agrees with Schleiermacher in eliminating justification as a separate element in the work of salvation, and harks back to the Catholic view in making it dependent on the new life and subsequent to it (*Christian Theology*, 407–8). No book has had as much influence in destroying the NT conception of justification among English-speaking readers as that of J. H. Newman, *Lectures on Justification*, 1838, 3d ed, 1874, which contains some of the finest passages in religious literature (pp. 270–73, 302, 338–39), but which was so sympathetic to the Catholic view that the author had nothing essential to retract when he joined Rome in 1845. "Whether we say we are justified by faith, or by works, or by sacraments, all these but mean this one doctrine that we are justified by grace which is given through sacraments, impetrated by faith, manifested in works" (p. 303).

5. Meaning and Message to the Modern Man

Lastly, has the NT conception of justification by faith any message to the modern man, or is it, as Lagarde held, dead in the Protestant churches, something which went overboard with the old doctrine of the Trinity and of Atonement? After an able historical survey, Holl concludes (*Die Rechtfertigungslehre im Licht der Geschichte d. Protestantismus*, Tübingen, 1906, 40–42) that there are two principles thoroughly congenial to modern thought which favor this doctrine, viz. that of the sanctity and importance of personality, the "I" that stands face to face with God, responsible to Him alone; and second, the restoration of the Reformation-thought of an all-working God. Whoever feels the pressure of these two principles, for him the question of justification becomes a living one. "The standard on which he must measure himself is the Absolute God, and who can stand in this judgment? Not simply on account of single acts, but with his 'I' and even with his good-willing. For that is just the curse which rests upon a man that his 'I' is the thing with which alone he wills and can seek God, and that it is this very 'I' which by its wilfulness, vanity and self-love poisons all his willing. Accordingly, it remains true, what the Reformers said, that man is entirely corrupt, and that he can do no otherwise than to despair when the majesty of God dawns upon him" (p. 41). There is, then, no other solution than the venture of faith that the same God who crushes our self-deceit lifts up with His sovereign grace, that we live through Him and before Him. Luther is right that religiously we can find no hold except on the Divine act of grace, which through faith in the Divine love and power working in us and for us ever makes us new in Christ. To give up the doctrine of justification, says Holl rightly (p. 42), is to give up conscious personal religion. Holl writes as a liberal, and he quotes a stronger liberal still, Treitschke, as saying that in the 19th cent. it was the orthodox preachers who proclaimed this doctrine, who built better than the liberals. Nor, says Holl in another book (*Was hat die Rechtfertigungslehre dem modernen Menschen zu sagen?* Tübingen, 1907, 26), can anyone who has experienced justification as an inner transformation be misled into moral unconcern. A moral ideal becomes his, much stronger and more compelling than worldly ethics. The new attitude toward God constituted by justification impels to an unending movement in the service of God and man. The doctrine has not had its day. It is a part of the eternal gospel. As long as sinful man has to do with an all-holy God, the experience of Paul, Luther and Wesley becomes in a sense normative for the race.

LITERATURE.—Besides the books mentioned in the text, the following on justification itself may be consulted (those marked with a star are Protestant, those with a dagger are Catholic or High Church Anglican): Goodwin,* new ed, with preface by Wesley, 1807; Junkins,* 1839; Hare,* new ed, 1839 (1st ed with preface by Jackson, 1817); Kerwick,† 1841; Heurtley,† 1846 (Bampton Lectures for 1845); McIlvaine,* 1861, 3d ed, 1868 (*Righteousness of Faith*, important); Buchanan,* 1867 (important); Body,† 1870; Bunyan,* new ed, 1873; Harkey,* 1875; Davies,* 1878; Sadler,† 1888; and Holden,† 1901. Besides these, Laurence, Bampton Lectures for 1804, sermon 6; Drummond, *Apostolic Teaching and Christ's Teaching* (see index); Schlatter, *NT Theology*, 2 vols, 1909–10; the various systematic Theologies; Theologies of the NT, and Comm. may be consulted; also Ménégoz, *Die Rechtfertigungslehre nach Paulus und nach Jakobus*, 1903; Kühl, *Die Stellung des Jakobusbriefes z. alttest. Gesetz u. z. Paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre*, 1905.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER

JUSTLE, jus''l (שָׁקַק, *shāḳaḳ*): The word occurs once in Nah **2** 4 (in AV and RV), where ARV has "rush to and fro."

JUSTUS, jus'tus (**'Ιοῦστος,** *Ioústos*): There are three of this name mentioned in the NT.

(1) It was the Rom surname of JOSEPH BARSABBAS (q.v.) (Acts **1** 23).

(2) A Corinthian proselyte (*sebómenos tón Theón*), whose house adjoined the synagogue and who received Paul when the Jews opposed him (Acts **18** 7). He was probably a Rom citizen, one of the *coloni*, and so he would be of assistance to the apostle in his work among the better class of Corinth. There is some disagreement among MSS regarding the name. *TR* gives "Justus" alone. RV following ℵE, Vulg, Boh, Arm, gives "Titus Justus"; WH, Tisch., B,D, give "Titius Justus"; Cheyne (*EB*, s.v. "Justus") thinks these forms a corruption of "Tertius Justus," and that the bearer of the name was the "Tertius" of Rom **16** 22. Paul still continued his lodgings with Aquila and Priscilla, but made the house of Justus his own synagogue.

(3) A Jew, **Jesus Justus,** mentioned with Mark and Aristarchus by Paul in his letters to the Colossians (Col **4** 11), is a fellow-worker and one that had been a comfort unto him. S. F. HUNTER

JUTTAH, jut'a (יֻטָּה, *yuṭṭāh*, Josh **21** 16; LXX **Τανύ,** *Tanú;* and in Josh **15** 55 AV, LXX **'Ιτάν,** *Itán*, A, *Iettá*); **JUTAH,** jōō'ta, jū'ta (יוּטָּה, *yūṭāh*, Josh **15** 55): A town in the hill country of Judah, mentioned with Maon, Carmel and Ziph; a Levitical city (Josh **21** 16). In some VSS of LXX it occurs ('Ιοτά, *Iotá*) in 1 Ch **6** 57. In the *Onom* (**266** 49; **133** 10) a large village called "Juttah" is described as 18 Rom miles from Eleutheropolis. This agrees with the position of *Yuṭṭā*, a large and prosperous Moslem village, 3,740 ft. above sea-level, 5⅓ miles S. of Hebron and 15½ miles from *Beit Jebrīn* (Eleutheropolis). There are many rock-cut tombs and ancient winepresses all around the village.

Reland (*Pal*, 870) suggested (and many others have followed him) that the πόλις 'Ιούδα, *pólis Ioúda*, tr^{d} "city of Judah," in Lk **1** 39, should be *pólis Ioúta*, "the city Yuta." The tr "city of Judah" is suspicious, because *Iouda* is without the article, which is usually put before the name of a district; the interchange of *t* and *d* is a very common one. Dr. Paterson, resident many years in Hebron, states that there is a local Moslem tradition in the district that *Yuṭṭa* was the home of John the Baptist. For *Yuṭṭa* see *PEF*, III, 310, Sh XXI.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

K

KAB, kab (קַב, *ḳabh*, "something hollowed out," 2 K **6** 25; AV **Cab**): A Heb dry measure and liquid measure equal to about 2 quarts. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

KABZEEL, kab'zḗ-el, kab'zēl (קַבְצְאֵל, *kabhç^{e}'ēl* "[whom] God collects"): One of the "uttermost cities" of Judah toward the border of Edom in the S. (Negeb) (Josh **15** 21). It was the native place of Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, one of David's mighty men (2 S **23** 20; 1 Ch **11** 22). "Jekabzeel and the villages thereof," one of the places re-inhabited by the men of Judah (Neh **11** 25), appears to be the same place. The site is unknown.

KADESH, kā'desh (קָדֵשׁ, *ḳādhēsh;* **Καδής,** *Kadḗs*, Ps **29** 8; Jth **1** 9). See KADESH-BARNEA.

KADESH-BARNEA, kā'desh-bär'nḗ-a (קָדֵשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ, *ḳādhēsh barnē$^{a‘}$;* **Καδής,** *Kadḗs*): Mentioned 10 t; called also "Kadesh" simply. The name was that of a region; Israel did not camp on a spot. There are references to Kadesh in other early history. At En-mishpat ("the same is Kadesh") Chedorlaomer and his allies smote the Amalekite and Amorite. Abraham dwelt near Kadesh, and it was at Beer-lahai-roi between Kadesh and Bered that the Angel of Jeh appeared to Hagar (Gen **14** 7; **16** 14; **20** 1). It was an important camp of the Israelites during their wanderings, and seems to have been their headquarters for 38 years (Dt **1** 2; **2** 14; Jth **5** 14). There the returning spies found the camp (Nu **13** 26); there Miriam died and was buried (Nu **20** 1); from thence messengers were sent to the king of Edom (Nu **20** 14; Jgs **11** 16 ff). There the people rebelled because of the want of water, and Moses brought water from the rock (Nu **20** 2 ff); it was called therefore Meribath—or Meriboth-Kadesh (Nu **27** 14; Ezk **47** 19; **48** 28). It was situated in the wilderness of Zin (Nu **20** 1; **33** 36.37) in the hill country of the Amorites (Dt **1** 19), 11 days' journey from Horeb, by the way of Mt. Seir (Dt **1** 2), "in the uttermost" of the border of Edom (Nu **20** 16), and on the southern border, probably the S.E. corner, of Judah (Ezk **47** 19; cf Jth **1** 9). See Cobern, *Homiletic Review*, April and May, 1914.

S. F. Hunter

KADESH IN GALILEE. See Kedesh, 3.

KADESH ON THE ORONTES, ṓ-ron′tēz (in MT of 2 S **24** 6, under the corrupt form תַּחְתִּים חָדְשִׁי, *taḥtīm ḥodhshī*, which should be corrected from the LXX [Luc.] reading: **εἰς τὴν γὴν Χεττιεὶμ Καδής,** *eis tḗn gḗn Chettieím Kadḗs*, "to the land of the Hittites unto Kadesh," into אֶרֶץ הַחִתִּים קָדֵשָׁה, *'ereç ha-ḥittīm ḳādhēshāh.* Ewald and others, fixing the northern ideal boundary of Israel at the sources of the Jordan, would read "Hermon" for *ḥodhshī*, but the conjectures of Thenius and Hitzig of a reference to the northern Kadesh are fully confirmed by the reading given): Kadesh was the southern capital of the Hittites, and was situated on the upper waters of the Orontes, 80 miles N. of Damascus. It is now represented by a large mound 5 miles S. of what, till the Middle Ages, was called the Lake of Kades, but now the Lake of Homs. Here Thothmes III of Egypt (fl. 1650 BC), after the battle of Megiddo, met and received hostages from the Assyrians, and here too Rameses II defeated Hatesar, king of the Hittites (c 1320 BC), and concluded with him a treaty, which was formally inscribed on a disk of silver. The incidents of the battle are depicted on the walls of the Ramesseum, and an Egyp epic records the heroic deeds of Rameses. Under the name Kadytis, it is mentioned as being taken by Pharaoh-necoh (Herod. ii.159) in 609 BC. In the only Bible reference (2 S **24** 6), it is named as the northern limit of the census made by David.

W. M. Christie

KADMIEL, kad′mi-el (קַדְמִיאֵל, *ḳadhmī'ēl*, "before God," "priest"[?]; "Cadmiel" in ‖ lists in 1 Esd **5** 26.58 AV; omitted in LXX B; A reads *kaí Kadmiḗlon*): A Levite (Ezr **2** 40; Neh **7** 43), founder of a family whose descendants returned from captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr **2** 1; Neh **7** 43; **12** 1.8). He is named among those who praise God for the return (Neh **9** 4.5; **12** 24); was of those who "set forward" the work of the Lord's house (Ezr **3** 9; 1 Esd **5** 26.58), and is again mentioned with those who "seal" the new Return Covenant (Neh **10** 28 ff) after the reëstablishment of worship (Neh **10** 1.9).

KADMONITE, kad′mon-īt (קַדְמֹנִי, *ḳadhmōnī;* **Κεδμωναῖοι,** *Kedmōnaíoi*, signifies "the Easterner," or, less probably, "one of the ancient race"): The Kadmonites are mentioned in Gen **15** 19 along with the Kenites and Kenizzites of Edom, and are doubtless the same as "the children of the east," whose wisdom was celebrated (1 K **4** 30). קֵדְמָה, *ḳēdhᵉmāh*, "the East," was a son of Ishmael (Gen **25** 15; cf ver 6). In an Egyp story describing the adventures of a political refugee who fled from Egypt in the time of the XIIth Dynasty, it is said that he found a refuge in Canaan in the land of Kaduma or Kedem.

A. H. Sayce

KAIN, kān (הַקַּיִן, *ha-ḳayin;* AV **Cain**): A town in the hill country of Judah (Josh **15** 57). There is, too, apparently a reference to this place in Nu **24** 21.22:

> "And he looked on the Kenite, and took up his parable, and said,
> Strong is thy dwelling-place,
> And thy nest is set in the rock.
> Nevertheless Kain shall be wasted,
> Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive."

This place has been very doubtfully identified as the ruin *Yuḳīn*, a place on a lofty hill S.E. of Hebron, overlooking the wilderness of Judah; the tomb of Cain is shown there. See *PEF*, III, 312, Sh XXI.

E. W. G. Masterman

KAIN (קַיִן, *ḳāyin*): A clan name, AV "the Kenite" (Nu **24** 22; Jgs **4** 11). In the first passage RV has "Kain" and m "the Kenites"; in the second, RV has "the Kenite" in text and m "Kain." Cf preceding article.

KALLAI, kal′ā-ī, kal′ī (קַלַּי, *ḳallay*, √ קַל, *ḳal*, "swift"): A priest among those who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh **12** 1). He represented the family of Sallai (Neh **12** 20).

KAMON, kā′mon (קָמוֹן, *ḳāmōn;* AV **Camon**): The place where Jair was buried (Jgs **10** 3–5). It is possibly represented either by *Ḳamm* or *Ḳumeim*, ruins which lie about 6 and 7 miles respectively to the S.S.E. of *Umm Ḳeis.* See further Havvoth-jair. The ruins of *Ḳamm*, about 200 yds. square, crown a small elevation, and point to an important place in the past. There are large rock-hewn cisterns to the S. Among the ruins of *Ḳumein*, which are not considerable, a few mud huts are built, occupied today by about 200 souls (Schumacher, *Northern 'Ajlûn*, 137).

KANAH, kā′na (קָנָה, *ḳānāh*, "reeds"):

(1) The name of a "brook," i.e. *wādy*, or "torrent bed," which formed part of the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh **16** 8; **17** 9). The border of Ephraim went out westward from Tappuah to the brook Kanah, ending at the sea; the border of Manasseh from Tappuah, which belonged to Ephraim, "went down unto the brook of Kanah, southward of the brook." There seems no good reason to doubt the identification of "the brook Kanah" with the modern *Wādy Kanah.* The transition from the heavy *ḳ* to the lighter *k* is easy, so the phonetic difficulty is not serious. The stream rises in the S.W. of Shechem, flows through *Wādy Ishkar*, and, joining the *'Aujeh*, reaches the sea not far to the N. of Jaffa. Guérin, influenced, apparently, by the masses of reeds of various kinds which fill the river, argues in favor of *Nahr el-Fāliḳ*, to the N. of *Arsūf.* He identifies it with *Nahr el-Ḳaṣab*, "river of reeds," mentioned by Behā ed-Dīn, the Moslem historian. But this last must be identified with *Nahr el-Mafjir*, 13 miles farther N., too far N. for "the brook Kanah."

(2) A town on the northern boundary of Asher (Josh **19** 28), probably identical with the village of *Ḳana*, about 7 miles S.E. of Tyre (*SWP*, I, 51, 64, Sh I).

W. Ewing

KAPH, kāf (כּ, כ, ךְ, ך): The 11th letter of the Heb alphabet; transliterated in this Encyclopaedia as *k*, with daghesh, and *kh* (=German *ch*) without daghesh. It came also to be used for the number 20. For name, etc, see Alphabet.

KAREAH, ka-rē′a (קֵרֵחַ, *ḳārēᵃḥ,* "bald head"): The father of Johanan and Jonathan, who after the fall of Jerus joined Gedaliah at Mizpah (2 K **25** 23; Jer **40** 8).

KARIATHIARIUS, kā-ri-ath-i-ā′ri-us (**Καριαθιαριός,** *Kariathiariós;* B reads *Kartatheiareiós;* AV **Kiriathiarim** [1 Esd **5** 19]) = Kiriath-jearim in Neh **7** 29.

KARKA, kär′ka (הַקַּרְקָעָה, *ha-ḳarḳāʿāh*—with the art. and ה *locale;* AV **Karkaa**): A place in the S. of Judah, between Addar and *Wādy el-ʿArīsh* (Josh **15** 3). *Onom* speaks of a village in Judah lying toward the wilderness, named *Akarka.* It cannot now be identified. The name means "the pavement," or "ground."

KARKOR, kär′kor (קַרְקֹר, *ḳarḳōr*): An unidentified place where Gideon surprised and overwhelmed the remnants of the army of Zeba and Zalmunnah (Jgs **8** 10 ff). It probably corresponds to Ḳarḳar mentioned by Shalmaneser II, S. of Hamath (*KB*, I, 173).

KARTAH, kär′ta (קַרְתָּה, *ḳartāh*): A city in the territory of Zebulun, assigned to the Levites (Josh **21** 34). It is not identified. Possibly it is a variant of KATTATH, or of KARTAN (q.v.).

KARTAN, kär′tan (קַרְתָּן, *ḳartān*): A city in the territory of Naphtali, given to the Gershonite Levites (Josh **21** 32). It is called Kiriathaim in 1 Ch **6** 76. Kartan may be a contraction of this. Cheyne (*EB*, s.v.) suggests that both names may be corruptions from "Chinnereth." Neither is mentioned in Josh **19** 32.38, in the list of Naphtalite cities, while Chinnereth is.

KATTATH, kat′ath (קַטָּת, *ḳaṭṭāth*): A city in the territory of Zebulun, named with Iphtah-el, Nahalel, and Shimron (Josh **19** 15), perhaps to be identified with Kitron (Jgs **1** 30), from which Zebulun did not expel the Canaanites; and with Kartah (Josh **21** 34), which was given to the Merarite Levites. The Bab Talm (*Meg.* **6***a*) identifies Kattath with Sepphoris, the modern *Ṣeffūriyeh* (but see Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, 191). The Jerus Talm takes it as identical with *Ḳetūnith, Ḳuṭeineh,* to the W. of Esdraelon. It should probably, however, be sought near to Shimron, the modern *Semūniyeh.* W. EWING

KEDAR, kē′dar (קֵדָר, *ḳēdhār;* **Κηδάρ,** *Kēdár*): Second in order of the sons of Ishmael (Gen **25** 13 ‖ 1 Ch **1** 29). The name occurs as typical of a distant eastern country in opposition to the lands of the Mediterranean (Jer **2** 10). The author of Second Isa introduces this tribe in company with Nebaioth, and both are represented as owners of flocks (Isa **60** 7). Evidence of their nomadic habits appears in Jer **49** 28.29, where they are classed among the *Bᵉnē-Ḳedhem,* and mention is made of their flocks, camels, tents, curtains and furniture. They are spoken of (Isa **42** 11) as dwelling in *ḥăçērīm* ("villages"), from which it would appear that they were a somewhat settled tribe, corresponding to the Arab. *ḥaḍarīya* or "town-dwellers," as distinct from *wabarīya* or "nomads." Ezekiel (**27** 21) gives another hint of their pastoral nature where, in his detailed picture of the wealth of Tyre, Kedar and Arabia provide the Tyrians with lambs, rams and goats. The fame of the tribe is further reflected in Isa **21** 16.17 (the only allusion to their might in war), and in the figurative references to their tents (Ps **120** 5; Cant **1** 5). In this last passage where the tents are made symbolic of dark beauty, the word *ḳādhar* ("to be black") may have been in the writer's mind.

The settlements of Kedar were probably in the N.W. of Arabia, not far from the borders of Pal. Assyr inscriptions have thrown light upon the history of the tribe. There Kedar is mentioned along with the Arabs and Nebaioth, which decides its identity with Kedar of the OT, and there is found also an account of the conflicts between the tribe and King Assurbanipal (see Margoliouth in *HDB*).

Of the Ishmaelite tribes, Kedar must have been one of the most important, and thus in later times the name came to be applied to all the wild tribes of the desert. It is through Kedar (Arab. *ḳeidār*) that Muslim genealogists trace the descent of Mohammed from Ishmael. A. S. FULTON

KEDEMAH, ked′ē-ma, kē̇-dē′ma (קֵדְמָה, *ḳēdhᵉmāh,* "eastward"): Son of Ishmael (Gen **25** 16), head of a clan (1 Ch **1** 31). See KADMONITE.

KEDEMOTH, ked′ē̇-moth, kē̇-dē′moth (קְדֵמוֹת, *ḳᵉdhēmōth,* "eastern parts"): From the wilderness to which this town gave its name, Moses sent messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites in Heshbon (Dt **2** 26). It was given by Moses to the tribe of Reuben (Josh **13** 18), and assigned to the Merarite Levites (**21** 37; 1 Ch **6** 79). It must probably be sought on the upper course of the Arnon. Buhl (*GAP*, 268) suggests that it may be identified with *Umm er-Reṣāṣ.* See JAHAZ.

KEDESH, kē′desh (קֶדֶשׁ, *ḳedhesh;* **Κάδης,** *Kádēs*):

(1) One of the "uttermost cities" of Judah "toward the border of Edom in the S." (Josh **15** 23). Possibly it is to be identified with KADESH-BARNEA (q.v.); otherwise it is strange that this latter should be omitted from the list. Dillmann would identify it with *Kādūs,* to the S. of Hebron, mentioned by Muḳaddasi.

(2) A town in the territory of Issachar, given to the Gershonite Levites (1 Ch **6** 72). In the list of Joshua (**21** 28) its place is taken by KISHION (q.v.). Conder suggests identification with *Tell Abu Ḳadēs,* near Megiddo.

Kedesh-naphtali

(3) Kedesh-naphtali, the famous city of refuge in the uplands of Naphtali. It is called "Kedesh," simply, in Josh **12** 22, etc; Kedesh-naphtali in Jgs **4** 6; Tob **1** 2; Kedesh in Galilee in Josh **20** 7, etc. It was assigned to the Gershonite Levites (1 Ch **6** 76). From the name "holy," we gather that it was a sanctuary from old time. It was therefore a place of asylum, and only preserved its ancient character in this respect when chosen as one of the cities of refuge. It was the home of Barak, and here his host assembled. When the Assyrians invaded the land under Tiglath-pileser, it was among the first cities to be captured, and its inhabitants were deported (2 K **15** 29). Near Kedesh was fought the great battle between Jonathan the Maccabee and Demetrius (1 Macc **11** 63 ff). Jos says that in his time it belonged to the Tyrians, lying between their land and that of Galilee (*Ant*, XIII, v, 6; *BJ*, II, xviii, 1; IV, ii, 3, etc). *Onom* places it 20 miles from Tyre, near to Paneas. It is represented by the modern village of *Ḳedes,* which lies on the plateau to the W. of *el-Ḥūleh.* It crowns a *tell* which runs out in a low ridge into the little plain to the W. Near the fountain, which rises under the ridge to the N., are the most interesting of the ancient remains. There are many fine sarcophagi, some of them being used as watering-troughs. From its lofty situation, Kedesh commanded a spacious view over a richly varied

landscape (*Annual of American School of Oriental Research*, Vol. VI, 13 ff). W. EWING

KEDESH (1 Macc **11** 63.73, A, **Κῆδες**, *Kḗdes;* AV Cades): Scene of a battle between Judas Maccabaeus and the forces of Demetrius. See KEDESH-NAPHTALI, under KEDESH, 3.

KEDESH-NAPHTALI, kē′desh-naf′ta-lī. See KEDESH, 3.

KEEPER, kēp′ẽr, **KEEPERS** (mostly from שָׁמַר, *shāmar;* **φύλαξ,** *phúlax*): The word is used of keepers of sheep, vineyards, doors, prisons (in Gen **39** 21 ff, *ṣar;* cf Acts **5** 23), etc. In Eccl **12** 3, "The keepers of the house shall tremble," the allusion is to the decay of bodily powers, the "keepers" being specially the arms, which had become feeble through age.

KEHELATHAH, kē-hė̄-lā′tha, kė̄-hel′a-tha (קְהֵלָתָה, *ḳᵉhēlāthāh,* "gathering," "assembly"): A desert camp of the Israelites between Rissah and Mt. Shepher (Nu **33** 22.23). Situation is unknown. See WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

KEILAH, kė̄-ī′la (קְעִילָה, *ḳᵉʽīlāh;* **Κεειλάμ,** *Keeilám*):

(1) A city of the Shephelah mentioned (Josh **15** 44) along with Nezib, Achzib and Mareshah. Among those who repaired the walls of Jerus was "Hashabiah, the ruler of half the district of Keilah, for his district. After him repaired their brethren, Bavvai the son of Henadad, the ruler of half the district of Keilah" (Neh **3** 17.18).

1. David and Keilah

It is, however, from the story of the wandering of David that we have most information regarding this place. It was a city with gates and bars (1 S **23** 7). The Philis came against it and commenced robbing the threshing-floors. David, after twice inquiring of Jeh, went down with his 600 men (ver 13) and "fought with the Philis, and brought away their cattle, and slew them with a great slaughter." Saul hearing that David and his men were within a fortified town "summoned all the people to war, to go down to Keilah, to besiege David and his men" (ver 8). Then David asked Abiathar the priest to bring him an ephod, and he inquired of Jeh whether, if Saul came, the men of Keilah would surrender him to save that city; hearing from Jeh, "They will deliver thee up," he and all his men escaped from Keilah and went into the wilderness. The reputed strength of Keilah is confirmed by its mention in 5 tablets in the Am Tab under the name of *Kilta* (*ḳilti,* Petrie) with Gedor, Gath, Rabbah and Gezer.

2. Identification

Although other identifications were proposed by the older topographers, there is now a general consensus of opinion that the site of this city is *Khurbet Ḳīlā* (Jos, *Ant,* VI, xiii, 1, in his account of David's adventure calls the place "Killa"). It is a hill covered with ruins in the higher part of *Wādy eṣ Ṣûr,* 1,575 ft. above sea-level, whose terraced sides are covered with cornfields. The *Onom* (Lat text) states that it was 8 miles from Eleutheropolis, which is about the distance of *Kh. Ḳīlā* from *Beit Jibrīn. Beit Nuṣîb* (Nezib) is a couple of miles away, and *Tell Sandahannah* (Mareshah) but 7 miles to the W. (Josh **15** 44). An early Christian tradition states that the prophet Habakkuk was buried at Keilah.

(2) The Garmite (q.v.), 1 Ch **4** 19; see *PEF,* 314, Sh XXI.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

KELAIAH, kė̄-lā′ya, kė̄-lī′a (קְלָיָה, *ḳēlāyāh,* "swift for Jeh"[?]; **Κωλίος,** *Kōlíos,* B, **Κώνος,** *Kṓnos*): One of the priests who had "foreign wives" (Ezr **10** 23, also "Kelita"). In ‖ list of 1 Esd **9** 23, he again has a double name—"Colius" and "Calitas." A "Kelita" is named as helping Ezra at the expounding of the law (Neh **8** 7; cf 1 Esd **9** 48, "Calitas"), and also among the signatories of the covenant (Neh **10** 9; for nature of covenant see vs 28 ff). They may not, however, be the same person.

KELITA, kel′i-ta, kė̄-lī′ta (קְלִיטָא, *ḳᵉlīṭā'* "dwarf"). See KELAIAH.

KEMUEL, kem′ū-el, kė̄-mū′el (קְמוּאֵל, *ḳᵉmū'ēl,* "God's mound"):

(1) Nephew of Abraham (Gen **22** 21), father of Aram, whom Ewald identifies with Ram of Job **32** 2; but cf Gen **10** 22, where Aram is described as one of the *children* of Shem. They may not be the same person.

(2) Prince of Ephraim, one of the land commissioners who divided Canaan (Nu **34** 24).

(3) A Levite, father of Hashabiah, one of the tribal princes of David's time, a ruler among the Levites (1 Ch **27** 17).

KENAN, kē′nan (קֵינָן, *ḳēnān;* **Καινάν,** *Kainán*): A son of Enosh, the son of Seth (Gen **5** 9.10.12.13.14; 1 Ch **1** 2). AV form (except in 1 Ch **1** 2), is "Cainan."

KENATH, kē′nath (קְנָת, *ḳᵉnāth;* **Καάθ,** *Kaáth, Kaanáth* in LXX, A): A city in Bashan, taken along with its "daughters," i.e. "villages" from the Amorites by Nobah who gave it his own name (Nu **32** 42). It was recaptured by Geshur and Aram (1 Ch **2** 23). It is probably identical with the modern *Ḳanawāt,* which is built on the site, and largely from the materials of an ancient city. It lies about 16 miles to the N. of *Boṣra eski Shām,* the Bostra of the Romans, on both sides of *Wādy Ḳanawāt,* where, descending from the slopes of *Jebel ed-Druze,* it plunges over a precipice, forming a picturesque waterfall. On the plateau above the modern village, there is a striking collection of Rom and Christian remains, the shapely forms of many columns lending distinction to the scene. One large building is associated with the name of the patriarch Job—*Maḳām Ayyūb.* The position commands a spacious and interesting view over the whole of the *Ḥaurān.* The identification has been rejected by Socin (Baedeker, *Pal*³, 207), but his reasons are not given. Moore (*Jgs,* 222) also rejects it, but for reasons that are not convincing. W. EWING

KENAZ, kē′naz, **KENEZ,** kē′nez (קְנַז, *ḳᵉnaz,* "hunting"):

(1) A "duke" of Edom, grandson of Esau (Gen **36** 11.15.42; 1 Ch **1** 36.53).

(2) Father of Othniel (Josh **15** 17; Jgs **1** 13; **3** 9.11; 1 Ch **4** 13).

(3) The unidentified *ḳᵉnaz* of 1 Ch **4** 15, who appears to be a descendant of (2). There is, however, some difficulty with the passage here.

KENEZITE, kē′nez-īt (קְנִזִּי, *ḳᵉnizzī;* **Κενεζαῖος,** *Kenezaíos*): AV in Gen **15** 19 and RV uniformly, spell "Kenizzite." The Kenezites were the clan whose name-father was KENAZ (q.v.). Their land, along with that of their Canaanite tribes, was promised to Abram (Gen **15** 19). To this clan belonged Jephunneh, the father of Caleb (Nu **32** 12; Josh **14** 6.14). It had evidently been absorbed by the tribe of Judah. If the Kenezites went down with Jacob into Egypt, they may have become identified with his family there.

KENITES, kē′nīts (הַקֵּנִי, *ha-ḳēnī*, הַקֵּינִי, *ha-ḳēnī;* in Nu **24** 22 and Jgs **4** 11, קַיִן, *ḳāyin;* **οἱ Κεναῖοι,** *hoi Kenaíoi,* **οἱ Κιναῖοι,** *hoi Kinaíoi*): A tribe of nomads named in association with various other peoples. They are first mentioned along with the Kadmonites and Kenizzites among the peoples whose land was promised to Abram (Gen **15** 19). Balaam, seeing them from the heights of Moab, puns upon their name, which resembles the Heb *ḳēn,* "a nest," prophesying their destruction although their nest was "set in the rock"—possibly a reference to Sela, the city. Moses' father-in-law, Jethro, is called "the priest of Midian" in Ex **3** 1; **18** 1; but in Jgs **1** 16 he is described as a Kenite, showing a close relation between the Kenites and Midian. At the time of Sisera's overthrow, Heber, a Kenite, at "peace" with Jabin, king of Hazor, pitched his tent far N. of his ancestral seats (Jgs **4** 17). There were Kenites dwelling among the Amalekites in the time of Saul (1 S **15** 6). They were spared because they had "showed kindness to all the children of Israel, when they came up out of Egypt." David, in his answer to Achish, links the Kenites with the inhabitants of the S. of Judah (**27** 10). Among the ancestors of the tribe of Judah, the Chronicler includes the Kenite Hammath, the father of the Rechabites (1 Ch **2** 55). These last continued to live in tents, practising the ancient nomadic customs (Jer **35** 6 ff).

The word *ḳēnī* in Aram. means "smith." Professor Sayce thinks they may really have been a tribe of smiths, resembling "the gipsies of modern Europe, as well as the traveling tinkers or blacksmiths of the Middle Ages" (*HDB,* s.v.). This would account for their relations with the different peoples, among whom they would reside in pursuit of their calling.

In Jos they appear as *Kenetídes,* and in *Ant,* IV, vii, 3 he calls them "the race of the Shechemites."

W. Ewing

KENIZZITE, ken′i-zīt. See Kenezite.

KENOSIS, kē-nō′sis: The word "kenosis" (*κένωσις, kénōsis*) has entered theological language from Phil **2** 7, where in the sentence he "emptied himself" the Gr vb. is *ekénōsen.* "Kenosis," then, the corresponding noun, has become a technical term for the humiliation of the Son in the incarnation, but in recent years has acquired a still more technical sense, i.e. of the Son's emptying Himself of certain attributes, esp. of omniscience.

1. The NT (1) The theological question involved was one about as far as possible from the minds of the Christians of the apostolic age and apparently one that never occurred to St. Paul. For in Phil **2** 7 the only "emptying" in point is that of the (external) change from the "form of God" to the "form of a servant." Elsewhere in the NT it is usually taken as a matter of course that Christ's knowledge was far higher than that of other men (Jn **2** 24 is the clearest example). But passages that imply a limitation of that knowledge do exist and are of various classes. Of not much importance are the entirely incidental references to the authorship of OT passages where the traditional authorship is considered erroneous, as no other method of quotation would have been possible. Somewhat different are the references to the nearness of the Parousia (esp. Mt **10** 23; **24** 29). But with these it is always a question how far the exact phraseology has been framed by the evangelists and, apart from this, how far Christ may not have been consciously using current imagery for the impending spiritual revolution, although knowing that the details would be quite different (see Parousia). Limitation of knowledge may perhaps be deduced from the fact that Christ could be amazed (Mt **8** 10, etc), that He could be really tempted (esp. He **4** 15), or that He possessed faith (He **12** 2; see comm.). More explicitly Christ is said to have *learned* in Lk **2** 52; He **5** 8. And, finally, in Mk **13** 32 ‖ Mt **24** 36, Christ states categorically that He is ignorant of the exact time of the Parousia.

(2) An older exegesis felt only the last of these passages as a real difficulty. A distinction constructed between knowledge naturally possessed and knowledge gained by experience (i.e. although the child Jesus knew the alphabet naturally, He was obliged to learn it by experience) covered most of the others. For Mk **13** 32 a variety of explanations were offered. The passage was tr^d "neither the Son, except the Father know it," a tr that can be borne by the Gr. But it simply transfers the difficulty by speaking of the Father's knowledge as hypothetical, and is an impossible tr of Mt **24** 36, where the word "only" is added. The explanations that assume that Christ knew the day but had no commission to reveal it are most unsatisfactory, for they place insincere words in His mouth; "It is not for you to know the day" would have been the inevitable form of the saying (Acts **1** 7).

2. Dogmatic (1) Yet the attempt so to misinterpret the verses is not the outcome of a barren dogmatic prejudice, but results from a dread lest real injury be done to the fundamentals of Christian consciousness. Not only does the mind of the Christian revolt from seeing in Christ anything less than true God, but it revolts from finding in Him two centers of personality—Christ was *One.* But as omniscience is an essential attribute of God, it is an essential attribute of the incarnate Son. So does not any limitation of Christ's human knowledge tend to vitiate a sound doctrine of the incarnation? Certainly, to say with the upholders of the kenosis in its "classical" form that the Son, by an exercise of His will, determined to be ignorant as man, is not helpful, as the abandonment by God of one of His own essential attributes would be the preposterous corollary. (2) Yet the Bib. data are explicit, and an explanation of some kind must be found. And the solution seems to lie in an ambiguous use of the word "knowledge," as applied to Christ as God and as man. When we speak of a man's knowledge in the sense discussed in the kenotic doctrine, we mean the totality of facts present in his intellect, and by his ignorance we mean the absence of a fact or of facts from that intellect. Now in the older discussions of the subject, this intellectual knowledge was tacitly assumed (mystical theology apart) to be the only knowledge worthy of the name, and so it was at the same time also assumed that God's knowledge is intellectual also —"God geometrizes." Under this assumption God's knowledge is essentially of the same *kind* as man's, differing from man's only in its purity and extent. And this assumption is made in all discussions that speak of the knowledge of the Son as God illuminating His mind as man. (3) Modern critical epistemology has, however, taught man a sharp lesson in humility by demonstrating that the intellect is by no means the perfect instrument that it has been assumed to be. And the faults are by no means faults due to lack of instruction, evil desires, etc, but are resident in the intellect itself, and inseparable from it *as an intellect.* Certain recent writers (Bergson, most notably) have even built up a case of great strength for regarding the intellect as a mere product of utilitarian development, with the defects resulting naturally from such an evolution. More esp. does this restriction of the intellect seem to be true in religious knowledge, even if the contentions of Kant and (esp.) Ritschl be not fully admitted. Certain it is, in any case, that even human knowledge is something far wider than intellectual knowledge, for there are many things that we know that we never could have learned through the intellect, and, apparently, many elements of our knowledge are almost or quite incapable of translation into intellectual terms. Omniscience, then, is by no means intellectual omniscience, and it is not to be reached by any mere process of expansion of an intellect. An "omniscient intellect" is a contradiction in terms. (4) In other words, God's omniscience is not merely human intellectual knowledge raised to the infinite power, but something of an entirely different *quality*, hardly conceivable to human thought—as different from human intellectual knowledge as the Divine omnipotence is different from muscular strength. Consequently, the passage of this knowledge into a human intellect is impossible, and the problem of the incarnation should be stated: What effect did Divine omniscience in the person have on the conscious intellect of the manhood? There is so little help from the past to be gained in answering this question, that it must remain open at present—if, indeed, it is ever capable of a full answer. But that ignorance in the intellect of the manhood is fully consistent with omniscience in the person seems to be not merely a safe answer to the question as stated, but an inevitable answer if the true humanity of Christ is to be maintained at all.

Literature.—Sanday's *Christology and Personality*, 1911, and La Zouche, *The Person of Christ in Modern Thought*, 1912, are among the latest discussions of the subject, with very full references to the modern literature.

Burton Scott Easton

KERAS, kē′ras (**Κίρας**, *Kíras*): In 1 Esd **5** 29, the head of a family of temple-servants, called "Keroz" in Ezr **2** 44; Neh **7** 47.

KERCHIEF, kẽr′chif (מִסְפָּחוֹת, *misְpāḥōth;* **ἐπιβόλαια**, *epibólaia*): Occurs only in Ezk **13** 18.21, in a passage which refers to some species of divination. Their exact shape or use is unknown. They were apparently long veils or coverings put over the heads of those consulting the false prophetesses and reaching down to the feet, for they were for "persons of every stature."

KEREN-HAPPUCH, ker′en-hap′uk, kē′ren-hap′uk (קֶרֶן הַפּוּךְ, *ḳeren happūkh*, "horn of antimony," i.e. beautifier; LXX **Ἀμαλθείας κέρας**, *Amaltheías kéras*): The 3d daughter of Job (Job **42** 14), born after his restoration from affliction. Antimony, producing a brilliant black, was used among the Orientals for coloring the edges of the eyelids, making the eyes large and lustrous. Hence the suggestiveness of this name of an article of the ladies' toilet, a little horn or receptacle for the eye-paint.

KERIOTH, kē′ri-oth, -ōth (קְרִיּוֹת, *ḳ^{e}rīyōth*):

(1) A city of Moab, named with Beth-meon and Bozrah (Jer **48** 24.41). Here was a sanctuary of Chemosh, to which Mesha says (M S, l. 13) he dragged "the altar hearths of Davdoh." It may possibly be represented by the modern *Ḳuraiāt*, between *Dībān* and *'Aṭṭārūs*. Some (e.g. Driver on Am **2** 2) think it may be only another name for Ar-Moab. Buhl (*GAP*, 270) would identify it with Kir of Moab (*Kerak*). No certainty is yet possible.

(2) A city of Judah (Josh **15** 25; RV Kerioth-hezron [q.v.]), possibly the modern *el-Ḳuryatain*, to the N.E. of *Tell 'Arād*.

W. Ewing

KERIOTH-HEZRON, kē′ri-oth-hez′ron (קְרִיּוֹת חֶצְרוֹן, *ḳ^{e}rīyōth ḥeçrōn;* Josh **15** 25 says, "The same is Hazor"; AV "Kerioth and Hezron which is Hazor"): One of the cities in the "south" of Judah. Robinson (*BR*, II, 101) identifies it with the ruined site of *Kuryatain*, 4½ miles N. of *Tell 'Arād*. It has been suggested that Kerioth was the birth place of Judas Iscariot (q.v.). Cf Kerioth, 2.

KERNEL, kûr′nel (חַרְצַנִּים, *ḥarçannīm*, EV "kernels"; LXX reads *stémphullon* used by Aristophanes as=olives from which oil has been pressed, later, in same, of raisin pulp): Mentioned in Nu **6** 4 along with זָג, *zāgh*, tr^{d} "husks." This tr, "kernels" or "grape stones," is from the Tg and Talm, but is doubtful, and it may be the word should be tr^{d} "sour grapes."

KEROS, kē′ros (קֵירֹס, *ḳērōṣ*, "fortress"[?]): One of the Nethinim (Ezr **2** 44; Neh **7** 47), an order appointed to the liturgical offices of the temple. See Nethinim.

KESIL, kē′zil (Orion). See Astronomy.

KESITAH, kes′i-tä, ke-sē′ta (קְשִׂיטָה, *ḳ^{e}sīṭāh*). See Piece of Money.

KETAB, kē′tab (**Κητάβ**, *Kētáb*): Ancestor of a family of Nethinim (1 Esd **5** 30).

KETTLE, ket′'l: In EV only in 1 S **2** 14 for *dūdh*, "a vessel for cooking." The same word in 2 Ch **35** 13 is rendered "caldrons," and in Job **41** 20 (Heb 12), "pot." Ps **81** 6 (Heb 7) (AV "pots") belongs rather to another signification of the word (RV "basket," for carrying clay or bricks).

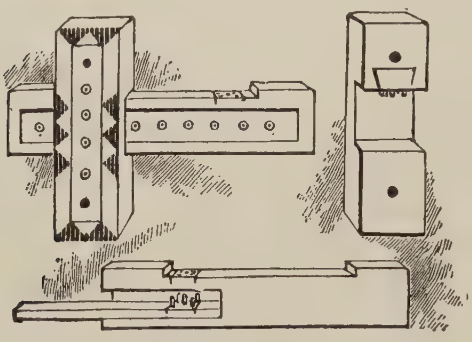
KETURAH, ke-tū′rä, ke-tōō′rä (קְטוּרָה, *ḳ^{e}ṭūrāh;* **Χεττούρα**, *Chettoúra*, "incense"): The second wife of Abraham (Gen **25** 1; 1 Ch **1** 32 f). According to the Bib. tradition, he contracted this second marriage after the death of Sarah (cf Gen **23**), and very likely after the marriage of Isaac (cf Gen **24**). It is not improbable that, as some writers have suggested, this change in the life of his son prompted Abraham to remarry in order to overcome the feeling of lonesomeness caused by Isaac's entering the state of matrimony.

1 Ch **1** 32 (and also Gen **25** 6) shows us that K. was not considered to be of the same dignity as Sarah who, indeed, was the mother of the son of promise, and, for obvious reasons, the sons of Abraham's concubines were separated from Isaac. She was the mother of 6 sons representing Arab tribes S. and E. of Pal (Gen **25** 1–6), so that through the offspring of Keturah Abraham became "the father of many nations."

William Baur

KEY, kē (מַפְתֵּחַ, *maphtē^{a}ḥ*, an "opener"; cf **κλείς**, *kleís*, "that which shuts"): Made of wood, usually with nails which fitted into corresponding holes in the lock, or rather bolt (Jgs **3** 25). Same is rendered "opening" in 1 Ch **9** 27. See House.

Figurative: Used fig. for power, since the key was sometimes worn on the shoulder as a sign of official authority (Isa **22** 22). In the NT it is used several times thus fig.: of Peter: "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Mt **16** 19); of Christ, in Rev, having the "keys of death and of Hades" (**1** 18), also having "the key of David" (**3** 7). An angel was given "the key of the pit of the abyss" (**9**



Egyptian Key.

1; **20** 1). Our Lord accused the teachers of the law of His day of taking away "the key of knowledge" from men, that is, locking the doors of truth against them (Lk **11** 52; cf Mt **23** 13).

Edward Bagby Pollard

KEYS, kēz, POWER OF:

I. The Problems Involved
  1. The Keys; and the Binding and Loosing
  2. Meaning of the Statements
  3. How Peter Is Related to These Powers
  4. Is the Primary Idea That of Position and Authority?
II. Views Maintained
  1. Agent of the Power
  2. Nature of the Power
  3. Scope of the Power
III. Data for Deciding the Questions Involved
  1. Passages Employing the Terms "Key," "Binding and Loosing"
  2. Related Passages
  3. Examples of Exercise of This Power
IV. Conclusion
  1. Nature of the Power
  2. Agent of the Power
  3. Scope of the Power

There is no more stubbornly contested conception in Christian terminology. The thought connects itself immediately with Mt **16** 19, but it is hardly correct to say that it originates there, for the controversy is one that grows out of the conflict of forces inherent in the institutional development of religion and of society. It must have arisen, in any event, if there had been no such word as that in Mt **16** 19, although not in the same terms as it is now found. Since the Reformation it has been recognized, by Catholic and Protestant, that on the interpretation of this passage depends the authority of the Church of Rome and its exclusive claims, so far as their foundation in Scripture is concerned; while on the other hand there is involved the "validity" of the "sacraments," "ordinances" and "orders" of Protestantism and the very hope of salvation of Protestants.

I. The Problems Involved.—The crucial passage has two declarations, commonly spoken of as promises to Peter: to him Christ will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever he shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, while whatsoever he shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. How are the facts of having committed to him the keys and the function of binding and loosing related? Are they two forms of one declaration? Is the first general, and the second a specific sphere of its application?

1. The Keys; and the Binding and Loosing

Both statements are made in figurative terms. That of the keys is supposed to be drawn from the duties of the chief steward of a house, or establishment. The idea of the keys of a city turned over to some distinguished person is advanced, but is hardly to be considered. We need, then, to know the functions of the chief steward and how they apply to the kingdom of heaven, and to Peter as its steward. What was Peter to bind and loose, men or things, persons or teachings? Numerous examples could be cited of the use of these terms to signify forbidding (binding) and permitting (loosing) conduct as legitimate under the law of the OT (Lightfoot, McClintock and Strong, Schaff-Herzog, Hastings, etc). The strict school of Shammai bound many things loosed by the laxer school of Hillel (Broadus, *Mt*). Is this conclusive that Jesus is here giving Peter authority for "laying down the law for his fellow-disciples," "authority to say what the law of God allows, and what it forbids," "the power of legislation for the church"? (Cf Mason in *HDB*, IV, 30.)

2. Meaning of the Statements

Ecclesiastical contentions turn esp. on Peter's relation to these words of Jesus. Do they signify powers and "privileges" conferred on Peter, exclusively or representatively? Are they official or personal? Do they belong to other apostles, and to other officers besides apostles? Can the powers be exercised by individuals or by the church alone? If any besides Peter have these powers, do they pass to them from Peter, and how?

3. How Peter Is Related to These Powers

What seems to the writer a fundamental question here is either passed over very lightly or entirely omitted in the discussions of this subject. Did Jesus mean by these words to confer on Peter, or on anyone to whom they may apply, authority, or obligation; privilege, or responsibility? Does He promise position, or does He impose duty? These alternatives are not necessarily exclusive, but the interpretation of the thought will be determined in no small measure by where the stress is laid.

4. Is the Primary Idea That of Position and Authority?

II. Views Maintained.—The possibilities have been exhausted in the interpretations and applications advocated. It is not possible to classify on lines of the creeds, except very generally, for there is little uniformity of view existing within the various communions.

1. Agent of the Power

(1) Generally speaking, the Roman Catholic church gives to Peter a unique position. Her theologians also agree that all the powers and privileges of Peter descend to his successors in the vicarate of Christ. When the question is raised of the extension of these prerogatives beyond Peter and the popes, all sorts of views are held, concerning both the fact and the method of that extension.

(2) Among Protestants there is general agreement that the church is the agent of this power, but there is not uniformity as to the nature of the authority or the manner of its exercise.

(3) Some think that Peter has no peculiar relation to the keys; that these words were spoken to him only as the first who gave expression to that conception and experience, on the basis of which Jesus commits the keys of the kingdom to any believer in Him as the Christ of God.

We may summarize the more important views as to Peter thus: (*a*) the power committed to him alone and exercised, (i) at Pentecost, or (ii) at Pentecost, Caesarea and other places; (*b*) the power committed to Peter and to the other apostles, including Paul, discharged by them, and descended to no others; (*c*) the power conferred on Peter officially and on his official successors; (*d*) the power conferred on Peter and the other apostles and to such as hold their place in the church; (*e*) that the power belongs to Peter as representative of the church, and so to the church to be exercised (i) by the officials of the church, (ii) by the officials and those to whom they commit it, (iii) by all priests and persons allowed to represent the church, *de facto*, (iv) by the church in its councils, or other formal and official decisions, (v) by the church in a less formal way than (iv), (vi) by all members of the church as representing it without specific commission; (*f*) that it belongs to the Christian as such, and so is imposed upon, or offered to, all Christians.

2. Nature of the Power

There is general—not absolute—agreement that the holder of the keys is to admit men into the kingdom. It is not agreed that the holder of the keys may, or can, determine who are members of the kingdom. Both sides are taken. Some think that the power is that of announcing authoritatively the conditions of entrance, while others insist that the holder of the keys also determines what individuals have accepted the conditions.

3. Scope of the Power

(1) There is strong support for the view that the primary function of the keys lies in determining the teaching of the kingdom, maintaining purity of doctrine. Emphasis is laid on the use of the neuter, "whatsoever"—not "whomsoever"—with the binding and loosing. This would lead, however, to the secondary and implied function of declaring who had or had not accepted the teaching of the kingdom.

(2) In the Roman Catholic church we find insistence on distinguishing between the general authority of the keys in all affairs of the church and religion, and the binding and loosing which they specifically apply to absolution. Only on this last are Catholics in full agreement. That the church administers salvation is held by Rom and Gr Catholics and by not a few Protestants, although Protestants do not, as a rule, claim exclusive power in salvation as do the others. Absolution is held to be a general (derived) priestly function, while the authority of the keys resides in the pope alone.

(3) Eminent Catholic authorities admit that the Fathers generally understood the keys to signify the power of forgiving sins, and that they seldom make any reference to the supremacy of Peter. But they claim that rarely the Fathers do take "Christ's promise in the fuller meaning of the gift of authority over the church." Suarez was the first to develop the doctrine that it conferred on Peter and his successors authority in its widest sense, administrative and legislative.

(4) The extension of the authority of the keys to include civil matters is a contention of the Rom church, shared in modified form by some Protestants. Indeed the relation of ecclesiastical to civil authority must be said still to be awaiting clear definition in Protestantism. Macedo (*De Clavibus Petri*) claims the theologians of the church for the civil authority of the keys. Joyce in the *Catholic Enc* affirms that he is unable to verify this claim, but, on the contrary, finds that the opponents of the extension of the authority of the church to civil matters use Mt **16** 19 in support of their position on the ground that to Peter were committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven, not of the kingdoms of this world.

III. Data for Deciding the Questions Involved.—

1. Passages Employing the Terms "Key," "Binding" and "Loosing"

We must first examine the Scriptures employing the terms we seek to define. (1) Mt **16** 19, the crucial passage, is part of a paragraph over which there is no end of controversy. The incident at Caesarea Philippi was understood then and afterward to mark an epoch in the life and teaching of Jesus. Having elicited Peter's confession, Jesus pronounces a benediction on him because his insight represented a Divinely mediated experience of fundamental significance in His own plan and mission. Jesus goes on to say: "And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter ["a stone"], and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it" (ver 18). The controversy rages about "Peter" (πέτρος, *pétros*) and the "rock" (πέτρα, *pétra*), "gates of Hades," and "prevail against it." Are the church to be built on the rock and the kingdom whose keys are to be given to Peter the same? Such a shifting of figure is not conclusive against the thought. Perhaps the church is the organic form of the kingdom, its personal content and expression on earth at any given time. This church exists wherever men consciously accept and are included in the kingdom. The kingdom will always embrace influences, institutions, individuals, not be reckoned in any organized or visible church. The church has never had—in the nature of the case can never have—one complete organization including all the organized life of the kingdom, or even of the church. Any claims to this are contradicted by facts obvious at every moment of history. The change in figure from ver 18 to ver 19 is not conclusive against supposing the church to be built in him. But it seems far better to understand that Peter is the first stone in the building, while the foundation is that vital experience in which Peter came to know Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God. On this is erected the church, out of those living stones (λίθοι ζῶντες, *líthoi zōntes*, 1 Pet **2** 4) that know and confess Jesus the Christ. The transition is thus easy to giving Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the reason for giving them to him rather than to any other may be found in the fact that he is now the first so to enter into the kingdom as to be fitted for church functions.

It is not needful to determine, for our purpose, the exact meaning of "gates of Hades" and their not prevailing against the church (cf various comms.). It is clear that the church is to persist in the life of the world and so the kingdom will not lack organized and aggressive expression. Nor does the relation of binding and loosing depend at all upon the critical question of reading or omitting "and" between the two parts of the verse. The conviction could hardly be escaped that the latter function is intimately related to the former, and is either directly or indirectly involved within it.

(2) The pl. "keys," occurs elsewhere only in Rev **1** 18, where the Christ represents Himself as holding the keys of death and of Hades. The word "Hades" might connect this with Mt **16** 19. The immediate occasion for the statement is that He who was dead, is alive; He has not only overcome death in His own person but has conquered it and its realm, so that they can no more have power except as subject to Him, since He holds their keys. Men on earth will either fall under the power of death and Hades or they must enter the kingdom of heaven. If the living Christ has the keys of the kingdom in the hands of Peter, or other friends, and holds the keys of its enemies in His own hands, the work will go on with success. It is not certain that the two passages can properly be so closely connected, but they thus afford just the assurance that is contained for the churches in Rev.

(3) In Rev **3** 7 Christ appears in the character, "he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key [sing.] of David, he that openeth and none can shut, and that shutteth and none openeth." The idea is not restricted but indicates mastery over all things in the Messianic kingdom, its own operations and all forms of opposition. In the next verse, as a specific instance, He has set before the church at Philadelphia an open door (opportunity and progress) which none can shut. Cf as to this Eph **1** 22.

(4) It seems to be taken for granted that Jesus, in Mt **16** 19, had direct reference to Isa **22** 22, yet the passage is not Messianic except in a general sense and on the assumption that the power of Jeh over the nations in the OT is wielded by the Christ in the NT (see JEHOVAH; LORD). Eliakim is to have absolute power, holding the key of the house of David. The use of the words "open" and "shut," as well as the general conception, connects the passage rather with Rev **3** 7.

(5) Rev **9** 1; **20** 1 are to be taken together. "The key of the pit of the abyss" in the hands of the angel or angels signifies, in these specific circumstances, the same power as that indicated in **1** 18.

(6) In Lk **11** 52 Jesus pronounces a woe upon the "lawyers" who had "taken away the key of knowledge" from the people, neither entering in nor allowing those about to go in, to enter. The knowledge of God and Divine things was in the control, in great measure, of these scribes. This connects the figure directly with the idea of Mt **16** 19, and the connection is emphasized by comparing Mt **23** 2 f; and is made definite by the word of Jesus in Mt **13** 52 with which is to be compared Lk **12** 42, where it would not be allowable to suppose that Jesus meant to limit the idea of "the faithful and wise steward" to Peter. This passage with the references seems to be highly important for our subject.

Light is to be drawn from several passages that do not use the exact terms of Mt **16** 19, but that deal with the same general ideas.

2. Related Passages

(1) Mt **18** 18 places the responsibility for binding and loosing on all disciples (**18** 1), and the reason is explained in the assured presence of the Christ Himself in any company of two or three who have come together in prayer touching any matter in His name, i.e. as His representatives. The immediate reference is to matters of discipline in the effort to rescue any "brother" from sin. The passage is to be taken of sin generally, for the reading "against thee" (ver 15) is to be rejected, in spite of both revised VSS. The reference of binding and loosing here to the man is conclusive against limiting the idea in **16** 19 to teaching (cf also Lk **17** 1 ff). It is also to be noted that the responsibility is placed upon the individual Christian to coöperate with others when necessary.

(2) Mt **9** 8 shows that the multitude recognized that God had given power on earth to pronounce forgiveness of sins, and apparently they do not limit this power to the Divine Person, for they do not yet know Him as such.

(3) Jas **5** 14 ff recognizes the value of elders, and probably of others also, in securing the forgiveness of them that have sinned.

(4) What one must regard as the proper starting-point for studying this subject is Jn **20** 21 ff. Appearing to ten of the apostles and to others on the first night after the resurrection, Jesus says: "As the Father sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever ye retain, they are retained." By comparing this with the corresponding account in Lk **24** we see that Jesus is directing that they shall carry on His work (see also Jn **14** 12–14; **15** 15.16), that He teaches them at length of the nature of His work as seen in the OT, and that the method of their work is to be preaching repentance and remission of sins in His name among all nations. Significant for our purpose are the presence of others than the apostles, the gift of the Holy Spirit, His own self-projection in His messengers, and the solemn statement that the sins of men will be retained or forgiven as it is done through these followers.

3. Examples of Exercise of This Power

(1) It is remarkable that there is no distinct reference to this authority of the keys in the records of the work of the apostles and others in the NT. Their consciousness seems most of all to have been dominated by the fact that they were witnesses of Jesus, and this corresponds exactly with the point of emphasis in all the various forms and occasions of the giving of the commission (see Acts **2** 32; **3** 15; **4** 33; **5** 32; **10** 39.41; **13** 31; **1** Pet **5** 1; cf Carver, *Missions in the Plan of the Ages*). It is said of Paul and Barnabas (Acts **14** 27) that after their first missionary journey they rehearsed to the church at Antioch "all things that God had done with them, and that he had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles." At Pentecost and at other times Peter was the chief speaker, and so opened the door of the kingdom. Referring to his preaching to Cornelius and his friends, Peter reminds the saints in the conference at Jerus (Acts **15**) that God made choice among them, that by his mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of God and believe, but this was said by way of conciliating the Jewish party and not as claiming any priority in authority. It was Philip, the deacon-evangelist, who first preached to the Samaritans (Acts **8**), and some "men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus" (Acts **11** 20), the first example of "opening a door of faith" to full heathen. Peter appears in the Jerus conference with no authority above that of other apostles and elders. By reference to Gal **2** we see that Paul was here only as a matter of prudence and fraternity, not recognizing any authority to legislate for his churches or his ministry. The decision there reached is promulgated as that of the brethren as a body, loosing all the law of Moses save four matters that were "necessary" on account of fundamental morals and of the universal presence of Jews in every city (Acts **15** 20 f.28 f). In the sense of teaching Christian conduct all Paul's letters are examples of binding and loosing.

(2) As to binding and loosing sins Peter speaks in the cases of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts **5**), Simon Magus (ch **8**), and in deciding upon the baptism of Cornelius and his household (**10** 48). Paul speaks with equal boldness in the judgment of Elymas (**13** 10), where we are told that he was under the Spirit; passes upon the faith of a dozen men at Ephesus, and requires their new baptism after instruction (**19** 3–7); commands the church at Corinth to turn over to Satan the incestuous man (1 Cor **5** 5; cf 1 Tim **1** 20), and later urges the man's restoration to loving fellowship, declaring that he has been forgiven (2 Cor **2** 5 ff). Obscure men like Philip (Acts **8**) and Ananias of Damascus in the case of Paul himself (Acts **9**) exercised the same sort of judgment as to the forgiveness and reception of men into the fellowship.

IV. Conclusion.—We sum up what seems to be the teaching of Scripture.

1. Nature of the Power

We conclude that the power is not a special privilege and extraordinary authority, but a responsibility intrusted by Jesus Christ as the method of extending His work. There is in it nothing magical, mysterious, or arbitrary; not ecclesiastical or official, but spiritual and primarily personal. The keys of the kingdom of heaven are first of all the gospel of salvation through Jesus Christ. By this means men are admitted into the kingdom. The fully attested method of using the keys is that of witnessing personally to an experience of Jesus Christ. He was conferring power for saving and not for barring from salvation. Let it be borne in mind always that Jesus was offering Peter not power but duty, not privilege but responsibility. Neither of these terms, "power" and "privilege," that have come to be associated with the gift of the keys occurs with that gift in the words of the Master. The keys are primarily for admitting to the kingdom of heaven, not for barring from the church.

2. Agent of the Power

The holder of the keys is any man with that experience that called forth from Jesus the assurance that Peter should have the keys. Such a man will be in fellowship and coöperation with like men, in a church, and the Spirit of Jesus will be present in them, so that their decisions and their testimony will be His as well as theirs. There is a corporate, or church, agency, therefore, and the man who would ignore that lacks the experience or the Spirit needful for the use of the keys. Yet the church is never to overshadow or exclude the individual responsibility and authority.

3. Scope of the Power

It is to be understood that the keys of the kingdom of heaven confer no political authority or power, save that of holy and redemptive influence. The kingdom of Jesus is not of this world. Its power is spiritual and is to be exercised always primarily in the saving of men. Men do not need to be locked out of the kingdom. They are out, and too contented to remain so. It does happen that evil men seek to take possession of the kingdom for evil ends, and then it is that the authority rests in spiritual men to exclude. Men that are to be brought into the kingdom of heaven are now in sin, and where the duty of releasing them is not discharged by Christians, the sinners are left bound in their sins.

There is also involved of necessity the duty of declaring not only the conditions of entrance into the kingdom, but the courses of conduct appropriate to the kingdom. It is thus that binding and loosing in teaching devolve upon the holders of the keys. To that extent, and in that sense, alone, is there the power of "legislating" within the kingdom. This is only interpreting and applying the principles that are given us in the Scriptures. See further Absolution; Imposition of Hands; Peter; Rock.

William Owen Carver

KEZIAH, kḗ-zī′a (קְצִיעָה, ḳᵉçīʽāh, "cassia"; **Κασία**, *Kasía*, A, *Kassia*): The 2d daughter of Job (Job **42** 14), born after his restoration from affliction. The word "cassia" became a feminine name from the fragrance of the flower.

KEZIZ, kē′ziz (קְצִיץ, *ḳᵉçīç*). See Emek-keziz.

KHAN, kän, kan. See Inn.

KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH, kib-roth-ha-tā′a-va, kib-rōth- (קִבְרוֹת הַתַּאֲוָה, *ḳibhrōth ha-ta’ăwāh*, "the graves of greed"): A desert camp of the Israelites, one day's journey from the wilderness of Sinai. There the people lusted for flesh to eat, and, a great number of quails being sent, a plague resulted; hence the name (Nu **11** 34; **33** 16; Dt **9** 22).

KIBZAIM, kib-zā′im, kib′zā-im. See Jokmeam.

KICK (**λακτίζω**, *laktízō*): In the famous vision on the road to Damascus the unseen voice said to Saul: "Why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the goad" (Acts **9** 4f; **26** 14). The words are omitted from the best MSS in **9** 4. This was a familiar proverb in both Gr and Lat lit., and refers to the severer goading received by an ox which kicks back at the goad used to guide or urge him on. The words seem to mean that Paul's paroxysm of persecution was a painful as well as profitless resistance to the pricks of conscience by which God was leading him into the light.

KID: (1) גְּדִי, *gᵉdhī* (Ex **23** 19, etc); (2) fem. *gᵉdhīyāh* (Isa **11** 6, etc); (3) גְּדִי עִזִּים, *gᵉdhī ʽizzīm*, EV "kid," lit. "kid of the goats," AVm (Jgs **6** 19, etc); (4) עֵז, *ʽēz*, lit. "goat" (Dt **14** 21; 1 K **20** 27); (5) שְׂעִיר עִזִּים, *sᵉʽīr ʽizzīm*, AV "kid of the goats," RV "he-goat" (Gen **37** 31; Lev **9** 3, etc); (6) **ἔριφος**, *ériphos* (Lk **15** 29). See Goat.

KIDNAPPING, kid′nap-ing (**MANSTEALING**): The term itself occurs only in the NT (*ἀνδραποδιστής*, *andrapodistḗs* = "manstealer") in 1 Tim **1** 10. The crime was directly forbidden in the Heb law (Ex **21** 16; Dt **24** 7), and was made punishable with death.

KIDNEYS, kid′niz (always in the pl.: כְּלָיוֹת, *kᵉlāyōth;* **νεφροί**, *nephroí;* Lat *renes*, whence the Eng. "reins"): "Reins" and "kidneys" are synonyms, but AV undertook a distinction by using the former word in the figurative, the latter in the literal passages. ERV has followed AV exactly, but ARV has retained "reins" only in Job **16** 13; Lam **3** 13; Rev **2** 23, elsewhere substituting "heart," except in Ps **139** 13, where "inward parts" is used. AV and ERV also have "reins" for חֲלָצַיִם, *ḥălāçāyim*, in Isa **11** 5 (ARV "loins"). The physiological function of the kidneys is not referred to in the Bible, but has been introduced (quite wrongly) by AVm to Lev **15** 2; **22** 4.

(1) The kidneys owe their importance in the Bible partly to the fact that they are imbedded in fat, and fat of such purity that "fat of the kidneys" was a proverbial term for surpassing excellence (Dt **32** 14 m). For the visceral fat was the part of the animal best adapted for sacrificial burning, and hence came to be deemed peculiarly sacred (Lev **7** 22–25; 1 S **2** 16). Accordingly, the kidneys with the fat surrounding them were burned in every sacrifice in which the entire animal was not consumed, whether in peace (Lev **3** 4.10.15; **9** 19), sin (Ex **29** 13; Lev **4** 9; **8** 16; **9** 10), or trespass (Lev **7** 4) offerings; cf the "ram of consecration" (Ex **29** 22; Lev **8** 25). So in Isa **34** 6, "fat of the kidneys of rams" is chosen as a typical sacrificial term to parallel "blood of lambs and goats." (2) The position of the kidneys in the body makes them particularly inaccessible, and in cutting up an animal they are the last organs to be reached. Consequently, they were a natural symbol for the most hidden part of a man (Ps **139** 13), and in Job **16** 13 to "cleave the reins asunder" is to effect the total destruction of the individual (cf **19** 27; Lam **3** 13). This hidden location, coupled with the sacred sacrificial use, caused the kidneys to be thought of as the seat of the innermost moral (and emotional) impulses. So the reins instruct (Ps **16** 7) or are "pricked" (Ps **73** 21), and God can be said to be far from the reins of sinners (Jer **12** 2). In all of these passages "conscience" gives the exact meaning. So the reins rejoice (Prov **23** 16), cause torment (2 Esd **5** 34), or tremble in wrath (1 Macc **2** 24). And to "know" or "try the reins" (usually joined with "the heart") is an essential power of God's, denoting His complete knowledge of the nature of every human being (Ps **7** 9; **26** 2; Jer **11** 20; **17** 10; **20** 12; Wisd **1** 6; Rev **2** 23). See Fat; Psychology; Sacrifice. Cf *RS*^{2}, 379–80, and for Gr sacrificial parallels *Journal of Philology*, XIX (1890), 46. The anatomical relations are well exhibited in the plate in *SBOT*, "Leviticus."

Burton Scott Easton

KIDRON, kid′ron (**Κεδρών**, *Kedrôn;* AV **Cedron**): A place which, in obedience to Antiochus Sidetes, Cendebaeus fortified (1 Macc **15** 39 ff), to which, when defeated, he fled, hotly pursued by John and Judas, sons of Simon the Maccabee, who burned the city (**16** 4 ff). It is named along with Jamnia (*Yebna*) and Azotus (*Esdūd*). It is possibly identical with *ḳaṭrah*, a village about 3 miles S.W. of *ʽāḳir* (Ekron).

KIDRON, THE BROOK (נַחַל קִדְרוֹן, *naḥal ḳidhrōn;* in Jn **18** 1 [AV **Cedron**], **ὁ χειμάῤῥους τῶν Κέδρων,** *ho cheimárrhous tôn Kédrōn*, according to RVm, the last two words are to be considered as meaning "of the cedars." The Heb word has been very generally accepted as from קָדַר, *ḳādhar*, "to become black," but it is an attractive suggestion [Cheyne] that it may be a phonetic variation of גִּדֵּרוֹן, *giddērōn*, "a spot for inclosures for cattle," of which latter there must have been many around the now buried caves which lay at the base of the cliffs around the spring Gihon):

The Naḥal Ḳidhron is the valley known today as the *Wâdy Sitti Miriam*, which lies between the eastern walls of Jerus and the Mount of Olives.

1. Wâdy Sitti Miriam

It commences in the plateau to the N. of the city, and after making a wide sweep S.E., under the name *Wâdy el Jôz* ("Valley of the Walnuts"), passes S. until level with the south-eastern corner of the temple-area where its bed is spanned by an old bridge; here the bottom of the valley, 40 ft. beneath the present surface level, is 400 ft. below the temple-platform. From this point it narrows and deepens gradually, bending slightly W. of S., and, after receiving the Tyropœon valley, joins a little farther S.W. with the Valley of Hinnom to form the *Wâdy en Nâr*, which winds on through the "wilderness of Judaea" to the Dead Sea. Where the three valleys run together is a large open space filled with gardens (the King's Gardens, q.v.), which are kept irrigated all the year round by means of the overflow waters from the *ʽAin Silwân* (see Siloam). It is where the Hinnom valley runs into the Kidron that some would locate Topheth (q.v.). Except at the irrigated gardens, the ravine is a dry valley containing water only during and immediately after heavy rain, but in ancient times the rocky bottom—now buried beneath many feet of rich soil—must have contained a little stream from Gihon for at least some hundreds of yards. This was the "brook that flowed through the midst of the land" (2 Ch **32** 4). The length of the valley from its head to *Bîr Eyyûb* is 2¾ miles.

Kidron, Looking S.E. from the Wall of Jerusalem.

Since the 4th cent. AD, this valley has been known as the Valley of Jehoshaphat (q.v.), and from quite early times it was a favorite situation for interments (2 K **23** 4.6.12; 2 Ch **34** 4.5); it is by Moslem and Jewish tradition the scene of the last judgment, and was known to the Moslems in the Middle Ages as *Wâdy Jehannum;*

2. Traditions

see Gehenna. It is probable that the "graves of the common people," where King Jehoiakim cast the body of the prophet Uriah, were here (Jer **26** 23), and it has been suggested, with less probability, that here too may have been the scene of Ezekiel's vision of the "valley of dry bones" (Ezk **37**; cf Jer **31** 40).

3. The Fields of Kidron

The Fields of Kidron (2 K **23** 4), though generally identified with the open, lower part of this valley, where it is joined by the Tyropœon valley, may more probably have been in the upper part where the wide expanded valley receives the name *Wâdy el Jôz;* this part is actually on the road to Bethel.

4. Historical Associations

The most dramatic scene associated with the Kidron is that recorded in connection with its earliest Scriptural mention (2 S **15** 23), when David, flying before his rebellious son Absalom, here stood on the Jerus side of the valley while all his adherents passed over. "And all the country wept with a loud voice, and all the people passed over: the king also himself passed over the brook Kidron . . . . toward the way of the wilderness." The passing over this brook appears to have been viewed as the solemn abandonment of the Jerus territory (cf 1 K **2** 37). In 1 K **15** 13; 2 Ch **15** 16, we read that Asa burnt at the brook Kidron "an abominable image for an Asherah" which Maacah, his mother, had set up. In the reforms of Hezekiah, "all the uncleanness that they found in the temple of Jeh" was carried by the Levites to the brook Kidron (2 Ch **29** 16); "All the altars for incense took they away, and cast them into the brook Kidron" (**30** 14). This locality was again used in the reforms of Josiah when the king "brought out the Asherah from the house of Jeh, without Jerus, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and beat it to dust, and cast the dust thereof upon the graves of the common people" (2 K **23** 6). The same treatment was given to the vessels made for Baal, the Asherah and the host of heaven (ver 4), and the two idolatrous altars of Manasseh (ver 12). Jos (*Ant*, IX, vii, 3) states that Athaliah was slain in the valley of Kidron, but this does not quite tally with the account (2 K **11** 16). It was a valley associated with graves and the ashes of abominations, but it was prophesied that it should be "holy unto Jeh" (Jer **31** 40). Twice it is mentioned simply as "the valley," *naḥal* (2 Ch **33** 14; Neh **2** 15). Very different from these earlier scenes is the last Scriptural reference (Jn **18** 1), when Jesus "went forth with his disciples over the brook Kidron" for His last hours of spiritual struggle and prayer before the turmoil of the end.

E. W. G. Masterman

KILAN, kī′lan (**Κιλάν**, *Kilán;* AV **Ceilan**): Mentioned with Azetas in 1 Esd **5** 15; their sons returned among the exiles with Zerubbabel. The names do not appear in the lists of Ezr and Neh.

KIMAH, kī′ma (Pleiades). See Astronomy.

KIN. See Kindred.

KIN, NEXT OF. See Kinsman.

KINAH, kī′na (קִינָה, *ḳīnāh*): An unidentified town on the southern boundary of Judah, toward Edom (Josh **15** 22). The word *ḳīnāh* means "elegy," "dirge," "lament for the dead." The name, however, may have been derived from the

Kenites, קֵינִי, who had settlements in the S. (1 S **27** 10, etc).

KINDNESS, kīnd′nes (חֶסֶד, *ḥeṣedh;* χρηστότης, *chrēstótēs*): "Kindness" in the OT is (with one exception) the tr of *ḥeṣedh,* "kindness," "favor," "mercy," etc, used chiefly of man but also of God (Gen **20** 13; **40** 14; 1 S **15** 6; **20** 14.15; 2 S **9** 3; Neh **9** 17; Ps **141** 5; Isa **54** 8.10, etc); *ṭōbh,* "good," is once so trd (2 S **2** 6). In the NT *chrēstotēs,* "usefulness," "beneficence," is rendered "kindness" 4 t in AV (2 Cor **6** 6; Eph **2** 7; Col **3** 12; Tit **3** 4, and in Gal **5** 22 RV); see GENTLENESS; GOODNESS. *Philanthrōpía,* "love of mankind," is trd "kindness" (Acts **28** 2), and *philadelphía,* "love of the brotherhood" (2 Pet **1** 7, ERV "love of the brethren," ARVm "Gr, love of the brethren").

For "kindness" (Ps **31** 21) RV has "lovingkindness," and ARV in other places where the reference is to God; for "shew," "shewed kindness" (Josh **2** 12) "deal," "dealt kindly"; for "The desire of man is his kindness" (Prov **19** 22) ARV has "That which maketh a man to be desired is his kindness," ERV "The desire of man is [the measure of] his kindness," like ARV in m; for "merciful kindness" (Ps **117** 2) ARV has "lovingkindness," ERV "mercy"; both have "lovingkindness" (Ps **119** 76); for "of great kindness" (Neh **9** 17; Joel **2** 13; Jon **4** 2) ARV has "abundant in lovingkindness," ERV "plenteous in mercy"; RV has "kindness" for "mercy" (Gen **39** 21); for "pity" (Job **6** 14); for "goodness" (Prov **20** 6); "favor and kindness" ARV, for "grace and favor" (Est **2** 17). See LOVINGKINDNESS; MERCY.

W. L. WALKER

KINDRED, kin′dred: Several words are rendered "kindred" in AV. אָח, *'āḥ,* "brother," was used loosely among Hebrews for a member of the same tribe or family, a relative; and is once trd "kindred" (1 Ch **12** 29 AV). Once also somewhat loosely as the tr of מוֹדַעַת, *mōdha'ath,* lit. "acquaintance" (Ruth **3** 2; cf same root in **2** 1, rendered "kinsman"); once, for the figurative expression, "men of thy redemption" (גְּאֻלָּה, *ge'ullāh,* referring to the law of the redemption of land by kinsmen, Lev **25** 25). The two most common words for kindred are: (1) מוֹלֶדֶת, *mōledheth,* "related by birth" (Gen **12** 1; **24** 4.7; **31** 3.13; **32** 9; **43** 7; Nu **10** 30; Est **2** 10.20; **8** 6); (2) מִשְׁפָּחָה, *mishpāḥāh,* "family" (Gen **24** 38.40.41; Josh **6** 23; Ruth **2** 3; 1 Ch **16** 28; Job **32** 2; Ps **22** 27; **96** 7).

In the NT (several times), γένος, *génos,* "kindred by birth," so, of same family, tribe or race (Acts **4** 6; **7** 13.19 RV "race"); so also συγγένεια, *suggéneia* (Lk **1** 61; Acts **7** 3.14). In AV φυλή, *phulḗ,* "tribe," rendered "kindred" (Rev **1** 7; **5** 9; **7** 9; **11** 9; **13** 7; **14** 6), but better "tribe" as in RV. πατριά, *patriá,* rendered "kindred" in Acts **3** 25, is better "families," as in RV.

EDWARD BAGBY POLLARD

KINE, kīn: (1) אֲלָפִים, *'ălāphīm,* pl. of אֶלֶף, *'eleph,* "ox," or "cow," ARV "cattle," AV and ERV "kine" (Dt **7** 13; **28** 4.18.51); (2) בָּקָר, *bāḳār,* "ox" or "cow," ARV "herd," AV and ERV "kine" (Dt **32** 14; 2 S **17** 29); (3) פָּרוֹת, *pārōth,* pl. of פָּרָה, *pārāh,* "young cow" or "heifer," RV "kine" in Gen **41** 2–27; 1 S **6** 7–14; Am **4** 1; in Gen **32** 15, ARV has "cows." See CATTLE; COW.

KING, KINGDOM, king′dum:

I. KING
  1. Etymology and Definition
  2. Earliest Kings
  3. Biblical Signification of the Title
II. KINGDOM
  1. Israel's Theocracy
  2. Period of Judges
  3. Establishment of the Monarchy
  4. Appointment of King
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  7. The Symbols of Royal Dignity
  8. Maintenance and Establishment
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LITERATURE

I. King.—The Heb word for king is מֶלֶךְ, *melekh;* its denominative מָלַךְ, *mālakh,* "to reign," "to be king." The word is apparently derived from the √ *mlkh* which denotes: (1) in the Arab. (مَلَكَ, vb., and مَلِك, n.), "to possess," "to reign," inasmuch as the possessor is also lord and ruler; (2) in the Aram. (מֶלֶךְ), and Assyr "counsel," and in the Syrian "to consult"; cf Lat *consul.*

1. Etymology and Definition

If, as has been suggested, the root idea of "king" is "counsellor" and not "ruler," then the rise of the kingly office and power would be due to intellectual superiority rather than to physical prowess. And since the first form of monarchy known was that of a "city-state," the office of king may have evolved from that of the chief "elder," or intellectual head of the clan.

2. Earliest Kings

The first king of whom we read in the Bible was Nimrod (Gen **10** 8–10), who was supposedly the founder of the Bab empire. Historical research regarding the kings of Babylonia and Egypt corroborates this Bib. statement in so far as the ancestry of these kings is traced back to the earliest times of antiquity. According to Isa **19** 11, it was the pride of the Egyp princes that they could trace their lineage to most ancient kings. The Canaanites and Philis had kings as early as the times of Abraham (Gen **14** 2; **20** 2). Thus also the Edomites, who were related to Israel (Gen **36** 31), the Moabites, and the Midianites had kings (Nu **22** 4; **31** 8) earlier than the Israelites.

In Gen **14** 18 we read of Melchizedek, who was a priest, and king of Salem. At first the extent of the dominion of kings was often very limited, as appears from 70 of them being conquered by Adonibezek (Jgs **1** 7), 31 by Joshua (Josh **12** 7 ff), and 32 being subject to Ben-hadad (1 K **20** 1).

3. Biblical Signification of the Title

The earliest Bib. usage of this title "king," in consonance with the general oriental practice, denotes an absolute monarch who exercises unchecked control over his subjects. In this sense the title is applied to Jeh, and to human rulers. No constitutional obligations were laid upon the ruler nor were any restrictions put upon his arbitrary authority. His good or bad conduct depended upon his own free will.

The title "king" was applied also to dependent kings. In the NT it is used even for the head of a province (Rev **17** 12). To distinguish him from the smaller and dependent kings, the king of Assyria bore the title "king of kings."

II. Kingdom.—The notable fact that Israel attained to the degree of a kingdom rather late, as compared with the other Sem nations, does not imply that Israel, before the establishment of the monarchy, had not arrived at the stage of constitutional government, or that the idea of a kingdom had no room in the original plan of the founder of the Heb nation. For a satisfactory explanation we must take cognizance of the unique place that Israel held among the Sem peoples.

It is universally recognized that Israel was a singular community. From the beginning of its existence as a nation it bore the character of a religious and moral community, a theocratic common-

1. Israel's Theocracy

wealth, having Jeh Himself as the Head and Ruler. The theocracy is not to be mistaken for a hierarchy, nor can it strictly be identified with any existent form of political organization. It was rather something over and above, and therefore independent of the political organization. It did not supersede the tribal organization of Israel, but it supplied the centralizing power, constituting Israel a nation. In lieu of a strong political center, the unifying bond of a common allegiance to Jeh, i.e. the common faith in Him, the God of Israel, kept the tribes together. The consciousness that Jeh was Israel's king was deeply rooted, was a national feeling, and the inspiration of a true patriotism (Ex **15** 18; **19** 6; Jgs **5**). Jeh's kingship is evinced by the laws He gave to Israel, by the fact that justice was administered in His name (Ex **22** 28), and by His leading and aiding Israel in its wars (Ex **14** 14; **15** 3; Nu **21** 14; 1 S **18** 17; **25** 28). This decentralized system which characterized the early government of Israel politically, in spite of some great disadvantages, proved advantageous for Israel on the whole and served a great providential purpose. It safeguarded the individual liberties and rights of the Israelites. When later the monarchy was established, they enjoyed a degree of local freedom and self-control that was unknown in the rest of the Sem world; there was home rule for every community, which admitted the untrammeled cultivation of their inherited religious and social institutions.

From the political point of view Israel, through the absence of a strong central government, was at a great disadvantage, making almost impossible its development into a world-empire. But this barrier to a policy of self-aggrandizement was a decided blessing from the viewpoint of Israel's providential mission to the world. It made possible the transmission of the pure religion intrusted to it, to later generations of men without destructive contamination from the ungodly forces with which Israel would inevitably have come into closer contact, had it not been for its self-contained character, resulting from the fashion of a state it was providentially molded into. Only as the small and insignificant nation that it was, could Israel perform its mission as "the depository and perpetuating agency of truths vital to the welfare of humanity." Thus its religion was the central authority of this nation, supplying the lack of a centralized government. Herein lay Israel's uniqueness and greatness, and also the secret of its strength as a nation, as long as the loyalty and devotion to Jeh lasted. Under the leadership of Moses and Joshua who, though they exercised a royal authority, acted merely as representatives of Jeh, the influence of religion of which these leaders were a personal embodiment was still so strong as to keep the tribes united for common action. But when, after the removal of these strong leaders, Israel no longer had a standing representative of Jeh, those changes took place which eventually necessitated the establishment of the monarchy.

2. Period of Judges

In the absence of a special representative of Jeh, His will as Israel's King was divined by the use of the holy lot in the hand of the highest priest. But the lot would not supply the place of a strong personal leader. Besides, many of the Israelites came under the deteriorating influence of the Can. worship and began to adopt heathenish customs. The sense of religious unity weakened, the tribes became disunited and ceased to act in common, and as a result they were conquered by their foes. Jeh came to their assistance by sending them leaders, who released the regions where they lived from foreign attacks. But these leaders were not the strong religious personalities that Moses and Joshua had been; besides, they had no official authority, and their rule was only temporary and local. It was now that the need of a centralized political government was felt, and the only type of permanent organization of which the age was cognizant was the kingship. The crown was offered to Gideon, but he declined it, saying: "Jeh shall rule over you" (Jgs **8** 22.23). The attempt of his son, Abimelech, to establish a kingship over Shechem and the adjacent country, after the Canaanitic fashion, was abortive.

The general political condition of this period is briefly and pertinently described by the oft-recurring statement in Jgs: "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes."

3. Establishment of the Monarchy

Not until the time of Samuel was a formal kingdom established over Israel. An attempt to ameliorate conditions by a union of civil and religious functions in the hands of Eli, the priest, had failed through the degeneracy of his sons. Similarly the hopes of Israel in a hereditary judgeship had been disappointed through the corruption of the sons of Samuel. The Philis were threatening the independence and hope of Israel. Its very existence as a distinct race, and consequently the future of Jeh's religion, imperatively demanded a king. Considering that it was the moral decline of the nation that had created the necessity for a monarchy, and moreover that the people's desire for a king originated from a purely national and not from a religious motive, the unwillingness of Samuel, at first, to comply with the demand for a king is not surprising. Even Jeh declared: "They have not rejected thee but they have rejected me," etc. Instead of recognizing that they themselves were responsible for the failures of the past, they blamed the form of government they had, and put all their hopes upon a king. That it was not the monarchy as such that was objectionable to Jeh and His prophet is evidenced by the fact that to the patriarchs the promise had been given: "Kings shall come out of thy loins" (Gen **17** 6; **35** 11). In view of this Moses had made provision for a kingship (Dt **17** 14–20). According to the Mosaic charter for the kingship, the monarchy when established must be brought into consonance with the fact that Jeh was Israel's king. Of this fact Israel had lost sight when it requested a kingship like that of the neighboring peoples. Samuel's gloomy prognostications were perfectly justified in view of such a kingship as they desired, which would inevitably tend to selfish despotism (1 S **8** 11 f). Therefore God directs Samuel to give them a king—since the introduction of a kingship typifying the kingship of Christ lay within the plan of His economy—not according to their desire, but in accordance with the instructions of the law concerning kings (Dt **17** 14–20), in order to safeguard their liberties and prevent the forfeiture of their mission.

4. Appointment of King

According to the Law of Moses Jeh was to choose the king of Israel, who was to be His representative. The choice of Jeh in the case of Saul is implied by the anointing of Saul by Samuel and through the confirmation of this choice by the holy lot (1 S **10** 1–20). This method of choosing the king did not exclude the people altogether, since Saul was publicly presented to them, and acknowledged as king (1 S **10** 24). The participation of the people in the choice of their king is more pronounced in the case of David, who, having been designated as Jeh's choice by being anointed by

Samuel, was anointed again by the elders of Israel before he actually became king (2 S **2** 4).

The anointing itself signified the consecration to an office in the theocracy. The custom of anointing kings was an old one, and by no means peculiar to Israel (Jgs **9** 8.15). The hereditary kingship began with David. Usually the firstborn succeeded to the throne, but not necessarily. The king might choose as his successor from among his sons the one whom he thought best qualified.

5. Authority of the King

The king of Israel was not a constitutional monarch in the modern sense, nor was he an autocrat in the oriental sense. He was responsible to Jeh, who had chosen him and whose vicegerent and servant he was. Furthermore, his authority was more or less limited on the religious side by the prophets, the representatives of Jeh, and in the political sphere by the "elders," the representatives of the people, though as king he stood above all. Rightly conceived, his kingship in relation to Jeh, who was Israel's true king, implied that he was Jeh's servant and His earthly substitute. In relation to his subjects his kingship demanded of him, according to the Law, "that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren" (Dt **17** 20).

6. Duties of the King

In a summary way the king was held responsible for all Israel as the Lord's people. His main duty was to defend it against its enemies, and for this reason it devolved upon him to raise and maintain a standing army; and it was expected of him that he be its leader in case of war (1 S **8** 20). In respect to the judiciary the king was a kind of supreme court, or court of final appeal, and as such, as in the days of Solomon, might be approached by his most humble subjects (2 S **15** 2; 1 K **3** 16 ff). Legislative functions he had none and was himself under the law (1 K **21** 4; Dt **17** 19). The king was also in a way the *summus episcopus* in Israel. His very kingship was of an entirely religious character and implied a unity of the heavenly and earthly rule over Israel through him who as Jeh's substitute sat "upon the throne of the kingdom of Jeh over Israel" (1 Ch **17** 14; **28** 5; **29** 23), who was "Jeh's anointed" (1 S **24** 10; **26** 9; 2 S **1** 14), and also bore the title of "son of Jeh" and "the first-born," the same as Israel did (Ex **4** 22; Hos **11** 1; 2 S **7** 14; Ps **89** 27; **2** 7). Thus a place of honor was assigned to the king in the temple (2 K **11** 4; **23** 3; Ezk **46** 1.2); besides, he officiated at the national sacrifices (esp. mentioned of David and Solomon). He prayed for his people and blessed them in the name of Jeh (2 S **6** 18; **24** 25; 1 K **3** 4.8; **8** 14.55.62; **9** 25). Apparently it was the king's right to appoint and dismiss the chief priests at the sanctuaries, though in his choice he was doubtless restricted to the Aaronites (1 Ch **16** 37.39; 2 S **8** 17; 1 K **2** 27.35). The priesthood was under the king's supervision to such an extent that he might concern himself about its organization and duties (1 Ch **15** 16.23.24; **16** 4–6), and that he was responsible for the purity of the cult and the maintenance of the order of worship. In general he was to watch over the religious life and conduct of his people, to eradicate the high places and every form of idolatry in the land (2 K **18** 4). Ezk **45** 22 demands of the prince that he shall provide at the Passover a bullock for a sin offering for all the people.

7. The Symbols of Royal Dignity

The marks of royal dignity, besides the beautiful robes in which the king was attired (1 K **22** 10), were: (1) the diadem (נֵזֶר, *nēzer*) and the crown (עֲטָרָה, *ʽăṭārāh,* 2 S **1** 10; 2 K **11** 12; 2 S **12** 30), the headtire; (2) the scepter (שֵׁבֶט, *shēbheṭ*), originally a long, straight staff, the primitive sign of dominion and authority (Gen **49** 10; Nu **24** 17; Isa **14** 5; Jer **48** 17; Ps **2** 9; **45** 7). Saul had a *spear* (1 S **18** 10; **22** 6); (3) the throne (כִּסֵּא, *kiṣṣēʼ*, 1 K **10** 18–20), the symbol of majesty. Israel's kings also had a palace (1 K **7** 1–12; **22** 39; Jer **22** 14), a royal harem (2 S **16** 21), and a bodyguard (2 S **8** 18; **15** 18).

8. Maintenance and Establishment

(1) *Income.*—(*a*) According to the custom of the times presents were expected of the subjects (1 S **10** 27; **16** 20) and of foreigners (2 S **8** 2; 1 K **5** 1 ff; **10** 25; 2 Ch **32** 23), and these often took the form of an annual tribute. (*b*) In time of war the king would lay claim to his share of the booty (2 S **8** 11; **12** 30; 1 Ch **26** 27). (*c*) Various forms of taxes were in vogue, as a part of the produce of the land (1 K **9** 11; 1 S **17** 25), forced labor of the Canaanites (1 K **9** 20; 2 Ch **2** 16) and also of the Israelites (1 K **5** 13; **11** 28; **12** 4), the first growth of the pasture lands (Am **7** 1), toll collected from caravans (1 K **10** 15). (*d*) Subdued nations had to pay a heavy tribute (2 K **3** 4). (*e*) The royal domain often comprised extensive possessions (1 Ch **27** 25–31).

(2) *The royal court.*—The highest office was that of the princes (1 K **4** 2), who were the king's advisers or counsellors. In 2 K **25** 19 and Jer **52** 25 they are called "they that saw the king's face" (cf also 1 K **12** 6, "stood before Solomon"). The following officers of King David are mentioned: the captain of the host (commander-in-chief), the captain of the Cherethites and the Pelethites (bodyguard), the recorder (chronicler and reminder), the scribe (secretary of state), the overseer of the forced labor, the chief ministers or priests (confidants of the king, usually selected from the royal family) (2 S **8** 16–18; **20** 23–26).

During the reign of Solomon other officers were added as follows: the overseer over the twelve men "who provided victuals for the king and his household" (1 K **4** 5.7), the officer over the household (1 K **4** 6; **18** 3) (steward, the head of the palace who had "the key" in his possession, Isa **22** 22); the king's friend (1 K **4** 5; 1 Ch **27** 33) is probably the same as the king's servant mentioned among the high officials in 2 K **22** 12. It is not stated what his duties were. Minor officials are servants, cupbearer (1 K **10** 5), keeper of the wardrobe (2 K **22** 14; **10** 22), eunuchs (chamberlains, not mentioned before the division of the kingdom) (1 K **22** 9; 2 K **8** 6).

9. Short Character Sketch of Israel's Kingdom

No higher conceptions of a good king have ever been given to the world than those which are presented in the representations of kingship in the OT, both actual and ideal. Though Samuel's characterization of the kingship was borne out in the example of a great number of kings of Israel, the Divine ideal of a true king came as near to its realization in the case of one king of Israel, at least, as possibly nowhere else, viz. in the case of David. Therefore King David appears as the type of that king in whom the Divine ideal of a Jeh-king was to find its perfect realization; toward whose reign the kingship in Israel tended. The history of the kingship in Israel after David is, indeed, characterized by that desire for political aggrandizement which had prompted the establishment of the monarchy, which was contrary to Israel's Divine mission as the peculiar people of the Jeh-king. When Israel's kingdom terminated in the Bab exile, it became evident that the continued existence of the nation was possible even without a monarchical form of government. Though a kingdom was established again under the Maccabees, as a result of the attempt of Antiochus to extinguish Israel's religion, this kingdom was neither as perfectly national nor as truly religious in its character as the Davidic. It soon became dependent on Rome. The kingship of Herod was entirely alien to the true Israelitish conception.

It remains to be said only that the final attempt of Israel in its revolt against the Rom Empire, to establish the old monarchy, resulted in its downfall as a nation, because it would not learn the lesson that the future of a nation does not depend upon political greatness, but upon the fulfilment of its Divine mission.

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S. D. PRESS

KING, CHRIST AS:

- I. THE REALITY OF CHRIST'S KINGSHIP
  - 1. The OT Foreshadowings
    - In the Psalms and Prophets
  - 2. The Gospel Presentation
    - (1) Christ's Claim to Be King
    - (2) Christ's Acceptance of the Title
    - (3) Christ Charged and Condemned as King
    - (4) The Witness of the Resurrection and of Apostolic Preaching
    - (5) The Testimony of the Epistles and Apocalypse
- II. CHRIST'S TITLE TO KINGSHIP
  - 1. By Birth
  - 2. By Divine Appointment
  - 3. By Conquest
  - 4. By the Free Choice of His People
- III. THE NATURE OF CHRIST'S KINGSHIP
  - 1. Spiritual
  - 2. Universal
    - (1) Kingdom of Grace, of Power
    - (2) Kingdom of Glory
  - 3. Eternal

I. The Reality of Christ's Kingship.—There can be no question but that Christ is set before us in Scripture as a king. The very title Christ or "Messiah" suggests kingship, for though the priest is spoken of as "anointed," and full elucidation of the title as applied to Jesus must take account of His threefold office of prophet, priest and king, yet generally in the OT it is the king to whom the epithet is applied.

1. The OT Foreshadowings

We may briefly note some of the OT predictions of Christ as king. The first prediction which represents the Christ as having dominion is that of Jacob concerning the tribe of Judah: "Until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be" (Gen **49** 10); then kingly dignity and dominion are suggested by the star and scepter in Balaam's prophecy (Nu **24** 15–17). As yet, however, Israel has no king but God, but when afterward a king is given and the people become familiar with the idea, the prophecies all more or less have a regal tint, and the coming one is preëminently the coming king.

In the Pss and Prophets.—We can only indicate a few of the many royal predictions, but these will readily suggest others. In Ps **2** the voice of Jeh is heard above all the tumult of earth, declaring, "Yet I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion." So in Pss **24, 45, 72, 89** and **110** we have special foreshadowings of the Messianic king. The babe that Isaiah sees born of a virgin is also the "Prince of Peace" (Isa **9** 6.7), of the increase of whose government there shall be no end, and as the prophet gazes on him he joyfully exclaims: "Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness" (Isa **32** 1). Jeremiah, the prophet of woe, catches bright glimpses of his coming Lord, and with rapture intensified by the surrounding sorrow cries: "Behold, the days come, saith Jeh, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land" (**23** 5). Ezekiel, dwelling amid his wheels, sees in the course of Providence many revolutions, but they are all to bring about the dominion of Christ: "I will overturn, overturn, overturn . . . . until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him" (**21** 27). Daniel sees the rise and progress, the decline and fall of many mighty empires, but beyond all he sees the Son of man inheriting an everlasting kingdom (**7** 13). Hosea sees the repentant people of Israel in the latter days seeking Jeh their God, and David (the greater David) their king (**3** 5). Micah sees the everlasting Ruler coming out of Bethlehem clad in the strength and majesty of Jeh, who shall "be great unto the ends of the earth" (**5** 4). Zechariah, exulting in His near approach, cries: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerus: behold, thy king cometh unto thee" (**9** 9), and he follows His varied course through gloom and through glory, until the strong conviction is born in his heart and expressed in the glowing words: "Jeh shall be King over all the earth" (**14** 9). The more extreme higher critics would, of course, deny that these are direct predictions of Jesus Christ, but most, if not all, would admit that they are ideal representations which were only fully realized in Jesus of Nazareth.

2. The Gospel Presentation

The Gospels present Christ as king. Mt, tracing His genealogy, gives special prominence to His royal lineage as son of David. He tells of the visit of the Magi who inquire for the newborn king of the Jews, and the scribes answer Herod's question by showing from Micah's prophecy that the Christ to be born in Bethlehem would be a "governor," and would rule, "be shepherd of my people Israel" (**2** 5.6). Lk's account of the Nativity contains the angel's declaration that the child to be born and named Jesus would occupy the throne of David and reign over the house of Jacob forever (**1** 32.33). In John's account of the beginning of Christ's ministry, one of His early disciples, Nathanael, hails Him as "King of Israel" (**1** 49), and Jesus does not repudiate the title. If Mark has no such definite word, he nevertheless describes the message with which Jesus opens His ministry as the "gospel" of "the kingdom of God" (**1** 14.15). The people nurtured in the prophetical teaching expect the coming one to be a king, and when Jesus seems to answer to their ideal of the Messiah, they propose taking Him by force and making Him king (Jn **6** 15).

(1) *Christ's claim to be king.*—Christ Himself claimed to be king. In claiming to be the Messiah He tacitly claimed kingship, but there are specific indications of the claim besides. In all His teaching of the kingdom it is implied, for though He usually calls it the "kingdom of God" or "of heaven," yet it is plain that He is the administrator of its affairs. He assumes to Himself the highest place in it. Admission into the kingdom or exclusion from it depends upon men's attitude toward Him. In His explanation of the parable of the Tares, He distinctly speaks of His kingdom, identifying it with the kingdom of God. "The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity. . . . . Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Mt **13** 41–43). He speaks of some seeing "the Son of man coming in his kingdom" (Mt **16** 28), of the regeneration, "when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory" (Mt **19** 28), of Himself under the guise of a nobleman who goes "into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom," and does receive it (Lk **19** 12–15).

(2) *Christ's acceptance of the title.*—When the mother of John and James comes asking that her two sons may occupy the chief places of honor in His kingdom, He does not deny that He is a king and has a kingdom, while indicating that the places on His right and left hand are already determined by the appointment of the Father (Mt **20** 21–23). He deliberately takes steps to fulfil the prediction of Zec: "Behold, thy king cometh," and He accepts, approves and justifies the hosannas and the homage of the multitude (Mt **21** 1–16; Mk **11**; Lk **19**; Jn **12**). In His great picture of the coming judgment (Mt **25**), the Son of man sits upon the throne of His glory, and it is as "the king" that He blesses and condemns. The dying thief prays, "Remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom" (Lk **23** 42), and Jesus gives His royal response which implies full acceptance of the position.

(3) *Christ charged and condemned as king.*—His claim throughout had been so definite that His enemies make this the basis of their charge against Him before Pilate, that He said that "he himself is Christ a king," and when Pilate asks, "Art thou the King?" He answers, "Thou sayest," which was equivalent to "yes" (Lk **23** 2.3). In the fuller account of Jn, Jesus speaks to Pilate of "my kingdom," and says "Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end have I been born" (Jn **18** 37). His claim is perpetuated in the superscription of the cross in the three languages: "This is the King of the Jews," and although the priests wished it to be altered so as to detract from His claim, they yet affirm the fact of that claim when they say: "Write not, The King of the Jews; but, that he said, I am King of the Jews" (Jn **19** 21). The curtain of His earthly life falls upon the king in seeming failure; the taunt of the multitude, "Let the Christ, the King of Israel, now come down from the cross" (Mk **15** 32), meets with no response, and the title on the cross seems a solemn mockery, like the elaborate, cruel jest of the brutal soldiers clothing Him with purple, crowning Him with thorns and hailing Him King of the Jews.

(4) *The witness of the resurrection and of apostolic preaching.*—But the resurrection throws new light upon the scene, and fully vindicates His claims, and the sermon of Peter on the day of Pentecost proclaims the fact that the crucified one occupies the throne. "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly, that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified" (Acts **2** 36). The early preaching of the apostles, as recorded in the Acts, emphasizes His lordship, His kingship; these men were preachers in the literal sense—heralds of the king.

(5) *The testimony of the Epistles and Apocalypse.*—We need not consider in detail the testimony of the Epp. The fact that Christ is king is everywhere implied and not infrequently asserted. He is "Lord of both the dead and the living" (Rom **14** 9). He is risen "to rule over the Gentiles" (Rom **15** 12). "He must reign, till he hath put all his enemies under his feet" (1 Cor **15** 25). He is at the right hand of God "above all rule, and authority," etc (Eph **1** 20–22). Evil men have no "inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God" (Eph **5** 5), and believers are "translated into the kingdom of the Son of his love" (Col **1** 13). He has been given the name that is above every name "that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow," etc (Phil **2** 9–11). Those who suffer with Christ are to "reign with him" (2 Tim **2** 12), at "his appearing and his kingdom" (2 Tim **4** 1), and He will save them "unto his heavenly kingdom" (2 Tim **4** 18); "the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Pet **1** 11). Of the Son it is said: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever" (He **1** 8), and He is a King-Priest "after the order of Melchizedek" (He **7** 17). In the Apocalypse, appropriately, the predominant aspect of Christ is that of a king. He is the "ruler of the kings of the earth" (Rev **1** 5), "King of the ages" (Rev **15** 3), "King of kings" (**17** 14; **19** 16), "and he shall reign for ever and ever" (**11** 15). The reality of Christ's kingship is thus placed beyond all doubt.

II. Christ's Title to Kingship.—After the analogy of earthly kingships it might be said that Jesus Christ is a king by birth.

1. By Birth

He was born a king. His mother, like His reputed father, "was of the house and family of David" (Lk **2** 4). The angel in announcing His birth declares that He will occupy the throne of His father David. The Pharisees have no hesitation in affirming that the Christ would be Son of David (Mt **22** 45; Mk **12** 35; Lk **20** 41). Frequently in life He was hailed as "Son of David," and after His ascension, Peter declares that the promise God had made to David that "of the fruit of his loins he would set one upon his throne" (Acts **2** 30) was fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth; while Paul declares that the gospel of God was "concerning his Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom **1** 3). So that on the human side He had the title to kingship as son of David, while on the Divine side as Son of God He had also the right to the throne.

2. By Divine Appointment

David was king by Divine choice and appointment, and this was the ideal in the case of his successors. The figment of "Divine right"—by virtue of which modern kings have claimed to rule—was, in the first instance, a reminiscence of the Bib. ideal. But the ideal is realized in Christ. Of the coming Messianic King, Jeh said: "Yet I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion" (Ps **2** 6), and the great proclamation of Pentecost was an echo of that decree: "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly, that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified" (Acts **2** 36), while the apostle declares that "God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name" (Phil **2** 9), and again and again the great OT word of Jeh is applied to Christ: "Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet" (He **1** 13).

3. By Conquest

Often in the olden times kingship was acquired by conquest, by superior prowess. According to one etymology of our word "king," it means the "able man," "the one who can," and everyone remembers Carlyle's fine passage thereon. In the highest sense, this is true of Christ, who establishes His sway over men's hearts by His matchless prowess, the power of His infinite love and the charm of His perfect character.

4. By the Free Choice of His People

Except in the most autocratic form of kingship, some place has been given to the suffrage of the people, and the other phases of the title have been confirmed and ratified by the voice of the people as they cry, "God save the king!" and no king is well established on the throne if he is not supported by the free homage of his subjects. Christ as king wins the love of His people, and they gladly acknowledge His sway. They are of one heart to make Him king.

III. The Nature of Christ's Kingship.—We know that the Jews expected a material kingdom, marked by earthly pomp and state; a kingdom on the lines of the Davidic or Solomonic kingdom, and others since have made the same mistake.

1. Spiritual

The Scriptures plainly declare, Christ Himself clearly taught, that His kingship was spiritual. "My kingdom," said He, "is not of this world" (Jn **18** 36), and all the representations given of it are all consistent with this declaration. Some have emphasized the preposition *ek* here, as if that made a difference in the conception: "My kingdom is not of this world." Granted that the preposition indicates *origin,* it still leaves the statement an assertion of the spirituality of the kingdom, for if it is not *from* this *kosmos, from* this earthly state of things, it must be from the other world—not the earthly but the heavenly; not the material but the spiritual. The whole context shows that origin here includes character, for Christ adds, "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews." Because it is of an unworldly origin, it is not to be propagated by worldly means, and the non-use of worldly means declares it to be of an unworldly character. So that to assert that Christ means that His kingdom was not to arise out of this world, but to come down from heaven, is not at all to deny, but rather, indeed, to declare its essential spirituality, its unworldliness, its otherworldliness.

Throughout the NT, spirituality appears as the prevailing characteristic of Christ's reign. Earthly kingdoms are based upon material power, the power of the sword, the power of wealth, etc, but the basal factor of Christ's kingdom is righteousness (Mt **5** 20; **6** 33; Rom **14** 17; He **1** 8, etc). The ruling principle in earthly kingdoms is selfish or sectional or national aggrandizement; in the kingdom of Christ it is *truth*. Christ is king of truth. "Art thou a king then?" said Pilate. "I am," said Christ (for that is the force of "thou sayest that I am a king"). "To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth," and He adds, "Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice" (Jn **18** 37). Elsewhere He says: "I am the . . . . truth" (Jn **14** 6), and at the head of the armies of heaven He still wears the title "Faithful and True" (Rev **19** 11); but if righteousness and truth occupy such a prominent place in His kingdom, it follows that it must be distinguished by its spirituality. His immediate subjects are spiritual men and women; its laws are spiritual; its work is spiritual; all the forces emanating from it, operating through it, centering in it, are spiritual.

2. Universal

The Jewish idea of the Messiah's reign was a narrow national one. For them it meant the glorification of the sons of Abraham, the supremacy of Judaism over all forms of faith and all systems of philosophy; the subjection to Jewish sway of the haughty Roman, the cultured Greek and the rude barbarian. The Messiah was to be a greater king than David or Solomon, but still a king after the same sort; much as the limits of the kingdom might extend, it would be but an extension on Jewish lines; others might be admitted to a share in its privileges, but they would have to become *naturalized* Jews, or occupy a very subordinate place. The prophetic ideal, however, was a universal kingdom, and that was the conception indorsed and emphasized by Christ. (For the prophetic ideal such passages may be noted as Pss **2, 22, 72**; Isa **11** 10; Dnl **7** 13.14, etc.) Of course, the predictions have a Jewish coloring, and people who did not apprehend the spirituality might well construe this amiss; but, closely examined, it will be found that the prophets indicate that men's position in the coming kingdom is to be determined by their relation to the king, and in that we get the preparation for the full NT ideal. The note of universality is very marked in the teaching of Christ. All barriers are to be broken down, and Jews and Gentiles are to share alike in the privileges of the new order. "Many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven" (Mt **8** 11), and stranger still to the Jewish ear: "The sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness" (Mt **8** 12). In the parables of the kingdom (Mt **13**), the field, in which is sown the good seed of the kingdom, is the world, and the various other figures give the same idea of unlimited extent. The same thought is suggested by the declaration, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold" (Jn **10** 16), also by the confident affirmation: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself" (Jn **12** 32), and so with many other statements of the Gospels.

The terms of the commission are enough to show the universal sovereignty which Christ claims over men: "Go ye therefore," He says, as possessing all authority in heaven and on earth, "and make disciples of all the nations" (Mt **28** 19), coupled with the royal assurance, "Ye shall be my witnesses . . . . unto the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts **1** 8). The Book of Acts shows, in the carrying out of the commission, the actual widening of the borders of Christ's kingdom to include believers of all nations. Peter is taught, and announces clearly, the great truth that Gentiles are to be received upon the same terms as the Jews. But through Paul as the apostle of the Gentiles this glorious truth is most fully and jubilantly made known. In the dogmatic teaching of his Epp. he shows that all barriers are broken down, the middle wall of the fence between Jew and Gentile no longer exists. Those who were aliens and strangers are now made nigh in Christ, and "are no more strangers and sojourners, but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph **2** 19). That household, that commonwealth, is, in Pauline language, equivalent to the kingdom, and in the same Ep. he describes the same privileged position as being an "inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God" (**5** 5). The Saviour's kingdom cannot be bounded by earthly limits, and all attempts to map it out according to human rules imply a failure to recognize the true Scriptural idea of its universality.

(1) *Kingdom of grace—of power.*—Most of what we have said applies to that phase of Christ's kingdom which is generally called his *kingdom of grace;* there is another phase called the *kingdom of power.* Christ is in a special sense king in Zion, king in His church—that is universal in conception and destined to be so in reality—but He is also king of the universe. He is "head over all things"; Eph **1** 22; Col **1** 18, and other passages clearly intimate this. He rules over all. He does so not simply as God, but as God-man, as mediator. It is as mediator that He has the name above every name; it is as mediator that He sits upon the throne of universal power.

(2) *Kingdom of glory.*—There is also the phase of the *kingdom of glory.* Christ's reign now is truly glorious. The essential spirituality of it implies its glory, for as the spiritual far surpasses the material in value, so the glory of the spiritual far transcends the glory of the material. The glory of worldly pomp, of physical force, of human prowess or genius, must ever pale before the glory of righteousness, truth, spirituality. But Christ's kingdom is glorious in another sense; it is a heavenly kingdom. It is the kingdom of grace into which saved sinners now enter, but it is also the kingdom of heavenly glory, and in it the glorified saints have a place. Entrance into the kingdom of grace in this earthly state secures entrance into the kingdom of glory. Rightly does the church confess: "Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ." The kingdom is yet to assume an externally glorious form. That is connected with the appearing of Christ (2 Tim **4** 1), the glory that shall be revealed, the heavenly kingdom. The kingdom in that stage cannot be entered by flesh and blood (1 Cor **15** 50), man in his mortality—but the resurrection change will give the fitness, when in the fullest sense the kingdom of this world shall have "become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ" (Rev **11** 15).

3. Eternal

It would be easy to multiply quotations in proof of this. The great passage in Dnl **7** emphatically declares it. The echo of this is heard in the angel's announcement: "He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end" (Lk **1** 33). The reign of 1,000 years which so greatly occupies the thoughts of so many brethren, whatever we may decide as to its nature, is but an episode in the reign of Christ. He is reigning now, He shall reign forever. Rev **11** 15, above quoted, is often cited as applying to the millennium, but it goes on to say "and he shall reign [not for 1,000 years simply, but] for ever and ever." So, many of the glowing predictions of the OT, which are often assigned to the millennium, indicate no limit, but deal with the enduring and eternal.

The difficult passage in 1 Cor **15** 24–28 must be interpreted in the light of those declarations concerning the eternity of Christ's reign. It is evidently as mediator that He delivers up the kingdom to the Father. The dispensation of mediator comes to an end. All has been done according to the purpose of redemption. All the ransomed are finally gathered home. He sees of the travail of His soul and is satisfied. Obdurate enemies are subdued. God's glory has been fully vindicated. The Son becoming subject to the Father, God governs directly and is all in all. But the Son in some sense still reigns and through Him God's glory will ever shine, while the kingdom eternally rests upon redemption.

We may summarize by saying that Christ is king of truth, king of salvation (Mt **21** 5; Zec **9** 9); king of grace; king of peace (Lk **19** 38; He **7** 2); king of righteousness (He **1** 8; **7** 2); king of glory (Mt **25** 31–34); king eternal; king of saints, king of the ages; king of kings (Rev **19** 16). "Upon his head are many diadems" (Rev **19** 12). See also CHRIST, OFFICES OF. ARCHIBALD M'CAIG

KING OF THE JEWS: The title applied in mockery of Jesus, and put by Pilate on His cross (Mt **27** 29.37 ‖ Mk **15** 26, etc). See JESUS CHRIST; KING, CHRIST AS.

KINGDOM OF GOD (OF HEAVEN), THE

(ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν—τοῦ θεοῦ, *hē basileía tôn ouranôn—toú theoú*):

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LITERATURE

The "kingdom of God" is one of the most remarkable ideas and phrases of all time, having begun to be used very near the beginnings of history and continuing in force down to the present day.

1. Place in the Gospels

I. Meaning and Origin of the Term.—Its use by Jesus is by far its most interesting aspect; for, in the Synoptists, at least, it is His watchword, or a comprehensive term for the whole of His teaching. Of this the ordinary reader of Scripture may hardly be aware, but it becomes evident and significant to the student. Thus, in Mt **4** 23, the commencement of the ministry is described in these words, "And Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness among the people"; and, somewhat later, in Lk **8** 1, the expansion of His activity is described in the following terms, "And it came to pass soon afterwards, that he went about through cities and villages, preaching and bringing the good tidings of the kingdom of God, and with him the twelve." When the Twelve are sent forth by themselves, the purpose of their mission is, in Lk **9** 2, given in these words, "And he sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick." In Mt **13** 11, the parables, which formed so large and prominent a portion of His teaching, are denominated collectively "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven"; and it will be remembered how many of these commence with the phrase, "The kingdom of heaven is like."

2. "Kingdom of Heaven" and "Kingdom of God"

In these quotations, and in others which might easily be adduced, it will be observed that the phrases "the kingdom," "the kingdom of God," "the kingdom of heaven" are used interchangeably. The last of the three, "the kingdom of heaven," is confined to the First Gospel, which does not, however, always make use of it; and it is not certain what may have been the reason for the substitution. The simplest explanation would be that heaven is a name for God, as, in the parable of the Prodigal Son, the penitent says, "I have sinned against heaven," and we ourselves might say, "Heaven forbid!" It is not, however, improbable that the true meaning has to be learned from two petitions of the Lord's Prayer, the one of which is epexegetic of the other, "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." Here the disciples are instructed to pray that the kingdom of God may come, but this is equivalent to the petition that the will of God may be done on earth; Jesus is, however, aware of a region in the universe where the will of God is at present being perfectly and universally done, and, for reasons not difficult to surmise, He elevates thither the minds and hearts of those who pray. The kingdom of heaven would thus be so entitled because it is already realized there, and is, through prayer and effort, to be transferred thence to this earth.

3. Relation to OT (Daniel, etc)

Although, however, the phrase held this master-position in the teaching of Jesus, it was not of His invention. It was employed before Him by John the Baptist, of whom we read, in Mt **3** 1 f, "And in those days cometh John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judaea, saying, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Indeed, the phrase is far older; for, on glancing toward the OT, we come at once, in Dnl **2** 44, to a passage where the young prophet, explaining to the monarch the image of gold, silver, iron and clay, which, in his dream, he had seen shattered by "a stone cut out without hands," interprets it as a succession of world-kingdoms, destined to be destroyed by "a kingdom of God," which shall last forever; and, in his famous vision of the "son of man" in **7** 14, it is said, "There was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."

These passages in Dnl form undoubtedly the proximate source of the phrase; yet the idea which it represents mounts far higher. From the first the Jewish state was governed by laws believed to be derived directly from heaven; and, when the people demanded a king, that they might be like other nations, they were reproached for desiring any king but God Himself. With this sublime conception the actual monarchy was only a compromise, the reigning monarch passing for Jeh's representative on earth. In David, the man after

God's own heart, the compromise was not unsatisfactory; in Solomon it was still tolerable; but in the majority of the kings of both Judah and Israel it was a dismal and disastrous failure. No wonder that the pious sighed and prayed that Jeh might take to Himself His great power and reign, or that the prophets predicted the coming of a ruler who would be far nearer to God than the actual kings and of whose reign there would be no end. Even when the political kingdom perished and the people were carried away into Babylon, the intelligent and truly religious among them did not cease to cherish the old hope, and the very aspect of the world-powers then and subsequently menacing them only widened their conceptions of what that kingdom must be which could overcome them all. The return from Babylon seemed a miraculous confirmation of their faith, and it looked as if the day long prayed for were about to dawn. Alas, it proved a day of small things. The era of the Maccabees was only a transitory gleam; in the person of Herod the Great a usurper occupied the throne; and the eagles of the Romans were hovering on the horizon. Still Messianic hopes flourished, and Messianic language filled the mouths of the people.

1. Current Jewish Opinions

II. Its Use by Jesus—Contrast with Jewish Conceptions.—Schürer, in his *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (II, 11, 126 ff), has drawn up a kind of Messianic creed, in no fewer than eleven articles, which he believes was extensively diffused at this period. The Sadducees, indeed, had no participation in these dreams, as they would have called them, being absorbed in money-making and courtiership; but the Pharisees cherished them, and the Zealots received their name from the ardor with which they embraced them. The true custodians, however, of these conceptions were the Prosdechomenoi, as they have been called, from what is said of them in the NT, that they "waited for the kingdom of God." To this class belonged such men as Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa (Lk **23** 51), but it is in the beginning of the Gospel of Lk that we are introduced to its most numerous representatives, in the groups surrounding the infant Baptist and the infant Saviour (Lk **2** 25.38); and the truest and amplest expression of their sentiments must be sought in the inspired hymns which rose from them on this occasion. The center of their aspirations, as there depicted, is a kingdom of God—not, however, of worldly splendor and force, but of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; beginning in humility, and passing to exaltation only through the dark valley of contrition.

2. Relation of Jesus to Same

Such was the circle in which both the Baptist and Jesus were reared, and it was out of this atmosphere that the conception of the kingdom of God came into their minds. It has frequently been said that, in making use of this term, Jesus accommodated Himself to the opinions and language of His fellow-countrymen; and there is truth in this, because, in order to secure a footing on the solid earth of history, He had to connect His own activity with the world in which He found Himself. Yet the idea was native to His home and His race, and therefore to Himself; and it is not improbable that He may at first have been unaware of the wide difference between His own thoughts on the subject and those of His contemporaries.

3. Growing Divergence and Contrast

When, however, He began, in the course of His ministry, to speak of the kingdom of God, it soon became manifest that by Him and by His contemporaries it was used in different senses; and this contrast went on increasing until there was a great gulf fixed between Him and them. The difference cannot better be expressed than by saying, as is done by B. Weiss, that He and they laid the accent on different halves of the phrase, they emphasizing "the kingdom" and He "of God." They were thinking of the expulsion of the Romans, of a Jewish king and court, and of a world-wide dominion going forth from Mt. Zion; He was thinking of righteousness, holiness and peace, of the doing of the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven. So earthly and fantastic were the expectations of the Jewish multitude that He had to escape from their hands when they tried to take Him by force and make Him a king. The authorities never acknowledged the pretensions of One who seemed to them a religious dreamer, and, as they clung to their own conceptions, they grew more and more bitter against One who was turning the most cherished hopes of a nation into ridicule, besides threatening to bring down on them the heavy hand of the Roman. And at last they settled the controversy between Him and them by nailing Him to a tree.

4. Prophetic Character of the "Temptation"

At one time Jesus had felt the glamor of the popular Messianic ideas, and at all times He must have been under temptation to accommodate His own ideas to the prejudices of those on whose favor His success seemed to be dependent. The struggle of His mind and will with such solicitations is embodied in what is called the Temptation in the Wilderness (Mt **4** 1–11). There He was tempted to accept the dominion of the world at the price of compromise with evil; to be a bread-king, giving *panem et circenses;* and to curry favor with the multitude by some display, like springing from the pinnacle of the temple. The incidents of this scene look like representative samples of a long experience; but they are placed before the commencement of His public activity in order to show that He had already overcome them; and throughout His ministry He may be said to have been continually declaring, as He did in so many words at its close, that His kingdom was not of this world.

5. Modern "Futuristic" Hypothesis (J. Weiss, Schweitzer)

It is very strange that, in spite of this, He should be believed, even by Christian scholars, to have held a purely futuristic and apocalyptic view of the kingdom Himself. He was all the time expecting, it is said, that the heavens would open and the kingdom descend from heaven to earth, a pure and perfect work of God. This is exactly what was expected by the Jewish multitude, as is stated in Lk **19** 11; and it is precisely what the authorities believed Him to be anticipating. The controversy between Him and them was as to whether Jeh would intervene on His behalf or not; and, when no intervention took place, they believed they were justified in condemning Him. The premises being conceded, it is difficult to deny the force of their argument. If Jesus was all the time looking out for an appearance from heaven which never arrived, what better was He than a dreamer of the ghetto?

6. Weakness of This View

It was by Johannes Weiss that this hypothesis was started in recent times; and it has been worked out by Schweitzer as the final issue of modern speculation on the life of Christ (see his *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*). But in opposition to it can be quoted not a few sayings of Jesus which indicate that, in His view, the kingdom of God had already begun and was making progress during His earthly ministry, and that it was destined to make progress not by catastrophic and apocalyptic interference with the course of Providence, but, as the grain grows—first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear (Mk **4** 26–29). Of such sayings the most remarkable is Lk **17** 20 f, "And being asked by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God cometh, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you." "Observation," in this quotation, is an astronomical term, denoting exactly such a manifestation in the physical heavens as Jesus is assumed to have been looking for; so that He denies in so many words the expectation attributed to Him by those representatives of modern scholarship.

7. Positive Conceptions of Jesus

In the nature of the case the kingdom must have been growing from stage to stage during His earthly ministry. He Himself was there, embodying the kingdom in His person; and the circle gathered around Him partook of the blessings of the kingdom. This circle might have grown large enough to be coextensive with the country; and, therefore, Jesus retained the consciousness of being the Messiah, and offered Himself in this character to His fellow-countrymen by the triumphal entry into Jerus. But the citizens of the kingdom had to enter it one by one, not in a body, as the Jews were expecting. Strait was the gate; it was the narrow gate of repentance. Jesus began by repeating the initial word of the teaching of His forerunner; and He had too much reason to continue repeating it, as the hypocrisy and worldliness of Pharisees and Sadducees called for denunciation from His lips. To the frailties of the publicans and sinners, on the contrary, He showed a strange mildness; but this was because He knew the way of bringing such sinners to His feet to confess their sins themselves. To the penitent He granted pardon, claiming that the Son of man had power on earth to forgive sins. Then followed the exposition of righteousness, of which the Sermon on the Mount is a perfect specimen. Yet it commences with another watchword—that of blessedness, the ingredients of which are set forth in all their comprehensiveness. In the same way, in other passages, He promises "rest," "peace," and the like; and again and again, where He might be expected to employ the term "kingdom of God," He substitutes "life" or "eternal life." Such were the blessings He had come into the world to bestow; and the most comprehensive designation for them all was "the kingdom of God."

It is true, there was always imperfection attaching to the kingdom as realized in His lifetime, because He Himself was not yet made perfect. Steadily, from the commencement of the last stage of His career, He began to speak of His own dying and rising again. To those nearest Him such language was at the time a total mystery; but the day came when His apostles were able to speak of His death and ascension as the crown and glory of His whole career. When His life seemed to be plunging over the precipice, its course was so diverted by the providence of God that, by dying, He became the Redeemer of mankind and, by missing the throne of the Jews, attained to that of the universe, becoming King of kings and Lord of lords.

1. Apostolic and Post-apostolic Age

III. The Idea in History.—After the death of Jesus, there soon ensued the destruction of the Jewish state; and then Christianity went forth among the nations, where to have spoken of it as a kingdom of God would have unnecessarily provoked hostility and called forth the accusation of treason against the powers that be. Hence it made use of other names and let "the kingdom of God" drop. This had commenced even in Holy Scripture, where, in the later books, there is a growing infrequency in the use of the term. This may be alleged as proof that Jesus was being forgotten; but it may only prove that Christianity was then too much alive to be trammeled with words and phrases, even those of the Master, being able at every stage to find new language to express its new experience.

2. Early Christian Centuries

In the early Christian centuries, "the kingdom of God" was used to designate heaven itself, in which from the first the development of the kingdom was to issue; this, in fact, being not infrequently the meaning of the phrase even in the mouth of Jesus. The Alexandrian thinkers brought back the phrase to designate the rule of God in the conscience of men. St. Augustine's great work bears a title, *De Civitate Dei*, which is a tr of our phrase; and to him the kingdom of God was the church, while the world outside of the church was the kingdom of Satan. From the time of Charlemagne there were in the world, side by side, two powers, that of the emperor and that of the pope; and the history of the Middle Ages is the account of the conflict of these two for predominance, each pretending to struggle in the name of God. The approaching termination of this conflict may be seen in Wycliffe's great work *De Dominio Divino*, this title also being a tr of our phrase.

3. Reformation Period

During the struggles of the Reformation the battles of the faith were fought out under other watchwords; and it was rather among such sectaries as the Baptists, that names like Fifth Monarchy and Rule of the Saints betrayed recollection of the evangelic phraseology; but how near, then and subsequently, the expression of men's thoughts about authority in church and state came to the language of the Gospels could easily be demonstrated, for example, from the Confessions and Books of Discipline of the Scottish church.

4. Later Ideas

The very phrase, "the kingdom of God," reappeared at the close of the Reformation period among the Pietists of Germany, who, as their multiplying benevolent and missionary activities overflowed the narrow boundaries of the church, as it was then understood, spoke of themselves as working for the kingdom of God, and found this more to their taste than working for the church. The vague and humanitarian aspirations of Rationalism sometimes assumed to themselves the same title; but it was by Ritschl and his followers that the phrase was brought back into the very heart of theology. In the system of Ritschl there are two poles—the love of God and the kingdom of God. The love of God enfolds within itself God's purpose for the world, to be realized in time; and this progressive realization is the kingdom of God. It fulfils itself esp. in the faithful discharge of the duties of everyone's daily vocation and in the recognition that in the course of Providence all things are working together for good to them that love God.

1. Danger of Exaggeration

IV. Place in Theology.—There are those to whom it appears self-evident that what was the leading phrase in the teaching of Jesus must always be the master-word in theology; while others think this to be a return from the spirit to the letter. Even Jesus, it may be claimed, had this phrase imposed upon Him quite as much as He chose it for Himself; and to impose it now on theology would be to entangle the movements of Christian thought with the cerements of the dead.

2. Elements of Living Power in Idea

This is an interesting controversy, on both sides of which much might be said. But in the phrase "the kingdom of God" there are elements of living power which can never pass away. (1) It expresses the social side of Christianity. A kingdom implies multitude and variety, and, though religion begins with the individual, it must aim at brotherhood, organization and expansion. (2) It expresses loyalty. However much kings and kingdoms may fail to touch the imagination in an age of the world when many countries have become or are becoming republican, the strength to conquer and to endure will always have to be derived from contact with personalities. God is the king of the kingdom of God, and the Son of God is His vicegerent; and without the love of God the Father and the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ no progress can be made with the Christianization of the world. (3) It keeps alive the truth, suggested by Jesus in the Lord's Prayer, that the doing of the will of God on earth is the one thing needful. This is the true end of all authority in both church and state, and behind all efforts thus directed there is at work the potency of heaven. (4) It reminds all generations of men that their true home and destiny is heaven. In not a few of Our Lord's own sayings, as has been remarked, our phrase is obviously only a name for heaven; and, while His aim was that the kingdom should be established on earth, He always promised to those aiding in its establishment in this world that their efforts would be rewarded in the world to come. The constant recognition of a spiritual and eternal world is one of the unfailing marks of genuine Christianity.

Literature.—See the works on NT Theology by Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, Feine, Schlatter, Weinel, Stevens, Sheldon; and on the Teaching of Jesus by Wendt, Dalman, Bruce; Candlish, *The Kingdom of God;* Robertson, *Regnum Dei;* Stalker, *The Ethic of Jesus.*

James Stalker

KINGDOM OF ISRAEL. See Israel, Kingdom of.

KINGDOM OF JUDAH. See Judah, Kingdom of.

KING'S DALE. See Dale, King's.

KING'S GARDEN (גַּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, *gan-ha-melekh*): In Neh **3** 15, mention is made of "the pool of Shelah by the king's garden"; in 2 K **25** 4; Jer **52** 7, "All the men of war fled by night by the way of the gate between the two walls, which was by the king's garden"; see also Jer **39** 4. The "king's winepresses" (Zec **14** 10), which must have been to the extreme S. of the city, were clearly in this neighborhood. The references all point to the one situation in Jerus where it is possible for gardens to flourish all the year round, namely, the part of the Kidron valley below the Tyropoeon which is watered by the overflow from the Pool of Siloam (see Siloam). Here the vegetable gardens of the peasants of Siloam present an aspect of green freshness unknown elsewhere in Jerus.

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KING'S MOTHER: The queen-dowager occupied a very important position at the court of the kings of Israel, e.g. Bathsheba (1 K **2** 19); Maacah (**15** 13); Athaliah (2 Ch **22** 2); and Nehushta (2 K **24** 8; Jer **13** 18). See Queen; Queen Mother.

KING'S POOL (בְּרֵכַת הַמֶּלֶךְ, *bᵉrēkhath ha-melekh*): This is possibly the Pool of Siloam (Neh **2** 14), and may have been so named as being near to the "king's garden."

KING'S VALE (עֵמֶק־הַמֶּלֶךְ, *'ēmeḳ ha-melekh;* LXX in Gen reads *tó pedíon* ["the plain"] *basiléōs,* in 2 S, *hē koilás* ["valley"] *toú basiléōs;* AV **King's Dale**): The place where the king of Sodom met Abram (Gen **14** 17), and the situation of Absalom's monument (2 S **18** 18). It was identical with the Vale of Shaveh, and was evidently near Salem, the city of Melchizedek (Gen **14** 17). If Salem (q.v.) is Jerus, then Absalom's pillar was also near that city. Jos writes (*Ant,* VII, x, 3), "Absalom had erected for himself a marble pillar in the king's dale, two furlongs [stadia] from Jerus, which he named Absalom's Hand." In all probability this "pillar" was a rough upright stone—a *maççēbhāh*—but its site is lost. The traditional Gr-Egyp tomb of perhaps 100–200 years BC which has been hewn out of the rock on the eastern side of the Kidron valley is manifestly misnamed "Absalom's pillar," and the Kidron ravine (*naḥal*) cannot be the King's Vale (*'ēmeḳ*).

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KINGS, BOOKS OF:

I. Title
II. Scope
III. Character of Books and Position in Hebrew Canon
  1. Purpose
  2. Character of Data
IV. Historical Value
  1. Treatment of Historical Data
  2. Chronology
  3. Value of Assyrian Records
  4. Plan
V. Composition
  1. Nature of the Books
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  4. J and E
VI. Date
Literature

I. Title.—The Heb title reads, מְלָכִים, *mᵉlākhīm,* "kings," the division into books being based on the LXX where the Books of Kings are numbered 3d and 4th, the Books of Kingdoms (Βασιλείων, *Basileiōn*), the Books of Samuel being numbered respectively 1st and 2d. The separation in the Heb into 2 Books of Kings dates to the rabbinic Bible of Daniel Bomberg (Venice, 1516–17), who adds in a footnote, "Here the non-Jews [i.e. Christians] begin the 4th Book of Kings." The Heb Canon treats the 2 Books of S as one book, and the 2 Books of K as one. Hence both AV and RV read incorrectly, "The First Book of Kings," even the use of the article being superfluous.

II. Scope.—The Books of K contain 47 chs (I, 22 chs; II, 25 chs), and cover the period from the conspiracy of Adonijah and the accession of Solomon (975 BC) to the liberation of Jehoiachin after the beginning of the Exile (561 BC). The subject-matter may be grouped under certain heads, as the last days of David (1 K **1**—**2** 11); Solomon and his times (1 K **2** 12—**11** 43); the Northern Kingdom to the coming of Assyria (1 K **12** 16—2 K **17** 41) (937–722 BC), including 9 dynastic changes; the Southern Kingdom to the coming of Babylon (1 K **12** 1—2 K **25** 21, the annals of the two kingdoms being given as ‖ records until the fall of Israel) (937–586 BC), during which time but one dynasty, that of David, occupied the throne; the period of exile to 561 BC (2 K **25** 22–30). A simpler outline, that of Driver, would be: (1) Solomon and his times (1 K **1**–**11**); (2) Israel and Judah to the fall of Israel (1 K **12**—2 K **17**); Judah to the fall of Jerus (586 BC), and the captivity to the liberation of Jehoiachin (561 BC) (2 K **18**–**25**).

"Above all, there are three features in the history, which, in the mind of the author, are of prime importance as shown by the prominence he gives them in his narrative. (1) The dynasty of David is invested with peculiar dignity. This had two aspects. It pointed back to the Divine election of the nation in the past, and gave the guaranty of indefinite national perpetuity in the future. The promise of 'the sure mercies of David' was a powerful uniting influence in the Exile. (2) The Temple and its service, for which the writer had such special regard, contributed greatly to the phase of national character of subsequent times. With all the drawbacks and defacements of pure worship here was the stated regular performance of sacred rites, the development and regulation of priestly order and ritual law, which stamped themselves so firmly on later Judaism. (3) Above all, this was the period of bloom of OT prophecy. Though more is said of men like Elijah and Elisha, who have left no written words, we must not forget the desires of preëxilian prophets, whose writings have come down to us—men who, against the opposition of rulers and the indifference of the people, testified to the moral foundation on which the nation was constituted, vindicated Divine righteousness, rebuked sin, and held up the ideal to which the nation was called."—Robertson, *Temple BD*, 369 f.

III. Character of Books and Position in Hebrew Canon.—The Books of K contain much historical material, yet the historical is not their primary purpose. What in our Eng. Bibles pass for historical books are in the Heb Canon prophetic books, the Books of Josh, Jgs, 1 S, 2 S, 1 K and 2 K being classed as the "Earlier Prophets."

1. Purpose

The chief aim of these books is didactic, the imparting of great moral lessons backed up by well-known illustrations from the nation's history and from the lives of its heroes and leaders. Accordingly, we have here a sort of historical archipelago, more continuous than in the Pent, yet requiring much bridging over and conjecture in the details.

2. Character of Data

The historical matter includes, in the case of the kings of Israel, the length of the reign and the death; in the case of the kings of Judah there are included also the age at the date of accession, the name of the mother, and mention of the burial. The beginnings of the reigns in each case are dated from a point in the reign of the contemporary ruler, e.g. 1 K **15** 1: "Now in the 18th year of king Jeroboam the son of Nebat began Abijam to reign over Judah."

IV. Historical Value.—These books contain a large amount of authentic data, and, along with the

1. Treatment of Historical Data

other books of this group which constitute a contemporaneous narrative, Josh, Jgs, 1 S, 2 S, must be accorded high rank among ancient documents. To be sure the ethical and religious value is first and highest, nevertheless the historical facts must be reckoned at their true worth. Discrepancies and difficulties are to be explained by the subordination of historical details to the moral and religious purpose of the books, and to the diversity of sources whence these data are taken, that is, the compilers and editors of the Books of K as they now stand were working not for a consistent, continuous historical narrative, but for a great ethical and religious treatise. The historical material is only incidental and introduced by way of illustration and confirmation. For the oriental mind these historical examples rather than the rigor of modern logic constitute the unanswerable argument.

2. Chronology

There cannot be as much said relative to the chronological value of the books. Thus, e.g., there is a question as to the date of the close of Ahaz' reign. According to 2 K **18** 10, Samaria fell in the 6th year of Hezekiah's reign. The kings who followed Hezekiah aggregate 110 years; 586 +110 +29 (Hezekiah, 2 K **18** 2) = 725. But in 2 K **18** 13 we learn that Sennacherib's invasion came in the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign. Then 701 +14 =715. With this last agrees the account of Hezekiah's sickness (2 K **20**). In explanation of 2 K **18** 13, however, it is urged by some that the writer has subtracted the 15 years of 2 K **20** 6 from the 29 years of Hezekiah's reign. Again, e.g. in 1 K **6** 1, we learn that Solomon began to build the temple 480 years "after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt" (LXX here reads 440 years). This would make between Moses and David 12 generations of 40 years each. But counting the Exodus in the reign of Merenptah, 1225-1215 BC, and the beginning of the erection of the temple 975 BC, or after, we could not make out more than (1225–975) 250 years. Further, if the total length of reigns in Israel and Judah as recorded in the ‖ accounts of K be added for the two kingdoms, the two amounts do not agree. And, again, it is not certain whether in their annals the Hebrews pre-dated or post-dated the reigns of their kings, i.e. whether the year of a king's death was counted his last year and the first year of his successor's reign, or whether the following year was counted the first year of the succeeding king (cf Curtis in *HDB*, I, 400, 1, f; Marti in *EB*, I, coll. 777 ff).

3. Value of Assyrian Records

The Babylonians and Assyrians were more skilled and more careful chronologers, and it is by reference to their accounts of the same or of contemporary events that a sure footing is found. Hence the value of such monuments as those of Shalmaneser IV and Sennacherib—and here mention should be made also of the Moabite Stone.

4. Plan

The plan of the books is prevailingly chronological, although at times the material is arranged in groups (e.g. 2 K **2** 1—**8** 15, the Elisha stories).

V. Composition.—The Books of K are of the nature of a compilation. The compiler has fur-

1. Nature of the Books

nished a framework into which he has arranged the historical matter drawn from other sources. There are chronological data, citations of authorities, judgments on the character and deeds of the several rulers, and moral and religious teachings drawn from the attitude of the rulers in matters of religion, esp. toward heathen cults. The point of view is that of the prophets of the national party as one against foreign influence. "Both in point of view and in phraseology the compiler shows himself to be strongly influenced by Dt." (The principal editor is styled RD, i.e. Deuteronomic Redactor.) The Deuteronomic law was the touchstone, and by his loyalty to, or apostasy from, that standard, each king stands approved or condemned. This influence also appears in passages where the editor takes liberties in the expansion and adaptation of material. There is marked recurrence of phrases occurring elsewhere chiefly or even wholly in Dt, or in books showing Deuteronomic influence (Burney in *HDB*, II, 859 f). In 2 K **17** we have a test of the nation on the same standards; cf also 1 K **2** 3 f; **9** 1–9; 2 K **14** 6; Dt **24** 16.

2. Sources

In numerous instances the sources are indicated, as "the book of the acts of Solomon" (1 K **11** 41), "the chronicles of the kings of Judah" (1 K **14** 29), "the chronicles of the kings of Israel" (1 K **15** 31). A score or more of these sources are mentioned by title in the several books of the OT. Thus "the history of Samuel the seer," "the history of Nathan the prophet," "the history of Gad the seer" (1 Ch **29** 29); "the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," "the visions of Iddo the seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat" (2 Ch **9** 29; cf 2 Ch **12** 15; **13** 22; **20** 34; **32** 32). Thus the "book of the kings of Israel" is mentioned 17 t (for all kings except Jehoram and Hoshea); the "book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah" is mentioned 15 t (for all except Ahaziah, Athaliah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah). Whether the compiler had recourse to the archives themselves or to a work based on the archives is still a question.

Kent, *Student's OT* (II, chart, and pp. ix-xxvi), gives the following scheme for showing the sources:

3. Kent's Scheme

(1) Early stories about the Ark (c 950 BC or earlier), Saul stories and David stories (950–900 BC) were united (c 850 BC) to make early Judaean Saul and David stories. With these last were combined (c 600 BC) popular Judaean David stories (c 700 BC), later Ephraimite Samuel narratives (c 650 BC), and very late popular prophetic traditions (650–600 BC) in a first edition of the Books of S.

(2) Annals of Solomon (c 950 BC), early temple records (950–900 BC), were united (c 800 BC) with popular Solomon traditions (850–800 BC) in a "Book of the Acts of Solomon." A Jeroboam history (900–850 BC), an Ahab history (c 800 BC), and a Jehu history (c 750 BC) were united with the annals of Israel (after 950 to c 700 BC) in the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (700 or after). Early Ephraimite Elisha narratives (800–750 BC), influenced by a Samaria cycle of Elisha stories (750–700 BC) and a Gilgal cycle of Elisha stories (700–650 BC), were joined about 600 BC with the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" in a "first edition of the Books of Kings."

(3) The first edition of S, the first edition of K and

Isa stories (before 550 BC) were united (c 550 BC) in a final revision of S and K.

(4) From "annals of Judah" (before 900 to 650 BC or after), temple records (before 850 to after 650 BC), and a Hezekiah history (c 650 BC), was drawn material for the "Chronicles of the kings of Judah" (c 600 BC).

(5) From this last work and the final revision of S and K was taken material for a "*Midhrash* of the Book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (c 300 BC), and from this work, the final revision of S and K, and a possible temple history (after 400)—itself from the final revision of S and K—came the Books of Ch (c 250 BC).

4. J and E

The distinctions between the great documents of the Pent do not appear so clearly here. The summary, ("epitome") is the work of a Jewish redactor; the longer narratives (e.g. 1 K **17**—2 K **8**; **13** 14–21) "are written in a bright and chaste Heb style, though some of them exhibit slight peculiarities of diction, due, doubtless (in part), to their North Israelitish origin" (E). The writers of these narratives are thought to have been prophets, in most cases from the Northern Kingdom.

VI. Date.—There are numerous data bearing on the date of K, and indications of different dates appear in the books. The closing verses bring down the history to the 37th year of the Captivity (2 K **25** 27); yet the author, incorporating his materials, was apparently not careful to adjust the dates to his own time, as in 1 K **8** 8; **12** 19; 2 K **8** 22; **16** 6, which refer to conditions that passed away with the Exile. The work was probably composed before the fall of Jerus (586 BC), and was revised during or shortly after the Exile, and also supplemented by the addition of the account of the downfall of the Judaean kingdom. There are traces of a post-exilic hand, as, e.g., the mention of "the cities of Samaria" (1 K **13** 32), implying that Samaria was a province, which was not the case until after the Exile. The existence of altars over the land (1 K **19** 10), and the sanctuary at Carmel, were illegal according to the Deuteronomic law, as also was the advice given to Elisha (2 K **3** 19) to cut down the fruit trees in time of war (Dt **20** 19).

LITERATURE.—K. Budde, *Das Buch der Richter*, Mohr, Leipzig; John Skinner, "Kings," in *New Century Bible*, Frowde, New York; C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Heb Text of the Books of K*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1903; R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Leipzig, 1900; I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, Mohr, 1899; C. F. Kent, *Student's OT*, Scribner, 1905; S. R. Driver, *Intro to the Lit. of the OT*, Scribner, new rev. ed, 1910; J. E. McFadyen, *Intro to the OT*, Armstrong, New York, 1906; Carl H. Cornill, *Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher AT*, Mohr, 6th ed, 1908; A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Divine Library of the OT*, Macmillan, 1891.

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KINGS' SEPULCHRES (2 Ch **21** 20). See JERUSALEM, VIII.

KINSFOLK, kinz′fōk. See KINDRED.

KINSMAN, kinz′man, **KINSWOMAN**, kinz′-wo͝om-an: Most frequently of the גֹּאֵל, *gō'ēl*, the one who had a right to "redeem"; referring to the custom of avenging the blood of a slain kinsman; hence, a blood relative (Nu **5** 8; Ruth **2** 20; **3** 9.12; **4** 1.3.6.8.14; cf "performing the part of a kinsman," Ruth **3** 13); in Ruth **2** 1, better rendered "acquaintance." Also קָרוֹב, *ḳārōbh*, one *near*, rendered "kinsman" (Ps **38** 11); probably better, "neighbor." Once, שְׁאֵר, *shᵉ'ēr*, "flesh kin," rendered "kinsman" (Nu **27** 11; cf Lev **18** 6; **25** 49; **20** 19; **21** 2, rendered "kin"). *συγγενής, suggenḗs*, "of same race" (cf *συγγένεια, suggéneia*, "kindred"), used of blood relationship of varying degrees of nearness (Lk **14** 12; Jn **18** 26; Acts **10** 24; Rom **9** 3; **16** 7.11.21). Rendered "kin" in Mk **6** 4.

Kinswoman: שְׁאֵר, *shᵉ'ēr*, "kin by blood," or "by flesh" (cf above; also Lev **18** 12 f; also cf **18** 6, "near of kin" AV); also same root, fem. form, שַׁאֲרָה, *sha'ărāh* (Lev **18** 17), is trd "kinswoman." In Prov **7** 4, "Call understanding thy kinswoman" might be more accurately rendered, "thy familiar friend," RVm (from מוֹדַע, *mōdhaʻ*, "acquaintance"); cf similar rendering of *mōdhaʻath*, under KINDRED. Lk **1** 36 RV, "kinswoman" (*συγγενίς, suggenís*), AV "cousin" (*suggenēs*); same is rendered "kinsfolk" (**1** 58 RV).

EDWARD BAGBY POLLARD

1. Meaning

KIR, kûr, kir (קִיר, *ḳīr*): The meaning of Kir is "inclosure" or "walled place," and it is therefore doubtful whether it is a place-name in the true sense of the word. In 2 K **16** 9 it is mentioned as the place whither Tiglath-pileser IV carried the Syrian (Aramaean) captives which he deported from Damascus after he had taken that city. In Am **1** 5 the prophet announces that the people of Syria (Aram) shall go into captivity unto Kir, and in **9** 7 it is again referred to as the place whence the Lord had brought the Syrians (Aramaeans) as Israel had been brought out of Egypt, and the Philis from Caphtor.

2. How Rendered in LXX

Except in one MS (LXX, A), where it appears as the Libyan Cyrene (2 K **16** 9), it is never rendered in the LXX as a place-name. Thus the place whence the Syrians were brought (Am **9** 7) is not Kir, but "the deep" or "the ditch" (LXX *ἐκ βόθρου, ek bóthrou*, "pit"), probably a tr of some variant rather than of the word "Kir" itself. Comparing the Assyr-Bab *kîru* (for *qîru*), "wall," "inclosure," "interior," or the like, Kir might have the general meaning of a place parted off for the reception of exiled captives. Parallels would be *Ḳir Moab*, "the inclosure of Moab," *Ḳir Ḥeres* or *Ḳir Ḥareseth*, "the inclosure of brick" (LXX *hoi líthoi toú toíchou*). It seems probable that there was more than one place to which the Assyrians transported captives or exiles, and if their practice was to place them as far as they could from their native land, one would expect, for Palestinian exiles, a site or sites on the eastern side of the Tigris and Euphrates.

3. An Emendation of Isa 22:5

In Isa **22** 5 occurs the phrase, "a breaking down of the walls, and a crying to the mountains" (*mᵉḳarḳar ḳīr wᵉ-shōᵃʻ 'el hā-hār*—"a surrounding of the wall," etc, would be better), and the mention of *ḳīr* and *shōᵃʻ* here has caused Fried. Delitzsch to suggest that we have to read, instead of *ḳīr*, *ḳōᵃʻ*, combined with *shōᵃʻ*, as in Ezk **23** 23. Following this, but retaining *ḳīr*, Cheyne translates "Kir undermineth, and Shoaʻ is at the mount," but others accept Delitzsch's emendation, Winckler conjecturing that the rendering should be "Who stirreth up Koaʻ and Shoaʻ against the mountain" (*Alttest. Untersuchungen*, 177). In the next verse (Isa **22** 6) Kir is mentioned with Elam—a position which a city for western exiles would require.

4. Soldiers of Kir in Assyrian Army

The mention of Elam as taking the quiver, and Kir as uncovering the shield, apparently against "the valley of the vision" (in or close to Jerus), implies that soldiers from these two places, though one might expect them to be hostile to the Assyrians in general, were to be found in their armies, probably as mercenaries. See Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 233; Schrader, *COT*, 425.

T. G. PINCHES

1. Identification

KIR OF MOAB (קִיר מוֹאָב, *ḳīr mō'ābh;* LXX has τὸ τεῖχος, *tó teíchos*, "the wall," "fortress"): The name, at least in this form, appears only once (Isa **15** 1) as that of a city in Moab. It is named with Ar of Moab, with which possibly it may be identical, since *ʻār* or *ʻīr* is the Heb equivalent of the Moabite *Ḳīr*. The Tg hence reads "Kerak in Moab." There can be no doubt that the Kerak here intended is represented by the modern town of that name, with which, consequently, Kir Moab is almost universally identified. It must always have been a place of importance. It is mentioned as *Charakmōba* (Χαρακμῶβα) in the Acts of the Council of Jerus (536 AD) and by the early geographers. It dominated the great caravan road connecting Syria with Egypt and Arabia. The Crusaders therefore directed attention to it, and held possession from 1167 till it fell again into the hands of the Moslems under Saladin, 1188. The Chroniclers speak of it as in *el Belḳā*, and the chief city of Arabia Secunda. Under the title of Petra Deserti the Crusaders founded here a bishop's see. The Gr bishop of Petra still has his seat in Kerak.

2. Description

Kerak stands upon a lofty spur projecting westward from the Moab plateau, with *Wādy 'Ain Franjy* on the S., and *Wādy el-Kerak* on the N., about 10 miles from the Dead Sea. The sides of the mountain sink sharply into these deep ravines, which unite immediately to the W., and, as *Wādy el-Kerak*, the great hollow runs northwestward to the sea. It is a position of great natural strength, being connected with the uplands to the E. only by a narrow neck. It is 3,370 ft. above the level of the sea. The mountains beyond the adjacent valleys are much higher. The place was surrounded by a strong wall, with five towers, which can still be traced in its whole length. The most northerly tower is well preserved. The most interesting building at Kerak is the huge castle on the southern side. It is separated from the adjoining hill on the right by a large artificial moat; and it is provided with a reservoir. A moat also skirts the northern side of the fortress, and on the E. the wall has a sloped or battered base. The castle is then separated from the town. The walls are very thick, and are well preserved. Beneath the castle is a chapel in which traces of frescoes are still visible. In days of ancient warfare the place must have been practically impregnable. It could be entered only by two roads passing through rock-cut tunnels. The main danger must always have been failure of water supply. There are springs immediately outside the city; but those alone would not be sufficient. Great cisterns were therefore constructed in the town and also in the castle. The half-nomadic inhabitants of Kerak today number some 1,140 families (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III, 97). The Gr church claims about 2,000 souls; the rest are Moslems. They are wild and fearless people, not greatly inclined to treat strangers with courtesy and kindness. In the spring of 1911 the town was the center of a rising against the government, which was not quelled until much blood had been shed.

W. Ewing

KIRAMA, ki-rā′ma, kir′a-ma (**Κιραμά**, *Kiramá;* AV **Cirama**): The people of K. returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (1 Esd **5** 20); the "Ramah" of Ezr **2** 26 (q.v.).

KIR-HARESETH, kûr-har′ē-seth, -ha-rē′seth (קִיר־חֲרֶשֶׂת, *ḳīr-ḥăreseth*, Isa **16** 7; in 2 K **3** 25 AV reads **Kir-haraseth** [pausal form]); **KIR-HERES** (קִיר חֶרֶשׂ, *ḳīr ḥeres*, Jer **48** 31.36; in Isa **16** 11 AV reads **Kir-haresh** [pausal form]): Modern scholars unanimously identify this city with Kir of Moab. In Jehoram's invasion of Moab it alone withstood his attack; and on the city wall the king of Moab sacrificed his son (2 K **3** 25 ff). It was obviously the capital, i.e. Kir Moab. The name is generally taken to mean "city of the sun." Cheyne, however, points out (*EB*, s.v.): (1) that this explanation was unknown to the ancients; (2) that "kir" is nowhere supposed to mean "city," except in the compound names Kir-heres, Kir-hareseth, and Kir Moab; (3) that *ḥeres*, "sun," nowhere has a fem. ending, and (4) that Isa **16** 7 (LXX and Aq.) indicates *d* and not *r* in the second part of the name (Δέσεθ, *Déseth*). He suggests, therefore, that we should possibly read קִרְיַת חֲדָשָׁה, *ḳiryath ḥădhāshāh*, "new city."

W. Ewing

KIRIATH, kir′i-ath (קִרְיַת, *ḳiryath*, "city"; AV **Kirjath**): Mentioned (Josh **18** 28) as a city of Benjamin; has been identified with *Ḳuriet el 'Enab*, "town of grapes," a prosperous town on the highroad between Jerus and Jaffa; it is sometimes spoken of by the inhabitants as *Ḳurieh*. It is, however, generally thought that Kiriath here stands for Kiriath-jearim (q.v.). See *PEF*, III, 132, Sh XVII.

KIRIATHAIM, kir-i-a-thā′im (קִרְיָתַיִם, *ḳiryāthayīm*, "two cities"; AV **Kirjathaim**):

(1) A city in the uplands of Moab formerly held by Sihon, and given by Moses to Reuben, who is said to have fortified it (Nu **32** 37; Josh **13** 19). It is named along with Elealeh and Nebo in the former passage, and with Sibmah in the latter. It was in the hands of Moab in Mesha's time, and he claims to have fortified it (M S, l. 10). For Jeremiah (**48** 1.23) and Ezekiel (**25** 9) it is a Moabite town. *Onom* identifies it with Coraitha, a Christian village 10 Rom miles W. of Madeba. This is the modern *Ḳaraiyāt*, about 11 miles W. of Madeba, and 5 miles E. of Machaerus. This, however, may represent Kerioth, while the towns with which it is named would lead us to look for Kiriathaim to the N. of *Wādy Zerḳā Ma'īn*. From this city was named Shaveh-kiriathaim, "the plain of Kiriathaim" (Gen **14** 5).

(2) A city in the territory of Naphtali, assigned to the Gershonite Levites (1 Ch **6** 76), corresponding to "Kartan" in Josh **21** 32.

W. Ewing

KIRIATH-ARBA, kir-i-ath-är′ba. See Hebron.

KIRIATH-ARIM, kir-i-ath-ā′rim (Ezr **2** 25). See Kiriath-jearim.

KIRIATH-BAAL, kir-i-ath-bā′al. See Kiriath-jearim.

KIRIATH-HUZOTH, kir-i-ath-hū′zoth, k.-hū′zōth (קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת, *ḳiryath ḥuçōth*, "city of streets"; LXX reads **πόλεις ἐπαύλεων**, *póleis epaúleōn*, "city of villages," from which we may infer a reading חצרות, *ḥăçērōth*, for חצות, *ḥuçōth;* AV **Kirjath-huzoth**): A place to which, after their meeting, Balak and Balaam went together (Nu **22** 39). They met at "the City of Moab" (ver 36), which is probably identical with Kir of Moab (q.v.); Kiriath-huzoth was probably therefore not far from that city. Some would identify it with Kiriathaim; some with Kerioth; as yet there is no certainty.

KIRIATH-JEARIM, kir-i-ath-jē′a-rim, k.-jē-ā′rim (קִרְיַת־יְעָרִים, *ḳiryath-yeʿārīm*, "city of thickets"; LXX **ἡ πόλις Ἰαρείμ**, *hē pólis Iareím;* AV **Kirjath-jearim**): One of the four chief cities of the Gibeonites (Josh **9** 17); a city of Judah (Josh **15** 60), evidently an ancient Sem "high place," hence the name "Kiriath-Baal" (ib); it was one of the places on the border line between Judah and Benjamin (Josh **18** 14.15; **15** 11 [where it is called "Baalah"]; cf 1 Ch **13** 6). It is mentioned as in Judah (Josh **15** 60; **18** 14; Jgs **18** 12), but if Kiriath (q.v.)

is identical with it, it is mentioned as belonging to Benjamin (Josh **18** 28; in 2 S **6** 2, Baale-judah).

1. Scripture References

Jgs **18** 12 records that the men of Dan set forth out of Zorah and Eshtaol and encamped in Mahaneh-dan behind (W. of) Kiriath-jearim. (In Jgs **13** 25 Mahaneh-dan ["the camp of Dan"] is described as between Zorah and Eshtaol; see MAHANEH-DAN.) To this sanctuary the ark of Jeh was brought from Beth-shemesh by the people of Kiriath-jearim, and they "brought it into the house of Abinadab in the hill [m "Gibeah"], and sanctified Eleazar his son to keep the ark of Jeh" (1 S **7** 1). Here it abode twenty years (ver 2; 2 S **6** 2–4; cf 1 Ch **13** 6; 2 Ch **1** 4). Clearly it was in the hills somewhere to the E. of Beth-shemesh.

Ruined Church at Ḳuriet.

The prophet Uriah-ben-Shemaiah, killed by Jehoiakim, belonged to Kiriath-jearim (Jer **26** 20 f).

In Ezr **2** 25 (cf Neh **7** 29), this place occurs under the name "Kiriath-arim." In 1 Esd **5** 19 the name occurs as "Kiriathiarius."

2. Position

The exact position of this important Israelite sanctuary has never been satisfactorily settled. Some of the data appear to be contradictory. For example, Jos (*Ant*, VI, i, 4) says it was a city in the neighborhood of Beth-shemesh, while Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom*) speak of it ("Cariathiareim") in their day as a village 9 or 10 miles from Jerus on the way to Lydda. But it is open to doubt whether the reputed site of their day had any serious claims. Any suggested site should fulfil the following conditions: (1) It must harmonize with the boundary line of Judah and Benjamin between two known points—the "waters of Nephtoah," very generally supposed to be *Lifta*, and Chesalon, certainly *Keslā* (Josh **15** 10). (2) It should not be too far removed from the other cities of the Gibeonites—Gibeon, Chephirah and Beeroth—but those places, which are all identified, are themselves fairly widely apart. (3) Mahaneh-dan ("the camp of Dan") is described as between Zorah and Eshtaol, and was W. of Kiriath-jearim; this, and the statement of Jos that it was in the neighborhood of Beth-shemesh, makes it probable that the site was near the western edge of the mountains of Judah. Zorah (now *Sara'*), Eshtaol (now *Eshū'a*) and Beth-shemesh (now *'Ain Shems*), are all within sight of each other close to the Vale of Sorek. (4) The site should be a sanctuary (or show signs of having been such), and be at least on a height (Gibeah, 1 S **7** 1 m). (5) The name may help us, but it is as well to note that the *first* part of the name, in the form "Kirathiarius" (1 Esd **5** 19), appears to have survived the exile rather than the second.

3. Suggested Identifications

The first suggested identification was that of Robinson (*BR*, II, 11,12), viz. *Ḳuriet el 'Enab*, the "town of grapes," a flourishing little town about 9 miles W. of Jerus on the carriage road to Jaffa. The district around is still fairly well wooded (cf *y^{e}ʿārīm*="thickets"). This village is commonly known as *Abu Ghôsh*, from the name of a robber chieftain who, with his family, flourished there in the first half of the last century. Mediaeval ecclesiastical tradition has made this place the Anathoth of Jer, and a handsome church from the time of the Crusades, now thoroughly repaired, exists here to mark this tradition. This site suits well as regards the border line, and the name *Ḳuriet* is the exact equivalent of Kiriath; it also fits in with the distance and direction given in the *Onom*, but it cannot be called satisfactory in all respects. *Sôba*, in the neighborhood, has, on account of its commanding position, been selected, but except for this one feature it has no special claims. The late Colonel Conder has very vigorously advocated the claims of a site he discovered on the south side of the rugged *Wādy Ismaeʿn*, called *Khurbet 'Erma*, pointing out truly that *'Erma* is the exact equivalent of *'Arim* (Ezr **2** 25). Unfortunately the 2d part of the name would appear from the references in 1 Esd and in *Onom* to be that part which was forgotten long ago, so that the argument even of the philological—the strongest—grounds cannot be of much value. The greatest objections in the minds of most students are the unsuitability of the position to the requirements of the Judah-Benjamin frontier and its distance from the other Gibeonite cities.

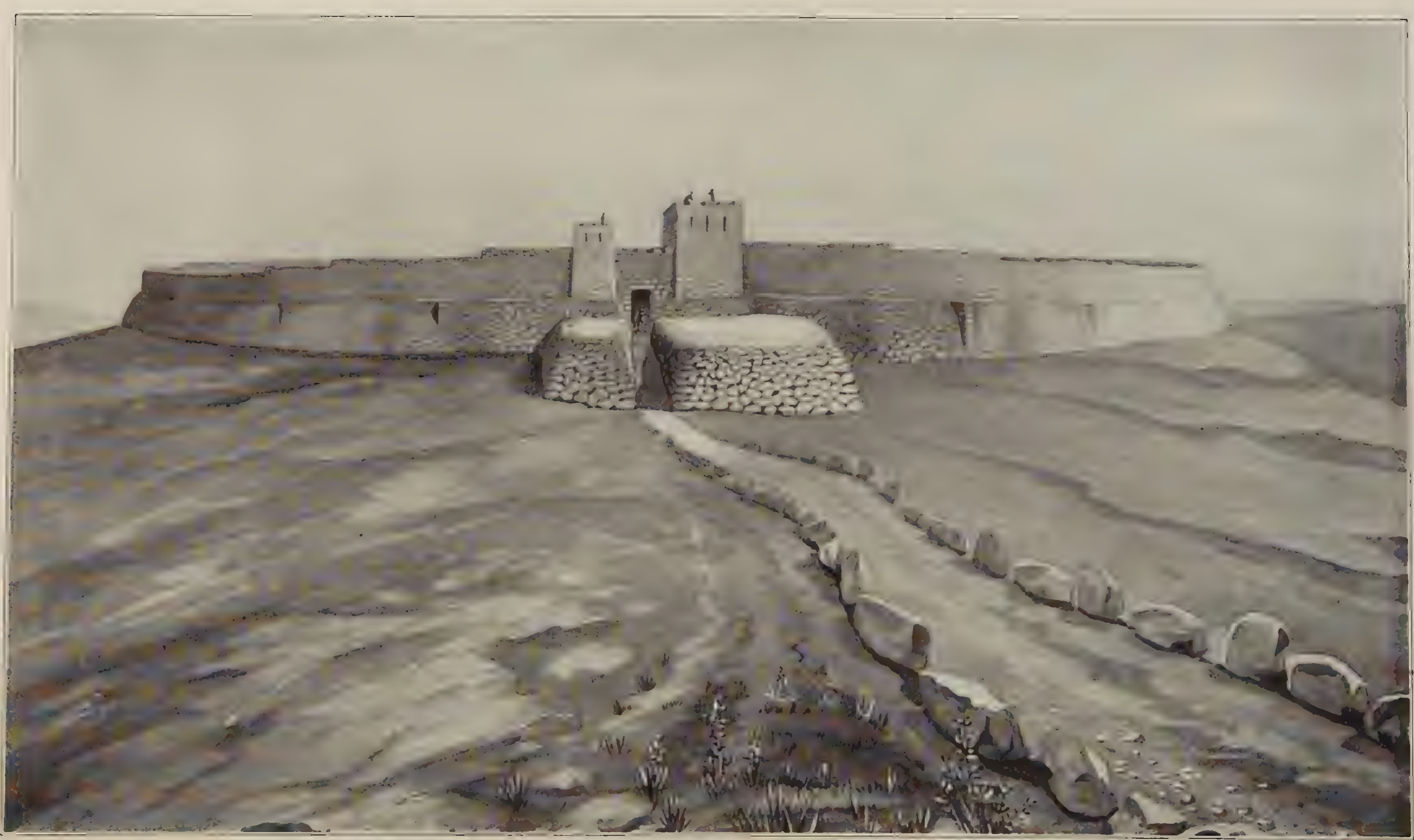
The present writer suggests another site which, in his opinion, meets at least some of the requirements better than the older proposals. Standing on the hill of Beth-shemesh and looking N.W., with the cities of Zorah (*Ṣurʿah*) and Eshtaol (*Eshū'a*) full in view, a lofty hill crowned by a considerable forest catches the eye. The village a little below the summit is called *Beit Maḥṣîr*, and the hilltop itself is the shrine of a local saint known as *Sheikh el Ajām*. So "holy" is the site, that no trees in this spot are ever cut, nor is fallen brushwood removed. There is a *Wely* or sanctuary of the saint, and round about are scores of very curious and apparently ancient graves. Southward from this site the eye follows the line of Judaean hills—probably the Mt. Jearim of Josh **15** 10—until it strikes the outstanding point of *Keslā* (Chesalon), some 2 miles to the S. If the ark was taken here, the people of Beth-shemesh could have followed its progress almost the whole way to its new abode. Although the name, which appears to mean "besieged" or "confined," in no degree helps, in all the other respects (see **2** above), this site suits well the conditions of Kiriath-jearim.

LITERATURE.—See *PEFS*, 1878, 196–99; *PEF*, III, 43–52; *HGHL*, 225 f; *BR*, II, 11 f; Buhl, *GAP*, Index.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

KIRIATH-SANNAH, kir-i-ath-san'a (קִרְיַת סַנָּה, *ḳiryath ṣannāh;* AV **Kirjath Sannah**): In Josh **15** 49 it is called "Debir," and is identical with KIRIATH-SEPHER (q.v.). As *πόλις γραμμάτων, pólis grammátōn*, "city of books," is the reading in LXX, the most natural explanation is that סנה, *ṣannāh*, is a copyist's error for ספר, *ṣēpher*, but Sayce considers this an ancient Can. name meaning "city of instruction," and that it occurs in the Am Tab in the form "Bit' sani."

KIRIATH-SEPHER, kir-i-ath-sē'fẽr (קִרְיַת סֵפֶר, *ḳiryath ṣēpher;* tr^d by many, as if it were Heb, as "house of books." LXX **πόλις γραμμάτων**, *pólis grammátōn;* AV **Kirjath Sepher**; other suggestions have been made: "border-town" [Moore] or "toll-town" [G. A. Smith]): In two ‖ passages (Josh **15** 15 f; Jgs **1** 11 f), it is mentioned as identical with DEBIR (q.v.), which has been frequently identified with *edh-Dhâherîyeh.* Sayce would place



KIRIATH-SEPHER FROM PHOTOGRAPHS, MEASUREMENTS AND EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE

Kiriath-Sepher to the W. of Gath. See *PEFS*, 1893, 33–35.

KIRIATH-SEPHER, EXCAVATIONS (Supplement 1929)

Excavations at the ancient walled city of Kiriath-sepher have been conducted in 1926 and 1928 by Xenia Theological Seminary in coöperation with the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem, under President Kyle of Xenia Seminary and Director Albright of the American School. The work was at *Tell Beit-mirsim*, 13 miles S.W. of Hebron and 6 miles W. of Dahariyeh on the Hebron-Beersheba road.

I. IDENTIFICATION
II. STRATIFICATION
III. EXCAVATIONS
  1. City of the Kings of Judah
  2. City of the Judges
  3. Late Bronze Age Cities
  4. Middle Bronze Cities
  5. Early Bronze Civilization
IV. HISTORY
  1. Early Bronze Canaanite Work
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  3. Complete Destruction at End of Bronze Age
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V. SIGNIFICANCE OF FINDINGS
  1. Canaanite Contrasts
  2. Israelite Contrasts
  3. City Plans
  4. Pottery Chronology
  5. Biblical History

I. Identification —On existing maps of Palestine (Survey, Smith, Baedeker) Kiriath-sepher (Debir) is located at Dahariyeh. It was so located, as were many other places, by place-names and local traditions. But these have a trick of moving around. Real archaeological evidence for this location is absolutely wanting. A great fortress with heavy stone walls remains *in situ;* it is not here. Pottery chronology is now a real science. The pottery of the age of Kiriath-sepher is not here. The place is not suited to Canaanite fortification and the two good "springs" are not here, nor near this place. Of the eleven archaeological marks of Kiriath-sepher, this place does not comply with a single one. *Tell Beit-mirsim,* on the other hand, successfully meets all of the eleven. Wherever Kiriath-sepher may be located, it must show Canaanite history of one or more of the Bronze Ages. *Tell Beit-mirsim* shows all the Bronze Ages. It must have been taken by conquest about the beginning of the Iron Age. Layers of débris here distinctly show this. It must have been occupied by the Israelites during the whole of the National Period; this place was so occupied. Then it must have been destroyed near the end of Early Iron II, when Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the fenced cities of Judah, and, like the others, should show no rebuilding after the Exile period. This place meets both these conditions.

Then it must have been in a part of the Shephela in which were three important walled cities, Lachish, Eglon, and Kiriath-sepher (Josh **10** 34–39; **15** 13–19). It must have been well to the N. or the S. of a direct line to Hebron from Lachish (Josh **10** 34–39). It must have been in Judah; *Tell el-Qailefeh,* the only serious contestant, was in Simeon. It was also in the land of the Giants, i.e., of big stone work. And finally it had two good water sources, not "springs" (*ain*) but "receptacles" (*gūllah*). Now *Tell Beit-mirsim* has just such *gūllōth*. The upper one is a great valley-well a mile and a half N. of the *tell* toward the mountains, the "upper" country. The other is about 1 mile S. of the *tell* in the *negeb.* These directions are still locally "upper" and "lower," and naturally so. The running of the ropes in drawing water during the course of many centuries wears deep grooves in the stone of the well curb. Six successive curbstones have been placed at each of these wells, as, in the course of centuries, the accumulation of dust makes a new stone necessary. In many centuries more, these new stones are worn into grooves. The age of the wells may thus be estimated only by millenniums.

Thus every requirement, geographical and topographical, is satisfied at *Tell Beit-mirsim* (*Bibliotheca Sacra,* Oct, 1926).

I. Stratification.—The fortress, which was the walled city, inclosed about 7½ acres and presents a mound now 21 ft. in height. At some points, where are ruins of great buildings, the débris runs up to 30 feet. This is a mound of six distinct cities each in its own layer, one above the other. Marks of a still earlier gateway found on the virgin rock beneath the city indicate a city whose walls were on quite a different alignment. This indicates a still earlier city here of which all definite remains have disappeared, or at least not yet come to view. These various strata of débris give a distinct conspectus of succeeding civilizations from, at latest, 2000 BC down to the final destruction by Nebuchadnezzar about 600 BC. This it does with no admixture of foreign cultures and almost no confusion of the strata. Each age of culture is thus presented most distinctly. Moreover, as the city was finally destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and never rebuilt, there is no confusion caused by later débris; no Greek, or Maccabean, or Roman, or Byzantine, or even Arabic remains, except such as left by camps on the surface. The *Tell* thus presents, clear and undisturbed, 700 years of Canaanite history of the Bronze Age, Patriarchal time, and 700 years of Israelite history of the Iron Age. The strata of civilizations have, for convenience, been denominated A, B, C, D, E, and F (*Bibliotheca Sacra,* Oct, 1926, 384 ff).

III. Excavations.—The ordinary study of history is a look down stream, starting at the source and following the course, but a study of archaeological history is a look up stream. For it is necessary to begin on the surface of ruins to examine, and the latest constructions are on the surface. Starting here we must proceed back toward the beginning of history.

1. City of the Kings of Judah

The surface remains at *Tell Beit-mirsim* were of the city of the kings of Judah from the time of Rehoboam to the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in the time of Zedekiah. This was a strong fortress with skilfully masked gates. The great 14-ft. wall of the Canaanite city was carried up in the parapet by a 4-ft. wall, but inside was arranged a series of casemates which served the double purpose of storage places and traps. Any enemy getting over the wall and thinking himself victor would drop into these casemates and be a prisoner, for very few of them had any outlet. The industrial development of this period is a surprise. It is commonly believed that the factory system was introduced in the world during the industrial revolution in England. The modern world is not so modern as it thinks; here in this city of the kings of Judah, perhaps as early as Rehoboam, was found a large weaving establishment with a dyehouse complete. The desiccated dyestuff was still in the vats. Later several additional dyehouses were found. The opinion held heretofore that the Israelites did not do wool-dying is thus shown to be erroneous. Hygienic arrangements for the purifying of water are similar in principle to those in use today, though more simple in method. One large cistern had at its side a settling basin and another had an upper gradient in the acqueduct near the cistern. In either case, the sediment could be removed after each rain drained into the cistern.

Some stamped jar-handles were found, which began to be used about the time of Hezekiah. These jars of standard size are believed to have been for the receiving of taxes in kind, the stamp serving in some sense as a receipt. One of these stamps contains a historical note of unique kind and value. It contains two lines arranged to be of about equal length. The upper line reads "To Eliakim." The lower line, "servant (client) of Jochin." "Jochin" is an abbreviation for Jehoiachin, well attested, and is evidently here used to make the second line of the right length. This stamp is thus a historical note of Jehoiachin's brief reign of a few months and attests the city still standing in his day. Thus Nebuchadnezzar, and not Sennacherib, was the destroyer of this city.

Dye Vats.

2. City of the Judges

When the elaborate system of houses and streets of the city of the kings of Judah was cleared away and the floors and street-paving broken up, there was found beneath the city of the time of the Judges and the kings of the Monarchy, the city built after the taking of the city by Othniel (Jgs **1** 9–15). At once the pottery ran true to type, thus corroborating the story of the Conquest and at the same time attesting the science of pottery in Palestine. All the distinctive types of the Early Iron I appeared, the swastica the so-called Maltese cross, the scroll pattern, and the swan-like bird. The character of this city was in marked contrast with the city of the kings of Judah; that was a well-planned and well-built city. This of the time of the Judges was a mere squatter settlement. There seemed hardly the semblance of a city plan and a large portion of the space was given to storing of the grain from the rich valleys around. This is what ought to have been expected. When the Israelites left Egypt they were skilled craftsmen and artists; Bezaleel and his fellows are represented as highly skilled, and Egypt records of the time fully confirm that idea. These built the tabernacle, but after that there was no building in the wilderness. These old skilled workmen died off, and the two generations of boys born in the wilderness had no opportunity to learn. Thus, while they were taught religion and statecraft, they lost their arts and crafts and this is perfectly apparent in the city they built.

3. Late Bronze Age Cities

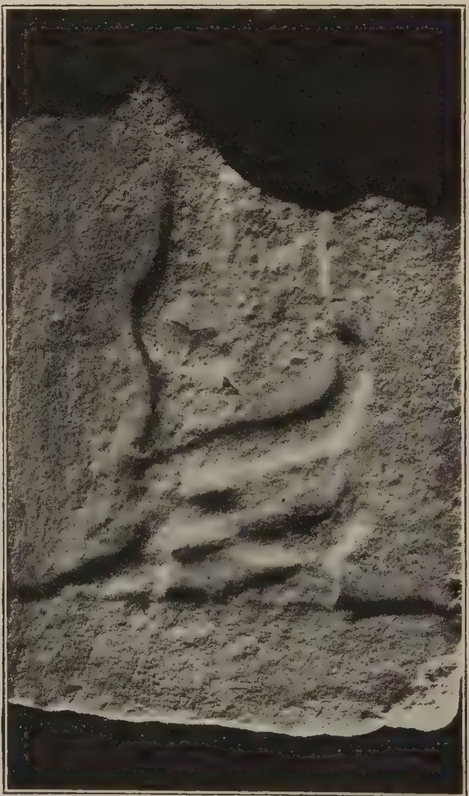
Below this city of the Early Iron I was found immediately the Canaanite city of the Late Bronze Age. The historical evidence here was most striking; a great burning had taken place leaving a deep layer of ashes about the entrance to the city. This attests *a* conquest. An examination of the débris revealed that everything below that level was Canaanite of the Bronze Age; everything above that level was Israelite of the Iron Age. So that *a* conquest proves to have been *the* Conquest. That it was at that particular juncture is attested by the pottery. The suddenness with which the Iron Age came in need cause no astonishment. Economic changes take place very rapidly, as note the displacement of the horse by the automobile. The discovery at Gerar (cf Petrie, *Gerar*) of the Philistine smelting furnaces of this period makes it certain that, as iron became abundant and cheap, it would immediately drive out the expensive bronze.

4. Middle Bronze Cities

The Middle Bronze Age was represented by two cities with a burning between, but without a change of civilization; probably there was civil war. Each city is characteristically Middle Bronze in pottery, in architecture, and in city planning. Traces of elegant inlaid furniture were found. The wood had decayed, but the ivory inlay, itself inlaid, showed the delicate and skilful character of the craftmanship. In this Middle Bronze period was found also the Canaanite idol, which more clearly than ever before reveals the revolting and debasing character of the Canaanite worship. The idol is a limestone stela carved in low relief, originally of considerable artistic skill, but now much weathered. The top is broken off carrying the head of the goddess. It is a serpent divinity. A great snake coils seductively around the limbs of the goddess.

5. Early Bronze Civilization

The Early Bronze Age in the lowest stratum is distinctly of the time of Abraham and earlier, 1800 BC to an indefinite early date. About 1800 BC there was an attempt to burn the city; a fire built against the limestone wall, that, by throwing water on the heated stones, they would disintegrate. The attempt was unsuccessful, but resulted



Serpent Goddess.

in the making of a clay revêtment, with a stone covering (a *millō*) that the city might be impregnable. It is a curious fact that at other places in Palestine where this Age has been touched similar attempts on cities have been made. The time also coincides with the entrance of the Hyksos into Egypt (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct, 1926, 388 ff).

*IV. **History.***—A brief résumé of the history of Kiriath-sepher looking down stream will contribute to a clear understanding of the value of the results at this old fortress. **1.** Of the earliest city nothing is known except the markings of the gateway on the virgin rock of the mountain-top. As there was a gate, there must have been a wall. Of the Early Bronze city every essential characteristic of the fortress is still *in situ* except the sloping revêtment. **2.** It was this city upon which the assault was made about 1800 BC, which resulted in the making of the revêtment. Whether or not this assault was made by the Hyksos, it is certain that they were on the throne in Egypt during the Middle Bronze Age, the Patriarchal period, immediately following. A number of the Palestinian imitation Hyksos scarabs were found in the strata of the Middle Bronze Age.

3. At the end of the late Bronze Age there was a complete destruction of the city indicated by the most terrible burning found anywhere in the *Tell*. The absolute differentiation of the pottery and weapons below and above this stratum, Canaanite below, of the Bronze Age, and Israelite above, of the Iron Age, marks the destruction of the city by Othniel. **4.** Again there was a complete destruction of the city by Shishak the Ethiopian, in the time of Rehoboam and Jeroboam. This destruction was followed by the rebuilding of the city by the kings of Judah. **5.** This city far surpassed in character the city built by Othniel and the incoming Israelites, and was really an elaborate city with a great industrial development, yet fell far below the architectural and artistic skill of the Canaanites of the Bronze Age.

City of Kings of Judah.

6. This city was, in turn, destroyed finally by Nebuchadnezzar. The stamped jar-handle with the name of King Jehoiachin, by giving a definite date in that short reign, makes it certain that Nebuchadnezzar, and not Sennacherib, was the final destroyer.

*V. **Significance of the Findings.***—The high culture of the Canaanites is in marked contrast with their low morals and the depraved character of their religion. The depths to which they sank may here only be named, cannot be described. To those who seem to be in doubt about the morality of the representation of a divine sentence of execution against the Canaanites, attention may be called to the *occasion*. Surely, if civil governors may sometimes, for the benefit of the community, issue a sentence of execution against criminals, *on occasion*, the Governor of the universe may also do the same, *on occasion*. Here is the occasion.

1. Canaanite Contrasts

The contrast between culture and the morals and religion of the Canaanites is paralleled by a reversal of the contrast in the case of Israel. Here was low culture together with a high state of morals and religion. The instruction in the wilderness was followed by the evident destruction of the sacred pillars of the Canaanites at the entrance of Israel into the land, while the certain and most natural loss of the arts and crafts in the wilderness is in exact accord with the squatter settlement which Othniel built after taking the city.

2. Israelite Contrasts

The representations of the books of K and Ch concerning the highly organized government (1 K **4** 1–19; 1 Ch **23–27**) is quite in keeping with the elaborate city plan and the development of industry here under the kings of Judah.

3. City Plans

The pottery chronology not only is most revealing for the whole history of Kiriath-sepher and in turn corroborative of the science of pottery, and gives a most exact historical note concerning Jehoiachin and the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, but also furnishes an exact cultural date for Conquest and so for the Exodus; the beginning of the Iron Age, about 1275 BC.

4. Pottery Chronology

Thoughts jotted down during the field-work at Kiriath-sepher may well here bring in conclusion something of the spirit and inspiration of the work of excavation itself: "No man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." Whether in life or death every man, every people, every culture, is related to that round about. Every influence, like the Gospel, spreads like leaven in every direction. So it is to be expected that every correct interpretation of things at Kiriath-sepher will fit into every correct interpretation of general Palestinian archaeology. So Kiriath-sepher, while it is a typical Canaanite and Israelite fenced city, yet, and indeed for that very reason, is like other places which may yet not be so well preserved and so do not so fully present the civilization of the time. So the walls and gates here are such as we find at other places, Jericho, Gezer, and Taanach. The stratification follows the same invariable law of Palestinian archaeology, that rubbish was never cleared away, but always built upon in the next construction. And the history, wherever it touches, reveals itself at every point the same; the same pottery is found on the same levels in one ruin as in another. Thus the foundations of Palestinian archaeological science are confirmed and made more certain. The unknown great conqueror of about 1800 BC who left a layer of burning in the ruins of every city at which that stratum can be examined is found here also. Thus the work at Kiriath-sepher not only furnishes an example of a typical fenced city of Canaanite and Israelite times, but also conforms exactly to the findings of archaeological science elsewhere in Palestine.

5. Biblical History

The relations of the discoveries at Kiriath-sepher to Bible history are even more marked in detail than the relations to Palestinian archaeology. The conditions into which the patriarchs came about the beginning of the second millennium BC are revealed with a fullness that not only confirms every statement concerning the life and manners of the times, but supplements them by giving a pregnancy to the suggestions and allusions of the Bible that is most helpful and sometimes most astonishing. Intimations concerning governments and peoples take tangible form of surprising importance, as the mention of fenced cities and the little hints given concerning the oppression by Kushan-Rishathaim.

Mere allusions to walled cities and the work of the giants are more than justified by the Titanic constructions. The manners and customs stand out materialized before us, as the worship at the High Places and the vile cult of Astarte. In the illuminating expression of a British soldier in Bible lands, "Over here we live in the Bible."

For fifty years criticism and Biblical commentary, under the guidance of a scholarship that assumed to lead in everything, has constantly held that the Patriarchal age and the succeeding age down to the time of the prophets was a time of low culture in Palestine: beginning in a nomadic life it had by only a very slow gradation of progress come up to a higher level in the days of Amos and Hezekiah and their successors as kings and prophets, and that highly developed institutions and civilization and culture belong only to a much later age than even that of the prophets. Upon this foundation the great theory of reconstruction of Scripture has been built up, to which many have pinned their faith as to eternal verities.

The results at Kiriath-sepher and, indeed, at every place that reveals Patriarchal civilization, make such a theory utterly untenable. The archaeological facts now so well known make any such theory of wild men and wild beasts and no culture in Patriarchal Palestine quite absurd. The fortifications at Kiriath-sepher display, as we have seen, every device of military engineering; the exquisite pottery found here, which comes from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, and from the Early Iron Age of the time of Israel, shows a like development of the ceramic art; dye-vats and unnumerable loomweights tell of the development of the textile industry and even of the factory system; and an exactly made system of weights shows a high commercial development, which in turn implies a standard and such a government as could determine and enforce such a standard. Such development along all these lines necessarily implies development along other lines also; in short, a high state of culture consistent with such development in so many different directions. Culture is never fragmentary, but as from a center out in every direction (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct, 1926).

More in general, the manners and customs of the peculiar life of the Patriarchal and Israelite ages is precisely that which is found in the ruins. It is something much more easily experienced than described. Day by day in the excavations we live in the history of those times as recorded in the Bible until a subtle influence seems to pervade everything, a persuasion of exact familiarity.

The horrid religion and morals of the Canaanites is fully certified. This brings up that difficult, and sometimes painful, problem of Old Testament culture. A class of students have set up a standard of ethics for the Almighty to which they claim the Old Testament does not conform, therefore we have their repudiation of the capital sentence against the Canaanites as an unworthy representation of God. Therefore, again, they say the Old Testament is a book of low moral standard and cannot be a reliable guide of conduct, or properly a part of the Bible. That Scripture is not to guide us, but that we are to guide Scripture, may seem a bold statement of their views, but is, in fact, simply their views stripped of all rhetorical camouflage. Such a view forgets altogether that the divine ruler of the Bible is also the God of providence. If he is not allowed to deal as seemeth him good with peoples and nations as well as individuals, what are we to say when we stand face to face with such a catastrophe as Mont Pelée or the Japanese earthquake, or, for that matter, with the fact, the universal fact, of death itself? All men die some time, in some way. May not the Ruler of all the world determine the time and the way? Besides this, the nations of earth in the administration of justice find it right and necessary at times to execute horrible criminals for the good of the community. May not the God of nations as of men do the same with individuals or with people *on occasion?* This last idea lies at the bottom of the whole perplexing problem, *the occasion*. Now the revelation of the excavations at Kiriath-sepher concerning the character of the religion and morals of the Canaanites presents to us *that occasion*. Who can say it was not necessary for God to clear a place in the horrible culture of that land and age in order to find a place to plant a better vine? Debasing snake worship gives one horrifying glimpse into that necessity.

Of the home religion of the Israelites just succeeding the Conquest, we have not very much evidence of a positive kind, but very much of a negative character. If the Israelites had fallen into the ways of the Canaanites, it would have shown very plainly in the ruins; instead, there is very conclusive evidence that they threw down the High Places and broke the sacred pillars, the holy stones, of the Canaanites who preceded them. If cutting off vicious habits is evidence of moral living as well as the practicing of virtues (cf Ps **1**), such conduct of the Israelites toward the Canaanite practices becomes very significant.

The last, and in the present critical controversy, the most important finding at Kiriath-sepher, as indeed, in some measure everywhere in Palestinian excavations, is that the Patriarchal and Prophetic history in the Bible is exactly that which is found in the pottery record, and such could not be prepared at a late date.

This history is being exactly corroborated by the excavations. But myths, legends, and folk-lore are not confirmed by archaeological researches anywhere in the world. Their manners and customs may sometimes be, but the *events* not. If at any time they are ever so confirmed, they become at once, for that very reason, not myths and legends and folklore, but history. Why so? Because it is impossible to produce correctly at a late date historical events of which there are no records. According to the prevailing theory of the late date of the Pentateuch and of many of the prophecies, there were no records even nearly contemporaneous with the alleged events. Such a claim demands of us something beyond the bounds of credulity. There is most abundant evidence of the existence once of a high state of civilization in central and southern Africa, but no history of it can be attempted, because there are no records. A romance like *King Solomon's Mines* is the best that can be done. Will anybody call that history? The marvelous ruins of the South Sea Islands and of India are most interesting, but no history can be written, because there are no records even nearly contemporaneous. On the other hand, Rome and Greece with their marvelous remains, are yet a part of history, because we have historical records contemporaneous with the events. If we did not possess Spanish and Italian records, could anyone today write a real history even of the discovery of America, less than five hundred years ago? Yet a longer time elapsed between the Patriarchal events and the production of the oldest of the written documents which, according to the theory, was the starting point of a history which is now being proved up most exactly by archaeological discoveries. Such is, in fact, real history which calls for fairly contemporaneous records. *Only such history can be dug up out of the ground* (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct, 1928). This principle is emerging more and more and being recognized and used by Archaeologists (cf the remarkable brochure by Prof

Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, the Yale series, 1929.
M. G. Kyle

KIRJATH, kûr′jath, kir′jath. See Kiriath.

KIRJATH-ARBA, kûr-jath-är′ba, kir-jath-är′ba. See Kiriath-arba.

KIRJATH-BAAL, kûr-jath-bā′al, kir-jath-bā′al. See Kiriath-jearim.

KIRJATHAIM, kûr-ja-thā′im, kir-ja-thā′im. See Kiriathaim.

KISEUS, kis-ē′us (**Κισεύς,** *Kiseús;* LXX, B [Swete] reads *Keisaíos;* AV **Cisai**): The great-grandfather of Mordecai (Ad Est **11** 2). See Kish, (5).

KISH, kish (קִישׁ, *ḳīsh;* **Κίς,** *Kís,* **Κείς,** *Keís,* "bow," "power"): The name of five persons mentioned in the Bible:

(1) The son of Abiel and the father of Saul, the first king of Israel. He was of the tribe of Benjamin, of the family of the Matrites (1 S **9** 1; **14** 51; cf Acts **13** 21; 1 S **10** 21). According to 1 Ch **8** 33 and **9** 39, "Ner begat K." By reading "Ner begat Abner" (cf 1 S **14** 51; 1 Ch **26** 28), the difficulty is at least partly overcome. In 1 Ch **12** 1, K. is also mentioned as the father of Saul, and again in 2 S **21** 14, we are told that the sepulcher of K. was located in the country of Benjamin, in Zela. His place of residence seems to have been at Gibeah.

(2) Another K. is mentioned (1 Ch **8** 29 f; **9** 35 f) as the son of Jeiel and his wife Maacah. He is usually supposed to be the uncle of Saul's father.

(3) A Levite, the son of Mahli the Merarite (1 Ch **23** 21 f; cf **24** 29).

(4) Another Merarite Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch **29** 12).

(5) The great-grandfather of Mordecai, of the tribe of Benjamin (Est **2** 5).
William Baur

KISHI, kish′ī (קִישִׁי, *ḳīshī,* "snarer," "fowler"): Father of Ethan, one of the singers David "set over the service of song" in the house of the Lord (1 Ch **6** 31); the "Kushaiah" of 1 Ch **15** 17 (cf 1 Ch **6** 44).

KISHION, kish′i-on, kish′yon (קִשְׁיוֹן, *ḳishyōn*): A city in the territory of Issachar (Josh **19** 20), given to the Gershonite Levites (**21** 28; AV wrongly "Kishon"). The ‖ passage in 1 Ch **6** 72 reads "Kedesh" instead of "Kishion." The true reading is probably קִדְשׁוֹן, *ḳidhshōn.* Conder suggests a likely identification with *Tell Abū Ḳedes,* not far from Taanach.

KISHON, kī′shon, kish′on (קִישׁוֹן, *ḳīshōn;* **Κεισών,** *Keisṓn*): The "watercourse" or "torrent stream" along the banks of which the great battle was fought between Israel, led by Deborah and Barak, and the army of Sisera, in the waters of which so many perished (Jgs **4** 7, etc). It is probably mentioned earlier as "the brook that is before Jokneam" (Josh **19** 11; see Jokneam). It appears again as the scene of Elijah's slaughter of the prophets of Baal (1 K **18** 40). "The torrent" *par excellence* in the district is the modern *el-Muḳaṭṭa',* a stream which drains all the plain of Esdraelon to the W. of the watershed—a line drawn from *Iksāl* to Nain, and thence to *el-Fūleh* and *Zer'īn.* All the water E. of this line, from the Nazareth hills, Tabor and Little Hermon, flows down *Wādy esh-Sherrār* and *Nahr Jālūd* into the Jordan. The Kishon collects the streams from the western slopes of Gilboa in the rainy season; and the water from the strong spring at *Jenīn.* Contributions also come from the copious fountains in the neighborhood of Megiddo. At *Sa'adiyeh,* again, some 3 miles E. of *Ḥaifā,* its volume is largely increased by springs rising at the base of Carmel, on the edge of the plain of Acre. From *Jenīn* in the S.E., the deep torrent bed follows a westerly direction, with numerous windings cutting the plain in two, until it reaches the pass at the northeastern base of Carmel. Through the gorge between the mountain and the hills of Galilee it reaches the plain of Acre. From *Sa'adiyeh* it flows in a deep sluggish stream through the marsh-land to the sea near *Ḥaifā.* In this part the crocodile is said to have been seen at times.

In the summer season the water from the springs is largely absorbed by irrigation, and the upper reaches of the river are soon dry. The bed runs along the bottom of a trench some 20 ft. deep through the plain. It is easily crossed at the fords by those who know how to avoid the localities of the springs. In time of heavy rains the trench is swiftly filled, and the soft soil of the plain goes to mud. Remembering this, it is easy to understand the disaster that overwhelmed the heavily armed cavalry and chariots of Sisera. The chief ford for long was to the W. of the gorge where the stream issues into the plain of Acre, on the highway from *Ḥaifā* to Nazareth. Here it is now spanned by a substantial bridge, while the railway crosses a little higher up. At the mouth of the river it is generally easily forded on the sand bank thrown up by the waves beating against the current of the stream. The main traffic here is now carried by a wooden bridge.

The phrase *naḥal ḳ^edhūmīm* in Jgs **5** 21 is not easy of interpretation. EV translates, "that ancient river"; G. A. Smith, "torrent of spates"; while others think it may refer to a stream other than the Kishon. Guthe suggests that both names may be derived from those of places adjoining the river. *Ḳīshōn* may possibly mean the "tortuous" stream, referring to the windings of its course.
W. Ewing

KISLEV, kis′lef (כִּסְלֵו, *kiṣlēw;* AV **Chisleu,** RV "Chislev"): The 9th month of the Jewish year, corresponding to December. The word is found in Neh **1** 1 and Zec **7** 1. The derivation is uncertain. See Calendar.

KISS (נָשַׁק, *nāshaḳ;* **φιλέω,** *philéō,* **καταφιλέω** *kataphiléō,* **φίλημα,** *phílēma*): The kiss is common in eastern lands in salutation, etc, on the cheek, the forehead, the beard, the hands, the feet, but not (in Pal) the lips (Cheyne, *EB,* s.v. "Salutations"). In the Bible there is no sure instance of the kiss in ordinary salutation. We have in the OT *nāshaḳ,* "to kiss," used (1) of *relatives* (which seems the origin of the practice of kissing; cf Cant **8** 1, "Oh that thou wert as my brother . . . . I would kiss thee; yea, and none would despise me"); Gen **27** 26.27 (Isaac and Jacob); **29** 11 (Jacob and Rachel); **33** 4 (Esau and Jacob); **45** 15 (Joseph and his brethren); **48** 10 (Jacob and Joseph's sons); **50** 1 (Joseph and his father); Ex **4** 27 (Aaron and Moses); **18** 7 (Moses and Jethro, united with obeisance); Ruth **1** 9.14 (Naomi and her daughters-in-law—a farewell); 2 S **14** 33 (David and Absalom); 1 K **19** 20 (Elisha and his parents—a farewell); see also Gen **29** 13; **31** 28.55; Tob **7** 6; **10** 12. (2) Of *friendship and affection;* cf 1 S **20** 41 (David and Jonathan); 2 S **15** 5 (Absalom and those who came to him); **19** 39 (David and Barzillai—a farewell); **20** 9 (Joab and Amasa); Prov **27** 6 ("the kisses [*n^eshīḳāh*] of an enemy"); 1 Esd **4** 47 ("the king stood up, and kissed him"). (3) Of *love;* cf Cant **1** 2, "Let him kiss me with the kisses [*n^eshīḳāh*] of his mouth"; Prov **7** 13 (of the feigned love of "the strange woman"). (4) Of *homage,* perhaps; cf 1 S **10** 1 (Samuel after anointing David king);

Gen **41** 40, "Unto thy word shall all my people be ruled," RVm "order themselves," or "do homage," AVm "Heb be armed or kiss" (*nāshaḳ*); Ps **2** 12, "Kiss the son" (ARV), ERVm "Some versions render, 'Lay hold of [or receive] instruction'; others, 'Worship in purity' "; some ancient VSS give 'Kiss [or, do homage] purely.' (5) Of *idolatrous practices;* cf 1 K **19** 18; Hos **13** 2 (cf **8** 5.6; **10** 5); Job **31** 27, probably, "kissing the hand to the sun or moon" (cf vs 26.27). See Adoration. (6) A **figurative** use may be seen in Ps **85** 10; Prov **24** 26; Ezk **3** 13, where "touched" is *nāshaḳ* (see AVm). (7) In Ad Est **13** 13 we have "I could have been content . . . . to kiss the soles of his feet," and in Ecclus **29** 5, "Till he hath received, he will kiss a man's hands"—marks of self-humiliation or abasement.

In the NT we have *phileō*, "to kiss," "to be friendly," and *kataphileō*, "to kiss thoroughly," "to be very friendly"—the first in Mt **26** 48; Mk **14** 44; Lk **22** 47, of the kiss with which Judas betrayed his Master. This was probably meant to be taken as an expression of special regard, which is expressed by the *kataphileō* of Mt **26** 49; Mk **14** 45; the same word is used of the woman who kissed the feet of Christ (Lk **7** 38.45); of the father's greeting of the returning prodigal (**15** 20); and of the farewell to Paul of the Ephesian Christians (Acts **20** 37); *philēma*, "a kiss," "a mark of friendship," is used by Our Lord as that which Simon omitted to give him (which *may* refer to ordinary hospitality), but which the woman had bestowed so impressively (Lk **7** 45); of the kiss of Judas (Lk **22** 48); and of the "holy kiss" wherewith Christians greeted each other, which, according to the general usage we have seen, would be as the members of one family in the Lord, or as specially united in holy love (Rom **16** 16; 1 Cor **16** 20; 2 Cor **13** 12; 1 Thess **5** 26; 1 Pet **5** 14). There is reason to believe that, as a rule, men only thus greeted men, and women, women. In the Apos Const (3d cent.) it is so enjoined.

W. L. Walker

KITE, kīt (אַיָּה, *'ayyāh;* **ἰκτῖνος**, *iktínos;* Lat *Milvus ictinus* or *regalis*): A medium-sized member of the hawk tribe (see Hawk). This bird is 27 in. long, of bright reddish-brown color, has sharply pointed wings and deeply forked tail. It is supposed to have exceptionally piercing eyes. It takes moles, mice, young game birds, snakes and frogs, as well as carrion for food. Its head and facial expression are unusually eagle-like. It was common over Pal in winter, but bred in the hills of Galilee and rough mountainous places, so it was less conspicuous in summer. It is among the lists of abominations (see Lev **11** 14 and Dt **14** 13). It is notable that this is the real bird intended by Job to be used as that whose eye could not trace the path to the silver mine:

> "That path no bird of prey knoweth,
> Neither hath the falcon's eye seen it" (Job **28** 7).

The word used here in the original Heb is *'ayyāh*, which was the name for kite. Our first translators used "vulture"; our latest efforts give "falcon," a smaller bird of different markings, not having the kite's reputation for eyesight.

Gene Stratton-Porter

KITHLISH, kith'lish (כִּתְלִישׁ, *kithlīsh*). See Chitlish.

KITRON, kit'ron (קִטְרוֹן, *ḳiṭrōn*): An unidentified place in Zebulun, not possessed by the tribe (Jgs **1** 30). It may be identical with Kattath of Josh **19** 15. In the Talm it is identified with Sepphoris, which is represented by the modern village of *Ṣeffūriyeh.*

KITTIM, kit'im (כִּתִּים, *kittīm*, Isa **23** 12; Jer **2** 10; כִּתִּיִּים, *kittīyīm*, apparently pl. of *kittī* [not found, but cf (4) below]; **Κήτιοι**, *Kḗtioi*, **Κίτιοι**, *Kítioi*, **Κητιείμ**, *Kētieím*, Jer **2** 10; **Χεττιείμ**, *Chettieím*, **Χεττιείν**, *Chettieín*):

1. Two Usages of the Name

In Gen **10** 4 the word is applied to the descendants of Javan, and indicates, therefore, the Gr-Lat races, whose territory extended along the coasts of the Mediterranean, and included its islands. By the side of Kittim are mentioned Elishah, Tarshish, and Dodanim (=Rodanim of 1 Ch **1** 7), generally explained respectively as Sicily with Southern Italy, Spain and Rhodes. In its narrower sense Kittim appears simply to have stood for the island of Cyprus—it is mentioned between Bashan (=Pal) and the isles of Elishah in Ezk **27** 6.7, and with this Isa **23** 1.12 agree, Kittim occurring in these passages between Tarshish, Tyre and Sidon.

2. In Its Limited Sense

The oldest etymology is apparently that of Jos, who connects Kittim with the well-known old Cypriote city Kition (*Citium*) (*Ant*, I, vi, 1), testifying to the settling of the Kittim on the island. This word he further connects with Chethima, from Chethimus, and states that it was on account of Cyprus being the home of those people that all islands were called Chethim by the Heb. The derivation of an ancient Chethim from Chethimus, however, would make the *m* to be a radical, and this, with the substitution of *Ch* (= *Kh*) for *K*, renders his proposed etymology somewhat doubtful.

3. In Its Extended Sense

The statement of Jos, that "all islands, and the greatest part of the sea-coast, are called Chethim [=Kittim] by the Hebrews," on the other hand, must be taken as the testimony of one well acquainted with the opinions of the learned world in his time. In Jer **2** 10 and Ezk **27** 6 the isles of Kittim are expressly spoken of, and this confirms the statement of Jos concerning the extended meaning of the name. This would explain its application to the Rom fleet in Dnl **11** 30 (so the Vulg), and the Macedonians in 1 Macc **1** 1 (Χεττιείμ, *Chettieím*) and **8** 5 (*Kitians*). In the latter passage the Gr writer seems to have been thinking more of the Cyprian Kition than of the Heb Kittim.

4. Colonization of Cyprus

According to Herodotus (vii.90), Cyprus was colonized from Greece, Phoenicia, and Ethiopia. Referring to the plundering of the temple of Aphrodite at Askalon by the Scythians (i.105), he states that her temple in Cyprus was an offshoot from that ancient foundation, as reported by the Cyprians themselves, Phoenicians having founded it at Cythera, on arriving from Syria. The date of the earliest Phoen settlements in Cyprus is unknown, but it has been suggested that they were anterior to the time of Moses. Naturally they brought with them their religion, the worship of the moon-goddess Atargatis (Derceto) being introduced at Paphos, and the Phoen Baal at Kition. If Kition be, then, a Sem word (from the same root as the Heb Kittim), it has been transferred from the small band of Phoen settlers which it at first designated, to the non-Sem Japhethites of the W. Kition occurs in the Phoen inscriptions of Cyprus under the forms *K*(*i*)*t*(*t*) and *K*(*i*)*t*(*t*)*i*, the latter being by far the more common (*CIS*, I, i, 10,11,14,19, etc).

The early history of Cyprus is uncertain. According to the Assyr copy of Sargon of Agade's omens, that king (about 3800 BC in the opinion of Nabonidus; 2800 BC in the opinion of many Assyriologists) is said to have crossed "the sea of the setting sun" (the Mediterranean), though the Bab copy

5. Its Successive Masters

makes it that of "the rising sun"—i.e. the Pers Gulf. Be this as it may, General Cesnola discovered at Curium, in Cyprus, a seal-cylinder apparently inscribed "Mâr-Ištar, son of Ilu-bani, servant [worshipper] of Narâm-Sin," the last named being the deified son of Sargon. In the 16th cent. BC, Cyprus was tributary to Thothmes III. About the year 708 BC, Sargon of Assyria received the submission of the kings of the district of Ya', in Cyprus, and set up at Citium the stele bearing his name, which is now in the Royal Museum at Berlin. Esarhaddon and his son Aššur-banî-âpli each received tribute from the 10 Cyprian princes who acknowledged Assyr supremacy. The island was conquered by the Egyp king Amasis, and later formed part of the Pers empire, until the revolt of Evagoras in 410 BC. The Assyrians knew the island under the name of *Yad(a)nanu*, the "Wedan" (Vedan) of Ezk **27** 19 RV (Sayce, *PSBA*, 1912, 26).

6. The Races Therein and Their Languages

If the orthodox date for the composition of Gen be accepted, not only the Phoenicians, but also the Greeks, or a people of Gr-Lat stock, must have been present in Cyprus, before the time of Moses, in sufficient number to make them the predominant portion of the population. As far as can be judged, the Phoenicians occupied only the eastern and southern portion of the island. Paphos, where they had built a temple to Ashtoreth and set up an *'ăshērāh* (a pillar symbolizing the goddess), was one of their principal settlements. The rest of the island was apparently occupied by the Aryans, whose presence there caused the name of Kittim to be applied to all the Gr-Lat countries of the Mediterranean. Gr and Phoen were the languages spoken on the island, as was proved by George Smith's demonstration of the nature of the non-Phoen text of the inscription of King Melek-yathon of Citium (370 BC). The signs used in the Gr-Cyprian inscriptions are practically all syllabic.

7. The Testimony of Cyprian Art

The many influences which have modified the Cyprian race are reflected in the ancient art, which shows the effect of Bab, Egyp, Phoen and Gr contacts. Specimens are to be found in many museums, but the finest collection of examples of Cyprian art is undoubtedly that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Some of the full-length figures are life-size, and the better class of work is exceedingly noteworthy. See Cyprus. T. G. Pinches

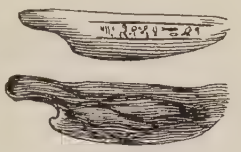
KNEADING, nēd′ing. See Bread, III, 2.

KNEE, nē, **KNEEL,** nēl ("knee," בֶּרֶךְ, *berekh;* Aram. אַרְכֻבָּה, *'arᵉkhubbah;* **γόνυ,** *gónu;* "kneel"; בָּרַךְ, *bārakh;* Aram. בְּרַךְ, *bᵉrakh;* **γονυπετέω,** *gonupetéō*): Most of the uses are obvious, and the figurative use of "knees" as the symbol of strength (Job **4** 4; He **12** 12, etc) needs no explanation. The disease of the knees mentioned in Dt **28** 35 is perhaps some form of leprosy. In Job **3** 12 the "knees" seem to be used for the *lap,* as the place where a child receives its first care. Three times in Gen the knees appear in connection with primitive adoption customs. In **30** 3 a fiction is enacted that purports to represent Rachel as the actual mother of Bilhah's children. By a somewhat similar rite in **48** 12, Jacob (the "knees" here are Jacob's, not Joseph's) adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, so that they are counted as two of the twelve patriarchs and not as members of a single Joseph tribe. In the same way Machir's children are adopted by Joseph in **50** 23, and this is certainly connected with the counting of Machir (instead of Manasseh) as one of the tribes in Jgs **5** 14. See Tribes; and for the idea underlying this paternal adoption, cf Thigh. From among classical instances of the same customs compare Homer, *Odyssey,* xix. 401 ff, where Autolukos, grandfather of Ulysses, receives the newborn grandchild on his knees and gives him his name. Thus also we have to understand the numerous representations in Egyp sculpture, showing the king as an infant on the knees or the lap of a goddess.

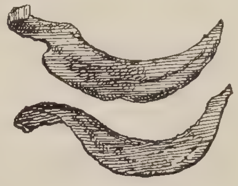
Kneeling was less commonly an attitude of prayer among the Jews than was standing, but references to kneeling are of course abundant. For kneeling (or prostrating one's self) before a superior, see Attitude, 2; Salutation.

Burton Scott Easton

KNIFE, nīf: (1) מַאֲכֶלֶת, *ma'ăkheleth,* lit. an instrument for eating; but used of large knives for slaying animals, cutting up a carcase or a sacrificial victim (Gen **22** 6.10; Jgs **19** 29; Prov **30** 14). (2) חֶרֶב, *ḥerebh,* rendered generally "sword," but in Josh **5** 2.3 of stone knives for circumcision (cf Ex **4** 25), probably of similar knives in 1 K **18** 28, used by Baal prophets in gashing themselves. In Ezk **5** 12 AV, "knife," probably better RV, "sword." (3) תַּעַר, *ta'ar,* usually rendered "razor," in combination with הַסֹּפֵר, *ha-ṣōphēr,* "knife of the writer," or "penknife" (Jer **36** 23). (4) מַחֲלָפִים, *maḥălāphīm,* "slaughter-knives" (Ezr **1** 9). (5) שַׂכִּין, *sakkīn,* Aram., "knife" (Prov **23** 2). Early knives were commonly made of sharp stones, esp. of flint, later of bronze and iron. The former remained in use in religious ceremonies long after the latter were in common use. Knives were not generally used at meals, meats being cut into bits before served, and bread being broken into fragments. Herod used a knife for paring apples, and attempted suicide with the instrument (Jos, *Ant,* XVII, vii, 1; *BJ,* I, xxxiii, 7). Edward Bagby Pollard



Egyptian Stone Knives.



Assyrian Bronze Knives.
(Brit. Mus.)

KNOCK, nok (**κρούω,** *kroúō*): The oriental house was fitted with heavy doors which were bolted and locked with wooden keys too large to be carried about, so that even a member of the household could not secure entrance until in response to his knock or call the door should be opened by someone within. At night the delay would be increased by the difficulty of arousing the inmates sleeping within the inner chambers. To persons familiar with such experiences, the words of Jesus concerning a higher entrance, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you" (Mt **7** 7; Lk **12** 36), would have a unique force not easy for us to appreciate.

Russell Benjamin Miller

KNOP, nop: In Ex **25** 31 ff; **37** 17 ff (*kaphtōr*), part of the ornaments of the golden candlestick; in 1 K **6** 18; **7** 24 (*pᵉḳā'īm*), gourd-like ornaments of the lining of Solomon's temple, and of the brazen sea (in 1 K **6** 18, RVm "gourds"). See Candlestick, Golden; Temple; Sea, The Molten.

KNOW, nō, **KNOWLEDGE,** nol′ej, nol′ij (in Heb chiefly יָדַע, *yādha',* noun דַּעַת, *da'ath;* in Gr **γινώσκω,** *ginôskō,* **οἶδα,** *oída;* "to know fully,"

ἐπιγινώσκω, *epiginṓskō*, noun **γνῶσις**, *gnṓsis*, **ἐπίγνωσις**, *epígnōsis*): Knowledge strictly is the apprehension by the mind of some fact or truth in accordance with its real nature; in a personal relation the intellectual act is necessarily conjoined with the element of affection and will (choice, love, favor, or, conversely, repugnance, dislike, etc). Knowledge is distinguished from "opinion" by its greater certainty. The mind is constituted with the capacity for knowledge, and the desire to possess and increase it. The character of knowledge varies with its object. The senses give knowledge of outward appearances; the intellect connects and reasons about these appearances, and arrives at general laws or truths; moral truth is apprehended through the power inherently possessed by men of distinguishing right and wrong in the light of moral principles; spiritual qualities require for their apprehension spiritual sympathy ("They are spiritually judged," 1 Cor **2** 14). The highest knowledge possible to man is the knowledge of God, and while there is that in God's infinity which transcends man's power of comprehension (Job **11** 7.9), God is knowable in the measure in which He has revealed Himself in creation (Rom **1** 19.20, "that which is known of God," etc), and supremely in Jesus Christ, who alone perfectly knows the Father, and reveals Him to man (Mt **11** 27). This knowledge of God in Jesus Christ is "life eternal" (Jn **17** 3). Knowledge is affirmed of both God and man, but with the wide contrast that God's knowledge is absolute, unerring, complete, intuitive, embracing all things, past, present, and future, and searching the inmost thoughts of the heart (Ps **139** 1.23); whereas man's is partial, imperfect, relative, gradually acquired, and largely mixed with error ("Now we see in a mirror darkly . . . . in part," 1 Cor **13** 12). All these points about knowledge are amply brought out in the Scripture usage of the terms. A large part of the usage necessarily relates to natural knowledge (sometimes with a carnal connotation, as Gen **4** 1.17), but the greatest stress also is laid on the possession of moral and spiritual knowledge (e.g. Ps **119** 66; Prov **1** 4.7.22.29; **8** 10, etc; Lk **1** 77; Rom **15** 14; 2 Pet **1** 5.6). The highest knowledge, as said, is the knowledge of God and Christ, and of God's will (Hos **6** 6; Rom **11** 33; Eph **1** 17; **4** 13; Phil **1** 9; **3** 8; Col **1** 9.10, etc). The moral conditions of spiritual knowledge are continually insisted on ("If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it is of God," Jn **7** 17). On the other hand, the pride of intellectual knowledge is condemned; it must be joined with love ("Knowledge puffeth up," 1 Cor **8** 1). The stronger term *epignōsis* is used to denote the full and more perfect knowledge which is possessed in Christ, the conditions of which are humility and love. Of knowledge as connoting favor, choice, on the part of God, there are many examples (Ps **1** 6, "Jeh knoweth the way of the righteous"; Gal **4** 9, "know God, or rather to be known by God"; cf Rom **8** 29, "whom he foreknew"). See FOREKNOWLEDGE. JAMES ORR

KOA, kō′a (קוֹעַ, *ḳōaʽ*): A people named with Pekod and Shoa as enemies of Jerus (Ezk **23** 23). Their location was probably N.E. of Babylonia.

KOHATH, kō′hath, **KOHATHITES**, kō′hath-īts (קְהָת, *ḳᵉhāth*, קְהָתִי, *ḳŏhāthī*; **Καάθ**, *Kaáth*): Second son of Levi, and ancestor of Moses and Aaron (Gen **46** 11; Ex **6** 16–20; Nu **3** 17; 1 Ch **6** 1, etc). The Kohathites formed one of the three divisions of the tribe of Levi; the other two being the Gershonites and the Merarites (Nu **3** 17 ff). The Kohathites consisted of four families, the Amramites, the Izharites, the Hebronites, and the Uzzielites (Nu **3** 19.27, etc). Their place in the wilderness was on the southern side of the tabernacle (Nu **3** 29), and their number is given (from a month old) as 8,600 (ver 28). Their special charge was "the ark, and the table, and the candlestick, and the altars, and the vessels of the sanctuary wherewith they minister, and the screen, and all the service thereof" (ver 31; cf **7** 9). After the conquest 23 cities were assigned them by lot (Josh **21** 4.5 ff). In David's time and after, Heman, a Kohathite, and his family had a prominent place in the service of the music of the sanctuary (1 Ch **6** 33 ff; **16** 41 ff; **25** 1 ff); David likewise divided the Levites into courses (the Kohathites, **23** 12–20; **24** 20–25). We read of the Kohathites in the reign of Jehoshaphat at Engedi (2 Ch **20** 19), and in connection with the cleansing of the temple under Hezekiah (2 Ch **29** 12.14). JAMES ORR

KOHELETH, kō-hel′eth (קֹהֶלֶת, *ḳōheleth*). See ECCLESIASTES.

KOLAIAH, kō-lā′ya, kō-lī′a (קוֹלָיָה, *ḳōlāyāh*, "voice of Jeh"):

(1) A Benjamite, son of Maaseiah (Neh **11** 7).

(2) Father of Ahab, a false prophet and a lecherous man (Jer **29** 21–23).

KONAE, kō′nē (**Κωνά**, *Kōná*): Some MSS have *κώμας*, *kṓmas*, from which we have in AV "the villages." The name occurs in the account of the measures taken to secure the country against Holofernes (Jth **4** 4). If *Kōna* be correct, we may possibly identify the place with Cyamon.

ḲŌPH, kōf (ק, *ḳōph*): The 19th letter of the Heb alphabet; transliterated in this Encyclopaedia as *ḳ* (intense *k*). It came also to be used for the number 100. For name, etc, see ALPHABET.

KOR, kōr. See COR.

KORAH, kō′ra (קֹרַח, *ḳōraḥ*, "baldness," possibly; **Κόρε**, *Kóre*):

(1) One of the 3 sons of Oholibamah, Esau's Hivite wife. The account says that the 3 were born in Canaan before Esau withdrew to the Seir mountain country. They are mentioned 3 t in the brief account from 3 points of view (Gen **36** 5.14.18; 1 Ch **1** 35), the 3d mention being in the list of "chiefs."

(2) One of the sons of Eliphaz, the son of Adah, Esau's Hittite wife (Gen **36** 16). He is mentioned as one of the Edomite "chiefs."

If one has the habit, finding a statement anywhere, of thinking that the statement ought to be changed into something else, he will be interested in the attempts to identify these Edomite Korahs with Korah (3).

(3) A son of Hebron (1 Ch **2** 43), the son of Mareshah, mentioned in the Caleb group of families in Judah.

(4) The son of Izhar the son of Kohath the son of Levi (Ex **6** 16 ff; Nu **16** 1; 1 Ch **6** 18.31–38), a younger contemporary of Moses. There may have been generations, omitted in the record, between Izhar and K.; that is a natural way of accounting for Amminadab (1 Ch **6** 22–30).

1. The Catastrophe in the Wilderness

This Korah is best known as the man whom the opening earth is said to have swallowed up along with his associates when they were challenging the authority of Moses and Aaron in the wilderness (Nu **16**, **17**). K. is presented as the principal in the affair. The company is spoken of as his company, and those who were swallowed up as being "all the men that appertained unto K." (Nu **16** 11.32). It is under his name that the affair is referred to (Nu **26** 9; **27** 3). But Dathan and Abiram of the tribe of Reuben are not much less prominent than K. In Nu **16** and **26** they are mentioned with K., and are mentioned without him in Dt **11** 6 and Ps **106** 17. Another Reubenite, On, the son of Peleth, was in the conspiracy. It has been inferred that he withdrew, but there is no reason either for or against the inference. Equally baseless is the inference that Zelophehad of Manasseh joined it, but withdrew (Nu **27** 3). The account implies that there were other Levites in it besides K. (Nu **16** 7–10), and it particularly mentions 250 "men of renown," princes, such men as would be summoned if there were a public assembly (Nu **16** 2.17.35). These men, apparently, were of different tribes.

The position taken by the malcontents was that "all the congregation are holy, every one of them," and that it was therefore a usurpation for Moses and Aaron to confine the functions of an incense-burning priest to Aaron alone. Logically, their objection lay equally against the separation of Aaron and his sons from the rest of the Levites, and against the separation of the Levites from the rest of the people. On the basis of this, Moses made expostulation with the Levites. He arranged that K. and the 250, along with Aaron, should take their places at the doorway of the tent of meeting, with their censers and fire and incense, so that Jeh might indicate His will in the matter. Dathan and Abiram insolently refused his proposals.

The record says that K.'s "whole congregation," including himself and the 250 with their censers, met Moses and Aaron and "all the congregation" of Israel at the doorway of the tent of meeting. For the purposes of the transaction in hand the tent was now "the *mishkān* of K., Dathan and Abiram," and their followers. Jeh directed Moses to warn all other persons to leave the vicinity. Dathan and Abiram, however, were not at the *mishkān*. The account says that Moses, followed by the elders of Israel, went to them to their tents; that he warned all persons to leave that vicinity also; that Dathan and Abiram and the households stood near the tents; that the earth opened and swallowed them and their property and all the adherents of K. who were on the spot; that fire from Jeh devoured the 250 who offered incense. The narrative does not say whether the deaths by fire and by the opening of the earth were simultaneous. It does not say whether K.'s sons participated in the rebellion, or what became of K. himself. In the allusion in Nu **26** we are told, apparently, that K. was swallowed up, and that "the sons of K. died not." The deaths of the principal offenders, by fire and by being swallowed up, were followed by a plague in which 14,700 perished (Nu **16** 49 [Heb **17** 14]).

2. Critical Treatments of This Story

Any appreciative reader sees at once that we have here either a history of certain miraculous facts, or a wonder-story devised for teaching religious lessons. As a story it is artistically admirable—sufficiently complicated to be interesting, but clear and graphic and to the point. In the Heb there are 2 or 3 instances of incomplete grammatical construction, such as abound in the early literary products of any language, when these have been fortunate enough to escape editorial polishing. In such a case it is possibly not unwise just to take a story as it stands. Nothing will be added to either its religious or its literary value by subjecting it to doubtful alleged critical processes.

If, however, one has committed himself to certain critical traditions concerning the Hex, that brings him under obligation to lead this story into conformity with the rest of his theory. Attempts of this kind have been numerous. Some hold that the K. of this narrative is the Edomite K., and that Peleth means Phili, and that our story originally grew out of some claim made by Edomites and Philis. It is held that the story of K. was originally one story, and that of Dathan and Abiram another, and that someone manipulated the two and put them together. See the treatments of the Book of Nu in Driver, *Intro;* Addis, *Documents of the Hex;* Carpenter and Battersby, *Hex;* Bacon, *Ex;* Paterson on Nu, in the *Polychrome Bible.* These and other like works give source-analyses of our story. Some of the points they make are plausible. In such a case no one claims any adequate basis of fact for his work; each theory is simply a congeries of ingenious guesses, and no two of the guessers guess alike.

As in many other Bib. instances, one of the results of the alleged critical study is the resolving of a particularly fine story into two or more supposed earlier stories each of which is absolutely bald and crude and uninteresting, the earlier stories and the combining of these into their present form being alike regarded as processes of legendary accretion. The necessary inference is that the fine story we now have was not the product of some gifted mind, guided by facts and by literary and religious inspiration, but is an accidental result of mere patchwork. Such a theory does not commend itself to persons of literary appreciation.

WILLIS J. BEECHER

KORAHITES, kō'ra-īts (קָרְחִי, *ḳorḥī*), **SONS OF KORAH** (בְּנֵי קֹרַח, *b^enē ḳōraḥ;* in AV appears also as **Korhite, Kohathite, Kore**): This phrase is used to denote Assir and Elkanah and Abiasaph, Korah's 3 individual sons (Ex **6** 24; cf Nu **26** 11). But its more frequent use, and that to which interest attaches, is in the titles of some of the Pss.

The genealogical details concerning K. are rather full. In 3 places we find the list of the 7 successive generations closing with the prophet Samuel and his son Joel (1 Ch **6** 31–38.22–30; 1 S **1** 1.20; **8** 2); the two in Ch mention most of the generations between K. and Joel. The fragmentary lists in 1 Ch **9, 25, 26** connect the list with the 4 generations following Joel (1 Ch **6** 33; **9** 19–31; **26** 1 ff), and with 2 generations in the very latest Bible times (1 Ch **9** 31).

The adj. "Korhite" appears also in AV as "Korathite," "Kore," and "Korahite," the last being the form preferred in ERV. It is used 4 t in the sing. Once it designates an individual (1 Ch **9** 31); 3 t it denotes the successors of K. taken collectively (Ex **6** 24; Nu **26** 58; 1 Ch **26** 19); 4 t it is used in the pl., denoting the members of this succession of men (1 Ch **9** 19; **12** 6; **26** 1; 2 Ch **20** 19). As variants of this use, "the sons of the Korahites" appears once, and "the children of the Korahites" once (1 Ch **26** 19; 2 Ch **20** 19).

In these various passages the K. families are counted like the other Levitical families. In 1 Ch **12** 6 we have an account of 5 men who are designated as "the Korahites," who joined David when he was at Ziklag—Elkanah, Isshiah, Azarel, Joezer, Jashobeam. They are described as **expert warriors,** esp. with the bow and sling, and as being "of Saul's brethren of Benjamin." Some of them may plausibly be identified with men of the same name mentioned elsewhere. These Korahites may have been cousins of the Samuel family, and they may have resided not very far apart.

The record speaks with some emphasis of a line of K. **doorkeepers.**

In the latest OT times one Mattithiah, "the first-born of Shallum the Korahite," held "the office of trust over the things that were baked in pans" (1 Ch **9** 31). Shallum was "the son of Kore, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah." In this expression 15 or more generations are omitted between Ebiasaph and Kore, and perhaps as many between Kore and Shallum. The record proceeds to supply some of the omitted names between Kore and Shallum. The representative of the line in David's time was "Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah" (ver 21). In all periods the Korahites were "keepers of the thresholds of the tent." Back in the time of "Phinehas the son of Eleazar," "their fathers had been over the camp of Jeh" (vs 19.20). Zechariah was, in his time, "porter of the door of the tent of meeting" (ver 21), and Shallum was still the chief of the porters (ver 17). The record for David's time supports and supplements this. It says that the doorkeepers, according to the arrangements made by David, included a K. contingent, its leading men being Meshelemiah and his son Zechariah (1 Ch **26** 1.2.9.14), and that Meshelemiah was "the son of Kore, of the sons of Asaph." Adopting the common conjecture that Asaph is here a variant for Ebiasaph, we have here the same abridgment of the genealogical list as in 1 Ch **9**.

More interesting, however, than the fighting Korahites of Benjamin, or the doorkeeping Korahites who claimed succession from Moses to Nehemiah, are the "sons of Korah" who were somehow connected with **the service of song**. One of the genealogies is introduced by the statement: "These are they whom David set over the service of song in the house of Jeh, after that the ark had rest. And they ministered with song before the tabernacle of the tent of meeting, until Solomon had built the house of Jeh in Jerus" (1 Ch **6** 31.32). Then the writer proceeds to mention first "Heman the singer, the son of Joel, the son of Samuel," and so on, carrying the genealogy back to Korah and Levi. After thus mentioning Heman, he speaks of "his brother Asaph, who stood on his right hand," and traces Asaph's descent back to Gershom the son of Levi; and then says, "and on the left hand their brethren the sons of Merari." Of these the principal leader is Ethan (otherwise called Jeduthun), and his descent is here traced back to Levi.

In this way we are introduced to David's 3 great leaders in choral and orchestral music. Among them Heman the Korahite has at first the place of primacy, though Asaph, later, comes to the front. The events just referred to are mentioned again, more in detail, in the account of David's bringing the ark to Jerus. There it is said that at the suggestion of David "the Levites appointed Heman the son of Joel," and also Asaph and Ethan, "and with them" several others, "their brethren of the second degree" (1 Ch **15** 17.18). The record proceeds to speak of the services of "the singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan," and their associates, in the pageantry of the bringing of the ark to Jerus. After that, it says, Asaph had charge of the services of thanksgiving and praise before the ark in Jerus, while Heman and Jeduthun served in the high place at Gibeon (1 Ch **16** 4 ff. 37.39–42). Later, the record says (1 Ch **25**), David made an elaborate organization, under Asaph and Heman and Jeduthun, for prophesying with song and instrumental music.

As the records of David's time, according to the Chronicler, thus attribute to him great achievements in sacred music and song, so the records of subsequent times reiterate the same thing. David's interest in sacred music is mentioned in connection with Solomon's temple, in connection with the times of Joash and Hezekiah and Josiah, in connection with the institutions and exploits of the times after the exile (e.g. 2 Ch **7** 6; **23** 18; **29** 25 ff; **35** 15; Ezr **3** 10; Neh **12** 24.36.45.46). Asaph and Heman and Jeduthun led the magnificent choir and orchestra at the dedication of the temple (2 Ch **5** 12). One of the sons of Asaph prophesied, and the sons of the Korahites sang at the crisis in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch **20** 14.19). The sons of Asaph and the sons of Heman and the sons of Jeduthun were present, and there was instrumental music and loud singing, according to the appointment of David and his associates, at the time of Hezekiah's Passover (2 Ch **29** 13 ff). Singing, and Asaph and Heman and Jeduthun and David have an important place in the record concerning Josiah. And the records of the post-exilian times make the singers and the "sons of Asaph" and the arrangements of David as conspicuous as the law of Moses itself.

Add to this that the names Asaph or Heman or Ethan or Jeduthun, or the designation "the sons of Korah" are attached to 25 or more of the Pss (e.g. Pss **42–49, 50, 62, 72–85**), and we have a body of testimony that is at least abundant and intelligible. It is to the effect that there was elaborate organization, on a large scale, in connection with the musical services of the temple at Jerus; that this began in the time of David, as a part of the preparation for building the temple, under the influence of the family traditions of the prophet Samuel; and that the movement continued in the generations following David, either surviving the exile, or being revived after the exile. In connection with this movement, the phrases "sons of Korah," "sons of Asaph," "sons of Heman," "sons of Jeduthun" denote, in some cases, merely lineal descent; but in other cases they denote each an aggregate of persons interested in sacred song and music—a guild or society or succession or group—arising out of the movement which originated in David's time. See, for example, "sons of Asaph" (1 Ch **25** 1.2; 2 Ch **20** 14; cf ver 19; **29** 13; **35** 15; Ezr **2** 41; **3** 10; Neh **7** 44; **11** 22) and "sons of Korah" in the titles of Pss **42–49** and **84, 85, 87–89.** Traces of these aggregates appear in the times of Solomon, of Jehoshaphat, of Joash, of Hezekiah, of Josiah, of Zerubbabel, of Ezra and Nehemiah.

If a person holds that the mention of an event in Ch is to be regarded as proof that the event never occurred, that person will of course deny that the testimony thus cited is true to fact. He is likely to hold that the guilds of singers arose in the exile, and that, some generations after Nehemiah, they fabricated for themselves the ecclesiastical and physical pedigrees now found in the Books of Ch. If, however, we accord fair play to the Chronicler as a witness, we shall be slow to discredit the minute and interfitting testimony which he has placed before us. Willis J. Beecher

KORATHITES, kō′rath-īts: In AV for "Korahites," Nu **26** 58. See Korah, 4.

KORE, kō′rē̇ (קוֹרֵא, *ḳōrē′*, "one who proclaims"): (1) A Levite of David's time, descended from Kohath and Korah. See Korah, 4. Shallum, chief doorkeeper in the latest Bible times, is described as "the son of Kore, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah" (1 Ch **9** 19). This expression omits the generations between Shallum and K., and those between K. and Ebiasaph, perhaps 15 generations or more in each case. The context supplies two of the omitted names, of the time of David, Meshelemiah and his son Zechariah (1 Ch **9** 21.22). The record for the time of David mentions these two, with some particulars, calling Meshelemiah the son of K. (1 Ch **26** 1.2.9.14). It describes them as "Korahites" "of the sons of Asaph." It is usual to regard this last clause as a variant for "the son of Ebiasaph," thus making the description identical with that in 1 Ch **9** 19. With this understanding, the text claims that "the Korahites," K. and Meshelemiah and Zechariah, come midway in a line of sanctuary ministrants, extending continuously from Moses to Nehemiah.

(2) "The son of Imnah the Levite, the porter at the east gate," who "was over the freewill-offerings," in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch **31** 14). Very likely in the same line with (1) above.

(3) In 1 Ch **26** 1 AV for Korahites (q.v.).

Willis J. Beecher

KORHITES, kôr′hīts: In AV for "Korahites" in Ex **6** 24; 1 Ch **12** 6; **26** 1; 2 Ch **20** 19. See Korah, 3.

KOZ, koz. See Hakkoz.

KUSHAIAH, kū̇-shā′ya, kū̇-shī′a (קוּשָׁיָהוּ, *ḳūshāyāhū*, "bow of Jeh"): A Merarite Levite (1 Ch **15** 17), called in 1 Ch **6** 44 Kishi (q.v.).

L

LAADAH, lā′a-da (לַעְדָּה. *laʽdāh*): A descendant of Judah (1 Ch **4** 21).

LAADAN, lā′a-dan. See LADAN.

LABAN, lā′ban: The person named Laban (לָבָן, *lābhān;* **Λαβάν,** *Labán,* possibly connected with the √ meaning "to be white," from which in Heb the adj. meaning "white" has just this form) is first introduced to the reader of Gen in the story of the wooing of Rebekah (ch **24**). He belonged to that branch of the family of Terah that was derived from Abraham's brother Nahor and his niece Milcah. The genealogy of this branch is traced in Gen **22** 20–24; but, true to its purpose and the place it occupies in the book, this genealogy brings the family down to Rebekah, and there stops without mentioning Laban. Accordingly, when Rebekah is introduced in the narrative of ch **24,** she is referred to (vs 15.24) in a way that recalls to the reader the genealogy already given; but when her brother Laban is introduced (ver 29), he is related to his sister by the express announcement, "And Rebekah had a brother, and his name was Laban." In this ch he takes prominent part in the reception of Abraham's servant, and in the determination of his sister's future. That brothers had an effective voice in the marriage of their sisters is evident, not only from extra-Bib. sources, but from the Bible itself; see e.g. Cant **8** 8. In Gen **24,** however, Laban is perhaps more prominent than even such custom can explain (cf vs 31.50.55), and we are led to see in him already the same forcefulness and egotism that are abundantly shown in the stories from his later life. The man's eager hospitality (ver 31), coming immediately after his mental inventory of the gifts bestowed by the visitor upon his sister (ver 30), has usually, and justly, been regarded as a proof of the same greed that is his most conspicuous characteristic in the subsequent chapters.

The story of that later period in Laban's life is so interwoven with the career of Jacob that little need here be added to what is said of Laban in JACOB, III, 2 (q.v.). By the time of Jacob's arrival he is already a very old man, for over 90 years had elapsed since Rebekah's departure. Yet even at the end of Jacob's 20 years' residence with him he is represented as still energetic and active (**31** 19.23), not only ready for an emergency like the pursuit after Jacob, but personally superintending the management of his huge flocks.

His home is in Haran, "the city of Nahor," that is, the locality where Nahor and his family remained at the time when the rest of Terah's descendants emigrated to Canaan (**11** 31; **12** 5). Since Haran, and the region about it where his flocks fed, belonged to the district called Aram (see PADDAN-ARAM; MESOPOTAMIA), Laban is often called "the Aramaean" (EV "the Syrian," from LXX ὁ Σύρος, *ho Súros*); see **25** 20; **28** 5; **31** 20.24. It is uncertain how far racial affinity may be read into this term, because the origin and mutual relationships of the various groups or strata of the Sem family are not yet clear. For Laban himself it suffices that he was a Semite, living within the region early occupied by those who spoke the Sem dialect that we call Aramaic. This dialect is represented in the narrative of Gen as already differentiated from the dialect of Canaan that was Jacob's mother-tongue; for "the heap of witness," erected by uncle and nephew before they part (**31** 47), is called by the one *Jegar-saha-dutha* and by the other *Galeed*—phrases which are equivalent in meaning, the former Aram., the latter Heb. (Ungnad, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 1912, § 6, puts the date of the differentiation of Aram. from "Amurritish" at "about 1500 BC"; Skinner, "Genesis," *ICC,* argues that ver 47 is a gloss, following Wellhausen, Dillmann, et al.)

The character of Laban is interesting to observe. On the one hand it shows a family likeness to the portraits of all his relations in the patriarchal group, preëminently, however, to his sister Rebekah, his daughter Rachel, and his nephew Jacob. The nearer related to Laban such figures are, the more conspicuously, as is fitting, do they exhibit Laban's mingled cunning, resourcefulness, greed and self-complacency. And, on the other hand, Laban's character is *sui generis;* the picture we get of him is too personal and complex to be denominated merely a "type." It is impossible to resolve this man Laban into a mythological personage—he is altogether human—or into a tribal representative (e.g. of "Syria" over against "Israel" = Jacob) with any degree of satisfaction to the world of scholarship. Whether a character of reliable family tradition, or of popular story-telling, Laban is "a character"; and his intimate connection with the chief personage in Israel's national recollections makes it highly probable that he is no more and no less historical than Jacob himself (cf JACOB, VI).

J. OSCAR BOYD

LABANA, lab′a-na (**Λαβανά,** *Labaná,* 1 Esd **5** 29): Called Lebanah in Ezr **2** 45.

LABOR, lā′bẽr (יְגִיעַ, *yᵉghīaʽ,* עָמָל, *ʽāmāl;* **κόπος,** *kópos*): The word (noun and vb.) denoting hard work or "toil" (thus in RV of Dt **26** 7; Josh **7** 3; Rev **2** 2) represents several Heb and Gr words, chiefly those above. Occasionally, as in Hab **3** 17 (*maʽăsēh*), it stands for "fruit of labor." Sometimes, in conjunction with "travail," it refers to childbirth (Gen **35** 16.17, *yāladh;* cf 1 Thess **2** 9; 2 Thess **3** 8). Examples of the word in the ordinary sense are: of *yᵉghīaʽ,* Gen **31** 42; Job **39** 11. 16; Ps **128** 2; of *ʽāmāl,* common in Eccl **1** 3.8; **2** 10.11.18, etc; of *kopos,* 1 Cor **15** 58 ("your labor is not vain," etc); 1 Thess **1** 3 ("work of faith and labor of love"; cf He **6** 10); 1 Tim **5** 17 ("labor in the word and in teaching"). See WORK; SLAVERY.

JAMES ORR

LACCUNUS, lak′ū-nus (**Λακκοῦνος,** *Lakkoúnos;* AV **Lacunus**): One of the sons of Addi who returned with Ezra and had married a foreign wife (1 Esd **9** 31). The name does not, as might have been expected, occur in Ezr **10** 30. See note on the passage (in Lange's *Comm.*) as to the reconciliation of the lists in 1 Esd and Ezr.

LACE, lās (פְּתִיל, *pāthīl,* variously rendered in Gen **38** 18.25; Ex **39** 3; Nu **15** 38; **19** 15; Jgs **16** 9; Ezk **40** 3): In modern Eng. the noun "lace" usually denotes a delicate ornamental fabric, but in the word in the sense of "that which binds" is still in perfectly good use, esp. in such combinations as "shoelace," etc. It is this latter significance that is found in Ex **28** 28 ("They shall bind . . . . with a lace of blue"); **28** 37; **39** 21. 31, and in Sir **6** 30 AV, *κλῶσμα, klôsma* (RV "riband").

LACEDAEMONIANS, las-ē-dē-mō′ni-anz (**Σπαρτιᾶται,** *Spartiátai;* once only **Λακεδαιμόνιοι,** *Lakedaimónioi,* 2 Macc **5** 9): The inhabitants of Sparta or Lacedaemon with whom the Jews claimed some kinship and formed alliances (1 Macc **12**

2.5.6.20.21; **14** 20.23; **15** 23; 2 Macc **5** 9). The alliance mentioned in 1 Macc **12** 5–23 is based, among other grounds, on that of a common descent of Jews and Lacedaemonians from Abraham, for which the only probable presumption—suggested by Ewald—is the similarity of names, "Pelasgi" and Peleg son of Eber (Gen **10** 25; **11** 16). This has been reasonably objected to, and perhaps the most that can be said on this point is that the belief in some relationship between the Jews and the Lacedaemonians seems to have prevailed when 1 Macc was written. The alliance itself is said to have been formed (1 Macc **12** 20) between Areus, king of the Lacedaemonians and Onias the high priest; but it is not easy to make out a consistent chronology for the transaction. For the renewal of the alliance (c 144 BC) by Jonathan (1 Macc **12** 5–18) and again by Simon (1 Macc **14** 16–23), something can be said, as the Greeks had finally been deprived of independence in 146 BC, and Sparta was only obliged to lend assistance to Rome and may be supposed to have been doing so in helping the Jews against Syria. It is possible, too, that as against Syrian Hellenism the Jews were anxious to show that they had the assistance of distinguished Greeks, though the actual power of Sparta was much reduced from that of former times. The facts, at least of the alliance and the correspondence, seem to be sufficiently attested, though it is not easy to reconcile all the particulars. Jos (*Ant*, XII, iv, 10; XIII, v, 8; XIV, xii, 2.3) gives the correspondence at greater length than the writer of the Maccabees.

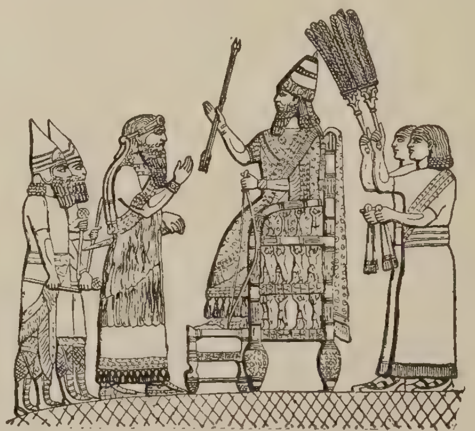
J. Hutchison

LACHISH, lā′kish (לָכִישׁ, *lākhīsh;* LXX Λαχίς, *Lachís* [Josh **15** 39], **Μαχές**, *Machés*): A town in the foothills of the Shephelah on the border of the Phili plain, belonging to Judah, and, from the mention of Eglon in connection with it, evidently in the southwestern portion of Judah's territory. *Onom* locates it 7 miles from Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrîn*) toward Daroma, but as the latter place is uncertain, the indication does not help in fixing the site of L. The city seems to have been abandoned about 400 BC, and this circumstance has rendered the identification of the site difficult. It was formerly fixed at *Umm Lakis*, from the similarity of the name and because it was in the region that the Bib. references to L. seem to indicate, but the mound called *Tell el-Hesy* is now generally accepted as the site. This was first suggested by Conder in 1877 (*PEFS*, 1878, 20), and the excavations carried on at the Tell by the Pal Exploration Fund in 1890–93 confirmed his identification. *Tell el-Hesy* is situated on a wady, or valley, of the same name (*Wâdy el-Hesy*), which runs from a point about 6 miles W. of Hebron to the sea between Gaza and Askelon. It is a mound on the very edge of the wady, rising some 120 ft. above it and composed of débris to the depth of about 60 ft., in which the excavations revealed the remains of distinct cities which had been built, one upon the ruins of another. The earliest of these was evidently Amorite, and could not have been later than 1700 BC, and was perhaps two or three centuries earlier (Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*). The identification rests upon the fact that the site corresponds with the Bib. and other historical notices of L., and esp. upon the discovery of a cuneiform tablet in the ruins of the same character as the Am Tab, and containing the name of Zimridi, who is known from these tablets to have been at one time Egyp governor of L. The tablets, which date from the latter part of the 15th or early part of the 14th cent. BC, give us the earliest information in regard to L., and it was then an Egyp dependency, but it seems to have revolted and joined with other towns in an attack upon Jerus, which was also an Egyp dependency. It was perhaps compelled to do so by the Khabiri who were then raiding this region. The place was, like Gaza, an important one for Egypt, being on the frontier and on the route to Jerus, and the importance is seen in the fact that it was taken and destroyed and rebuilt so many times.

1. Location

2. History

We first hear of it in the history of Israel when Joshua invaded the land. It was then an Amorite city, and its king, Japhia, joined the confederacy formed by Adonizedek, king of Jerus, to resist Joshua. They were defeated in the remarkable battle at Gibeon, and the five confederate kings were captured and put to death at Makkedah (Josh **10** *passim;* **12** 11). L. was included in the lot of Judah (**15** 39), and it was rebuilt, or fortified, by Rehoboam (2 Ch **11** 5.9). It was besieged by Sennacherib in the reign of Hezekiah and probably taken (2 K **18** 13) when he invaded Judah and besieged Jerus, but the other references to the siege leave it doubtful (2 K **18** 14.17; **19** 8; 2 Ch **32** 9; Isa **36** 2; **37** 8). The Assyr monuments, however, render it certain that the place was captured. The sculptures on the walls of Sennacherib's palace picture the storming of L. and the king on his throne receiving the submission of the captives (Ball, *Light from the East*, 190–91). This was in 701 BC, and to this period we may assign the enigmatical reference to L. in Mic **1** 13, "Bind the chariot to the swift steed, O inhabitant of Lachish: she was the beginning of sin to the daughter of Zion." The cause of the invasion of Sennacherib was a general revolt in Phoenicia, Pal, and Philistia, Hezekiah joining in it and all asking Egypt for aid (Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, ch ix). Isaiah had warned Judah not to trust in Egypt (Isa **20** 5.6; **30** 1–5; **31** 1), and as L. was the place where communication was held with Egypt, being a frontier fortress, perhaps even having an Egyp garrison, it would be associated with the "sin" of the Egyp alliance (*HGHL*, 234).



Sennacherib on His Throne before Lachish. (Kouyunjik.)
Layard's Monuments of Nineveh.

The city was evidently rebuilt after its destruction by Sennacherib, for we find Nebuchadnezzar fighting against it during his siege of Jerus (Jer **34** 7). It was doubtless destroyed by him, but we are informed by Nehemiah (**11** 30) that some of the returned Jews settled there after the captivity. It is very likely that they did not reoccupy the site of the ruined city, but settled as peasants in the territory, and this may account for the transference of the name to *Umm Lakis*, 3 or 4 miles from *Tell* *el-Hesy*, where some ruins exist, but not of a kind to suggest Lachish (Bliss, op. cit). No remains of any importance were found on the Tell indicating its occupation as a fortress or city later than that destroyed by the king of Babylon, but it was occupied in some form during the crusades, *Umm Lakis* being held for a time by the Hospitallers, and King Richard is said to have made it a base of operations in his war with Saladin (*HGHL*). The Tell itself, if occupied, was probably only the site of his camp, and it has apparently remained since that time without inhabitants, being used for agricultural purposes only. See further, Palestine (Recent Exploration), III, 1. H. Porter

LACK (forms of חָסֵר, *ḥāṣēr*, "to lack," אַיִן, *'ayin*, "nought"): This word in its various forms has the usual meaning of "want," "need," "deficiency." There is but little change in the use of the word in the different VSS. Sometimes one of the common synonyms is exchanged for the word itself, e.g. in the OT, 1 S **21** 15 RV has "lack" ("Do I lack madmen?") where AV has "need of"; Prov **5** 23, "for lack," instead of "without"; **6** 32, "void of" for "lacketh"; **10** 21, "lack" for "want"; **31** 11, "lack" for "need"; Isa **59** 15, "lacking" for "faileth." In the NT "lack" is the tr of ὑστερέω, *husteréō*, lit. "to be behind," and ἐνδεής, *endeḗs*, "in want." In Lk **8** 6, RV reads "had no" instead of "lacked" in AV. In 2 Cor **11** 9, RV gives "my want" for "which was lacking to me" in AV; in Col **1** 24 "that which is lacking" for "that which is behind"; Jas **2** 15 "lack" for "destitute." It will readily be seen that sometimes the slight variation helps to explain the meaning. G. H. Gerberding

LACUNUS, la-kū'nus. See Laccunus.

LAD: In the OT this word occurs as the tr of *na'ar*, "young person," "child," "servant," RV properly substituting "servant" in 2 K **4** 19; Jgs **16** 26 is another passage where either sense of the original word may be intended. The word occurs in the NT in Jn **6** 9 as the tr of παιδάριον, *paidárion;* in Acts **20** 12, παῖς, *paîs* (AV "young man").

LADAN, lā'dan (לַעְדָּן, *la'dān;* AV **Laadan**):

(1) A descendant of Ephraim, and an ancestor of Joshua (1 Ch **7** 26).

(2) A Levite of the family of Gershon (1 Ch **23** 7.8.9; **26** 21), also called Libni (q.v.).

LADANUM, lad'a-num (לֹט, *lōṭ*): Gen **37** 25 RVm; elsewhere Myrrh (q.v.).

LADDER, lad'ẽr. See Siege, 4, (*e*).

LADDER OF TYRE (**'Η κλῖμαξ [ἀπὸ τῆς κλίμακος] Τύρου,** *Hē klímax* [*apó tḗs klímakos*] *Túrou*): Not mentioned in the OT or the NT, but in Apoc (1 Macc **11** 59), where it is said that Antiochus VI, after having confirmed Jonathan in the high-priesthood, appointed his brother Simon captain over the territory included between the Ladder of Tyre and the borders of Egypt. The Ladder has been located at different points on the coast between Tyre and Acre, such as the *Ras el-'Abyadh* ("Promontorium Album" of the ancient geographers), about 7 miles S. of Tyre, and *Ras en-Naḳûrah*, about 6 miles farther S., and *Ras el-Musheirifeh*, a little farther on. These are capes jutting westward into the sea from the ridge which runs parallel to the general line of the coast. These capes project more than a mile into the sea, and present a very bold and precipitous front from 200 to 300 ft. in height. The ascent on either side of the promontory is very steep, and at *Ras el-'Abyadh* steps were cut in the white rock, which led to the identification of this point with the Ladder, but a reference to Jos (*BJ*, II, x, 2) leads to a different conclusion. He locates it 100 stadia N. of Acre, which corresponds fairly well with the southern limit of the whole promontory, which is about 12 miles N. of Acre, but not at all with *Ras el-'Abyadh*. The altitude of *el-Musheirifeh* is greater than that of *el-'Abyadh* and may have had steps cut in it similar to the latter. It is more probable that the L. was here, or at *en-Naḳûrah*, but the term applied to the whole promontory, which offered a serious obstacle to the passage of armies, or even caravans, since the approach is precipitous on either side, and at *Ras el-'Abyadh* the road skirts the edge of a sheer precipice, where a misstep would hurl one into the sea some 200 ft. below. The application of the term to the whole promontory seems to be indicated by Jos, since he speaks of it as one of the mountains which encompass the plain of Ptolemais (Acre) and the highest of all. This would not be true of any one of the three capes mentioned, but would be if the hills behind, which form their base, were included. That it was designated as the Ladder of Tyre rather than of Acre was probably due to the fact that the promontory is nearer the former city (see Thomson, *LB*, II, ed 1882; *SWP*, name-lists, s.v.). H. Porter

LADE, lād, **LADING,** lād'ing: "To lade" in the sense of "to load" is retained by RV in nearly all passages where the word occurs in AV (but cf AV and RV reading of Ps **68** 19; Isa **46** 1), "They laded us with such things" (Acts **28** 10 AV). The ἐπιτίθημι, *epitíthēmi*, "to put on," is rendered by RV, "They put on board such things." Lk **11** 46 RV reads "ye load" instead of AV "ye lade."

Lading (φορτίον, *phortíon*) is found in Acts **27** 10 in its usual meaning, "the lading of a ship."

LADY, lā'di: This word should be taken in the sense of "mistress" in Isa **47** 5.7 (Heb *g^ebhereth*) (so ARV). In Jgs **5** 29; Est **1** 18 it is the tr of another Heb word (*sārāh*), best rendered "princess" (so RV in Est, but not in Jgs). In 2 Jn vs 1.5 it is the tr of κυρία, *kuría*, which some interpreters regard as a proper name. See Cyria; John, Epistles of; Elect Lady.

LAEL, lā'el (לָאֵל, *lā'ēl*, "belonging to God"): Father of Eliasaph, the prince of the father's house of the Gershonites (Nu **3** 24).

LAHAD, lā'had (לָהַד, *lāhadh*): A descendant of Judah (1 Ch **4** 2).

LAHAI-ROI, la-hī'roi, lā-hī-rō'ī, lā'hī-roi (לַחַי רֹאִי, *laḥay rō'ī*). See Beer-lahai-roi.

LAHMAM, lä'mam (לַחְמָם, *laḥmām*): A town in the Judaean Shephelah (Josh **15** 40, RVm "Lahmas"), possibly the modern *el-Laḥm*, 2½ miles S. of *Beit Jibrîn*.

LAHMAS, lä'mas. See Lahmam.

LAHMI, lä'mī (לַחְמִי, *laḥmī*): According to 1 Ch **20** 5, the brother of Goliath of Gath. See Elhanan.

LAISH, lā'ish (לַיִשׁ, *layish*):

(1) A city in the upper Jordan valley, apparently colonized by the Sidonians, which was captured by the Danites and called Dan (q.v.) (Jgs **18** 7, etc;

Isa **10** 30 AV). In Josh **19** 47 the name appears as "Leshem."

(2) A Benjamite, father of Palti or Paltiel, to whom Michal, David's wife, was given by Saul (1 S **25** 44; 2 S **3** 15).

LAISHAH, la-ī′sha, lā′ish-a (לַיְשָׁה, *layshāh,* AV **Laish**): A place named in Isa **10** 30 with Gallim and Anathoth. It should apparently be sought on the N. of Jerus. Some would identify Gallim with *Beit Jāla,* near Bethlehem. Conder suggests *ʿÎsāwīyeh* on the eastern slope, to the N.N.E. of the Mount of Olives.

LAKE, lāk (**λίμνη,** *límnē*): The word is used (Lk **5** 1.2; **8** 22.23.33) of the Lake of Gennesaret or Sea of Galilee, and (Rev **19** 20; **20** 10.14.15; **21** 8) of the "lake of fire and brimstone." Lakes are not abundant in Syria and Pal. The Dead Sea, which might be called a lake, is in most places in EV called the Salt Sea. It is called by the Arabs *Baḥr Lûṭ,* Sea of Lot. It is a question whether the Waters of Merom (Josh **11** 5.7) can be identified with the *Ḥûleh,* a marshy lake in the course of the Upper Jordan, N. of the Sea of Galilee. E. of Damascus on the edge of the desert there are saltish lakes in which the water of the rivers of Damascus (see 2 K **5** 12) is gathered and evaporates. In the Lebanon W. of *Baʿalbek* is the small Lake *Yammûneh,* which is fed by copious springs, but whose water disappears in the latter part of the summer, being drained off by subterranean channels. The Lake of *Ḥumṣ* on the Orontes is artificial, though ancient. On the lower Orontes is the Lake of Antioch. Alfred Ely Day

LAKE OF FIRE (**λίμνη τοῦ πυρός,** *límnē toú purós*): Found in Rev **19** 20; **20** 10.14(*bis*).15. Rev **21** 8 has "the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone." The brimstone in connection with "the lake of fire" occurs also in Rev **19** 20 and **20** 10, the latter being a backward reference to the former passage. In Rev **20** 14 the words, "This is the second death, even the lake of fire," are either a gloss originally intended to elucidate ver 15 through a reference to **20** 6, or, if part of the text, formed originally the close of ver 15, whence they became displaced on account of the identity of the words once immediately preceding them in ver 15 with the words now preceding them in ver 14. The "lake of fire" can be called "the second death" only with reference to the lost among men (ver 15), not with reference to death and Hades (ver 14). In all the above references "the lake of fire" appears as a place of punishment, of perpetual torment, not of annihilation (**20** 10). The beast (**19** 20); the pseudo-prophet (**19** 20; **20** 10); the devil (**20** 10); the wicked of varying description (**20** 15; **21** 8), are cast into it. When the same is affirmed of death and Hades (**20** 14), it is doubtful whether this is meant as a mere figure for the cessation of these two evils personified, or has a more realistic background in the existence of two demon-powers so named (cf Isa **25** 8; 1 Cor **15** 26.54 ff; 2 Esd **7** 31). The Scriptural source for the conception of "the lake of fire" lies in Gen **19** 24, where already the fire and the brimstone occur together, while the locality of the catastrophe described is the neighborhood of the Dead Sea. The association of the Dead Sea with this fearful judgment of God, together with the desolate appearance of the place, rendered it a striking figure for the scene of eschatological retribution. The two other OT passages which have "fire and brimstone" (Ps **11** 6; Ezk **38** 22) are dependent on the Gen passage, with which they have the figure of "raining" in common. In Rev **21** 8, "their part" seems to allude to Ps **11** 6, "the portion of their cup." In En **67** 4 ff the Dead Sea appears as the place of punishment for evil spirits. Of late it has been proposed to derive "the lake of fire" from "the stream of fire" which destroys the enemies of Ahura in the Zoroastrian eschatology; so Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis,* 1906, 433, 434. But the figures of a stream and a lake are different; cf 2 Esd **13** 9–11, where a stream of fire proceeds from the mouth of the Messiah for the destruction of His enemies. Besides, the Pers fire is, in part, a fire of purification, and not of destruction only (Bousset, 442), and even in the apocalyptic Book of En, the fires of purification and of punishment are not confounded (cf En **67** 4 with **90** 20). The OT fully explains the entire conception. Geerhardus Vos

LAKE OF GENNESARET, ge-nes′a-ret. See Galilee, Sea of.

LAKKUM, lak′um (לַקּוּם, *lakḳūm;* AV **Lakum**): An unidentified town on the border of Naphtali, named with Adami, Nekeb and Jabneel, apparently nearer the Jordan (Josh **19** 33).

LAMA. See Eli, Eli, lama Sabachthani.

LAMB, lam: (1) The most used word is כֶּבֶשׂ, *kebhes,* "a young ram"; cf Arab. كَبْش, *kebsh,* "ram"; often of sacrifices; (fem.) כַּבְשָׂה, *kabhsāh,* or כִּבְשָׂה, *kibhsāh,* "ewe lamb" (2 S **12** 3); by transposition כֶּשֶׂב, *kesebh,* and fem. כִּשְׂבָּה, *kisbāh* (Gen **30** 40; Lev **3** 7; **5** 6). (2) כַּר, *kar,* "lamb" (Dt **32** 14; 1 S **15** 9; 2 K **3** 4). (3) שֶׂה, *seh,* "one" of the flock (Gen **22** 7; Lev **5** 7). (4) צֹאן, *çō'n,* "sheep," "goats," "flock"; cf Arab. ضَأْن, *ḍâ'n,* "sheep" (Ex **12** 21); and בֶּן צֹאן, *ben çō'n* (Ps **114** 4). (5) טָלֶה, *ṭāleh,* "young lamb"; cf Arab. طَلِي, *ṭalî,* "young lamb"; and טְלָאִים, *ṭᵉlā'īm* (1 S **7** 9; Isa **40** 11; **65** 25). (6) אִמְּרִין, *'immᵉrīn* (Ezr **6** 9.17; **7** 17). (7) **ἄρνας,** *árnas,* acc. pl. (Lk **10** 3); dim. **ἀρνίον,** *arníon* (Jn **21** 15; Rev **5** 6, etc). (8) **ἀμνός,** *amnós* (Jn **1** 29.36; Acts **8** 32; 1 Pet **1** 19). See Sheep.

Alfred Ely Day

LAMB OF GOD (**ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ,** *ho amnós toú theoú*): This is a title specially bestowed upon Our Lord by John the Baptist (Jn **1** 29–36), "Behold, the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!" In XII P—an apocryphal book, probably of the 2d cent.—we have the term used for the Messiah, "Honor Judah and Levi, for from them shall arise for you the Lamb of God, saving all nations by grace." But the term does not seem to have been of any general use until it received its distinctly Christian significance. It has been generally understood as referring to the prophetic language of Jer **11** 19, and Isa **53** 7.

1. Sacrificial Sense of the Term

It is far more probable, however, that the true source of the expression is to be found in the important place which the "lamb" occupies in the sacrifices, esp. of the PC. In these there was the lamb of the daily morning and evening sacrifice. How familiar this would be to the Baptist, being a member of a priestly family! On the Sabbath the number of the offerings was doubled, and at some of the great festivals a still larger number were laid upon the altar (see Ex **29** 38; Nu **28** 3.9.13). The lamb of the Passover would also occupy a large place in the mind of a devout Israelite, and, as the Passover was not far off, it is quite possible that John may have referred to this as well as to other suggested ideas connected with the lamb. The sacrificial significance of the term seems to be far more probable than the mere comparison of the character of Our Lord with meekness and gentleness, as suggested by the words of the prophets, although these contain much more than the mere reference to character (see below). That this became the clearly defined conception of apostolic teaching is clear from passages in Paul and Peter (1 Cor **5** 7; 1 Pet **1** 18 f). In the Book of Rev the reference to the Lamb occurs 27 t. The word here used differs from that in Jn. The *amnós* of the Gospel has become the *arníon* of the Apocalypse, a diminutive form suggestive of affection. This is the word used by Our Lord in His rebuke and forgiveness of Peter (Jn **21** 15), and is peculiarly touched therefore with an added meaning of pathetic tenderness. Westcott, in his *Comm.* on Jn **1** 29, refers to the conjecture that there may have been flocks of lambs passing by on their way to Jerus to be used at the feast. This is possible, but fanciful. As applied to Christ, the term certainly suggests the meekness and gentleness of Our Lord's nature and work, but could not have been used by John without containing some reference to the place which the lamb bore in the Judaic ritualism.

2. As Variously Understood

The significance of the Baptist's words has been variously understood. Origen, Cyril, Chrysostom, among the ancients, Lucke, DeWette, Meyer, Ewald, Alford, among the moderns, refer it to Isa **53** 7; Grotius, Bengel, Hengstenberg, to the paschal lamb; Baumgarten-Crusius, etc, to the sin offering; Lange strongly urges the influence of the passage in Isa **53**, and refers to John's description of his own mission under the influence of the second part of Isa, in which he is supported by Schaff. The importance of the Isa-thought is found in Mt **8** 17; Acts **8** 32; 1 Pet **2** 22–25.

3. As Set Forth by Isaiah

It is to be observed that the LXX in Isa **53** 7 translates the Heb word for sheep (*seh*), by the Gr word for lamb. In ver 10, the prophet's "suffering one" is said to have made "his soul an offering for sin," and in ver 4 "he hath borne our griefs," where bearing involves the conception of sin offering, and as possessing justifying power, the idea of "taking away." John indeed uses not the LXX word φέρειν (*phérein*), but αἴρειν (*aírein*), and some have maintained that this simply means "put away," or "support," or "endure." But this surely loses the suggestion of the associated term "lamb," which John could not have employed without some reference to its sacrificial and therefore expiatory force. What Lange calls a "germ perception" of atonement must certainly have been in the Baptist's mind, esp. when we recall the Isa-passages, even though there may not have been any complete dogmatic conception of the full relation of the death of Christ to the salvation of a world. Even the idea of the bearing of the curse of sin may not be excluded, for it was impossible for an Israelite like John, and esp. with his surroundings, to have forgotten the significance of the paschal lamb, both in its memorial of the judgment of Egypt, as well as of the deliverance of Israel. Notwithstanding every effort to take out of this striking phrase its deeper meanings, which involve most probably the combination of all the sources above described, it must ever remain one of the richest mines of evangelical thought. It occupies, in the doctrine of atonement, a position analogous to that brief word of the Lord, "God is a Spirit" (Jn **4** 24), in relation to the doctrine of God.

The Lamb is defined as "of God," that is, of Divine providing. See Isa **53**; Rev **5** 6; **13** 8. Its emphatic and appointed office is indicated by the definite article, and whether we refer the conception to a specific sacrifice or to the general place of a lamb in the sacrificial institution, they all, as being appointed by and specially set apart for God, suggest the close relation of Our Lord to the Divine Being, and particularly to His expiatory sacrifice.

Ll. D. Bevan

LAME, lām (פִּסֵּחַ, *pisēaḥ*, נָכֵה, *nākhēh;* **χωλός**, *chōlós*):

(1) The condition of being unable or imperfectly able to walk, which unfitted any descendant of Aaron so afflicted for service in the priesthood (Lev **21** 18), and rendered an animal unsuitable for sacrifice (Dt **15** 21). The offering of animals so blemished was one of the sins with which Malachi charges the negligent Jews of his time (Mal **1** 8–13).

(2) Those who suffered from lameness, such as Mephibosheth, whose limbs were injured by a fall in childhood (2 S **4** 4; **9** 3). In the prophetic description of the completeness of the victory of the returning Israelites, it is predicted that the lame shall be made whole and shall leap like a hart (Jer **31** 8; Isa **35** 6). The unfitness of the lame for warfare gives point to the promise that the lame shall take the prey (Isa **33** 23). Job in his graphic description of his helpfulness to the weak before his calamity says, "And feet was I to the lame" (Job **29** 15). The inequality of the legs of the lame is used in Prov **26** 7 as a similitude of the inaptness with which a fool uses a parable.

In the enigmatical and probably corrupt passage describing David's capture of Jerus, the lame and blind are mentioned twice. In 2 S **5** 6 it was a taunt on the part of the Jebusites that even a garrison of cripples would suffice to keep out the Israelites. The allusion in ver 8 may be read, "Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites let him . . . . slay both the lame and blind, which hate David's soul," as it is in LXX. The Vulg says, "David had offered a reward on that day to the man who should smite the Jebusite and reach the water pipes of the houses, and remove the blind and lame who hated David's soul." It is possible, however, that Budde's emendation is more correct and that it is a threat against the indiscriminate slaughter of the Jebusites: "Whoso slayeth a Jebusite shall bring his neck into peril; the lame and blind are not hated of David's soul." The proverbial saying quoted in ver 8 cannot be correct as rendered in AV, for we read in Mt **21** 14 that the lame came to Our Lord in the temple and were healed.

The healing of the lame by Our Lord is recorded in Mt **11** 5; **15** 30.31; **21** 14; Lk **7** 22; **14** 13. For the apostolic miracles of healing the lame, see Cripple. In He **12** 13 the Christians are counseled to courage under chastisement, lest their despair should cause that which is lame to be "turned out of the way."

Alex. Macalister

LAMECH, lā′mek (לֶמֶךְ, *lemekh;* **Λάμεχ**, *Lámech*, "a strong youth"[?]):

(1) The name is first mentioned in Gen **4** 18–24. Here L., the son of Methushael, is named as the last of the descendants of Cain. He was the father of Jabel, Jubal, Tubal-cain, and Naamah. As the husband of two wives, viz. Adah and Zillah, he furnishes the first recorded instance of polygamy. It is very instructive to note that this "father of polygamy" at once becomes the first blustering tyrant and a braggadocio; we are fully permitted to draw this conclusion from his so-called "sword-lay" (Gen **4** 23 f). He does not put his trust in God, but in the weapons and implements invented by his sons, or rather these instruments, enhancing the physical and material powers of man, are his God. He glories in them and misconstrues the Divine kindness which insured to Cain freedom from the revenge of his fellow-men.

(2) Another L. is mentioned in Gen **5** 25.28 (cf 1 Ch **1** 3; Lk **3** 36), the son of Methuselah

and the father of Noah. His words (Gen **5** 29) show the great difference between this descendant of Seth and the descendant of Cain. While the one is stimulated to a song of defiance by the worldly inventions of his sons, the other, in prophetical mood, expresses his sure belief in the coming of better times, and calmly and prayerfully awaits the period of comfort and rest which he expected to be ushered in by his son Noah. WILLIAM BAUR

LAMEDH, lä′meth (ל): The 12th letter of the Heb alphabet; transliterated in this Encyclopaedia as *l*. It came also to be used for the number 30. For name, etc, see ALPHABET.

LAMENT, la-ment′. See MUSIC.

LAMENTATION, lam-en-tā′shun. See BURIAL, III, 2; IV, 4, 5, 6.

LAMENTATIONS, lam-en-tā′shunz, **BOOK OF —The Lamentations of Jeremiah:** This is a col-

1. Name

lective name which tradition has given to 5 elegies found in the Heb Canon that lament the fate of destroyed Jerus. The rabbis call this little book *'Ēkhāh* (אֵיכָה, "how"), according to the word of lament with which it begins, or *ḳīnōth* (קִינוֹת). On the basis of the latter term the LXX calls it *θρῆνοι, thrēnoi*, or Lat *Threni*, or "Lamentations."

2. Form

The little book consists of 5 lamentations, each one forming the contents of a chapter. The first 4 are marked by the acrostic use of the alphabet. In addition, the *ḳīnāh* ("elegy") meter is found in these hymns, in which a longer line (3 or 4 accents) is followed by a shorter (2 or 3 accents). In chs **1** and **2** the acrostic letters begin three such double lines; in ch **4,** however, two double lines. In ch **3** a letter controls three pairs, but is repeated at the beginning of each line. In ch **5** the alphabet is wanting; but in this case too the number of pairs of lines agrees with the number of letters in the Heb alphabet, i.e. 22. In chs **2, 3** and **4,** the letter *'ayin* follows *pē*, as is the case in Ps **34.** Ch **1,** however, follows the usual order.

3. Contents

These 5 hymns all refer to the great national catastrophe that overtook the Jews and in particular the capital city, Jerus, through the Chaldaeans, 587–586 BC. The sufferings and the anxieties of the city, the destruction of the sanctuary, the cruelty and taunts of the enemies of Israel, esp. the Edomites, the disgrace that befell the king and his nobles, priests and prophets, and that, too, not without their own guilt, the devastation and ruin of the country—all this is described, and appeal is made to the mercy of God. A careful sequence of thought cannot be expected in the lyrical feeling and in the alphabetical form. Repetitions are found in large numbers, but each one of these hymns emphasizes some special feature of the calamity. Ch **3** is unique, as in it one person describes his own peculiar sufferings in connection with the general calamity, and then too in the name of the others begins a psalm of repentance. This person did not suffer so severely because he was an exceptional sinner, but because of the unrighteousness of his people. These hymns were not written during the siege, but later, at a time when the people still vividly remembered the sufferings and the anxieties of that time and when the impression made on them by the fall of Jerus was still as powerful as ever.

4. Author

Who is the author of these hymns? Jewish tradition is unanimous in saying that it was Jeremiah. The hymns themselves are found anonymously in the Heb text, while the LXX has in one an additional statement, the Heb style of which would lead us to conclude that it was found in the original from which the version was made. This statement reads: "And it came to pass, after Israel had been taken away captive and Jerus had been laid waste, that Jeremiah sat weeping, and uttered this lamentation over Jerus and said." The Tg also states that Jeremiah was the author. The rabbis and the church Fathers have no doubts on the subject. Jerome (cf on Zec **12** 11) thinks that 2 Ch **35** 25 refers to these hymns. The same is said by Jos (*Ant*, X, v, 1). If this were the case, then the writer of Ch would have regarded Lam as having been written because of the death of Josiah. But this misunderstanding is not to be ascribed to him. It was easily possible that he was acquainted with lamentations of such a nature, but which afterward were lost. At all events, Jeremiah was by nature adapted to the composition of such elegies, as is proved by his book of prophecies.

Only in modern times has the authorship of these hymns by Jeremiah been seriously called into question; and it is now denied by most critics. For this they give formal and material reasons. The language of these lamentations shows many similarities to the discourses of Jeremiah, but at the same time also many differences. The claim that the alphabetical scheme is not worthy of Jeremiah is a prejudice caused by the taste of our times. Heb poets had evidently been making use of such methods for a long time, as it helps materially in memorizing. At the time of the first acute suffering on account of the destruction of Jerus, in fact, he would probably not have made use of it. But we have in this book a collection of lamentations written some time after this great catastrophe. The claim has also been made that the views of Jeremiah and those of the composer or the composers of these poems differ materially. It is said that Jeremiah emphasizes much more strongly the guilt of the people as the cause of the calamity than is done in these hymns, which lament the fate of the people and find the cause of it in the sins of the fathers (**5** 7), something that Jeremiah is said not to accept (Jer **31** 29 f). However, the guilt of the people and the resultant wrath of God are often brought out in these hymns; and Jeremiah does not deny (**31** 29 f) that there is anything like inherited guilt. He declares rather that in the blessed future things would be different in this respect. Then, too, we are not to forget that if Jeremiah is the author of these patriotic hymns, he does not speak in them as the prophet and the appointed accuser of his people, but that he is at last permitted to speak as he humanly feels, although there is no lack of prophetical reminiscences (cf Lam **4** 21 f). In these hymns he speaks out of the heart that loves his Jerus and his people, and he utters the priestly prayer of intercession, which he was not allowed to do when announcing the judgment over Israel. The fact that he also evinces great reverence for the unfortunate king and his Divinely given hereditary dignity (**4** 20), although as a prophet he had been compelled to pronounce judgment over him, would not be unthinkable in Jeremiah, who had shown warm sympathies also for Jehoiachim (**22** 24.28). A radical difference of sentiment between the two authors is not to be found. On the other hand, a serious difficulty arises if we claim that Jeremiah was not the author of Lam in the denunciations of Lam over the prophets of Jerus (**2** 14; **4** 13). How could the great prophet of the Destruction be so ignored if he himself were not the author of these sentiments? If he was himself the author, we can easily understand this omission. In his book of prophecies he has spoken exactly the same way about the prophets. To this must be added, that Lam **3** forces us to regard Jeremiah as the author, because of the personal sufferings that are here described. Compare esp. **3** 14.37 f. 53 ff. 61.63. What other person was during the period of this catastrophe the cynosure of all eyes as was the prophet, esp., too, because he was guiltless? The claim that here, not an individual, but the personified nation is introduced as speaking, is altogether improbable, and in some passages absolutely impossible (vs 14.48).

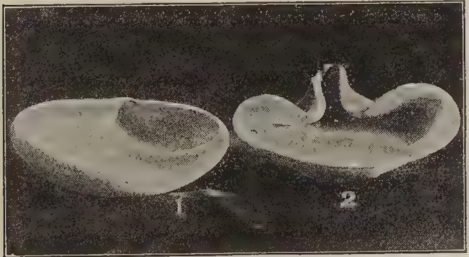
This little book must accordingly be closely connected with the person of Jeremiah. If he himself is the author, he must have composed it in his old age, when he had time and opportunity to live over again all the sufferings of his people and of himself. It is, however, more probable, esp. because of the language of the poems, that his disciples put this book in the present shape of uniform sentential utterances, basing this on the manner of lamentations common to Jeremiah. In this way the origin of ch **3** can be understood, which cannot artificially be shaped as his sayings, as in this case the personal feature would be more distinctly expressed. It was probably compiled from a number of his utterances.

In the Heb Canon this book is found in the third division, called *kethūbhīm*, or Sacred Writings, together with the Pss. However, the LXX adds this book to Jer, or rather, to the Book of Bar, found next after Jer. The Hebrews count it among the 5 *meghillōth*, or Rolls, which were read on prominent anniversary days. The day for the Lamentation was the 9th of Ab, the day of the burning of the temple. In the Roman Catholic church it is read on the last three days of Holy Week.

LITERATURE.—Comms. of Thenius, Ewald, Nägelsbach, Gerlach, Keil, Cheyne, Oettli, Löhr, Budde; art. by Robertson Smith on "Lamentations" in *EB*.

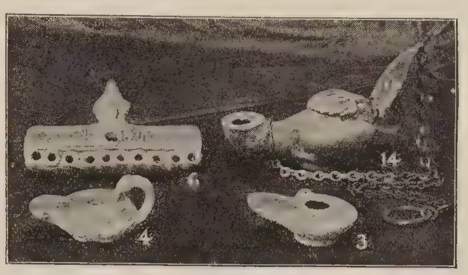
C. VON ORELLI

LAMP, LAMPSTAND, lamp′stand (נִיר, נֵר, נִיר, *nīr*, *nēr*, לַפִּיד, *lappīdh*, Phoen לַמְפַּד, *lampadh*, whence **λαμπάς,** *lampás;* **λύχνος,** *lúchnos*, is also used): *Nēr* or *nīr* is properly "light" or "a light-giving thing," hence "lamp," and is so rendered in RV, but often "candle" in AV. Its use in connection with the tabernacle and the temple (Ex **25** 37 ff; 2 Ch **4** 20 f), where oil was employed for light (Ex **35** 14; Lev **24** 2), shows that this is its proper meaning. *Lappīdh* is properly "a torch" and is thus rendered generally in RV, but "lamp" in Isa **62** 1, where it is used as a simile. AV renders it "lamp" usually, but "torch" in Nah **2** 3 f; Zec **12** 6. In Job **12** 5 RV renders it "for misfortune," regarding it as composed of the noun פִּיד, *pīdh*, and the preposition לְ, *l*. *Lampas* in Gr corresponds to it, but *luchnos* is also rendered in RV "lamp," while AV gives "candle," as in Mt **5** 15 and corresponding passages in the other Gospels.



Lamps: Figs. 1, 2.

1. Forms and History Lamps were in use in very remote times, though we have few allusions to them in the early history of Egypt. There are indications that they were used there. Niches for lamps are found in the tombs of Tell el-Amarna (*Arch. Survey of Egypt*, Am Tab, Part IV, 14). Lampstands are also represented (ib, Part III, 7). Torches were of course used before lamps, and are mentioned in Gen (**15** 17 RV), but clay lamps were used in Canaan by the Amorites before the Israelites took possession. The excavations in Pal have furnished thousands of specimens, and have enabled us to trace the development from about 2000 BC onward. The exploration carried out at Lachish (*Tell Hesy*) and Gezer (*Tell Jezer*) by the Pal Exploration Fund has given ample material for the purpose, and the numerous examples from tombs all over Pal and Syria have supplied a great variety of forms.



Lamps: Figs. 3, 4, 6, 14.

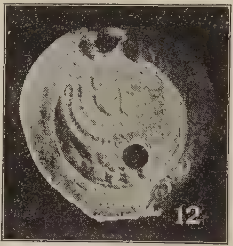
2. Figurative Use "Lamp" is used in the sense of a guide in Ps **119** 105; Prov **6** 23, and for the spirit, which is called the lamp of Jeh in man (Prov **20** 27), and it of course often signifies the light itself. It is used also for the son who is to succeed and represent his father (1 K **15** 4), and it perhaps is employed in this sense in the phrase, "The lamp of the wicked shall be put out" (Job **21** 17; Prov **13** 9; and perhaps Job **18** 6).

The early Can. or Amorite lamp was a shallow, saucer-like bowl with rounded bottom and vertical rim, slightly pointed or pinched on one side where the lighted end of the wick was placed (Fig. 1). This form continued into Jewish times, but was gradually changed until the spout was formed by drawing the rim of the sides together, forming a narrow open channel, the remainder of the rim being rolled outward and flattened (Fig. 2), the bottom being also flattened. This was the early Heb pattern and persisted for centuries. The open bowl was gradually closed in, first at the spout, where the rim of one side was lapped over the other, and finally the whole surface was closed with only an orifice in the center for receiving the oil, and at the same time the spout was lengthened. This transformation is seen in Fig. 3, a lamp of the Seleucid period, or from 300 BC. These lamps have usually a circular foot and sometimes a string-hole on one side. The next development was a circular bowl with a somewhat shorter spout, sometimes being only a bulge in the rim, so that the orifice for the wick falls in the rim, the orifice for filling being quite small

Lamp: Fig. 5.

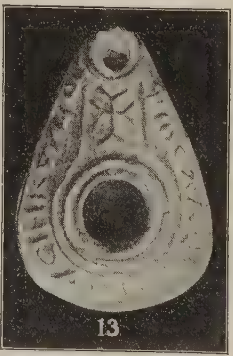
at the bottom of a saucer-like depression in the center of the bowl. There is sometimes a loop handle affixed on the side opposite to the spout. Sometimes the handle is horizontal, but commonly vertical (Fig. 4). This form is called Roman, and the bowl is often ornamented with mythological human or animal figures (Fig. 5). Other forms are elongated, having numerous wick holes (Fig. 6). The mythological and animal forms were rejected by the Jews as contrary to their traditions, and they made lamps with various other designs on the bowl, such as vine leaves, cups, scrolls, etc (Figs. 7–11). One very marked Jewish design is the seven-branched candlestick (Ex **25** 32) of the temple (Fig. 12). The lamps of the parable of the Ten Virgins were probably similar to these (Mt **25** 1 ff). The latest form of the clay lamp was what is called Byzantine, the bowl of which has a large orifice in the center and tapers gradually to the spout (Fig. 13); they are ornamented commonly with a palm branch between the central orifice and the wick-hole, or with a cross. Sometimes there is an inscription on the margin (Fig. 13). The words on this read Φως κυ[ριου] φενι πασιν καλη? *Phōs ku[riou] pheni pasin kalē,* "The light of the Lord shines to all [beautifully ?]." Others read, "The Lord is my light"; "beautiful light," etc. These inscriptions determine the period as being Christian. In Rom times, and earlier also, bronze was much used for the finer lamps, often with covers for the orifice and sometimes with chain and ring for hanging (Fig. 14). Very elaborate designs in this material occur.

Lamps: Figs. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.



Lamp: Fig. 12.

These terra-cotta lamps are found in the tombs and burial places throughout Pal and Syria, and they were evidently deposited there in connection with the funeral rites. Very few are found in Can. tombs, but they become numerous in later times and esp. in the early Christian centuries. The symbolism in their use for funeral purposes is indicated by the inscriptions above mentioned (see *PEFS*, 1904, 326 ff; *Explorations in Pal*, by Bliss. Macalister and Wunsch, 4to, published by the Pal Exploration Fund). These lamps were used by the peasants of the country down to recent times, when petroleum has superseded olive oil for lighting. The writer has seen lamps of the Jewish and Rom period with surface blackened with recent usage. Olive oil was commonly used, but terebinth oil also (Thomson, *LB*, III, 472). H. PORTER



Lamp: Fig. 13.

LAMPSACUS, lamp′sa-kus. See SAMPSAMES.

LANCE, lans, **LANCER,** lan′sẽr, **LANCET,** lan′set. See ARMOR, III, 4, (3); 1 K **18** 28 RV "lances."

LAND ([1] אֶ֫רֶץ, *'ereç;* [2] אֲדָמָה, *'ădhāmāh;* [3] שָׂדֶה, *sādheh,* "a piece of land"; [4] **γῆ,** *gḗ,* "earth"; [5] **ἀγρός,** *agrós,* "field"; [6] **χώρα,** *chṓra,* "region"; [7] **χωρίον,** *chōríon,* dim. of *chōra;* [8] **ξηρός,** *xērós,* "dry land"; [9] אֶזְרָח, *'ezrāḥ,* "native," AV "born in the land," "born among you," RV "home-born" [Lev **19** 34; **24** 16; Nu **15** 30]; "like a green tree in its native soil" [Ps **37** 35]): *'Ereç* occurs hundreds of times and is used in much the same way as *'ădhāmāh,* which also occurs often: e.g. "land of Egypt," *'ereç miçrayim* (Gen **13** 10), and *'adhmath miçrayim* (Gen **47** 20). The other words occur less often, and are used in the senses indicated above. See COUNTRY; EARTH. ALFRED ELY DAY

LAND-CROCODILE (RV), land-crok′ō-dīl (כֹּחַ, *kō^{a}ḥ;* LXX **χαμαιλέων,** *chamailéōn,* Lev **11** 30; AV **Chameleon**): *Kō^{a}ḥ* is found only here, meaning an animal, the fifth in the list of unclean "creeping things." Elsewhere is it tr^d "strength" or "power," and it has been thought that here is meant the desert monitor, *Varanus griseus,* a gigantic lizard, which is common in Egypt and Pal, and which attains the length of 4 ft. "Chameleon," which AV has here, is used by RV for *tinshemeth* (AV "mole"), the eighth in the list of unclean "creeping things" (cf *nāsham,* "to breathe"; tr^d "swan" in ver 18 m). While it is by no means certain what animal is meant, there could be no objection to "monitor" or "desert monitor." "Land-crocodile" is objectionable because it is not a recognized name of any animal. See CHAMELEON; LIZARD.

ALFRED ELY DAY

LAND LAWS. See AGRARIAN LAWS.

LANDMARK, land′märk (גְּבוּל, *g^{e}bhūl,* lit. "boundary"): The boundary may have been marked, as at present, simply by a furrow or stone. The iniquity of removing a landmark is frequently insisted on (Dt **19** 14; **27** 17; Prov **22** 28; **23** 10; Job **24** 2 [*g^{e}bhūlāh*]), its removal being equivalent to theft.

LANE, lān (**ῥύμη,** *rhúmē*): An alley or bypath of a city. Occurs once in Lk **14** 21, "Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city"; elsewhere tr^d "street," e.g. Mt **6** 2; Acts **9** 11; Ecclus **9** 7; Tob **13** 18.

LANGUAGE, laṇ′gwāj, **OF THE NEW TESTAMENT** (Greek). See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, also:

I. THE VERNACULAR *koinē* THE LANGUAGE OF THE NT.
    1. The Old Point of View
    2. The Revolution
    3. The Proof of the New Position
        (1) The Papyri
        (2) The Ostraka
        (3) The Inscriptions
        (4) Modern Greek
        (5) Historical and Comparative Grammar
    4. Characteristics of the Vernacular *koinē*
II. LITERARY ELEMENTS IN THE NT
III. THE SEMITIC INFLUENCE
IV. INDIVIDUAL PECULIARITIES OF THE NT WRITERS
V. THE *koinē* SPOKEN BY JESUS
LITERATURE

I. The Vernacular "koinē" the Language of the NT.—The ghost of the old Purist controversy is now laid to rest for good and all. The story

1. The Old Point of View

of that episode has interest chiefly for the historian of language and of the vagaries of the human intellect. See Winer-Thayer, *Grammar of the Idiom of the NT*, 1869, 12–19, and Schmiedel's Winer, § 2, for a sketch of this once furious strife. In the 17th cent. various scholars tried to prove that the Gr of the NT was on a par with the literary Attic of the classic period. But the Hebraists won the victory over them and sought to show that it was Hebraic Gr, a special variety, if not dialect, a Bib. Gr. The 4th ed of Cremer's *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of NT Gr* (trd by W. Urwick, 1892) quotes, with approval, Rothe's remark (*Dogmatik*, 1863, 238):

> "We may appropriately speak of a language of the Holy Ghost. For in the Bible it is evident that the Holy Spirit has been at work, moulding for itself a distinctively religious mode of expression out of the language of the country which it has chosen as its sphere, and transforming the linguistic elements which it found ready to hand, and even conceptions already existing, into a shape and form appropriate to itself and all its own." Cremer adds: "We have a very clear and striking proof of this in NT Gr."

This was only twenty years ago and fairly represented the opinion of that day. Hatch in 1889 (*Essays in Bib. Gr*, 34) held that with most of the NT words the key lay in the LXX. But Winer (Winer-Thayer, 20) had long ago seen that the vernacular *koinē* was "the special foundation of the diction of the NT," though he still admitted "a Jewish-Gr, which native Greeks did not entirely understand" (p. 27). He did not see the practical identity of NT Gr with the vernacular *koinē*—("common" Greek), nor did Schmiedel in the 8. Auflage of Winer (I. Theil; II. Theil, erstes Heft, 1894–97). In the second ed of his *Grammar of NT Gr* (ET by Thackeray, 1905, 2), Blass sees the dawn of the new day, though his book was first written before it came. Viteau (*Étude sur le grec du Nouveau Testament*, I, Le verbe, 1893, II, Le sujet, 1896) occupies wholly the old position of a Judaic Gr. An extreme instance of that view is seen in Guillemard's *Hebraisms in the Gr Testament* (1879).

2. The Revolution

A turn toward the truth comes with H. A. A. Kennedy's *Sources of the NT Gr* (1895). He finds the explanation of the vocabulary of both the LXX and the NT to be the vernacular which he traces back to Aristophanes. It is a good exercise to read Westcott's discussion of the "Language of the NT" in *DB*, III (1888), and then turn to Moulton, "Language of the NT," in the 1-vol *HDB*. Westcott says: "The chief peculiarities of the syntax of the NT lie in the reproduction of Heb forms." Moulton remarks: "There is no reason to believe that any NT writer who ever lived in Pal learned Gr only as a foreign language when he went abroad." Still better is it to read Moulton, "New Testament Greek in the Light of Modern Discovery" in *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (1909, 461–505); Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (1911); or Angus, "The *koinē*, the Language of the NT," *Princeton Review*, January, 1910, 42–92. The revolution has come to stay. It is now clear that the Gr of the NT is not a jargon nor a *patois*. In all essential respects it is just the vernacular *koinē* of the 1st cent. AD, the *lingua franca* of the Gr-Rom empire, the legacy of Alexander the Great's conquest of the East. This *world-speech* was at bottom the late Attic vernacular with dialectical and provincial influences. It was not a decaying tongue, but a virile speech admirably adapted to the service of the many peoples of the time. The able article in vol III of *HDB* on the "Language of the NT" by Dr. J. H. Thayer appeared in 1900, and illustrates how quickly an encyclopaedia article may become out of date. There is a wealth of knowledge here displayed, as one would expect, but Thayer still speaks of "this species of Greek," "this peculiar idiom," "Jewish Greek," though he sees that its basis is "the common or spoken Greek." The last topic discussed by him is "Problems." He little thought that the biggest "problem" so near solution was the character of the language itself. It was Adolph Deissmann, then of Heidelberg, now of Berlin, who opened the new era in the knowledge of the language of the NT. His *Bibelstudien* (*zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums*) appeared in 1895. In this epoch-making volume he proved conclusively from the papyri and the inscriptions that many of the seeming Hebraisms in the LXX and the NT were common idioms in the vernacular *koinē*. He boldly claimed that the bulk of the Hebraisms were falsely so termed, except in the case of translating Gr from the Heb or Aram. or in "perfect" Hebraisms, genuine Gr usage made more common by reason of similarity to the Sem idiom. In 1897 he produced *Neue Bibelstudien, sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften zur Erklärung des Neuen Testaments.*

In 1901 (2d ed in 1903) these two volumes were trd as one by A. Grieve under the title *Bible Studies.* Deissmann's other volumes have confirmed his thesis. The most important are *New Light on the NT* (1907), *The Philology of the Gr Bible* (1908), *Licht vom Osten* (1908), *Light from the Ancient East* (tr by Strachan, 1910), *St. Paul in the Light of Social and Religious History* (1912). In *Light from the Ancient East*, Deissmann illustrates the NT language with much detail from the papyri, ostraka and inscriptions. He is now at work on a new lexicon of the NT which will make use of the fresh knowledge from these sources.

The otherwise helpful work of E. Preuschen, *Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (1908–10), fails to utilize the papyri and inscriptions while drawing on the LXX and the NT Apoc and other early Christian literature. But this has been done by Ebeling in his *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zum NT*, 1913. The next step was made by A. Thumb, the great philologian, in his *Griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus; Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der "koinē,"* 1901, in which the real character of the *koinē* was for the first time properly set forth.

Winer and Blass had both lamented the need of a grammar of the *koinē*, and that demand still exists, but Thumb went a long way toward supplying it in this volume. It is to be hoped that he will yet prepare a grammar of the *koinē*. Thumb's interests cover the whole range of comparative philology, but he has added in this field "Die Forschungen über die hellenistische Sprache in den Jahren 1896–1901," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, II, 396 f; "Prinzipienfragen der *Koinē*-Forschung," *Neue Jahrb. für das kl. Alt.*, 1906; "Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des biblischen Griechisch," *Theologische Rundschau*, V, 85–99.

The other most important name to add is that of J. Hope Moulton, who has the credit of being the first to apply the new knowledge directly to the NT Gr. His *Grammar of NT Gr*, I, Prolegomena (1906, 2d ed, 1906, 3d ed, 1908, Ger. tr in 1911, *Einleitung in die Sprache des NT*) is a brilliant piece of work and relates the Gr of the NT in careful detail to the vernacular *koinē*, and shows that in all important points it is the common Gr of the time and not a Hebraic Gr. Moulton probably pressed his point too far in certain respects in his zeal against Hebraisms, but the essential position of Deissmann and Moulton is undoubtedly sound.

Moulton had previously published the bulk of this material as "Grammatical Notes from the Papyri," *The Expositor*, 1901, 271–82; 1903, 104–21, 423–39;

The Classical Review, 1901, 31–37, 434–41; 1904, 106–12, 151–55; "Characteristics of NT Gr," *The Expositor*, 1904.

In 1909 appeared his essay, *Greek in the Light of Modern Discovery* (see above). Since 1908, *The Expositor* has had a series of papers by J. H. Moulton and George Milligan called "Lexical Notes from the Papyri," which are very useful on the lexical side of the language. Thus the study is fairly launched on its new career. In 1900, A. T. Robertson produced a *Syllabus on the NT Gr Syntax* from the standpoint of comparative philology, which was rewritten in 1908, with the added viewpoint of the papyri researches, as *A Short Grammar of the Gr NT* (2d ed, 1909, 3d ed, 1912; translations in Italian in 1910, Ger. and Fr. in 1911, Dutch in 1912). In October, 1909, S. Angus published a good article in the *Harvard Theological Review* on "Modern Methods in NT Philology," followed in January, 1910, by another in the *Princeton Review* on "The *koinē*, the Language of the NT." The new knowledge appears also in Jakob Wackernagel, "Die griechische Sprache" (pp. 291–318, 2d ed, of *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache*, 1907). L. Radermacher has set forth very ably "die sprachlichen Vorgänge in ihrem Zusammenhang," in his *Neutestamentliche Grammatik: Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache.* It is in reality the background of the NT Gr and is a splendid preparation for the study of the Gr NT. A full discussion of the new knowledge in grammatical detail has been prepared by A. T. Robertson under the title *A Grammar of the Gr NT in the Light of Historical Research* (in press). Moulton and Schmiedel are planning also to complete their works.

The proof of the new position is drawn from several sources:

3. The Proof of the New Position

(1) *The papyri.*—These rolls have lain in the museums of the world many years and attracted little attention. For lists of the chief collections of the papyri see Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 259–62; Milligan, *Selections from the Gr Papyri*, xi, xii; Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit; Laut- und Wortlehre*, vii–x; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 20–41; Robertson, *Grammar of the Gr NT, Bibliography*. New volumes of papyri as a result of recent explorations in Egypt are published each year. See PAPYRUS, and in the other encyclopaedias s.v. Most of the papyri discovered belong to the period of the *koinē* (the first three centuries BC and AD in round numbers), and with great wealth of illustration they show the life of the common people of the time, whether in Egypt or Herculaneum (the two chief regions represented). There are various degrees of culture shown, as can be seen in any of the large volumes of Grenfell and Hunt, or in the handbooks of Lietzmann, *Griechische Papyri* (1905), and of Milligan, *Greek Papyri* (1910). They come from the scrap-heaps of the long ago, and are mainly receipts, contracts, letters of business or love, military documents, etc. They show all grades of culture, from the illiterate with phonetic spelling to the man of the schools. But we have here the language of life, not of the books. In a most startling way one notes the similarities of vocabulary, forms, and syntax between the language of the papyri of the 1st cent. AD and that of the NT books. As early as 1778, F. W. Sturz made use of the Charta Borgiana, "the first papyrus ever brought to Europe" (Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 39), and in 1841 Thiersch likewise saw the value of the papyri for the philology of the LXX. But the matter was not pressed. Lightfoot threw out a hint about the value of letters of the people, which was not followed till Deissmann saw the point; cf Moulton, *Prol.*, 242. It is not necessary here to illustrate the matter at length. Deissmann takes up in detail the "Biblical" words in Thayer's *Lexicon*, and has no difficulty in finding most of them in the papyri (or inscriptions). Thus πληροφορέω, *plērophoréō*, is shown to be common in the papyri. See Deissmann, *Bible Studies* and *Light from the Ancient East*, for extensive lists. The papyri show also the same meanings for many words once thought peculiar to the Bible or the NT. An instance is seen in the official sense of πρεσβύτερος, *presbúteros*, in the papyri, ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῆς κώμης, *ho presbúteros tḗs kōmēs* (Pap. Lugd. A 35 f), "without doubt an official designation" (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 155). So ἀδελφός, *adelphós*, for members of the community, ἀναστροφή, *anastrophḗ*, for manner of life, ἀντίλημψις, *antílēmpsis*, "help," λειτουργία, *leitourgía*, "public service," πάροικος, *pároikos*, "sojourner," etc (Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 107). R. Helbing (*Grammatik der Septuaginta*, 1908) and H. St. John Thackeray (*A Grammar of the OT in Gr according to the LXX*, 1909) have applied the new knowledge to the language of the LXX, and it has been discussed with much ability in the first volumes. The use of the papyri for grammatical purposes is made easier by the excellent volume of E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit; Laut- und Wortlehre* (1906), though his "Syntax," is still a desideratum. Useful also is G. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (1903).

(2) *The ostraka.*—The literature on this subject is still small in bulk. In 1899 Ulrich Wilcken published *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien*, and in 1902 W. E. Crum produced his book of Christian ostraka called *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum, and Others*. This was followed in 1905 by H. R. Hall's *Coptic and Gr Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraka, Stelae,* etc. These broken pieces of pottery were used by the lowest classes as writing material. It was very widely used because it was so very cheap. Wilcken has done more than anyone else to collect and decipher the ostraka. Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East*, 46) notes that Cleanthes the Stoic "wrote on ostraka or on leather" because too poor to buy papyrus. So he quotes the apology of a Christian for using potsherd for a letter: "Excuse me that I cannot find papyrus as I am in the country" (Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, 55). The use of ἀπέχω, *apéchō*, on an ostrakon for a receipt in full, illustrates well the frequent use of this word in the NT (Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 111).

(3) *The inscriptions.*—Here caution must be used since many of the inscriptions give, not the vernacular, but the literary language. The official (legal and military) decrees often appear in very formal style. But a number do preserve the vernacular idiom and often have the advantage of being dated. These inscriptions are chiefly on stone, but some are on metal and there are a few wax tablets. The material is vast and is constantly growing. See list of the chief collections in Deissmann's *Light from the Ancient East*, 10–20. Boeckh is the great name here. As early as 1779 Walch (*Observationes in Matt. ex graecis inscriptionibus*) made use of Gr inscriptions for NT exegesis, and R. A. Lipsius says that his father (K. H. A. Lipsius, author of *Grammatische Untersuchungen über die biblische Grächität*) "contemplated a large grammar of the Gr Bible in which he would have availed himself of the discoveries in modern epigraphy" (Deissmann, *Light*, etc, 15). Schmiedel has made good use of the inscriptions so far in his revision of Winer; H. A. A. Kennedy (*Sources of NT Gr*, 1895),

H. Anz (*Subsidia ad Cogn.*, etc, 1894), R. Helbing (*Grammatik der Septuaginta*, 1908), J. Psichari (*Essai sur le Grec de la Septante*, 1908), H. St. John Thackeray (*A Grammar of the OT in Gr according to the LXX*, 1909), and R. Meister (*Prol. zu einer Grammatik der Septuaginta*, 1907) turned to good account the inscriptions for the linguistic problems of the LXX, as indeed Hatch (*Essays in Bib. Gr*, 1889) had already done. W. Dittenberger added some valuable "Grammatica et orthographica" to his *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (2 vols, 1903, 1905). See also E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, *Gr Historical Inscriptions* (1901), and Hicks's paper "On Some Political Terms Employed in the NT," *Classical Review*, 1887, 4 ff, 42 ff. W. M. Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (2 vols, 1895, 1897) and his other works show keen insight in the use of the inscriptions. Deissmann's *Bible Studies* (1895, 1901) applied the knowledge of the inscriptions to the LXX and to the NT. In his *Light from the Ancient East* (1910) copious use is made of the inscriptions for NT study. Moulton (*Prol.*, 1906, 258 f, for lists) is alive to the value of the inscriptions for NT grammar, as indeed was Blass (*Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 1896) before him.

Cf, further, G. Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament* (1906); T. Nägeli, *Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus* (1905), and J. Rouffiac, *Recherches sur les caractères du Grec dans le NT d'après les Inscr. de Priène* (1911). Special treatises or phases of the grammar of the inscriptions appear in Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (1900); Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften* (1896); Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften* (1898).

Moulton and Milligan have drawn freely also on the inscriptions for their "Lexical Studies" running in *The Expositor* (1908–). The value of the inscriptions for the Gr of the NT is shown at every turn. For instance, πρωτότοκος, *prōtótokos*, is no longer a "Biblical" word. It appears in a metrical inscription (undated) of Trachonitis on a tomb of a pagan "high priest" and "friend of the gods" (Deissmann, *Light*, etc, 88); cf Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, etc, no. 460. Even ἀγάπη, *agápē*, occurs on a pagan inscription of Pisidia (*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 2, 57). See, further, W. H. P. Hatch's "Some Illustrations of NT Usage from Gr Inscriptions of Asia Minor," *Journal of Bib. Lit.*, 1908, 134–46.

(4) *Modern Greek.*—As early as 1834 Heilmeier saw that the modern Gr vernacular went back to the *koinē* (Moulton, *Prol.*, 29), but it is only in recent years that it was clearly seen that the modern Gr of the schools and usually in the newspapers is artificial, and not the real vernacular of today. Mullach's work (*Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprache*, 1856) was deficient in this respect. But Jannaris' *Historical Gr Grammar* (1897) carries the history of the vernacular Gr along with the literary style. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, 1892, clears the air very much and connects the modern Gr with the NT. But it is to Thumb that we are indebted for the best knowledge of the vernacular (ἡ δημοτική, *hē dēmotikḗ*) as opposed to the literary language (ἡ καθαρεύουσα, *hē kathareúousa*) of today. Mitsotakis (*Praktische Grammatik*, 1891) had treated both together, though Wied (*Die Kunst, die neugriechische Volkssprache*) gave only the vernacular. But Wied is only elementary. Thumb alone has given an adequate treatment of the modern Gr vernacular, showing its unity and historical contact with the vernacular *koinē* (*Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*, 1895; Thumb-Angus, *Handbook of Modern Greek Vernacular*, 1912). Thus one can see the living stream of the NT speech as it has come on down through the ages. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of modern Gr vernacular in the knowledge of NT Gr. The disappearance of the optative, the vanishing of the infinitive before ἵνα, *hína*, and itacism are but instances of many others which are luminous in the light of the modern Gr vernacular. See Psichari, *Essais de grammaire historique néo-grecque* (1886–89).

(5) *Historical and comparative grammar.*—From this source the *koinē* gets a new dignity. It will take one too far afield to sketch here the linguistic revolution wrought since the publication of, and partly caused by, Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik* (1857), following Sir Wm. Jones's discovery of Sanskrit. The great work of Brugmann and Delbrück (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I–V, 1892–1909) marks the climax of the present development, though many workers have won distinction in this field. The point to accent here is that by means of comparative philology the Gr language is seen in its proper relations with other languages of the Indo-Germanic family, and the right interpretation of case, preposition, mode, tense, voice, etc, is made possible. The old traditional empiricism is relegated to the scrap-heap, and a new grammatical science consonant with the facts has taken its place. See Delbrück, *Intro to the Study of Language* (1882), Giles, *Short Manual of Comparative Philology* (1901), for a résumé of the facts. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Gr Language* (1912), applies the new learning to the Gr tongue. The progress in classical scholarship is well shown by Sandys in his *History of Classical Scholarship* (I–III, 1906–8) and by Gudeman, *Geschichte der klass. Philologie*, 2. Aufl, 1909. Innumerable monographs have enriched the lit. of this subject. It is now feasible to see the Gr language as a whole, and grasp its historical unity. Seen in this light the *koinē* is not a dying tongue or a corrupt dialect. It is a normal and natural evolution of the Gr dialects into a world-speech when Alexander's conquests made it possible. The vernacular *koinē* which has developed into the modern Gr vernacular was itself the direct descendant of the Attic vernacular which had its roots in the vernacular of the earlier dialects. The dialectical developments are closely sketched by Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* (1909), and by Buck, *Intro to the Study of Gr Dialects* (1910), not to mention the older works of Hoffmann, Meister, etc. Jannaris has undertaken in his *Historical Gr Grammar* (1897) to sketch and interpret the facts of the Gr tongue throughout its long career, both in its literary and vernacular aspects. He has succeeded remarkably well on the whole, though not quite seeing the truth about the modern Gr vernacular. Schanz is seeking to lay the foundation for still better work by his *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache* (1882–). But the NT student must be open to all the new light from this region, and it is very great. See, further, Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griech. Sprache von der hellen. Zeit* (1898).

4. Characteristics of the Vernacular "koinē"

As already indicated, the Gr of the NT is in the main just the vernacular *koinē* of the 1st cent. AD, though Gr as used by men of ability and varying degrees of culture. The most striking difference between the vernacular *koinē* and the literary Attic is seen in the vocabulary. The writers in the literary *koinē* show more likeness to the classic Attic, but even they reveal the changes due to the intervening centuries. There was, of course, no violent break. The changes came gradually and naturally. It is mainly at this point that Deissmann has done such brilliant work in his *Bible Studies* and other books. He has taken the lists of "Biblical" and "ecclesiastical" words, as given by Cremer and Thayer, and has shown from the papyri, ostraka, inscriptions, or *koinē* writers that they are not peculiar to the Bible, but belong to the current speech of the time. The proof is so overwhelming and extensive that it cannot be given here. Some words have not yet been found in the non-Bib. *koinē*, but they may be any day. Some few words, of course, belong to the very nature of Christianity (χριστιανός, *christianós*, for instance), but ἀπόστολος, *apóstolos*, βαπτισμός, *baptismós*, πάροικος, *pároikos*, συναγωγή, *sunagōgḗ*, and hundreds of others can no longer be listed as "Biblical." New meanings come to old words also. Cf δαιμόνιον, *daimónion*. It is interesting to note that the NT shows many of the words found in Aristophanes, who caught up the vernacular of his day. The *koinē* uses more words from the lower strata of society. Aristotle likewise has many words common in the *koinē*, since he stands at the parting of the ways between the old dialects and the new *koinē* of Alexander's conquests. The *koinē* develops a fondness for compound and even double compound (sesquipedalian) words; cf, for instance, ἀνεκδιήγητος, *anekdiḗgētos;* ἀνεκλάλητος, *aneklálētos;* ἀνεξερεύνητος, *anexereúnētos;* ἀνταποκρίνομαι, *antapokrínomai;* οἰκοδεσπότης, *oikodespótēs;* ὀλιγόψυχος, *oligópsuchos;* προσαναπληρόω, *prosanaplēróō;* συναντιλαμβάνομαι, *sunantilambánomai;* ὑπερεντυγχάνω, *huperentugchánō;* χρυσοδακτύλιος, *chrusodaktúlios*, etc. The use of diminutives is also noteworthy in the *koinē* as in the modern Gr: cf θυγάτριον, *thugátrion;* κλινάριον, *klinárion;* κοράσιον, *korásion;* κυνάριον, *kunárion;* ὀνάριον, *onárion;* ὀψάριον, *opsárion;* πλοιάριον, *ploiárion;* ὠτίον, *ōtíon*, etc. The formation of words by juxtaposition is very common as in πληρο-φορέω, *plēro-phoréō*, χειρό-γραφον, *cheiró-graphon*. In phonetics it is to be noticed that ει, οι, η, ῃ, υ, ι all had the value of *ēē* in "feet." This itacism was apparent in the early *koinē*. So αι = ε and ο and ω were not sharply distinguished. The Attic ττ became σσ, save in a few instances, like ἐλάττω, *eláttō*, κρείττων, *kreíttōn*. The tendency toward de-aspiration (cf Ionic) was manifest; cf ἐφ' ἐλπίδι, *eph' helpídi*, for the reverse process. Elision is less frequent than in Attic, but assimilation is carried farther. The variable final consonants ν and ς are used generally before consonants. We find -ει- for -ιει- as in πεῖν. Οὐθείς, *outheís*, and μηθείς, *mētheís*, are common till 100 BC, when they gradually disappear before οὐδείς, *oudeís*, and μηδείς, *mēdeís*. In general there is less sense of rhythm and more simplicity and clearness. Some of the subtle refinements of form and syntax of the classic did not survive in the *koinē* vernacular. In accidence only a few points may be noted. In substantives the Ionic -ρης, *-rēs*, is frequent. The Attic second declension vanishes. In the third declension forms like νύκταν, *núktan*, show assimilation to the first. Both χάριν, *chárin*, and χάριτα, *chárita*, occur. Contraction is sometimes absent (cf Ionic) as in ὀρέων, *oreōn*. Adjectives show forms like ἀσφαλῆν, *asphalḗn*, and indeclinable πλήρης, *plḗrēs*, appears, and πᾶν, *pán*, for πάντα, *pánta* (cf μέγαν, *mégan*), δυσί, *dusí*, for δυοῖν, *duoín*. The dual is gone. Even the dual pronouns ἑκάτερος, *hekáteros*, and πότερος, *póteros*, are rare. Τίς, *tís*, is occasionally used like ὅστις, *hóstis*. Ὅς ἐάν, *hós eán*, is more frequent than ὃς ἄν, *hós án*, in the 1st cent. AD. The two conjugations blend more and more into one, as the μι-forms vanish. There is some confusion in the use of -άω and -εω-verbs, and new presents occur like ἀποκτέννω, *apokténnō*, ὀπτάνω, *optánō*, στήκω, *stḗkō*. The forms γίνομαι, *gínomai*, γινώσκω, *ginṓskō*, are the rule now. There is much increase in aorists like ἔσχα, *éscha*, and imperfects like εἶχα, *eícha*. The form -οσαν, *-osan* (εἴχοσαν, *eíchosan*, ἔσχοσαν, *éschosan*) occasionally appears. Quite frequent is a perfect like δέδωκαν, *dédōkan*, and the augment is often absent in the pluperfect as in δεδώκει, *dedṓkei*. *Per contra*, a double augment occurs in ἀπεκατέστη, *apekatéstē*, and a treble augment in ἠνεῴχθησαν, *ēneṓchthēsan*. The temporal augment is often absent with diphthong as in οἰκοδομήθη, *oikodomḗthē*. The *koinē* has -τωσαν, *-tōsan*, not -ντων, *-ntōn*. In syntax the tendency is toward simplicity, to short sentences, the paratactic construction, and the sparing use of particles. The vernacular *koinē* avoids both the bombast of Asianism and the artificiality of Atticism. There is, indeed, more freedom in violating the rules of concord as to gender, number, and case. The *nominativus pendens* is common. The comparative does duty often for the superlative adjective, and the superlative generally has the *elative* sense. The accusative is increasingly common with verbs. The line between transitive and intransitive verbs is not a hard-and-fast one. The growth in the use of prepositions both with nouns and in composition is quite noticeable, but some of the older prepositions, like ἀμφί, *amphí*, are vanishing. The cases used with various prepositions are changing. The instrumental use of ἐν, *en*, is very common. Many new adverbial and prepositional phrases have developed. The optative is nearly dead and the infinitive (apart from the use of τοῦ, *toú*, ἐν τῷ, *en tṓ*, εἰς τό, *eis tó*, with the infinitive) is decaying before ἵνα, *hína*. The future part. is rare. Μή, *mḗ*, begins to encroach on οὐ, *ou*, with infinitives and participles. The periphrastic conjugation is specially common. The direct discourse is more frequent than the indirect. The non-final use of ἵνα, *hína*, is quite noticeable. There are, besides, dialectical and provincial peculiarities, but these do not destroy the real unity of the vernacular *koinē* any more than do individual traits of separate writers.

II. Literary Elements in the NT.—Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East*, 245) is disposed to deny any literary quality to the NT books save the Ep. to the He. "The Ep. to the He shows us Christianity preparing for a flight from its native levels into the higher region of culture, and we are conscious of the beginnings of a Christian world-literature." He speaks of it also as "a work which seems to hang in the background like an intruder among the NT company of popular books." One feels that this is an extreme position and cannot be justified by the facts. It is true that Peter and John were ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται, *agrámmatoi kaí idiṓtai* (Acts **4** 13), and not men of the schools, but this was certainly not the case with Luke and Paul who were men of literary culture in the truest sense. Luke and Paul were not Atticists, but that artificial idiom did not represent the best type of culture. Deissmann admits that the NT has become literature, but, outside of He, he denies any literary quality in its composition. Paul, for instance, wrote only "letters," not "epistles." But Rom and Eph confront us. See Milligan, *Gr Papyri*, xxxi, for a protest against the sweeping statement of Deissmann on this point. One need not go to the extreme of Blass, "Die rhythmische Komposition des Hebr. Briefes," *Theol. Studien und Kritik*, 1902, 420–61; *Die Rythmen der asiatischen und römischen Kunstprosa*, 1905, to find in Hebrews and Paul's writings illustrations of the artificial rules of the Asianists. There is undoubtedly rhythm in Paul's eloquent passages (cf 1 Cor **13**, **15**), but it is the natural poetic quality of a soul aflame with high passions, not conformity to rules of rhetoric. To deny literary quality to Luke and

Paul is to give a narrow meaning to the word "literary" and to be the victim of a theory. Christianity did make use of the vernacular *koinē*, the wonderful world-speech so providentially at hand. But the personal equation figured here as always. Men of culture differ in their conversation from illiterate men and more nearly approximate literary style. It is just in Luke, Paul, and the author of He that we discover the literary flavor of men of ability and of culture, though free from artificiality and pedantry. The eloquence of He is that of passion, not of the art of Asianism. Indeed, the Gospels all show literary skill in the use of material and in beauty of language. The Gospel of Jn has the rare elevation and dignity of the highest type of mind. There is no Atticistic tendency in the NT as in Jos, *Ant.* There is no posing for the present or for posterity. It is the language of life, the vernacular in the main, but rising at times from the very force of passion to high plateaus of emotion and imagination and poetic grace from the pens of men of real ability, and in some instances of high culture.

III. The Semitic Influence.—It is no longer possible to explain every variation in the NT from the classic Attic by the term Hebraism. That easy solution has disappeared. Sooth to say, when the true character of the vernacular *koinē* is understood, there is not very much left to explain. The NT Gr as a rule is just normal *koinē*. Milligan (*Gr Papyri*, xxx) admits on the part of Moulton "an overtendency to minimize" the "presence of undoubted Hebraisms, both in language and grammar." That is true, and is due to his strong reaction against the old theory of so many Hebraisms. The Semiticisms (Hebraisms and Aramaisms) are very natural results of the fact that the vernacular *koinē* was used by Jews who read the Heb Bible and the LXX tr, and who also spoke Aram. as their native tongue. The LXX, as tr of Gr, directly from the Heb (or Aram.), has a much greater number of these Semiticisms. See Swete, *An Intro to the OT in Gr* (1900), for the salient facts. Thackeray in his *Grammar of the OT in Gr* (1909) shows "the *κοινή*—the basis of Septuagint Gr" in § 3, and in § 4 discusses "the Sem element in Septuagint Gr." The matter varies in different parts of the LXX, but in all parts the Sem influence goes far beyond what it is in the NT. In the NT we have free composition in Gr, except in certain portions of the Gospels and Acts where Aram. originals (oral or written) lie beyond the Gr text. So in particular Lk **1**, the words of Jesus in Lk **2**, and the opening chapters of Acts. See Dalman, *Words of Jesus* (1902), and J. T. Marshall, "The Aram. Gospel," *Expos*, Ser. IV vols II–VIII; see also ARAMAIC *supra*. There is, to some extent, translation-Gr, as in the LXX. The quotations from the OT are either from the Heb original, or, as most frequently, from the LXX. In either case we have translation-Gr again. These two classes cover the more obvious Semiticisms if we add Heb names (persons and places) and other transliterations like *ἀβαδδών*, *abaddṓn*, *ἀλληλουΐα*, *allēloúïa*. The Gr of the LXX does not, of course, give a true picture of the Gr spoken by the Jews in Alexandria or in Pal. But the constant reading of the LXX was bound to leave its impress on the style of the people (cf the King James Version and the Eng. language). The surprise, in fact, is not the number of Semiticisms, but, all things considered, the fewness of them. Luke, just because he was a Gentile and so noted the Hebraisms in the LXX, shows rather more of them than the other NT writers: cf *προσέθετο τρίτον πέμψαι*, *prosétheto tríton pémpsai* (Lk **20** 12). Some of the points of style so common in the LXX find occasional ‖ in the papyri or inscriptions, like *βλέπων βλέπω*, *blépōn blépō*, *χαρᾷ χαίρω*, *chará chaírō*, *ὅν . . . . αὐτόν*, *hón . . . . autón*. Others are more obviously imitations of the Heb style, as in *ἀρέσκειν ἐνώπιόν τινος*, *aréskein enṓpión tinos*, rather than *ἀρέσκειν τινί*, *aréskein tiní*. But there is a certain dignity and elevation of style so characteristic of the Heb OT that reappears in the NT. The frequent use of *καί*, *kaí*, in parts of the NT reminds one of the LXX and the Heb *waw*. There is, besides, an indefinable tone in the NT that is found in the OT. Swete (*Apocalypse of St. John*, cxx) laments the tendency to depreciate unduly the presence of Hebraisms in the NT. The pendulum may have swung too far away from the truth. It will strike the level, but we shall never again be able to fill our grammars and comms. with explanations of so many peculiar Hebraisms in the NT. On the whole the Gr NT is standard vernacular *koinē*.

IV. Individual Peculiarities of NT Writers.—There is not space for an extended discussion of this topic. The fact itself calls for emphasis, for there is a wide range in style between Mark's Gospel and He, 1 Pet and Rom, Luke's Gospel and the Apocalypse. There are no Atticists found in the NT (cf 4 Macc in the LXX and Jos), but there are the less literary writings (Mt, Mk, the Johannine books, the other catholic epp.) and the more literary writings (Luke's writings, Paul's Epp., and He). But even so, no hard-and-fast line can be drawn. Moulton, *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, 484, thinks 2 Pet more like the Atticistic writings, "though certainly the Atticists would have scorned to own a book so full of 'solecisms.'" Moulton assumes that 2 Pet is pseudepigraphic, and does not credit the notion that the crude "Babu" Gr, to use Abbott's term, may be Peter's own uncorrected style (cf Acts **4** 13), while 1 Pet may have the smoothing effect of Silvanus' hand (cf 1 Pet **5** 12). A similar explanation is open concerning the grammatical lapses of the Apocalypse, since John is also called *ἀγράμματος*, *agrámmatos*, in Acts **4** 13, whereas the Gospel of Jn may have had the revision of the elders of Ephesus (cf Jn **21** 24). But whatever the explanation, there is no doubt of the wide divergences of style between different books and groups of books in the NT list. The Lukan, Johannine, Petrine, Pauline groups stand apart, but with cleavages within each group. Harnack (*Luke the Physician*, 1907; *The Sayings of Jesus*, 1908; *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1909; *The Date of the Acts of the Apostles*, 1911) has accepted and strengthened the contention of Hawkins (*Horae Synopticae*, 2d ed, 1909) and of Hobart (*Medical Language of Luke*, 1882) that the medical terms in the Gospel of Luke and of Acts show that the books were written by the same writer and that a physician, and so Luke. The diversities in style here and there are chiefly due to the sources of information used. Even in the Pauline books, which form so well-marked a collection, striking diversities of language and style appear. But these letters cover a period of some 15 years of intense activity and mental and spiritual development, and treat a great variety of topics. They properly reflect the changing phases of Paul's preaching of the cross of Christ in different places and under varying circumstances and confronting ever fresh problems. The plays of Shakespeare offer a useful parallel. Even in Paul's old age, in the Pastoral Epistles the stamp of Paul's spirit is admitted by those who admit only Pauline fragments; cf J. Weiss, *Beiträge zur Paulinschen Rhetorik* (1897). The style is indeed the man, but style is also the function of the subject, and style varies with different periods of a man's life. E. A. Abbott has made an excellent discussion of the *Johannine Vocabulary*

(1905) and of *Johannine Grammar* (1906), but special grammars of each writer are hardly to be expected or desired. But Nägeli has begun a study of Paul's vocabulary in his *Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus* (1905). The Gospel of Mt shows very little of that Hebraism that one would expect from the general purpose and tone of the book. It is possible, of course, that the supposed original was in Aram., or, if in Gr, of a more Hebraistic type. Whether the present Gr Mt made use of Mark's Gospel and a collection of Logia (Q), we do not know. Certainly Mark's Gospel is written in colloquial *koinē* with little evidence of the culture of the schools. Mark is a faithful reporter and does his work with rare simplicity and vividness. He reveals clearly the Aram. background of Christ's teaching. The writings of James and Jude do not show that only Gr was spoken in the home at Nazareth, nor that they used only Aram. These two epp. are evidently free compositions in Gr with much of the freshness of imagery so manifest in the parables of Jesus Himself. This brief sketch does not do justice to the richness and variety of language in the books of the NT.

V. The "koinē" Spoken by Jesus.—See Aramaic Language for proof that Jesus spoke that language as the vernacular of the people of Pal. But Christ spoke the *koinē* also, so that the NT is not an idiom that was unknown to the Master. Gwilliam (1-vol *HDB*, "Language of Christ") does still deny that Jesus spoke Gr, while Roberts takes the other extreme in his book, *Gr the Language of Christ and His Apostles* (1888). *Per contra* again, Jülicher considers it impossible to suppose that Jesus used Gr (art. "Hellenism" in *EB*). J. E. H. Thomson, "The Language of Pal during the Time of Our Lord" (Temple, *Bible Dict.*) argues convincingly that Pal was bi-lingual and that Jesus knew and spoke Gr as well as Aram. Peter evidently spoke in Gr on the Day of Pentecost and was understood by all. Paul was understood in Jerus when he spoke in Gr (Acts **21** 37). Jesus taught in Decapolis, a Gr region, in the region of Tyre and Sidon (Gr again). Galilee itself was largely inhabited by Gentiles who spoke Gr. At the time of the Sermon on the Mount, we read that people were present from Decapolis and Peraea, besides the mixed multitude from Galilee, Judaea, and Jerus (Mt **4** 25; Lk **6** 17). Thomson proves also that in Matthew's Gospel the quotation from the OT in the words of Jesus is from the LXX, while Matthew's own quotations are from the Heb. The case seems clear. It is not possible to say always when Jesus spoke Gr and when Aramaic. That would depend on the audience. But it is practically certain that Christ Himself knew and spoke at will the vernacular *koinē*, and thus had this linguistic bond with the great world of that era and with lovers of the Gr Test. today.

Literature.—The lit. on this subject is very extensive. The most important volumes have been mentioned in the discussion above.

A. T. Robertson

LANGUAGES, laṇ′gwāj-es, OF THE OLD TESTAMENT:

I. The Semitic Languages
  1. Members of Semitic Family
  2. The Name Hebrew
  3. Old Hebrew Literature
II. History of the Hebrew Language
  1. Oldest Form of Language
  2. The Hebrew of the OT
  3. Its Uniformity
  4. The Cause Thereof
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IV. Biblical Aramaic
  1. Aramaic Portions of the OT
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V. Literary Characteristics of the Semites
  1. Concrete and Abstract
  2. View of Nature
  3. Pictorial Imagination
  4. Prose and Poetry
  5. Hebrew Easy of Translation
Literature

There were only two languages employed in the archetypes of the OT books (apart from an Egyp or Pers or Gr word here and there), namely, Heb and Bib. Aram., both of which belong to the great family of languages known as Semitic.

I. The Semitic Languages.—The languages spoken in Southwestern Asia during the historical period dealt with in the Bible have been named Shemitic, after the son of Noah from whom the majority of peoples speaking these languages—Arabs, Hebrews, Aramaeans and Assyrians (Gen **10** 21 ff) —were descended. To show, however, that the description does not fit exactly the thing described—the Elamites and Lydians having probably not spoken a Shemitic language, and the Canaanites, including Phoenicians, with the colonists descended from those at Carthage and elsewhere in the Mediterranean coast lands, as well as the Abyssinians (Ethiopians), who did, being reckoned descendants of Ham (Gen **9** 18; **10** 6 ff)—the word is now generally written "Semitic," a term introduced by Eichhorn (1787). These languages were spoken from the Caspian Sea to the S. of Arabia, and from the Mediterranean to the valley of the Tigris.

The following list shows the chief members of this family:

1. Members of Semitic Family

(1) South Semitic or Arabic, including the language of the Sabaean (Himyaritic) inscriptions, as well as Ge'ez or Ethiopic. Arab. is now spoken from the Caucasus to Zanzibar, and from the East Indies to the Atlantic.

(2) Middle Sem or Canaanitish, including Heb, old and new, Phoen, with Punic, and Moabitish (language of MS).

(3) North Sem or Aram., including (*a*) East Aram. or Syrian (language of Syrian Christians), language of Bab Talm, Mandaean; (*b*) West or Palestinian Aram. of the Tgs, Palestinian Talm (Gemara), Bib. Aram. ("Chaldee"), Samaritan, language of Nabataean inscriptions.

(4) East Sem—language of Assyr-Bab inscriptions.

With the exception of a few chapters and fragments mentioned below, the OT is written entirely in Heb.

2. The Name Hebrew

In the OT itself this language is called "the Jews'" (2 K **18** 26. 28). In Isa **19** 18 it is called poetically, what in fact it was, "the language [Heb "lip"] of Canaan." In the appendix to the LXX of Job it is called Syriac; and in the introduction to Ecclus it is for the first time—that is, in 130 BC—named Heb. The term Heb in the NT denotes the language of the OT in Rev **9** 11, but in Jn **5** 2; **19** 13.17 this term means the vernacular Aramaic. In other passages it is doubtful which is meant. Jos uses the same name for both. From the time of the Tgs, Heb is called "the sacred tongue" in contrast to the Aram. of everyday use. The language of the OT is called Old Heb in contrast to the New Heb of the Mish, the rabbinic, the Spanish poetry, etc.

3. Old Hebrew Literature

Of Old Heb the remains are contained almost entirely in the OT. A few inscriptions have been recovered, i.e., the Siloam Inscriptions, a Heb calendar, a large number of ostraka from Samaria, a score of pre-exilic seals, and coins of the Maccabees and of the time of Vespasian and Hadrian.

Literature.—E. Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques;* F. Hommel, *Die semit. Völker u. Sprachen;* the comparative grammars of Wright and Brockelmann; *CIS;* art. "Semitic Languages" in *Enc Brit,* and Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dict.*

II. History of the Hebrew Language.—Heb as it appears to us in the OT is in a state of decadence corresponding to the present position of spoken Arabic. In the earliest period it no doubt resembled the classical Arabic of the 7th and following centuries. The variations found between the various strata of the language occurring in the OT are slight compared with the difference between modern and ancient Arabic.

1. Oldest Form of Language

Heb was no doubt originally a highly inflected language, like classical Arabic. The noun had three cases, nom., gen., and acc., ending in *um, im, am,* respectively, as in the Sabaean inscriptions. Both vbs. and nouns had three numbers (sing., dual and pl.) and two genders, masc. and fem. In the noun the dual and pl. had two cases. The dual and 2d and 3d pers. pl. and 2d pers. sing. fem. of the impf. of the vb. ended in *nūn.* In certain positions the *m* of the endings *um, im, am* in the noun was dropped. The vb. had three moods, indicative, subjunctive, and jussive, ending in *u, a,* and - respectively; as well as many forms or stems, each of which had an active and passive voice.

2. The Hebrew of the OT

In the Heb of the OT most of these inflexions have disappeared. Of the three cases of the noun only the acc. *am* has survived in a few adverbial forms, such as *'omnām,* "truly." The dual has entirely disappeared from the vb., and also from the noun, with the exception of things that occur in pairs, such as hand, eye, which have no pl. The nom. case of the dual and pl. of the noun has disappeared, and the oblique case is used for both. Except in cases of poetic archaism the final *nūn* of the vb. has been lost, and, as the final vowels have fallen away in vbs., as well as in nouns, the result is that the jussive forms serve for indic. and subj. also. Many of the forms or stems have fallen into desuetude, and the passive forms of two alone are used.

3. Its Uniformity

One of the most remarkable facts connected with the Heb of the OT is that although that lit. extends through a period of over 1,000 years, there is almost no difference between the language of the oldest parts and that of the latest. This phenomenon is susceptible of several explanations. In the first place, nearly the whole of the OT lit. is religious in character, and as such the earliest writings would become the model for the later, just as the Korân—the first prose work composed in Arab. which has survived—has become the pattern for all future compositions. The same was true for many centuries of the influence of Aristophanes and Euripides upon the language of educated Greeks, and, it is said, of the influence of Confucius upon that of the learned Chinese.

4. The Cause Thereof

But a chief cause is probably the fact that the Sem languages do not vary with time, but with place. The Arab. vocabulary used in Morocco differs from that of Egypt, but the Arab. words used in each of these countries have remained the same for centuries—in fact, since Arab. began to be spoken in them. Similarly, the slight differences which are found in the various parts of the OT are to be ascribed, not to a difference of date, but to the fact that some writers belonged to the Southern Kingdom, some to the Northern, some wrote in Pal, some in Babylonia (cf Neh **13** 23.24; Jgs **12** 6; **18** 3).

5. Differences Due to Age

The OT lit. falls into two main periods: that composed before and during the Bab exile, and that which falls after the exile. But even between these two periods the differences of language are comparatively slight, so that it is often difficult or impossible to say on linguistic grounds alone whether a particular chapter is pre- or post-exilic, and scholars of the first rank often hold the most contrary opinions on these points. For instance, Dillmann places the so-called document P before D in the regal period, whereas most critics date D about 621 and P about 444 BC.

6. Differences of Style

It is needless to add that the various writers differ from one another in point of style, but these variations are infinitesimal compared with those of Gr and Lat authors, and are due, as has been said above, largely to locality and environment. Thus the style of Hosea is quite different from that of his contemporary Amos, and that of Deutero-Isa shows very distinctly the mark of its place of composition.

7. Foreign Influences

A much more potent factor in modifying the language was the influence of foreign languages upon Heb, esp. in respect to vocabulary. The earliest of these was probably Egyp, but of much greater importance was Assyr, from which Heb gained a large number of loan words. It is well known that the Bab script was used for commercial purposes throughout Southwestern Asia, even before the Hebrews entered Canaan (see Text), but the influence of Babylon upon Pal seems to have been greatly exaggerated. The main point of contact is in the mythology, which may have been common to both peoples. In the later, esp. post-exilic stages of the language, many Aramaisms are found in respect to syntax as well as vocabulary; and in later phases still, Pers and even Gr words are found.

8. Poetry and Prose

As in other languages, so in Heb, the vocabulary of the poetical lit. differs from that of the prose writers. In Heb, however, there is not the hard-and-fast distinction between these two which obtains in the classics. Whenever prose becomes elevated by the importation of feeling, it falls into a natural rhythm which in Heb constitutes poetry. Thus most of the so-called prophetical books are poetical in form. Another mark of poetry is a return to archaic grammatical forms, esp. the restoration of the final *nūn* in the vb.

9. Home of the Hebrew Language

The form of Sem which was indigenous in the land of Canaan is sometimes called Middle Sem. Before the Israelites entered the country, it was the language of the Canaanites from whom the Hebrews took it over. That Heb was not the language of Abraham before his migration appears from the fact that he is called an Aramaean (Dt **26** 5), and that Laban's native language was Aramaic (Gen **31** 47). A further point is that the word "Sea" is used for the West and "Negeb" for the South, indicating Pal as the home of the language (so Isa **19** 18).

10. Its Antiquity

As the aboriginal inhabitants of the land of Canaan were not Semites, we cannot infer the existence of the Heb language any earlier than the first immigrations of Semites into Pal, that is, during the third millennium BC. It would thus be a much younger member of the Sem family than Assyr-Bab, which exhibits all the marks of great antiquity long before the Heb language is met with.

11. When Hebrew Became a Dead Language

The Bab exile sounded the death-knell of the Heb language. The educated classes were deported to Babylon or fled to Egypt, and those who remained were not slow to adopt the language used by their conquerors. The old Heb became a literary and sacred tongue, the language of everyday life being probably Aramaic. Whatever may be the exact meaning of Neh **8** 8, it proves that the people of that time had extreme difficulty in understanding classical Heb when it was read to them. Yet for the purpose of religion, the old language continued to be employed for several centuries. For patriotic reasons it was used by the Maccabees, and by Bar Cochba (135 AD).

LITERATURE.—Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebr. Sprache und Schrift;* Bertheau, "Hebr. Sprache" in *RE*, 2d ed; see also "Literature" in the following section.

III. Chief Characteristics of Hebrew.—The special marks which particularly distinguish a language may be found in its alphabet, in its mode of inflexion, or in its syntax.

1. Characteristic Sounds

The Heb alphabet is characterized by the large number of guttural sounds which it contains, and these are not mere palatals like the Scotch or Ger. *ch*, but true throat sounds, such as are not found in the Aryan languages. Hence when the Phoen alphabet passed over into Greece, these unpronounceable sounds, ע, ח, ה, א, were changed into vowels, A, E, H, O. In Heb the guttural letters predominate. "In the Heb dictionaries the four gutturals occupy considerably more than a fourth part of the volume; the remaining eighteen letters occupying considerably less than three-fourths." Besides the guttural, there are three strong consonants ט, ק and צ, which are sounded with compression of the larynx, and are quite different from our *t*, *k* and *s*. In Gr the first was softened into *θ*, the other two were dropped as letters but retained as numerals.

2. Letters Representing Two Sounds

Though the Heb alphabet comprises no more than 22 letters, these represent some 30 different sounds, for the 6 letters *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p* and *t*, when they fall immediately after a vowel, are pronounced *bh*(*v*), *gh*, *dh*, *kh*, *ph* (*f*) and *th*. Moreover, the gutturals ח and ע each represent two distinct sounds, which are still in use in Arabic. The letter *h* is sometimes sounded at the end of a word as at the beginning.

3. Consonants Representing Vowels

A peculiarity of the Heb alphabet is that the letters are all consonants. Four of these, however, were very early used to represent vowel and diphthong sounds, namely, א, *h*, *w* and *y*. So long as Heb was a spoken language no other symbols than these 22 letters were used. It was not until the 7th cent. AD at the earliest that the well-known elaborate system of signs to represent the vowels and other sounds was invented (see TEXT).

4. The Syllable

A feature of the Heb language is that no word or syllable may begin with a vowel: every syllable begins with a consonant. This is also true of the other Sem languages, except Assyr-Bab. When in the course of word-formation a syllable would begin with a vowel, the slight consonant א is prefixed. Moreover, more than two consonants may not stand without vowels intervening, as in the Eng. word "strength." At most, two consonants may begin a syllable, and even so a slight vowel is sounded between them, as *ḳ*^{e}*rō’*. A word may end in two consonants without vowels, as *’āmart*, but no word or syllable ends in more than two.

5. Three-Letter Roots

The outstanding feature of the Sem family of languages is the root, consisting of three consonants. Practically, the triliteral root is universal. There are a few roots with more than three letters, but many of the quadriliteral roots are formed by reduplication, as *kabkab* in Arabic. Many attempts have been made to reduce three-letter stems to two-letter by taking the factors common to several roots of identical meaning. Thus דום, דמה, דמם, "to be still," seem all to come from a root דם. It is more probable, however, that the root is always triliteral, but may appear in various forms.

6. Conjugations or Derived Stems

From these triliteral roots all parts of the vbs. are formed. The root, which, it ought to be stated, is not the infinitive, but the 3d sing. masc. perf. active, expresses the simple idea without qualification, as *shābhar*, "he broke." The idea of intensity is obtained by doubling the middle stem letter, as *shibbēr*, "he broke in fragments"; the passive is expressed by the *u*-vowel in the first place and the *a*-vowel in the last, as *shubbar*, "it was broken in fragments." The reflexive sense prefixes an *n* to the simple root, or a *t* (ת) to the intensive, but the former of these is often used as a passive, as *nishbar*, "it was broken," *hithḳaddēsh*, "he sanctified himself." The causative meaning is given by prefixing the letter *h*, as *mālakh*, "he was king," *himlīkh*, "he caused [one] to be king." A somewhat similar method of vb. building is found outside the Sem language, for example, in Turkish. In some of these Sem languages the number of formations is very numerous. In Heb also there are traces of stems other than those generally in use.

7. Absence of Tenses

There are no tenses in Heb, in our sense of the word. There are two states, usually called tenses, the perfect and the imperfect. In the first the action is regarded as accomplished, whether in the past or future, as *shābhar*, "he broke," "he has broken," "he will have broken," or (in prophetic narrative) "he will break"; in the second, the action is regarded as uncompleted, "he will break," "he was breaking," "he is breaking," etc. The present is often expressed by the participle.

8. The Pronouns

The different persons, sing. and pl., are expressed by affixing to the perfect, and by prefixing to the imperfect, fragments of the personal pronouns, as *shābhartī*, "I broke," *shābharnū*, "we broke," *nishbōr*, "we will break," and so on. The fragments which are added to the perfect to express the nominative of the pronouns are, with some modification, esp. the change of *t* into *k*, added to the vb. to express the accusative, and to the noun to express the genitive; for example, *shābhartā*, "you broke," *sh*^{e}*bhār*^{e}*khā*, "he broke you," *bēth*^{e}*khā*, "your house"; *ṣāpharnū*, "we counted," *ṣ*^{e}*phārānū*, "he counted us," *ṣiphrēnū*, "our book."

The same principles are followed in regard to the noun as to the vb. Many nouns consist solely of the three stem-letters articulated with one or with two vowels, except that monosyllables gen-

9. Formation of Nouns

erally become dissyllabic, owing to the difficulty of pronouncing two vowelless consonants together: thus, *melekh*, "king," *ṣēpher*, "book," *gōren*, "threshingfloor" (instead of *malk*, *ṣiphr*, *gorn*), *dābhār*, "a word or thing," *ḳārōbh*, "near." Nouns denoting place, instrument, etc, are often formed by prefixing the letter *m* to the root, as *mishpāṭ*, "justice," from *shāphaṭ*, "he judged," *mazlēgh*, "a fork." Intensity is given to the root idea, as in the vb., by doubling the middle consonant: thus, *ḥōrēsh*, "working," *ḥārāsh* (for *ḥarrāsh*), "workman"; *gōnēbh*, "stealing," *gannābh*, "a thief." Similarly, words denoting incurable physical defects, *'illēm*, "dumb," *'iwwēr*, "blind," *ḥērēsh* (for *ḥirrēsh*), "deaf and dumb." The fem. of nouns, as of the 3d pers. of vbs., is formed by adding the letter *t*, which when final is softened to *h*, *g^{e}bhīrāh*, "queen-mother," "mistress," but *g^{e}bhirtēkh*, "your mistress."

10. Internal Inflexion

The inflexion of both vbs. and nouns is accompanied by a constant lengthening or shortening of the vowels of the word, and this according to two opposite lines. In vbs. with vowel-affixes the penultimate vowel disappears, as *hālakh*, "he went," *hāl^{e}khū*, "they went"; in the noun the ante-penultimate vowel disappears, as *dābhār*, "a word," pl. *d^{e}bhārīm*. As the vowel system, as stated above, is very late, the vocalization cannot be accepted as that of the living tongue. It represents rather the cantillation of the synagogue; and for this purpose, accents, which had a musical as well as an interpunctional value, have been added.

11. Syntax of the Verb

Heb syntax is remarkable for its simplicity. Simple sentences predominate and are usually connected by the conjunction "and." Subordinate sentences are comparatively rare, but descriptive and temporal clauses are not uncommon. In the main narrative, the predicates are placed at the beginning of the sentence, first simply in the root form (3d sing. masc.), and then only when the subject has been mentioned does the predicate agree with it. Descriptive and temporal clauses may be recognized by their having the subject at the beginning (e.g. Gen **1** 2). A curious turn is given to the narrative by the fact that in the main sentences, if the first vb. is perfect, those which follow are imperfect, and vice versa, the conjunction which coördinates them receiving a peculiar vocalization —that of the definite article. In the Eng. Bible, descriptive and temporal clauses are often rendered as if they were parts of the main sentence, for example, in the first verses of Gen of which the literal tr is somewhat as follows: "At the beginning of God's creating heaven and earth, when the earth was without form and void, and God's spirit [or, a great wind] moved upon the face of the water, God said, Let there be light." It will thus be seen that the structure of Heb narrative is not so simple as it appears.

12. Syntax of the Noun

In the Sem languages, compound words do not occur, but this deficiency is made up by what is called the construct state. The old rule, that the second of two nouns which depend on one another is put in the genitive, becomes, in Heb, the first of two such nouns is put in the construct state. The noun in the construct state loses the definite article, and all its vowels are made as short as possible, just as if it were the beginning of a long word: for example, *ha-bayith*, "the house," but *bēth ha-melekh*, "the house of the king," "the palace"; *dābhār*, "a word," but *dibh^{e}rē rū^{a}ḥ*, "words of wind," "windy words."

13. Poverty of Adjectives

The Heb language is very poor in adjectives, but this is made up for by a special use of the construct state just mentioned. Thus to express magnitude the word "God" is added in the gen. case, as in the example above (Gen **1** 2), "a mighty wind" = a wind of God; Ps **36** 6, "the lofty mountains" = the mountains of God (so **68** 15); **80** 10, "goodly cedars" = cedars of God; so "a holy man" = a man of God; "the sacred box" = the ark of God, and so on; cf in the NT, Mt **27** 54, "the son of God" = Lk **23** 47, "a righteous [man]." Matthew was thinking in Aram., Luke in Gr. A similar use is made of other words, e.g. "stubborn" = hard of neck; "impudent" = hard of face; "extensive" = broad of hands; "miserable" = bitter of soul.

Literature.—The articles on the Heb Language in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, 1875, by Nöldeke; in *Enc Brit*, 9th ed, by Robertson Smith; 11th ed by Nöldeke; in the *Imperial Bible Dict.*, 1866, by T. H. Weir; also those in *HDB*, *EB*.

Grammars: A. B. Davidson's *Elementary Heb Grammar* and *Syntax;* Gesenius, *Heb Grammar*, ET by Cowley, 2d ed.

Dictionaries: Brown, Briggs and Driver, *Heb and Eng. Lexicon;* Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 15th ed; Feyerabend, *Heb-Eng. Pocket Dictionary;* Breslau, *Eng. and Heb Dict.*

IV. Biblical Aramaic.

1. Aramaic Portions of the OT

IV. Biblical Aramaic.—The Aram. portions of the OT are the following: Ezr **4** 8—**6** 18; **7** 11–26; Dnl **2** 4—**7** 28; Gen **31** 47 (two words); Jer **10** 11. The language in which they are written used to be called Chaldee, but is now generally known simply as Bib. Aram. It represents a further declension from classical Sem as compared with the Heb. The following are the principal points in which Bib. Aram. differs from Heb.

2. Phonology

The accent is placed on the last syllable, the first vowel disappearing, e.g. *'ăbhadh* for Heb *'ābhadh*. It is curious that the same feature is found in Algerene and Moroccan Arab.: thus *ḳaṣr* becomes *ḳṣar*. Dentals take the place of sibilants: *d^{e}habh* for *zāhābh; t^{e}lāth* for *shālôsh*. The strong Heb צ frequently becomes ע, and Heb ע becomes א: thus, *'ar'ā'* for *'ereç; 'ūḳ* for *çūḳ*.

3. Grammar

In Heb the definite article is the prefix *hal* (*ha-*); in Aram. the affix *ā';* the latter, however, has almost lost its force. The dual is even more sparingly used than in Heb. The passive forms of vbs. and those beginning with *nūn* are practically wanting; the passive or reflexive forms are made by prefixing the letter *t* to the corresponding active forms, and that much more regularly than in Heb, there being three active and three passive forms.

4. Syntax

In regard to syntax there is to be noted the frequent use of the part. instead of a finite vb., as in Heb; the disuse of the conjunction "and" with the vocalization of the article; and the disuse of the construct state in nouns, instead of which a circumlocution with the relative *dī* is employed, e.g. *ç^{e}lēm dī dh^{e}habh*, "an image of gold." The same periphrasis is found also in West African Arabic.

5. Aramaic More Decadent than Hebrew

It will thus be seen that if Heb represents a decadent form of an original classical language which was very similar to classical Arabic, Bib. Arab. stands on a still lower level. It is not to be supposed that Heb passed into Aram., though on the analogy of Arab. that view is not untenable. Rather, the different Sem languages became fixed at different epochs. Arab. as a literary language crystallized almost at the source; Heb and the spoken Arab. of the East far down the stream; and Aram. and Moroccan Arab. farthest down of all.

Literature.—Kautzsch, *Grammatik;* Strack, *Abriss des bibl. Aramaisch;* Marti, *Bibl. aram. Sprache;* the articles on "Aramaic" or "Chaldee" in the Bib. Dicts. cited under III, and article Aramaic Language in this Encyclopaedia; the Heb text of Ezr, Neh, Dnl, ed by Baer. Heb Dicts. generally include Bib. Aramaic.

V. Literary Characteristics of the Semites.—The thinking of the Hebrews, like that of other Semites, was done, not in the abstract, but in the concrete.

1. Concrete and Abstract

Thus we find the material put for the immaterial, the expression for the thought, the instrument for the action, the action for the feeling. This mode of expression frequently gives rise to striking anthropomorphisms. Thus we have the eye for watchfulness or care (Ps **33** 18); the long hand for far-reaching powers (Isa **59** 1); broken teeth for defeated malice (Ps **3** 7); the sword for slaughter (**78** 62); haughty eyes for superciliousness (Prov **6** 17); to say in the heart for to think (Ps **10** 6). It would be an interesting study to examine to what extent these expressions have been taken over from Heb into English.

2. View of Nature

The Heb does not know the distinction between animate and inanimate Nature. All Nature is animate (Ps **104** 29). The little hills rejoice (**65** 12); the mountains skip (**114** 4); the trees clap their hands (Isa **55** 12); even the stones may cry out (Lk **19** 40). Such expressions are not to be taken as mere poetical figures of speech; they are meant quite literally. All Nature is one: man is merely a part of Nature (Ps **104** 23), even if he be the highest part (**8** 5). Hence, perhaps, it arises that there is no neuter gender in the Sem languages.

3. Pictorial Imagination

The highly imaginative nature of the Heb comes into play when he is recounting past events or writing history. To his mind's eye all past events are present. He sees history taking place before his eyes as in a picture. Thus the perfect may generally be tr^d by the Eng. past tense with "have," the imperfect by the Eng. present tense with "is" or "is going to." In livelier style the participle is used: "They are entering the city, and behold Samuel is coming out to meet them" (1 S **9** 14). Hence the *oratio recta* is always used in preference to the *oratio obliqua*. Moreover, the historian writes exactly as the professional story-teller narrates. Hence he is always repeating himself and returning upon his own words (1 S **5** 1.2).

4. Prose and Poetry

A result of the above facts is that there is no hard-and-fast distinction in Heb between prose and poetry. Neither is there in Heb, or in the Sem language generally, epic or dramatic poetry, because their prose possesses these qualities in a greater degree than does the poetry of other races. All Heb poetry is lyric or didactic. In it there is no rhyme nor meter. The nearest approach to meter is what is called the *ḳīnāh* strophe, in which each verse consists of two parallel members, each member having five words divided into three and then two. The best example of this is to be found in Ps **19** 7–9, and also in the Book of Lamentations (q.v.), from which the verse has received its name.

5. Hebrew Easy of Translation

From the above description it may be inferred that the language of the OT is one extremely easy of translation into foreign tongues without loss of meaning or rhythm, though it would be extremely difficult to render any modern language into classical Heb. Hence the Pss, for example, are as fine in their Ger. or Eng. versions as they are in the original. Where the OT has been tr^d into the language of the country, it has become a classic. The Eng. Bible is as important for the study of the Eng. language as are the plays of Shakespeare.

Literature.—In addition to the articles cited under III, Herder, *The Spirit of Heb Poetry*, tr by J. Marsh, 1833; Ed. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die bibl. Litt. komparativisch dargestellt*, 1900; the same author's brochure on the "Style of Scripture" in *HDB*, vol V; J. F. McCurdy on the "Semites" in the same volume; J. Kennedy, *Heb Synonyms*.

Thomas Hunter Weir

LANTERN, lan′tẽrn (**φανός**, *phanós*, fr. **φαίνω**, *phaínō*, "to give light"): Lanterns were carried by the mob which arrested Jesus in Gethsemane (Jn **18** 3, probably better "torches"). The word "lantern" in the time of early versions had a much wider significance than now. The Romans, however, had lanterns in the times of Christ, made by use of translucent skins, bladders, or thin plates of horn.

LAODICEA, lā-od-i-sē′a (**Λαοδικία**, *Laodikía*): A city of Asia Minor situated in the Lycos valley in the province of Phrygia, and the home of one of the Seven Churches of Rev (**1** 11). Distinguished from several other cities of that name by the appellation Ad Lycum, it was founded by Antiochus II (261–246 BC) of Syria, who named it for his wife Laodike, and who populated it with Syrians and with Jews who were transplanted from Babylonia to the cities of Phrygia and Lydia. Though Laodicea stood on the great highway at the junction of several important routes, it was a place of little consequence until the Rom province of Asia was formed in 190 BC. It then suddenly became a great and wealthy center of industry, famous specially for the fine black wool of its sheep and for the Phrygian powder for the eyes, which was manufactured there (cf Rev **3** 18). In the vicinity was the temple of Men Karou and a renowned school of medicine. In the year 60 AD, the city was almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake, but so wealthy were its citizens that they rejected the proffered aid of Rome, and quickly rebuilt it at their own expense (cf Rev **3** 17). It was a city of great wealth, with extensive banking operations (cf Rev **3** 18). Little is known of the early history of Christianity there; Timothy, Mark and Epaphras (Col **1** 7) seem to have been the first to introduce it. However, Laodicea was early the chief bishopric of Phrygia, and about 166 AD Sagaris, its bishop, was martyred. In 1071 the city was taken by the Seljuks; in 1119 it was recovered to the Christians by John Comnenus, and in the 13th cent. it fell finally into the hands of the Turks.

The ruins, now called *Eski Hissar*, or old castle, lie near the modern *Gonjelli* on the railroad, and they have long served as a quarry to the builders of the neighboring town of *Denizli*. Among them nothing from before the Rom period has appeared. One of the two Rom theaters is remarkably well preserved, and there may still be seen the stadium, a colonnade, the aqueduct which brought the water across the valley to the city by an inverted siphon of stone pipes, a large necropolis, and the ruins of three early Christian churches. E. J. Banks

LAODICEANS, lā-od-i-sē′anz, **EPISTLE TO THE** (**ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ . . . . τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικίας**, *en tḗ Laodikéōn ekklēsía . . . . tḗn ek Laodikías*, "in the church of the Laodiceans . . . . the epistle from Laodicea," Col **4** 16):

I. Explanations of Paul's Statement
    1. Written by the Laodiceans?
    2. Written by Paul from Laodicea?
    3. An Epistle Addressed to the Laodiceans

II. Evidence Favoring Epistle to Ephesians
  1. Marcion's Opinion
  2. References in Ephesians and Other Epistles
  3. Ephesian Church Jewish in Origin
  4. Eph and Col Sister Epistles
  5. Recapitulation
III. Laodicea Displaced by Ephesus
  1. A Circular Epistle
  2. Proof from Biblical Prologues
IV. Reason for Such an Epistle

Paul here writes to the Colossians, "And when this epistle hath been read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye also read the epistle from Laodicea." What was or what is this epistle?

I. Explanations of Paul's Statement.—The words used by the apostle may mean: (1) a letter written by the Laodiceans; (2) an ep. written by Paul from Laodicea; (3) an ep. written to the Laodiceans, and to be procured from them by the Colossians.

1. Written by the Laodiceans?

The words may mean a letter written by the Laodiceans. But here it is sufficient to refer to the fact that Paul enjoins the Colossians to procure and to read "the epistle from Laodicea." How could a command of this kind be given in reference to an ep. written by third parties? How could Paul know that a copy of it had been made by the Laodiceans before sending it off? How could he tell that the Laodiceans would be willing to give away a copy of it? The suppositions involved by this hypothesis are incredible. Besides, the context regards the Ep. to the Col, and "that from Laodicea," as companion epp., of which the two churches are to make an interchange, so that each church is directed to read both.

2. Written by Paul from Laodicea?

Or, the words may refer to an ep. written by Paul from Laodicea. And it has been suggested that the ep. of which we are in search may be 1 Tim, 1 Thess, 2 Thess, or Gal. But in the case of these epp., the probability is that every one of them was written elsewhere than from Laodicea. At the time when Paul wrote to Colossae, he was a prisoner in Rome, and for this reason alone, it was impossible that he could, at any recent date, have written any ep. from Laodicea. But his own statement (Col **2** 1) is that those in Laodicea had not seen his face in the flesh. As he had never been in Laodicea, he could not have written any ep. from that city.

3. An Epistle Addressed to the Laodiceans

A third possibility is a letter written: (1) not by Paul, but by some other person. But the whole tone of the passage does not favor this suggestion in the least; (2) by Paul, but that the epistle is lost; this is the ordinary interpretation; (3) the apocryphal Lat ep. "To the Laodiceans."

This spurious ep. is a mere compilation clumsily put together; it has no marks of authenticity. Lightfoot (*Col*, 282) gives its general character thus: it "is a cento of Pauline phrases strung together without any definite connection or any clear object. They are taken chiefly from the Ep. to the Phil, but here and there one is borrowed elsewhere, e.g. from the Ep. to the Gal. Of course, it closes with an injunction to the Laodiceans to exchange epp. with the Colossians. The apostle's injunction in Col **4** 16 suggested the forgery, and such currency as it ever attained was due to the support which that passage was supposed to give to it. Unlike most forgeries, it had no ulterior aim. It has no doctrinal peculiarities. It is quite harmless, so far as falsity and stupidity combined can ever be regarded as harmless" (Lightfoot, op. cit., 282). See Apocryphal Epistles.

(4) The only other alternative is that "the epistle from Laodicea" is an ep. to the Laodiceans from Paul himself, which he directs the Colossians to procure from Laodicea. There seems to be not only a high degree of probability, but proof, that the ep. from Laodicea is the ep. known as the Ep. to the Eph. Paul therefore had written an ep. to Laodicea, a city which he had twice already mentioned in the Ep. to the Col, "For I would have you know how greatly I strive for you, and for them at Laodicea" (Col **2** 1): "Salute the brethren that are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church that is in their house" (**4** 15). Accepting Col **4** 16 to mean that he wrote to Laodicea at the same time as he wrote to Colossae, what has become of the former ep.? Do we know nothing more of it now than is contained in this reference to it in Col? The fact that it was, by Paul's express command, to be communicated to at least the two churches in Colossae and Laodicea, would make its disappearance and loss very strange.

II. Evidence Favoring Epistle to Ephesians.—But is there any warrant for concluding that it is lost at all? A statement of the facts of the case seems to show that the ep. which Paul wrote to the Laodiceans is extant, but only under another title. The lines of evidence which seem to show that the so-called Ep. to the Eph is in reality the ep. written by Paul to the Laodiceans are these:

It is well known that the words "at Ephesus" (Eph **1** 1) in the inscription of the ep. are very doubtful. RV reads in the margin, "Some very ancient authorities omit '*at Ephesus.*'" Among the authorities which omit "at Ephesus" are the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS, the best and most ancient authorities existing.

1. Marcion's Opinion

Tertullian asserts that the heretics, i.e. Marcion, had altered the title, "the Epistle to the Ephesians," to "the Epistle to the Laodiceans." But this accusation does not carry with it any doctrinal or heretical charge against Marcion in this respect. "It is not likely," says Moule (*Eph*, 25), "that Marcion was guilty here, where the change would have served no dogmatic purpose." And the fact that at that very early period, the first half of the 2d cent., it was openly suggested that the destination of the ep. was Laodicea, is certainly entitled to weight, esp. in view of the other fact already mentioned, which is of no less importance, that "at Ephesus" is omitted in the two great MSS, the Vatican and the Sinaitic.

2. References in Ephesians and Other Epistles

The "Ep. to the Eph" could not be, primarily at least, addressed to Ephesus, because Paul speaks of his readers as persons in regard to whose conversion from heathenism to the faith of Christ he had just recently heard: "For this cause I also, having heard of the faith in the Lord Jesus which is among you, and the love which ye show toward all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers" (Eph **1** 15 f). These words could not well be used in regard to the church at Ephesus, which Paul himself had founded, and in reference to persons among whom he had lived for three years, and where he even knew personally "every one" of the Christians (Acts **20** 31).

And in Eph **3** 1 f AV, he writes: "For this cause I, Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, if ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me to you-ward." But how could he ever doubt that the elders of the church in Ephesus (Acts **20** 17), as well as the members of that important church, were ignorant of the fact that a dispensation of the grace of God had been given to him? The inquiry, whether his readers had heard of the one great fact on which his ministry was based, could not apply in any degree to the Christians in Ephesus. The apostle and the Ephesians had a clear and intimate mutual knowledge. They knew him and valued him and loved him well. When he bade the elders of the church farewell, they all fell on his neck and kissed him (Acts **20** 37).

Clearly therefore the statement that he had just recently heard of their conversion, and his inquiry whether they had heard that a dispensation of the grace of God had been intrusted to him, do not and cannot describe the members of the church in Ephesus. "It is plain," writes Moule (*Eph*, 26), “that the ep. does not bear an Ephesian destination on the face of it.”

In the Ep. to the Cor there are many local references, as well as allusions to the apostle’s work in Corinth. In the Ep. to the Gal there are also many references to his work among the people of the churches in Galatia. The same is the case in the Ep. to the Phil, several names being mentioned of persons known to the apostle. In the two Epp. to the Thess, references also occur to his work among them.

Turning to the Ep. to the Col, and to that to the Rom—Colossae and Rome being cities which he had not visited previous to his writing to the churches there—he knows several persons in Colossae; and in the case of the Ep. to the Rom, he mentions by name no fewer than twenty-six persons in that city.

How is it then that in “the Ep. to the Eph” there are no references at all to the three years which he spent in Ephesus? And how also is there no mention of any one of the members of the church or of the elders whom he knew so intimately and so affectionately? “Ephesians” is inexplicable on the ordinary assumption that Ephesus was the city to which the ep. was addressed.

The other theory, that the ep. was a circular one, sent in the first instance to Laodicea, involves no such difficulty.

3. Ephesian Church Jewish in Origin

Another indication in regard to the primary destination of the ep. is in the words, “ye, the Gentiles in the flesh, who are called Uncircumcision by that which is called Circumcision, in the flesh, made by hands; that ye were at that time separate from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of the promise, having no hope and without God in the world” (Eph **2** 11.12). Do these words describe the church in Ephesus? Was the church there gentile in its origin? Very far from this, for as a matter of fact it began by Paul preaching the gospel to the Jews, as is narrated at length by Luke in Acts **18**. Then in Acts **19**, Paul comes again to Ephesus, where he went into the synagogue and spake boldly for the space of three months, but when divers were hardened and believed not, but spake evil of the Way before the multitude, he separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus.

Here, therefore, is definite proof that the church in Ephesus was not gentile in its origin. It was distinctly Jewish, but a gentile element had also been received into it. Now the church to which Paul writes “the Ep. to the Eph” was not Jewish at all. He does not speak to his readers in any other way than “you Gentiles.”

4. Eph and Col Sister Epistles

But an important consideration is that the “Ep. to the Eph” was written by Paul at the same sitting almost as that to the Col. These two are sister epistles, and these along with the Ep. to Philem were written and sent off at the same time, Onesimus and Tychicus carrying the Ep. to the Col (Col **4** 7.8.9), Onesimus being the bearer of that to Philem, while Tychicus in addition to carrying the Colossian ep. was also the messenger who carried “the Ep. to the Eph” (Eph **6** 21).

A close scrutiny of Col and “Eph” shows, to an extent without a parallel elsewhere in the epp. of the NT, a remarkable similarity of phraseology. There are only two verses in the whole of Col to which there is no parallel in “Eph.” The same words are used, while the thought is so varied and so rich, that the one ep. is in no sense a copy or repetition of the other (see list of parallelisms, etc, in *St. Paul’s Epp. to Colossae and Laodicea*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh). Both epp. come warm and instinct with life from the full heart of the great apostle who had not, up to that time, visited either city, but on whom, none the less, there came daily the care of all the churches.

5. Recapitulation

To recapitulate: (1) The words “at Ephesus” in the inscription of the ep. are wanting in the two oldest and best MSS. (2) Paul speaks of his readers as persons of whose conversion to Christ he knew only by report. Similarly he speaks of them as knowing only by hearsay of his commission as an apostle of Christ. Also, though he had lived in Ephesus for three years, this ep. does not contain a single salutation. (3) He speaks of his readers as forming a church exclusively of the Gentiles. But the church in Ephesus, so far from being exclusively gentile, was actually Jewish in origin. (4) “Eph” was written at the same sitting as Col, and the same messenger, Tychicus, carried them both. Therefore as the ep. was not, and could not be, addressed to Ephesus, the conclusion is that it was addressed to some church, and that it was not a treatise sent to the Christian church generally. The words of the first verse of the ep., “to the saints that are,” proves that the name of the place to which it was addressed is all that is lost from the MSS, but that the name of the city was there originally, as the ep. came from Paul’s hand.

Now Paul wrote an ep. to Laodicea at the same time as he wrote to Colossae. He dispatched both epp. by Tychicus. The thought and feeling and even the diction of the two epp. are such that no other explanation is possible but that they came warm from the heart of the same writer at the same time. On all these grounds the conclusion seems inevitable that the Ep. to Laodicea is not lost at all, but that it is identical with the so-called “Ep. to the Eph.”

III. Laodicea Displaced by Ephesus.—How then did Ephesus displace Laodicea? It is explained at once if the theory is adopted that the epistle was a “circular” one addressed not to Laodicea only, but to other cities. We know e.g. that the apostle orders it to be taken to the church in Colossae and read there. So also it might have been sent to other cities, such as Hierapolis (Col **4** 13) and Ephesus. Hence if the church in Laodicea were not careful to see that the ep. was returned to them, by those churches to whom they had sent it, it can easily be understood how a copyist in any of those cities might leave out the words “in Laodicea,” as not agreeing with the name of the city where the MS actually was at the time. As copies were multiplied, the words “in Ephesus” would be suggested, as the name of the chief city of Asia, from which province the ep. had come to the knowledge of the whole Christian church, and to which, in point of fact, Paul had sent it. The feeling would be natural, that it was in keeping with the fitness of things, that Paul, who had founded the church in Ephesus, should have written an ep. to the church there.

1. A Circular Epistle

2. Proof from Biblical Prologues

In an article upon “Marcion and the Canon” by Professor J. Rendel Harris, LL.D., in the *Expos T*, June, 1907, there is reference to the *Revue Bénédictine* for January of that year, which contained a remarkable article by de Bruyne, entitled “Biblical Prologues of Marcionite Origin,” in which the writer succeeded in showing that a very widely spread series of prefaces to the Pauline Epp., which occur in certain Lat Bibles, must have been taken from a Marcionite Bible. Professor Rendel Harris adds that the prefaces in question may go back to Marcion himself, for in any case the Marcionite hand, from which they come, antedates the Lat tradition in which the prologues are imbedded. “It is clear from Tertullian’s polemic against Marcion, that the Pauline Epp. stood in the following order in the Marcionite Canon: Gal, 1 and 2 Cor, Rom, 1 and 2 Thess, then Eph (which Marcion calls by the name of the Ep. to the Laodiceans), Col, Phil, and Philem. . . . . Let us turn to the prologues that are current in Vulg and other MSS for Eph and Col: the Ephesian prologue runs as follows: ‘Ephesii sunt Asiani. Hi accepto verbo veritatis perstiterunt in fide. Hos conlaudat apostolus, scribens eis a Roma de carcere!’ When, however, we turn to the Colossian prologue, we find that it opens as follows: ‘Colossenses *et hi sicut Laodicenses sunt Asiani. Et ipsi* praeventi erant a pseudapostolis, nec ad hos accessit apostolus *sed et hos* per epistolam recorrigit,’ etc.

“From this it is clear that originally the prologue to the Laodiceans preceded the prologue to Col, and that the

Ephesian prologue is a substitute for the Laodicean prologue, which can be partly reconstructed from the references to it in the Colossian prologue. We can see that it had a statement that the Laodiceans belonged to Asia Minor, that they had been under the influence of false apostles, and had never been visited by St. Paul, who corrects their error by an epistle. . . . .

"We have now shown that the original Canon had 'Laodiceans, Colossians.' It is interesting to observe how some Lat MSS naïvely admit this: 'You must know that the ep. which we have as that written to the Eph, the heretics, *and esp. the Marcionites*, entitle the Ep. to the Laodiceans.' "

IV. Reason for Such an Epistle.—Assuming therefore that the "Ep. to the Eph" is the ep. which Paul wrote to the Laodiceans, various questions arise, such as, Why did he write to the church there? What was there in the state of the church in Laodicea to call for an ep. from him? Was there any heresy there, like the false teaching which existed in the neighboring church in Colossae?

The answer to such questions is that though we do not possess much information, yet these churches in the province of Asia had many things in common. They had originated at the same time, during the two whole years of Paul's residence in Ephesus. They were composed of men of the same races, and speaking the same languages. They were subject to the same influences of doctrinal error. The errors into which any one church fell could not fail to affect the others also. These churches were permeated to a large extent by the same ideas, derived both from the current philosophy and from their ancestral heathen religions. They would, therefore, one and all, require the same apostolic instruction and exhortation. This ep., accordingly, bears a close resemblance to the Ep. to the Col, just for the reason that the circumstances of the church in Laodicea were similar to those of the church in Colossae; and also, that the thoughts which filled Paul's heart as he wrote to Colossae were adapted, in the first place, to counteract the false teaching in Colossae, but they are also the foundation of all Christian experience, and the very life of all Christian truth and doctrine. These are the great thoughts of Christ the Creator of all things, Christ the Upholder of all things, Christ the Reconciler of all things. Such thoughts filling Paul's heart would naturally find expression in language bearing a close resemblance to that in which he had just written to Colossae.

It is no more astonishing that Paul should have written to Laodicea, than that he also wrote to Colossae, which was probably the least important of all the cities and churches mentioned in the apostle's work and career. Neither is it any more to be wondered at that he should have written so profound an ep. as that to "the Eph," than that he should also have given directions that it be sent on to Colossae and read there; for this reason, that the exposition of Christ's great love to the church and of His giving Himself for it—the doctrine of the grace of God—is the very corrective required by the errors of the false teachers at Colossae, and is also the groundwork of Christian truth and experience for all ages.

Note.—A very remarkable circumstance in regard to the apocryphal Ep. to the Laodiceans is mentioned by Nestle in the preface to his edition of the Lat NT, published in Stuttgart in 1906. He writes that "the Ep. to the Laodiceans was for a thousand years part of very many Lat Bibles, and obtained a place in pre-Lutheran Ger. Bibles, together with Jerome's Ep. to Damasus."

John Rutherfurd

LAP: The word is the tr of three different Heb expressions: חֵיק, *ḥēḳ* (Prov **16** 33), בֶּגֶד, *beghedh* (2 K **4** 39), and חֹצֶן, *ḥōçen* (Neh **5** 13, besides חֵצֶן, *ḥēçen*, Ps **129** 7). In all these passages the meaning is that of a part of oriental clothing, probably the folds of the garment covering the bosom or lap of a person. The flowing garments of Orientals invite the use of the same, on the part of speakers, in driving home certain truths enunciated by impressive gesticulation. Every reader of Rom history recalls the impressive incident of Quintus Fabius Maximus (*Cunctator*), who, in 219 BC, was ambassador of Rome to Carthage, and who, before the city council, holding the folds of his toga in the shape of a closed pouch, declared that he held enclosed in the same both peace and war, whichever the Carthaginians should desire to choose. When the Carthaginians clamored for war, he opened the folds of his garment and said: "Then you shall have war!" Very much like it, Nehemiah, when pleading for united efforts for the improvement of social order, addressed the priests of Jerus to get a pledge of their coöperation: "Also I shook out my lap [*ḥōçen*], and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labor, that performeth not this promise; even thus be he shaken out, and emptied" (Neh **5** 13).

In EV the vb. "to lap" is found, which has no etymological connection with the above-mentioned nouns. It is in Heb לָקַק, *lāḳaḳ*, and refers to the loud licking up of water by dogs (1 K **21** 19; **22** 38 AV), and in the story of Gideon's battle against the Midianites, of his 300 warriors (Jgs **7** 5 ff).

H. L. E. Luering

LAPPIDOTH, lap′i-doth, -dōth (לַפִּידוֹת, *lappīdhōth*, "flames," "torches"; AV **Lapidoth**): Deborah's husband (Jgs **4** 4). The Heb name is a fem. pl. like Jeremoth (1 Ch **7** 8), Naboth (1 K **21** 1). The pl. is probably intensive. Jewish interpreters have identified Lappidoth ("flames") with Barak ("lightning"). Some have taken the words rendered "wife of Lappidoth" (*'ēsheth lappīdhōth*) as a description of Deborah, and have tr^d them, "woman of lights," i.e. maker of wicks for the sanctuary; or "woman of flames," referring to her prophetic zeal. These explanations are more interesting than probable.

John A. Lees

LAPWING, lap′wing (דּוּכִיפַת, *dūkhīphath*; **ἔποψ**, *épops*): A tr used in early VSS, now universally admitted to be incorrect. The lapwing had a crest, and resembled in size and color the **hoopoe** (*Upupa epops*). It appears in the lists of abominations only (Lev **11** 19 AV and Dt **14** 18 AV, RV Hoopoe, q.v.). The lapwing is a plover, and its flesh and eggs are delicious food.

LASCIVIOUSNESS, la-siv′i-us-nes (**ἀσέλγεια**, *asélgeia*, "licentiousness," "wantonness," "unbridled lust," "shamelessness," "outrageousness"):

1. Sources

Etymologists assign three probable sources of *aselgeia*, viz.: (1) from a compound of *a* priv. and Σέλγη, *Sélgē*, a Pisidian city whose inhabitants according to Thayer (*NT Lexicon*) "excelled in strictness of morals," but according to Trench a place whose people "were infamous for their vices"; (2) from a compound of *a* intense, and σαλαγεῖν, *salageín*, "to raise a disturbance or noise"; (3) from a compound of *a* priv. and σέλγω, *sélgō*, or θέλγω, *thélgō*, "exciting disgust or displeasure." It evidently means conduct and character that is unbecoming, indecent, unrestrainedly shameless.

2. As Used in the NT

Mk uses it in **7** 22 with uncertainty as to the vice meant. Paul (2 Cor **12** 21) classes it with uncleanness and fornication as sins to be repented of; also (Gal **5** 19; cf Wisd **14** 26, "wantonness") puts it in the same catalogue with other works of the flesh; and (Eph **4** 19) he refers to some aged ones so covetous that they made trade of themselves by giving "themselves up to lasciviousness." The same word is tr^d "wantonness" in Rom **13** 13, meaning wanton manner, filthy words, unchaste movements of the body. Peter (1 Pet **4** 3) mentions those who "walked in lasciviousness, lusts, winebibbings, revellings, carousings, and abominable idolatries." He speaks (2 Pet **2** 2) of "lascivious doings" (AV "pernicious ways"); (**2** 7) "lascivious life" (AV "filthy conversation"); and (**2** 18) of "lasciviousness" (AV "wantonness"), as a means "to entice in the lusts of the flesh." Jude ver 4 probably does not refer to any form of sensuality in using the word descriptive of "ungodly men" who perverted the faith of some and denied our only Master. William Edward Raffety

LASEA, la-sē′a (**Λάσαια**, *Lásaia*): A town on the S. coast of Crete, 5 miles E. of Fair Havens (Acts **27** 8). The ruins were examined in 1856 by Rev. G. Brown (see CH [*St.P*], ch xxiii, 640). If St. Paul's ship was detained long at this anchorage, it would be necessary to purchase stores from Lasea; and this in addition to the inconvenience of the roadstead (see Fair Havens) would probably explain the captain's reluctance to winter there.

LASHA, lā′sha (לָשַׁע, *lāsha'*): A place named on the southern boundary of the Canaanites along with Gomorrah, Adnah and Zeboiim (Gen **10** 19). *Onom* identifies it with the hot springs at Callirrhoë in *Wādy Zerḳā Ma'īn*, on the E. of the Dead Sea; in this agreeing with Tg Jerus. This position, however, seems too far to the N., and possibly the site should be sought on the W. of the Arabah. The absence of the article (cf Josh **15** 2) prevents identification with the promontory *el-Lisān*, which runs into the sea from the eastern shore. Wellhausen (*Comp. des Hex.*, 15) thinks we should read לֵשָׁם, *lēshām*, as the letters מ (*m*) and ע (') are like each other in their Palmyrene form. We should then have indicated the boundary from Gaza to the Dead Sea, and then from the Dead Sea to Leshem, i.e. Dan. This is very precarious. No identification is possible. W. Ewing

LASSHARON, la-shā′ron, la-shâr′on (לַשָּׁרוֹן, *lashshārōn* or *la-shārōn*, AV **Sharon**): A royal city of the Canaanites taken by Joshua, named with Aphek (Josh **12** 18). Possibly we should here follow the reading of LXX (B), "the king of Aphek in Sharon." *Onom* (s.v. "Saron") mentions a region between Mt. Tabor and the Lake of Tiberias called Sarona. This is probably represented by the ancient site Sarona, on the plateau 6½ miles S.W. of Tiberias. If MT is correct, this may be the place intended.

LAST DAY. See Day, Last.

LAST DAYS. See Eschatology of the OT.

LAST TIME, TIMES (**καιρὸς ἔσχατος**, *kairós éschatos*, **χρόνος ἔσχατος**, *chrónos éschatos* [also pl.], **ἔσχατον τοῦ χρόνου**, *éschaton toú chrónou*, **ὥρα ἐσχάτη**, *hōra eschátē*): In AV this phrase occurs in 1 Pet **1** 5; **1** 20 (pl.); 1 Jn **2** 18; Jude ver 18. RV has, in 1 Pet **1** 20, "at the end of the times," and in 1 Jn **2** 18, "the last hour," in closer adherence to the Gr. The conception is closely allied to that of "the last day," and, like this, has its root in the OT conception of "the end of days." In the OT this designates the entire eschatological period as that which the present course of the world is to issue into, and not, as might be assumed, the closing section of history. It is equivalent to what was later called "the coming aeon" (see Eschatology of the NT). In the NT, on the other hand, the phrase "the last time" does mark the concluding section of the present world-period, of the present aeon. In three of the NT passages the consciousness expresses itself that these "last times" have arrived, and that the period extending from the appearance or the resurrection of Christ until His Second Coming is the closing part of the present age, that the writer and readers are living in "the last times." In one passage (1 Pet **1** 5) "the last time" is projected farther forward into the future, so that it comes to mean the time immediately preceding the reappearance of Christ. Both usages can be readily explained. The days of the Messiah were to the OT writers part of the future world, although to the later Jewish chiliasm they appeared as lying this side of it, because differing from the world to come in their earthly and temporal character. To the early Christians the days of the Messiah appeared more closely assimilated in character to the future world, so that no reason existed on this score for not including them in the latter. Still it was also realized that the Messiah in His first appearance had not brought the full realization of the coming world, and that only His return from heaven would consummate the kingdom of God. Accordingly, the days in which they lived assumed to them the character of an intermediate period, marked off on the one hand from the previous development by the appearance of the Messiah, but equally marked off from the coming aeon by His reappearance in glory. From a formal point of view the representation resembles the Jewish chiliastic scheme, but with a twofold substantial difference: (*a*) the chiliastic scheme restricts the Messiah and His work to the last days, and does not carry Him over into the coming world, whereas to the Christian the coming world, no less than the last days, is thoroughly Messianic; (*b*) to the Jewish point of view both the days of the Messiah and the coming world lie in the future, whereas to the Christian the former have already arrived. It remained possible, however, from the Christian point of view to distinguish within the last times themselves between the immediate present and the future conclusion of this period, and this is done in 1 Pet **1** 5. Also in 1 Jn **2** 18 the inference that "the last hour" has come is not drawn from the presence of the Messiah, but from the appearance of the anti-Christian power, so that here also a more contracted conception of the last stage of history reveals itself, only not as future (1 Pet **1** 5), but as present (hence "hour" not "time").

For literature see Eschatology of the NT.

Geerhardus Vos

LASTHENES, las′the-nēz (**Λασθένης**, *Lasthénēs*): A highly placed official under King Demetrius II, Nicator. He is called the king's "kinsman" (AV "cousin") and "father" (1 Macc **11** 31.32; Jos, *Ant*, XIII, iv, 9), but these are to be taken as court titles rather than as denoting blood-relationship. According to Jos (*Ant*, XIII, iv, 3) he was a native of Crete, and raised an army for the king when he made his first descent upon the coast, and rendered him ultimately successful in wresting the throne of Syria from Alexander Balas (1 Macc **10** 67; *Ant*, XIII, iv, 3). The letter addressed to L. indicates that he was probably prime minister or grand vizier of the kingdom. J. Hutchison

LATCHET, lach′et (שְׂרוֹךְ, *s^erōkh*; **ἱμάς**, *himás*): Leather thong used for tying on sandals (see Gen **14** 23; Mk **1** 7 ‖). The stooping to untie the dusty shoe-latchet was esteemed by Orientals a service that was at once petty and defiling, and was usually assigned to menials.

LATIN, lat′in: Was the official language of the Rom Empire as Gr was that of commerce. In Pal Aram. was the vernacular in the rural districts and remoter towns, while in the leading towns both Gr and Aram. were spoken. These facts furnish the explanation of the use of all three tongues in the inscription on the cross of Christ (Mt **27** 37; Mk **15** 26; Lk **23** 38; Jn **19** 19). Thus the charge was written in the legal language, and was technically regular as well as recognizable by all classes of the people. The term "Latin" occurs in the NT only in Jn **19** 20, Ῥωμαϊστί, *Rhōmaïstí*, and in Lk **23**

38, Ῥωμαϊκοῖς (γράμμασιν), *Rhōmaïkoîs* (*grámmasin*), according to ℵ ADN. It is probable that Tertullus made his plea against Paul before Felix (Acts **24**) in Lat, though Gr was allowed in such provincial courts by grace of the judge. It is probable also that Paul knew and spoke Lat; cf W. M. Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies*, 1906, 65, and A. Souter, "Did Paul Speak Lat?" *Expos*, April, 1911. The vernacular Lat had its own history and development with great influence on the ecclesiastical terminology of the West. See W. Bury, "The Holy Latin Tongue," *Dublin Review*, April, 1906, and Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 1874, 480 f. There is no doubt of the mutual influence of Gr and Lat on each other in the later centuries. See W. Schulze, *Graeca Latina*, 1891; Viereck, *Sermo Graecus*, 1888.

It is doubtful if the Lat syntax is clearly perceptible in the *koinē* (see LANGUAGE OF THE NT).

Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East*, 117 f) finds ἐργασίαν δίδωμι, *ergasían dídōmi* (*operam dare*) in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus letter of the vulgar type from 2d cent. BC (cf Lk **12** 58). A lead tablet in Amorgus has κρίνω τὸ δίκαιον, *krínō tó díkaion* (cf Lk **12** 57). The papyri (2d cent. AD) give συναίρω λόγον, *sunaírō lógon* (cf Mt **18** 23 f). Moulton (*Expos*, February, 1903, 115) shows that τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, *tó hikanón poieín* (*satisfacere*), is as old as Polybius. Even συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν, *sumboúlion lambánein* (*concilium capere*), may go with the rest like σὺ ὄψῃ, *sú ópsē* (Mt **27** 4), for *videris* (Thayer). Moulton (*Prol.*, 21) and Thumb (*Griechische Sprache*, 121) consider the whole matter of syntactical Latinisms in the NT inconclusive. But see also C. Wessely, "Die lateinischen Elemente in der Gräcität d. ägypt. Papyrusurkunden," *Wien. Stud.*, 24; Laforcade, *Influence du Latin sur le Grec*, 83–158.

There are Lat words in the NT: In particular Lat proper names like Aquila, Cornelius, Claudia, Clemens, Crescens, Crispus, Fortunatus, Julia, Junia, etc, even among the Christians in the NT besides Agrippa, Augustus, Caesar, Claudius, Felix, Festus, Gallio, Julius, etc.

Besides we find in the NT current Lat commercial, financial, and official terms like ἀσσάριον, *assárion* (*as*), δηνάριον, *dēnárion* (*denarius*), κεντυρίων, *kenturíōn* (*centurio*), κῆνσος, *kē̂nsos* (*census*), κοδράντης, *kodrántēs* (*quadrans*), κολωνία, *kolōnía* (*colonia*), κουστωδία, *kōustōdía* (*custodia*), λεγεών, *legeṓn* (*legio*), λέντιον, *léntion* (*linteum*), λιβερτῖνος, *libertínos* (*libertinus*), λίτρα, *lítra* (*litra*), μάκελλον, *mákellon* (*macellum*), μεμβράνα, *membrána* (*membrana*), μίλιον, *mílion* (*mille*), μόδιος, *módios* (*modius*), ξέστης, *xéstēs* (*sextarius*), πραιτώριον, *praitṓrion* (*praetorium*), σικάριος, *sikários* (*sicarius*), σιμικίνθιον, *simikínthion* (*semicinctium*), σουδάριον, *soudárion* (*sudarium*), σπεκουλάτωρ, *spekoulátōr* (*speculator*), ταβέρνα, *tabérna* (*taberna*), τίτλος, *títlos* (*titulus*), φελόνης, *phelónēs* (*paenula*), φόρον, *phóron* (*forum*), φραγέλλιον, *phragéllion* (*flagellum*), φραγελλόω, *phragellóō* (*flagello*), χάρτης, *chártēs* (*charta?*), χῶρος, *chō̂ros* (*chorus*).

Then we meet such adjectives as Ἡρωδιανοί, *Hērōdianoí*, Φιλιππήσιοι, *Philippḗsioi*, Χριστιανοί, *Christianoí*, which are made after the Lat model. Mark's Gospel shows more of these Lat words outside of proper names (cf Rom **16**), as is natural if his Gospel were indeed written in Rome. See also LATIN VERSION, THE OLD.

LITERATURE.—Besides the lit. already mentioned see Schürer, *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div II, vol I, 43 ff; Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud* (1898, 1899); Hoole, *Classical Element in the NT* (1888); Jannaris, *Historical Gr Grammar* (1897); W. Schmid, *Atticismus*, etc (1887–97); Kapp, *Latinismis merito ac falso susceptis* (1726); Georgi, *De Latinismis NT* (1733); Draeger, *Historische Syntax der lat. Sprache* (1878–81); Pfister, *Vulgärlatein und Vulgärgriechisch* (*Rh. Mus.*, 1912, 195-208).

A. T. ROBERTSON

LATIN VERSION, THE OLD:

1. The Motive of Translation
2. Multiplicity of Latin Translations in the 4th Century
3. The Latin Bible before Jerome
4. First Used in North Africa
5. Cyprian's Bible
6. Tertullian's Bible
7. Possible Eastern Origin of Old Latin
8. Classification of Old Latin MSS
9. Individual Characteristics
10. Value of Old Latin for Textual Criticism

LITERATURE

1. The Motive of Translation

The claim of Christianity to be the one true religion has carried with it from the beginning the obligation to make its Holy Scriptures, containing the Divine message of salvation and life eternal, known to all mankind. Accordingly, wherever the first Christian evangelists carried the gospel beyond the limits of the Gr-speaking world, one of the first requirements of their work was to give the newly evangelized peoples the record of God's revelation of Himself in their mother tongue. It was through the LXX tr of the OT that the great truths of revelation first became known to the Gr and Rom world. It is generally agreed that, as Christianity spread, the Syr and the Lat VSS were the first to be produced; and tr^s of the Gospels, and of other books of the Old and NT in Gr, were in all probability to be found in these languages before the close of the 2d cent.

2. Multiplicity of Latin Translations in the 4th Century

Of the earliest translators of the Bible into Lat no record has survived. Notwithstanding the careful investigations of scholars in recent years, there are still many questions relating to the origin of the Lat Bible to which only tentative and provisional answers can be given. It is therefore more convenient to begin a study of its history with Jerome toward the close of the 4th cent. and the commission intrusted to him by Pope Damasus to produce a standard Lat version, the execution of which gave to Christendom the Vulg (see VULGATE). The need for such a version was clamant. There existed by this time a mutiplicity of tr^s differing from one another, and there was none possessed of commanding authority to which appeal might be made in case of necessity. It was the consideration of the chaotic condition of the existing tr^s, with their divergences and variations, which moved Damasus to commission Jerome to his task and Jerome to undertake it. We learn particulars from the letter of Jerome in 383 transmitting to his patron the first instalment of his revision, the Gospels. "Thou compellest me," he writes, "to make a new work out of an old so that after so many copies of the Scriptures have been dispersed throughout the whole world I am as it were to occupy the post of arbiter, and seeing they differ from one another am to determine which of them are in agreement with the original Gr." Anticipating attacks from critics, he says, further: "If they maintain that confidence is to be reposed in the Lat exemplars, let them answer which, for there are almost as many copies of tr^s as MSS. But if the truth is to be sought from the majority, why not rather go back to the Gr original, and correct the blunders which have been made by incompetent translators, made worse rather than better by the presumption of unskilful correctors, and added to or altered by careless scribes?" Accordingly, he hands to the Pontiff the four Gospels to begin with after a careful comparison of old Gr MSS.

From Jerome's contemporary, Augustine, we obtain a similar picture. "Translators from Heb into Gr," he says (*De Doctrina Christiana*, ii.11), "can be numbered, but Lat translators by no means. For whenever, in the first ages of the faith, a Gr MS came into the hands of anyone who had also a little skill in both languages, he made bold to translate it forthwith." In the same context he mentions "an innumerable variety of Lat translators," "a crowd of translators." His advice to readers is to give a preference to the Itala, "which is more faithful in its renderings and more intelligible in its sense." What the Itala is, has been greatly discussed. Formerly it was taken to be a summary designation of all the VSS before Jerome's time. But Professor Burkitt (*Texts and Studies*, IV) strongly urges the view that by this term Augustine designates Jerome's Vulg, which he might quite well have known and preferred to any of the earlier tr^{s}. However this may be, whereas before Jerome there were those numerous tr^{s}, of which he and Augustine complain, after Jerome there is the one preëminent and commanding work, produced by him, which in course of time drove all others out of the field, the great Vulg edition, as it came to be called, of the complete Lat Bible.

3. The Latin Bible before Jerome

We are here concerned with the subject of the Lat Bible before the time of Jerome. The MSS which have survived from the earlier period are known by the general designation of Old Latin. When we ask where these first tr^{s} came into existence, we discover a somewhat surprising fact. It was not at Rome, as we might have expected, that they were first required. The language of Christian Rome was mainly Gr, down to the 3d cent. St. Paul wrote the Ep. to the Rom in Gr. When Clement of Rome in the last decade of the 1st cent. wrote an ep. in the name of the Roman church to the Corinthians, he wrote in Gr. Justin Martyr, and the heretic Marcion, alike wrote from Rome in Gr. Out of 15 bishops who presided over the Rom see down to the close of the 2d cent., only four have Lat names. Even the pagan emperor Marcus Aurelius wrote his *Meditations* in Gr. If there were Christians in Rome at that period whose only language was Lat, they were not sufficiently numerous to be provided with Christian literature; at least none has survived.

4. First Used in North Africa

It is from North Africa that the earliest Lat literature of the church has come down to us. The church of North Africa early received a baptism of blood, and could point to an illustrious roll of martyrs. It had also a distinguished list of Lat authors, whose Lat might sometimes be rude and mixed with foreign idioms, but had a power and a fire derived from the truths which it set forth.

One of the most eminent of these Africans was Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who won the martyr's crown in 257. His genuine works consist of a number of short treatises, or tracts, and numerous letters, all teeming with Scripture quotations. It is certain that he employed a version then and there in use, and it is agreed that "his quotations are carefully made and thus afford trustworthy standards of African Old Latin in a very early though still not the earliest stage" (Hort, *Intro to the NT in Gr*, 78).

5. Cyprian's Bible

Critical investigation has made it clear that the version used by Cyprian survives in a fragmentary copy of St. Mark and St. Matthew, now at Turin in North Italy, called Codex Bobbiensis (*k*), and in the fragments of the Apocalypse and Acts contained in a palimpsest at Paris called Codex Floriacensis (*h*). It has been found that another MS, Codex Palatinus (*e*) at Vienna, has a text closely akin to that exhibited in Cyprian, although there are traces of mixture in it. The text of these MSS, together with the quotations of the so-called *Speculum Augustini* (*m*), is known among scholars as *African* Old Latin. Another MS with an interesting history, Codex Colbertinus (*c*) contains also a valuable African element, but in many parts of the Gospels it sides also with what is called the *European* Old Latin more than with *k* or *e*. Codex Bobbiensis (*k*) has been edited with a learned introduction in the late Bishop John Wordsworth's *Old Latin Bib. Texts*, the relation of *k* to Cyprian as well as to other Old Latin texts being the subject of an elaborate investigation by Professor Sanday. That Cyprian, who was not acquainted with Greek, had a written version before him which is here identified is certain, and thus the illustrious bishop and martyr gives us a fixed point in the history of the Lat Bible a century and a half earlier than Jerome.

6. Tertullian's Bible

We proceed half a century nearer to the fountainhead of the African Bible when we take up the testimony of Tertullian who flourished toward the close of the 2d cent. He differed from Cyprian in being a competent Gr scholar. He was thus able to translate for himself as he made his quotations from the LXX or the Gr NT, and is thus for us by no means so safe a witness to the character or existence of a standard version. Professor Zahn (*GK*, I, 60) maintains with considerable plausibility that before 210-240 AD there was no Lat Bible, and that Tertullian with his knowledge of Gr just tr^{d} as he went along. In this contention, Zahn is not supported by many scholars, and the view generally is that while Tertullian's knowledge of Gr is a disturbing element, his writings, with the copious quotations from both OT and NT, do testify to the existence of a version which had already been for some time in circulation and use. Who the African Wycliffe or Tindale was who produced that version has not been recorded, and it may in fact have been the work of several hands, the result, as Bishop Westcott puts it, of the spontaneous efforts of African Christians (*Canon of the NT*^{7}, 263).

7. Possible Eastern Origin of Old Latin

Although the evidence has, up to the present time, been regarded as favoring the African origin of the first Lat tr of the Bible, recent investigation into what is called the Western text of the NT has yielded results pointing elsewhere. It is clear from a comparison that the Western type of text has close affinity with the Syr witnesses originating in the eastern provinces of the empire. The close textual relation disclosed between the Lat and the Syr VSS has led some authorities to believe that, after all, the earliest Lat version may have been made in the East, and possibly at Antioch. But this is one of the problems awaiting the discovery of fresh material and fuller investigation for its solution.

8. Classification of Old Latin MSS

We have already noticed the *African* group, so designated from its connection with the great African Fathers, Tertullian and esp. Cyprian, and comprising *k*, *e*, and to some extent *h* and *m*. The antiquity of the text here represented is attested by these African Fathers.

When we come down to the 4th cent. we find in Western Europe, and esp. in North Italy, a second type of text, which is designated *European*, the precise relation of which to the African has not been clearly ascertained. Is this an independent text which has arisen on the soil of Italy, or is it a text derived by alteration and revision of the African as it traveled northward and westward? This group consists of the Codex Vercellensis (*a*) and Codex Veronensis (*b*) of the 4th or 5th cent. at Vercelli and Verona respectively, and there may be included also the Codex Vindobonensis (*i*) of the 7th cent. at Vienna. These give the Gospels, and *a* gives for St. John the text as it was read by the 4th-cent. Father, Lucifer of Cagliari in Sardinia. The Lat of the Gr-Lat MS D (Codex Bezae) known as *d*, and the Lat of the translator of Irenaeus are classed with this group.

Still later, Professor Hort says from the middle of the 4th cent., a third type, called *Italic* from its more restricted range, is found. It is represented by Codex Brixianus (*f*) of the 6th cent., now at Brescia, and Codex Monacensis (*q*) of the 7th cent., at Munich. This text is probably a modified form of the European, produced by revision which has brought it more into accord with the Gr, and has given it a smoother Lat aspect. The group has received this name because the text found in many of Augustine's writings is the same, and as he expressed a preference for the Itala, the group was designated accordingly. Recent investigation tends to show that we must be careful how we use Augustine as an Old Latin authority, and that the Itala may be, not a pre-Vulg text, but rather Jerome's Vulg. This, however, is still uncertain; the fact remains that as far as the Gospels are concerned, *f* and *q* represent the type of text most used by Jerome.

9. Individual Characteristics

That all these groups, comprising in all 38 codices, go back to one original is not impossible. Still there may have been at first local VSS, and then an official version formed out of them. When Jerome's revision took hold of the church, the Old Latin representatives for the most part dropped out of notice. Some of them, however, held their ground and continued to be copied down to the 12th and even the 13th cent. Codex *c* is an example of this; it is a MS of the 12th cent., but as Professor Burkitt has pointed out (*Texts and Studies*, IV, "Old Latin," 11) "it came from Languedoc, the country of the Albigenses. Only among heretics isolated from the rest of Western Christianity could an Old Latin text have been written at so late a period." An instance of an Old Latin text copied in the 13th cent. is the Gigas Holmiensis, quoted as *Gig*, now at Stockholm, and so called from its great size. It contains the Acts and the Apocalypse of the Old Latin and the rest of the NT according to the Vulg. It has to be borne in mind that in the early centuries complete Bibles were unknown. Each group of books, Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epp., Pauline Epp., and Rev for the NT, and Pent, Historical Books, Pss and Prophets for the OT, has to be regarded separately. It is interesting, also, to note that when Jerome revised, or even retranslated from the LXX, Tob and Jth of the Apoc, the greater number of these books, the Wisd, Ecclus, 1 and 2 Macc, and Bar were left unrevised, and were simply added to the Vulg from the Old Latin version.

10. Value of Old Latin for Textual Criticism

These Old Latin tr^{s} going back in their earliest forms to nearly the middle of the 2d cent. are very early witnesses to the Gr text from which they were made. They are the more valuable inasmuch as they are manifestly very literal tr^{s}. Our great uncial MSS reach no farther back than the 4th cent., whereas in the Old Latin we have evidence—indirect indeed and requiring to be cautiously used—reaching back to the 2d cent. The text of these MSS is neither dated nor localized, whereas the evidence of these VSS, coming from a particular province of the church, and being used by Fathers whose period is definitely known, enables us to judge of the type of Gr text then and there in use. In this connection, too, it is noteworthy that while the variations of which Jerome and Augustine complained were largely due to the blunders, or natural mistakes, of copyists, they did sometimes represent various readings in the Gr originals.

Literature.—Wordsworth and White, *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, 4 vols; F. C. Burkitt, "The Old Latin and the Itala," *Texts and Studies*, IV; "Old Lat VSS" by H. A. A. Kennedy in *HDB*; "Bibelübersetzungen, Lateinische" by Fritzsche-Nestle in *PRE*^{3}; Intros to Textual Criticism of the NT by Scrivener, Gregory, Nestle, and Lake.

T. Nicol

LATTER DAYS. See Eschatology of the OT.

LATTICE, lat′is. See House, II, 1, (9).

LAUD, lôd: A vb. meaning "to praise," used in Rom **15** 11 AV, and Ps **117** 1; **145** 4. RV either should have avoided the word altogether or else should have used it much more extensively—preferably the latter, as the word is not obsolete in liturgical Eng.

LAUGHING-STOCK, läf′ing-stok: Something set up to be laughed at; thrice in RV the tr of שְׂחוֹק, *sᵉḥōḳ*, "laughter," etc (Job **12** 4 *bis;* Jer **20** 7; cf Jer **48** 26.27.39; Lam **3** 14). See Mock, Mocking.

LAUGHTER, läf′tẽr (צָחַק, *çāḥaḳ*, שָׂחַק, *sāḥaḳ*, "to laugh," שְׂחוֹק, *sᵉḥōḳ*, "laughter"; **γελάω**, *geláō*, **καταγελάω**, *katageláō*): (1) Laughter as the expression of gladness, pleasurable surprise, is the tr of *çāḥaḳ* (Gen **17** 17; **18** 12.13.15; **21** 6), which, however, should perhaps be "laugh at me," not "with me," as AV and RV (so Delitzsch and others; see also Hastings in *HDB*), not in the sense of derision, but of surprise and pleasure. In the same ver for "God hath made me to laugh," RV gives in m, "hath prepared laughter for me," and this gave his name to the son, the promise of whose birth evoked the laughter (*Yiçḥāḳ, Isaac*); *gelaō* (Lk **6** 21.25) has the same meaning of gladness and rejoicing; *sᵉḥōḳ*, "laughter," has also this sense (Job **8** 21; Ps **126** 2). It is, however, "laughed to scorn" in Job **12** 4; RV "laughing-stock"; so Jer **20** 7; cf **48** 26.27.39; Lam **3** 14, "derision." (2) *Sāḥaḳ* is used (except Job **29** 24; Eccl **3** 4) in the sense of the laughter of *defiance*, or *derision* (Job **5** 22; **41** 29); in Piel it is often tr^{d} "play," "playing," "merry." (3) *Lā‘agh* is "to scorn," "to laugh to scorn" (2 K **19** 21; Neh **2** 19); *sāḥaḳ* has also this sense (2 Ch **30** 10); *çᵉḥoḳ* (Ezk **23** 32); *sᵉḥoḳ* (Job **12** 4); *katagelaō* (Mt **9** 24; Mk **5** 40; Lk **8** 53); the simple *gelaō* occurs only in Lk **6** 21.25; see above. *Katagelaō* is found in Jth **12** 12, "laugh to scorn" (Ecclus **7** 11; **20** 17; 1 Macc **10** 70, RV "derision").

For "laugh" (Job **9** 23) RV has "mock"; for "mocked of his neighbor" and "laughed to scorn" (Job **12** 4) "laughing-stock"; for "shall rejoice in time to come" (Prov **31** 25), "laugheth at the time to come"; "laughter" for "laughing" (Job **8** 21).

W. L. Walker

LAUNCH, länch, lônch. See Ships and Boats, III, 1.

LAVER, lā′vẽr (כִּיּוֹר, *kīyōr*):

1. In the Tabernacle

Every priest in attendance on the altar of Jeh was required to wash his hands and his feet before entering upon his official duties (Ex **30** 19 ff). To this end a laver was ordered to be made as part of the tabernacle equipment (**30** 17–21; **38** 8). Its composition was of brass (bronze), and it consisted of two parts, the bowl and its pedestal or foot (**30** 18, etc). This first laver was a small one, and was made of the hand mirrors of the women in attendance upon the altar (**38** 8). Its place was between the altar and the tabernacle (**40** 30). See Tabernacle.

The difficulty as to the washing of parts of the sacrificial carcases was overcome, in the temple of

2. In the Temple

Solomon, by the construction of "10 lavers" and a "molten sea" (1 K **7** 23–37; 2 Ch **4** 2–6; see TEMPLE; SEA, MOLTEN). We learn from 2 Ch **4** 6 that the "sea" was for the priests to wash in—therefore took the place of the laver in the tabernacle—and the lavers were used as baths for portions of the burnt offerings. The lavers themselves were artistic works of unusual merit for that age. Like that in the tabernacle, each had its own stand or base, which was cast in a separate piece from the laver. These bases rested on wheels which allowed of the laver being moved from one part of the court to another without being turned about. Five stood on the north and five on the south side of the temple. They were ornamented with "lions, oxen, and cherubim," and on a lower level, with a series of wreaths or festoons of flowers (1 K **7** 27–37). In modern speech, the lavers may be described as so many circular open tanks for the storage of water. Each laver contained 40 baths (about 320 gals.) of water. Its height was 5 cubits, the locomotive machinery being 3 cubits in height, and the depth of the bowl or tank, judging from its capacity, about 2 cubits. The last we hear of the lavers, apart from their bases, is that the idolatrous king Ahaz cut off the border of the bases, and removed the bases from them (2 K **16** 17). During the reign of Jehoiakim, Jeremiah foretold that the molten sea and the bases (there being then no lavers) should be carried to Babylon (Jer **27** 19). A few years later it is recorded that the bases were broken up, and the brass of which they were made was carried away (Jer **52** 17).

3. The Laver in the NT

The Gr word (λουτρόν, *loutrón*) occurs twice in the NT. In Eph **5** 26, Paul says that Christ gave Himself for the church "that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing [Gr "laver"] of water with the word"; and in Tit **3** 5 he says that we are saved "through the washing [Gr "laver"] of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit." In these passages the reference is to the constant physical purity demanded of the Jewish priests when in attendance upon the temple. Christians are "a holy priesthood," and are cleansed not by water only, but, in the former passage, "with the word" (cf Jn **15** 3); in the latter, by the "renewing of the Holy Spirit" (cf Ezk **36** 25; Jn **3** 5). The feet-washing mentioned by Jesus is emblematic of the same thing (Jn **13** 10).

W. SHAW CALDECOTT

LAW, lô, IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Term "Law"; Austin's Definition of Law

- I. LAW IN THE GOSPELS
  - 1. The Law in the Teaching of Christ
    - (1) Authority of the Law Upheld in the Sermon on the Mount
      - (*a*) Christ and Tradition
      - (*b*) Sin of Murder
      - (*c*) Adultery and Divorce
      - (*d*) Oaths
      - (*e*) Retaliation
      - (*f*) Love to Neighbors—Love of Enemies
    - (2) Other References to the Law in the Teaching of Christ
      - (*a*) Traditions of the Elders and the 5th Commandment
      - (*b*) Christ's Answer to the Young Ruler
      - (*c*) Christ's Answer to the Lawyer
      - (*d*) References in the Fourth Gospel
  - 2. The Law in Relation to the Life of Christ
    - (1) In His Infancy
    - (2) In His Ministry
  - 3. The Law in Relation to the Death of Christ
    - (1) Christ Charged with Blasphemy under the Jewish Law
    - (2) Christ Charged with Treason under the Roman Law
  - 4. How Christ Fulfilled the Law in All Its Parts
- II. LAW IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
  - 1. Stephen's Witness
  - 2. Practice of Peter and Paul
  - 3. Allusions to the Roman Law
- III. LAW IN THE EPISTLES
  - 1. In Romans
  - 2. In Galatians
  - 3. In the Other Pauline Epistles
  - 4. In the Epistle to the Hebrews
  - 5. In the Epistle of James
  - 6. In the Epistles of Peter and John

LITERATURE

The Gr word for "law" is νόμος, *nómos*, derived from νέμω, *némō*, "to divide," "distribute," "apportion," and generally meant anything established, anything received by usage, a custom, usage, law; in the NT a command, law.

Austin's Definition of Law

It may not be amiss to note the definition of law given by a celebrated authority in jurisprudence, the late Mr. John Austin: "A law, in the most general and comprehensive acceptation in which the term, in its literal meaning, is employed, may be said to be *a rule laid down for the guidance of an intelligent being, by an intelligent being* having power over him." Under this comprehensive statement, he classifies "laws set by God to His human creatures, and laws set by men to men." After analyzing the three ideas, *command* as the expression of a particular desire; *duty* or *obligation*, signifying that one is bound or obliged by the command to pursue a certain course of conduct, and *sanction*, indicating the evil likely to be incurred by disobedience, he thus summarizes: "The ideas or notions comprehended by the term *command* are the following: (1) a *wish* or desire conceived by a rational being that another rational being shall do or forbear; (2) an *evil* to proceed from the former and to be incurred by the latter in case the latter comply not with the wish; (3) an expression or intimation of the wish by words or other signs." This definition makes it clear that the term "laws of nature" can be used only in a metaphorical sense, the metaphorical application being suggested as Austin shows by the fact that uniformity or stability of conduct is one of the ordinary consequences of a law proper, consequently, "Wherever we observe a uniform order of events, or a uniform order of coexisting phenomena, we are prone to impute that order to a *law* set by its author, though the case presents us with nothing that can be likened to a sanction or a duty." As used in the NT it will be found generally that the term "law" bears the sense indicated by Austin, and includes "command," "duty" and "sanction."

I. Law in the Gospels.—Naturally we first turn to the Gospels, where the word "law" always refers to the Mosaic law, although it has different applications. That law was really threefold: the Moral Law, as summed up in the Decalogue, the Ceremonial Law, prescribing the ritual and all the typical enactments, and what might be called the Civil or Political Law, that relating to the people in their national, political life. The distinction is not closely observed, though sometimes the reference emphasizes one aspect, sometimes another, but generally the whole Law without any discrimination is contemplated. Sometimes the Law means the whole OT Scriptures, as in Jn **10** 34; **12** 34; **15** 25. At other times the Law means the Pent, as in Lk **24** 44.

1. The Law in the Teaching of Christ

The Law frequently appears in the teaching of Christ. In the Sermon on the Mount He refers most specifically and fully to it. It is frequently asserted that He there exposes the imperfection of the Law and sets His own authority against its authority. But this seems to be a superficial and an untenable view. Christ indeed affirms very definitely the *authority of the Law:* "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets" (Mt **5** 17). Here the term would seem to mean the whole of the Pent. "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished" (Mt **5** 17.18). A similar utterance is recorded in Lk **16** 17: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall."

(1) *Authority of the Law upheld in the Sermon on the Mount.*—The perfection and permanence of the Law as well as its authority are thus indicated,

and the following verse in Mt still further emphasizes the authority, while showing that now the Lord is speaking specifically of the moral law of the Decalogue: "Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (**5** 19). These impressive sentences should be borne in mind in considering the utterances that follow, in which there seems a contrast between the Law and His own teaching, and from which has been drawn the inference that He condemns and practically abrogates the Law. What Jesus really does is to bring out the fulness of meaning that is in the Law, and to show its *spirituality* and the wideness of its reach. He declares that the righteousness of His disciples must exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees (ver 20). Their righteousness consisted largely in a punctilious observance of the external requirements of the Law; the disciples must yield heart obedience to the inner spirit of the Law, its external and internal requirements.

(*a*) Christ and tradition: Jesus then proceeds to point out the contrast, not so much between His own teaching and that of the Law, as between His interpretation of the Law and the interpretation of other teachers: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time" (AV), "to them of old time" RV (ver 21). Either rendering is grammatically allowable, but in either case it is evidently not the original utterance of Moses, but the traditional interpretation, which He had in view. "Ye have heard that it *was said*"; Christ's usual way of quoting the OT is, "It is written" or some other formula pointing to the written Word; and as He has just referred to the written Law as a whole, it would be strange if He should now use the formula "It was said" in reference to the particular precepts. Evidently He means what was said by the Jewish teachers.

(*b*) Sin of murder: This is further confirmed by the citations: "Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment." The second clause is not found in the Pent as a distinct statement, but it is clearly the generalization of the teachers. Christ does not set Himself in opposition to Moses; rather does He enjoin obedience to the precepts of the scribes when, sitting in Moses' seat, they truly expound the Law (Mt **23** 1–8). But these teachers had so expounded the command as if it only referred to the *act of murder;* so Christ shows the full and true spiritual meaning of it: "*But I say* unto you, that every one who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment" (ver 22). See Murder.

(*c*) Adultery and divorce: Again, "Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt not commit adultery" (ver 27). The traditional teaching confined this mainly to the outward act, '*But I say* unto you,' says Christ, 'that adultery pertains even to the lustful thought' (ver 28). In dealing with this matter He passes to the law of divorce which was one of the civil enactments, and did not stand on the same level with the moral precept against committing adultery, nay, the very carrying out of the civil provision might lead to a real breach of the moral precept, and in the interests of the precept itself, in the very desire to uphold the authority of the moral law, Christ pronounces against divorce on any ground, save that of fornication. Later on, as recorded in Mt **19** 3–9, He was questioned about this same law of divorce, and again He condemns the light way in which divorce was treated by the Jews, and affirms strongly the sanctity of the marriage institution, showing that it was antecedent to the Mosaic code—was from the beginning, and derived its binding force from the Divine pronouncement in Gen **2** 24, founded upon the nature of things; while as to the Mosaic law of divorce, He declares that it was permitted on account of the hardness of their hearts, but that no other cause than fornication was sufficient to dissolve the marriage tie. This civil enactment, justified originally on account of the inability of the people to rise to the true moral ideal of the Decalogue, Christ claims authority to transcend, but in doing so He vindicates and upholds the law which said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." See Divorce.

(*d*) Oaths: The next precept Jesus cites is one partly civil and partly ritual, concerning the taking of oaths. The words are not found in the Pent as a definite enactment; they are rather a gathering up of several utterances (Lev **19** 12; Nu **30** 2; Dt **23** 21), and again the form of the citation suggests that it is the rabbinical interpretation that is in question. But the kind of swearing allowed by the law was the very opposite of ordinary profane swearing. It was intended, indeed, to guard the 3d commandment against taking the name of Jeh in vain. Christ in condemning the flippant oaths allowed by the rabbis was really asserting the authority of that 3d command; He was enforcing its spirituality and claiming the reverence due to the Divine name. Into the question how far the words of Christ bear upon oath-taking in a court of law we need not enter. His own response to the adjuration of the high priest when practically put upon His oath (Mt **26** 63.64) and other NT instances (Rom **1** 9; 2 Cor **1** 23; Gal **1** 20; Phil **1** 8; 1 Thess **2** 5; He **6** 16.17; Rev **10** 5.6) would tend to show that such solemn appeals to God are not embraced in Christ's prohibition: "Swear not at all"; but undoubtedly the ideal speech is that of the simple asseveration, the "Yes" or "No" of the man, who, conscious that he speaks in the presence of God, reckons his word inviolable, needing no strengthening epithet, though as between man and man an oath may be necessary for confirmation and an end of strife. See Oath.

(*e*) Retaliation: He next touches upon the "law of retaliation": "an eye for an eye" (ver 38), and consistently with our understanding of the other sayings, we think that here Christ is dealing with the traditional interpretation which admitted of personal revenge, of men taking the law into their own hands and revenging themselves. Such a practice Christ utterly condemns, and inculcates instead gentleness and forbearance, the outcome of love even toward enemies. This law, indeed, finds place among the Mosaic provisions, but it appears there, not as allowing personal spite to gratify itself in its own way, but as a political enactment to be carried out by the magistrates and so to discountenance private revenge. Christ shows that the spirit of His Gospel received by His people would supersede the necessity for these requirements of the civil code; although His words are not to be interpreted quite literally, for He Himself when smitten on the one cheek did not turn the other to the smiter (Jn **18** 22.23), and the principle of the law of retaliation still holds good in the legislative procedure of all civilized nations, and according to the NT teaching, will find place even in the Divine procedure in the day of judgment. See also Punishment.

(*f*) Love to neighbors; love of enemies: The last saying mentioned in the Sermon clearly reveals its rabbinical character: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy" (Mt **5** 43). The first part is indeed the injunction of the Law, the second part is an unwarrantable addition to it. It is only this part that Christ virtually condemns when He says, "But I say unto you, Love your enemies" (ver 44). That the interpretation of these teachers was unwarrantable may be seen from many passages in the Pent, the Prophets and the Pss, which set forth the more spiritual aspect of the Law's requirement; and as to this particular precept, we need only refer to Prov **25** 21.22, "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat." Christ while condemning the addition unfolds the spiritual import of the command itself, for the love of neighbor rightly interpreted involves love of enemies; and so on another occasion (Lk **10** 25–37) He answers the lawyer's question, "Who is my neighbor?" by the parable of the Good Samaritan, showing that everyone in need is our neighbor. See also Forgiveness; Wrath.

The last reference in the Sermon on the Mount to the Law fully bears out the idea that Christ really upheld the authority while elucidating the spirituality of the Law, for He declares that the principle embodied in the "Golden Rule" is a deduction from, is, indeed, the essence of, "the law and the prophets" (Mt **7** 12).

(2) *Other references to the Law in the teaching of Christ.*—We can only glance at the other references to the Law in the teaching of Christ. In Mt **11** 13, "For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John," the Law in its teaching capacity is in view, and perhaps the whole of the Pent is meant. In Mt **12** 1–8, in rebutting the charge brought against His disciples of breaking the Sabbath, He cites the case of David and his men eating the showbread, which it was not lawful for any but the priests to partake of; and of the priests doing work on the Sabbath day which in other men would be a breach of the Law; from which He deduces the conclusion that the ritual laws may be set aside under stress of necessity and for a higher good. In that same chapter (vs 10–13) He indicates the lawfulness of healing—doing good—on the Sabbath day.

(*a*) Traditions of the elders and the 5th commandment: In Mt **15** 1–6 we have the account of the Pharisees complaining that the disciples transgressed the traditions of the elders by eating with unwashed hands. Jesus retorts upon them with the question: "Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God because of your tradition?" citing the specific case of the 5th commandment which was evaded and virtually broken by their ingenious distinction of *ḳorban*. This is a very instructive incident in its bearing upon the point which we have sought to enforce—that it was the traditional interpretation and not the Law itself which Jesus condemned or corrected.

(*b*) Christ's answer to the young ruler: To the young ruler (Mt **19** 16–42) He presents the commandments as the rule of life, obedience to which is the door to eternal life, especially emphasizing the manward aspect of the Law's claims. The young man, professing to have kept them all, shows that he has not grasped the spirituality of their requirements, and it is further to test him that Christ calls upon him to make the "great renunciation" which, after all, is not in itself an additional command so much as the unfolding of the spiritual and far-reaching character of the command, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

(*c*) Christ's answer to the lawyer: To the lawyer who asks Him which is the great commandment in the Law, He answers by giving him the sum of the whole moral law. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second like unto it is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Mt **22** 35–39). In Mark's report (Mk **12** 31), He adds, "There is none other commandment greater than these," and in that of Matthew He says, "On these two commandments the whole law hangeth, and the prophets" (ver 40); both utterances showing the high estimation in which He held the Law.

(*d*) References in the Fourth Gospel: In His discussion with the Jews, recorded in Jn **7**, He charges them with failure to keep the Law: "Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you doeth the law?" (ver 19). And referring to the healing of the impotent man on the Sabbath day, a deed which had roused their ire, He shows how one law may conflict with another. Moses had enjoined circumcision, and sometimes the time for circumcising would fall on the Sabbath day. Yet with all their reverence for the Sabbath day, they would, in order to keep the law of circumcision, perform the rite on the Sabbath day, and so, He argues, it is unreasonable to complain of Him because on the Sabbath day He had fulfilled the higher law of doing good, healing a poor sufferer. In none of all Christ's utterances is there any slight thrown upon the Law itself; it is always held up as the standard of right and its authority vindicated.

2. The Law in Relation to the Life of Jesus Christ

The passages we have considered show the place of the Law in the teaching of Christ, but we also find that He had to sustain a practical relation to that Law. Born under the Law, becoming part of a nation which honored and venerated the Law, every part of whose life was externally regulated by it, the life of Jesus Christ could not fail to be affected by that Law. We note its operation:

(1) *In His infancy.*—On the eighth day He was circumcised (Lk **2** 21), thus being recognized as a member of the covenant nation, partaking of its privileges, assuming its responsibilities. Then, according to the ritual law of purification, He is presented in the temple to the Lord (Lk **2** 22–24), while His mother offers the sacrifice enjoined in the "law of the Lord," the sacrifice she brings pathetically witnessing to her poverty, "a pair of turtle doves, or two young pigeons" being the alternative allowed to those who were not able to provide a lamb (Lev **12**). The Divine approval is set upon this consecrating act, for it is while it is being done concerning Him after "the custom of the law" (ver 27), that the Spirit of God comes upon Simeon and prompts the great prophecy which links all the Messianic hopes with the Babe of Bethlehem.

Again, according to the Law His parents go up to the Passover feast when the wondrous child has reached His 12th year, the age when a youthful Jew assumed legal responsibility, becoming "a son of the Law," and so Jesus participates in the festal observances, and His deep interest in all that concerns the temple-worship and the teaching of the Law is shown by His absorption in the conversation of the doctors, whose questions He answers so intelligently, while questioning them in turn, and filling them with astonishment at His understanding (Lk **2** 42–47).

(2) *In His ministry.*—In His ministry He ever honors the Law. He reads it in the synagogue. He heals the leper by His sovereign touch and word, but He bids him go and show himself to the priest and offer the gift that Moses commanded (Mt **8** 4). And again, when the lepers appeal to Him, His response which implies the healing is, "Go and show yourselves unto the priests" (Lk **17** 14). He drives out of the temple those that defile it (Mt **21** 12.13; Jn **2** 15–17), because of His zeal for the honor of His Father's house, and so, while showing His authority, emphasizes the sanctity of the temple and its services. So, while claiming to be the Son in the Father's house, and therefore above the injunctions laid upon the servants and strangers, He nevertheless pays the temple-tax exacted from every son of Israel (Mt **17** 24–27). He attends the various feasts during His ministry, and when the shadows of death are gathering round Him, He takes special pains to observe the Passover with His disciples. Thus to the ceremonial law He renders continuous obedience, the motto of His life practically being His great utterance to the Baptist: "Suffer it now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness" (Mt **3** 15). If He obeyed the ceremonial law, unquestionably He obeyed the moral law. His keenest-eyed enemies could find no fault in Him in regard to His moral conduct. His absolute sinlessness attests the translation of the moral law into actual life.

3. The Law in Relation to the Death of Jesus Christ

We enter not upon the theological question as to the relation of the death of Christ to the penal inflictions of the Law Divinely enforced on behalf of sinners—that touches the doctrine of the Atonement—we only note the fact that His death was brought about in professed accordance with the Law. The chief priests, in hatred, sent officers to take Him, but overawed by His matchless eloquence, these officers returned empty-handed. In their chagrin, the chief priests can only say that the people who follow Him know not the Law and are cursed (Jn **7** 49). Nicodemus, on this occasion, ventures to remonstrate: "Doth our law judge a man, except it first hear from himself?" (ver 51). This sound legal principle these men are bent on disregarding; their one desire is to put an end to the life of this man, who has aroused their jealousy and hatred, and at last when they get Him into their hands, they strain the forms of the Law to accomplish their purpose. There is no real charge that can be brought against Him. They dare not bring up the plea that He broke the Sabbath, for again and again He has answered their cavils on that score. He has broken no law; all they can do is to bribe false witnesses to testify something to His discredit. The trumpery charge, founded upon a distorted reminiscence of His utterance about destroying the temple, threatens to break down.

(1) *Christ charged with blasphemy in relation to the Jewish law.*—Then the high priest adjures Him to say upon oath whether or not He claims to be the Christ, the Son of the Living God. Such a claim would assured-

ly, if unfounded, be blasphemy, and according to the Law, be punishable by death. On a previous occasion the Jews threatened to stone Him for this—to them—blasphemous claim. Now when Jesus calmly avows that He is the Son of God, the high priest, rending his clothes, declares that no further proof is needed. He has confessed to the blasphemy, and unanimously the council votes Him worthy of death (Mt **26**; Mk **14**; Lk **22**). If Jesus Christ were not what He claimed to be, then the priests were right in holding Him guilty of blasphemy; it never occurred to them to consider whether the claim after all might not be true.

(2) *Christ charged with treason under the Roman law.*—Not only is the Jewish law invoked to accomplish His death, but also the Rom law. On one other occasion Christ had come into touch with the law of Rome, viz. when asked the ensnaring question by the Herodians as to the lawfulness of giving tribute to Caesar (Mt **22** 17; Mk **12** 14; Lk **20** 22). Now the Jews need the Rom governor's authorization for the death penalty, and Jesus must be tried before him. The charge cannot now be blasphemy—the Rom law will have nothing to say to that—and so they trump up a charge of treason against Caesar.

In preferring it, they practically renounce their Messianic hopes. The charge, however, breaks down before the Rom tribunal, and only by playing on the weakness of Pilate do they gain their end, and the Rom law decrees His death, while leaving the Jews to see to the carrying out of the sentence. In this the evangelist sees the fulfilment of Christ's words concerning the manner of His death, for stoning would have been the Jewish form of the death penalty, not crucifixion. See Jesus Christ, III, *E*), ii, 3, 4.

4. How Christ Fulfilled the Law in All Its Parts

Looking at the whole testimony of the Gospels, we can see how it was that Christ fulfilled the Law. He fulfilled the moral law by obeying, by bringing out its fulness of meaning, by showing its intense spirituality, and He established it on a surer basis than ever as the eternal law of righteousness. He fulfilled the ceremonial and typical law, not only by conforming to its requirements, but by realizing its spiritual significance. He filled up the shadowy outlines of the types, and, thus fulfilled, they pass away, and it is no longer necessary for us to observe the Passover or slay the daily lamb: we have the substance in Christ. He also cleared the Law from the traditional excrescences which had gathered round it under the hands of the rabbis. He showed that the ceremonial distinction between meats clean and unclean was no longer necessary, but showed the importance of true spiritual purity (Mt **15** 11; Mk **7** 18–23). He taught His disciples those great principles when, after His resurrection, "beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" (Lk **24** 27). And as He opened their mind that they might understand the Scriptures, He declared, "These are my words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me" (Lk **24** 44). John sums this up in his pregnant phrase, "The law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (Jn **1** 17). The grace was in contrast to the condemnation of the moral law, the truth was the antithesis to the shadowy outline of the types and ceremonies.

II. Law in the Acts of the Apostles.—Without considering questions of authenticity and historicity in relation to this book which professes to be the earliest church history, we briefly note the place of the Law therein indicated. In the book we have an account of the transition from Judaism to fully developed Christianity, and the Law comes into view in various ways. The disciples, like other Jews, observe the feast of Pentecost, and even after the descent of the Spirit, they frequent the temple and observe the hours of prayer.

1. Stephen's Witness

The full-orbed gospel proclaimed by Stephen arouses the suspicion and enmity of the stricter sects of the Jews, who accuse him before the council of speaking blasphemous words against the holy place and the Law. But this was the testimony of suborned witnesses, having doubtless its foundation in the fact that Stephen's teaching emphasized the grace of the gospel. Stephen's own defence honors the Law as given by Moses, "who received living oracles" (Acts **7** 38), shows how disloyal the people had been, and closes by charging them not only with rejecting and slaying the Righteous One, but of failing to keep the Law "as it was ordained by angels" (**7** 53).

2. Practice of Peter and Paul

Peter's strict observance of the ceremonial law is shown in connection with his vision which teaches him that the grace of God may pass beyond the Jewish pale (Acts **10**). Paul's preaching emphasizes the fulfilling the Scriptures, Law and Prophecy, by Jesus Christ. The gist of his message, as given in his first reported sermon, is, "By him everyone that believeth is justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses" (**13** 38 f). The conversion of the Gentiles brings up the question of their relation to the ceremonial law, specifically to circumcision. The decision of the council at Jerus treats circumcision as unnecessary for the Gentiles, and only enjoins, in relation to the Mosaic ritual, abstinence from things strangled and from blood (ch **15**). The after-course of events would show that this provision was for the time of transition. Paul, though strongly opposed to the idea of imposing circumcision on the Gentiles, nevertheless without inconsistency and as a concession to Jewish feeling, circumcises Timothy (**16** 3), and himself fulfils the ceremonial enactments in connection with the taking of a vow (**18** 18). He also, following the advice of James, who wished him to conciliate the myriads of believing Jews who were zealous for the Law, and to show them the falseness of the charge that he taught the Jews among the Gentiles "to forsake Moses" (apostasy from Moses), took upon him the ceremonial duty of purifying the "four men that have a vow on them" (**21** 20–26). This involved the offering of sacrifices, and the fact that Paul could do so shows that for the Jews the sacrificial system still remained in force. The sequel to the transaction might raise the question whether, after all, the procedure was a wise one; it certainly did not fulfil the expectations of James. Later on, in his defence before Felix, Paul claims to be loyal to the Jewish faith, worshipping in the temple, and "believing all things which are according to the law, and which are written in the prophets" (**24** 11–14); and in his address to the Jewish leaders in Rome, he declares that he has "done nothing against the people, or the customs of our fathers" (**28** 17), and he seeks to persuade them concerning Jesus, "both from the law of Moses and from the prophets" (**28** 23).

3. Allusions to the Roman Law

In the Acts we find several allusions to law other than Jewish. In ch **16** Paul comes into collision with the Rom law. Beaten and imprisoned by the magistrates of Philippi, he is afterward offered the opportunity of quietly slipping away, but standing on his dignity as a Rom citizen, he demands that the magistrates themselves, who had violated the law by publicly beating uncondemned Romans, should come and set them free. This same right as a Rom citizen Paul again asserts when about to be scourged by the command of the centurion (**22** 25), and his protest is successful in averting the indignity. His trial before Felix and Festus well illustrates the procedure under the Rom law, and his appeal, as a Rom citizen, to Caesar had important results in his life.

III. Law in the Epistles.—The word is used both with and without the article, but though in some cases the substantive without the article refers to law in general, yet in many other places it undoubtedly refers to the Law of Moses. Perhaps, as has been suggested, it is that, where it does refer to the Mosaic Law, the word without the article points to that law, not so much as Mosaic, but in its quality as law. But speaking generally, the word with and without the article is used in reference to the Law of Moses.

1. In Romans

(1) *Law as a standard.*—In Rom Paul has much to say about law, and in the main it is the moral law that he has in view. In this great ep., written to people at the center of the famous legal system of Rome, many of them Jews versed in the law of Moses and others Gentiles familiar with the idea of law, its nature, its scope and its sway, he first speaks of the Law as a standard, want of conformity to which brings condemnation. He shows that the Gentiles who had not the standard of the revealed Law nevertheless had a law, the law of Nature, a law written upon their heart and conscience. Rom jurisprudence was familiar with the conception of a law of Nature, which became a law of nations (*jus gentium*), so that certain principles could be assumed as obtaining among those who had not the knowledge of the Rom code; and in accordance with these principles, the dealings between Romans and barbarians could be regulated. Paul's conception is somewhat similar, but is applied to the spiritual relations of man and God.

(2) *Gentiles condemned by the law of Nature.*—But the Gentiles, not having lived up to the light of that law, are condemned. They have violated the dictates of their own conscience. And the Jews, with the fuller light of their revealed law, have equally failed. In this connection Paul incidentally lays down the great principle that "Not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified" (Rom **2** 13). His great aim, in the ep., is to show that justification is by faith, but he here asserts that if anyone would have justification through law, then he must keep that law in all its details. The Law will pronounce the doer of it justified, but the mere hearing of the Law without doing it will only increase the condemnation. "As many as have sinned without the law shall also perish without the law: and as many as have sinned under the law shall be judged by the law" (**2** 12). Paul does not pronounce upon the question whether a Gentile may be saved by following the light of Nature; he rather emphasizes the negative side that those who have failed shall perish; they have light enough to condemn, is his point.

(3) *All men under condemnation.*—Having proved that both Jews and Gentiles are under sin, he closes his great indictment with the statement: "Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it speaketh to them that are under the law; that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may be brought under the judgment of God" (**3** 19). Thus the Law shuts up into condemnation. It is impossible for any sinner to be justified "by the works of the law"; the Law not only condemns but "through the law cometh the knowledge of sin" (**3** 20). It shows how far short men have come of God's requirements. It is a mirror in which the sinner sees his defilement, but the mirror cannot cleanse, though it shows the need of cleansing.

(4) *The redeeming work of Christ providing righteousness apart from the Law.*—Then setting forth the great redemption of Jesus Christ, the apostle shows that it provides what the Law had failed to provide, a righteousness which can satisfy the requirements of the Law; a righteousness that is indeed "apart from the law," apart from all men's attempts to keep the Law, but is nevertheless in deepest harmony with the principles of the Law, and has been witnessed "by the law and the prophets" (**3** 21). (In this passage the "law" seems to mean the Pent, and in ver 19, in view of the preceding citations from the Pss, it appears to mean the whole OT Scriptures.) Since the righteousness secured by Christ comes upon the sinner through faith, manifestly the works of the Law can have nothing to do with our obtaining of it. But so far is faith-righteousness from undermining the Law, that Paul claims that through faith the Law is established (**3** 31).

(5) *Abraham's blessings came not through the Law.*—Proceeding to show that his idea of justification by faith was no new thing, that the OT saint had enjoyed it, he particularly shows that Abraham, even in his uncircumcised state, received the blessing through faith; and the great promise to him and his seed did not come through the Law, but on the principle of faith.

(6) *Law worketh wrath and intensifieth the evil of sin.*—Indeed, so far from blessing coming to sinners by way of the Law, the "law worketh wrath" (**4** 15); not wrath in men against the Law's restrictions as some have argued, but the holy wrath of God so frequently mentioned by the apostle in this ep. The Law worketh wrath, inasmuch as when disobeyed it brings on the sinner the Divine disapproval; condemnation; it enhances the guilt of sin, and so intensifies the Divine wrath against it; and it, in a sense, provokes to sin: the sinful nature rebels against the restrictions imposed by the Law, and the very fact of a thing being forbidden arouses the desire for it. This seems what he means in a subsequent passage (**5** 20), "And the law came in besides, that the trespass might abound"; as if the very multiplying of restrictions intensified the tendency to sin, brought out the evil in human nature, showed the utter vileness of the sinful heart and the terrible nature of sin, and thus made the need for salvation appear the greater, the very desperateness of the disease showing the need for the remedy and creating the desire for it; the abounding of sin preparing the way for the superabounding of grace. That the presence of Law enhances the evil of sin is further shown by the statement, "But where there is no law, neither is there transgression" (**4** 15); transgression—*parábasis*—the crossing of the boundary, is, in the strict sense, only possible under law. But there may be sin apart from a revealed law, as he has already proved in the 2d chapter.

(7) *Law in the light of the parallel between Adam and Christ.*—In the 5th chapter, dealing with the parallel between Adam and Christ he says: "For until the law sin was in the world; but sin is not imputed when there is no law" (**5** 13). He cannot mean that men were not held responsible for their sin, or that sin was not in any sense reckoned to their account, for he has in that 2d chapter proved the opposite; but sin was not so imputed to them as to bring upon them the punishment of death, which they nevertheless did suffer, and that is traced by him to the sin of Adam. These, he says, had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression (ver 14); they had not transgressed a positive command as he did, although they had undoubtedly violated the law of conscience, and knew that they were sinners. In drawing out the parallel between Adam and Christ, he plainly indicates that as Adam's transgression of law brought condemnation on the race, so Christ's obedience to the Law brings justification.

(8) *Law and righteousness.*—So far he may be

said to have spoken of the Law in regard to the sinner; and it is mainly the Law in its judicial aspect, the Law in relation to righteousness. The Law reveals righteousness, the Law demands righteousness, the Law condemns for unrighteousness. Redemption is a working out of righteousness. The Law witnesses to the perfect righteousness of Christ. The righteousness secured by Christ meets all the requirements of the Law, while gloriously transcending it. The righteous penalty of the Law has been borne by Christ; the righteous requirements of the Law have been fulfilled by Christ. That perfect righteousness secured apart from the Law, but satisfying to the Law, comes to men not through their relation to the Law, but through faith. Now he proceeds to consider the Law in relation to the saint.

(9) *The saint and the Law.*—The believer justified through Christ has died with Christ. The "old man"—the sinful nature—has been crucified with Christ; the condemning power of the Law has terminated in the death of Christ, and through the death of the believer with Christ he has freedom from the condemnation of the Law. "He that hath died is justified from sin" (**6** 7). But though in one aspect the believer is dead, in another he is alive. He dies with Christ, but he rises spiritually with Him, and thus spiritually alive he is "to yield," "to present" his "members as instruments of righteousness unto God" (ver 13), and for his comfort he is assured that in this new sphere of life sin shall not have power to bring him under the condemnation of the Law—"Sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under law, but under grace" (**6** 14). His relationship to the Law has been altered through his union with Christ, and this fact the apostle proceeds to illustrate. He enounces the principle that "the law hath dominion over a man for so long a time as he liveth" (**7** 1). Death dissolves all legal objections. The believer, spiritually dead, is not under the dominion of the Law.

(10) *Illustrated by the law of the husband.*—The specific case is then given of a married woman bound by law to her husband, but freed from that law through his death, and in the application, he says, "Wherefore, my brethren, ye also were made dead to the law through the body of Christ" (**7** 4). If the Law in this metaphorical description is the husband while the soul is the wife, as has been most generally understood by commentators, then the application is based on the general thought of death dissolving the legal obligation, the death of the husband involves the death of the woman as a wife, and so he can speak of the death of the believer rather than of the death of the Law. Another explanation of the metaphor is that the old sinful state is the husband to which the ego, the personality, was bound by the Law, but that the sinful state being brought to death through Christ, the personality is free to enter into union with Christ. Whatever view is adopted, the leading thought of the apostle is clear, that through the death of Christ the believer is free from the Law: "But now we have been discharged from the law, having died to that wherein we were held" (**7** 6).

(11) *The purity and perfection of the Law in its own sphere.*—The question is then raised, "Is the law sin?" (ver 7). The thought is repudiated as unthinkable, but he goes on to show how the law was related to sin, giving from his own experience the exemplification of what he had stated in the 3d chapter, that by the Law is the knowledge of sin. The Law revealed his sin; the Law aroused the opposition of his nature, and through the working of sin under the prohibition of the Law, he found the tendency to be death. Nevertheless, there is no doubt in his mind that the Law is not responsible for the sin, the Law is not in any manner to be blamed, "The law is holy, and the commandment holy, and righteous, and good" (ver 12). Sin in the light of the holy Law is shown to be exceeding sinful, and the Law itself is known to be spiritual.

We need not deal with the difficult passage that follows concerning the inner conflict. There has always been much discussion as to whether this is a conflict in the soul of the unregenerate man or of the regenerate—we believe it is in the regenerate, setting forth the experience of the believer—but whatever view is taken, it is clear that the law cannot bring deliverance; the higher part of man's nature, or the regenerate nature according to the interpretation one adopts, may "consent unto the law that it is good" (ver 16), may even "delight in the law of God" (ver 22); but there is another law at work, the law of sin in the members, and the working of this law means captivity and wretchedness from which deliverance can only come through Jesus Christ (vs 23–25). The word "law" in these verses is used in the sense of principle, "the law of my mind," "the law of sin," "the law in my members"; but over against all is the law of God.

(12) *Freedom from the penal claims of the Law.*—The description of the Law as holy, righteous and good, as spiritual, as the object of delight to a true heart, is enough to show that the deliverance which the Christian enjoys is freedom from the penal claims and condemning power of the Law. This is borne out by the exulting conclusion: "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus" (**8** 1). The Law's claims, satisfied by Christ, no longer press upon those who are in Him. When the apostle adds, "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death" (**8** 2), he is using "law" in the general sense as a principle or power of producing ordered action, and "the law of the Spirit of life" may be taken to mean the method of the Spirit's working, and indeed may well be a way of describing the gospel itself—the new law, through which the Spirit operates. The other phrase, "law of sin and death," is not to be taken as meaning the Law of Moses, but the law, the principle of sin producing death mentioned in the previous chapter, unless we think of it as the holy Law which gives the knowledge of sin and brings the condemnation of death. The failure of the Law to produce a satisfactory result is definitely attributed to the weakness of the flesh, which is in effect reflecting the statement of the previous chapter, but all that the Law could not accomplish is accomplished through the work of Christ. In Christ sin is condemned, and in those who are brought into union with Him the righteousness of the Law is fulfilled.

(13) *The Law remains as a rule of life for the believer.*—Thus the Law is not abrogated. It remains as the standard of righteousness, the "rule of life" for believers. The utmost holiness to which they can attain under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is still the "righteousness" which the Law requires. That the apostle's teaching is far removed from Antinomianism is shown, not only by all that he says in these chapters about the believer's new life of absolute spiritual service, but by the specific statement in Rom **13** 8–10, which at once prescribes the commandments as rules of life (in Eph **6** 2 he cites and enforces the 5th commandment) and shows how true obedience is possible. "Owe no man anything, save to love one another: for he that loveth his neighbor hath fulfilled the law." Then, after specifying several of the commands, he declares that these and all other commands are "summed up in this word, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The man in Christ has found the true principle of obedience. He has entered into the true spirit of the holy law. That is all summed up in love, and he having received the love of Christ, living in His love, sees the Law not as a stern taskmaster condemning, but as a bright vision alluring. He indeed sees the Law embodied in Christ, and the imitation of Christ

involves obedience to the Law, but he fulfils the Law not simply as a standard outside, but as a living principle within. Acting according to the dictates of the love begotten at the cross, his life is conformed to the image of Christ, and in so far is conformed to the Law—"Love therefore is the fulfilment of the law." In **13** 1–7, though the word "law" does not occur, Paul indicates the relation of the Christian to the Rom law, to the sovereignty of Rome in general, showing that "the powers that be are ordained of God" and that in the ideal they are reflections of Divine authority, and as such are to be obeyed.

2. In the Epistle to the Galatians

In the Ep. to the Gal, Paul has also a great deal to say about the Law, but as we have dealt so fully with the conception given in Rom, we can only briefly note the teaching of the Galatian Ep.

(1) *Law in relation to grace and spiritual liberty.*—In general, we may say that as the Law in relation to righteousness was the prominent feature in Rom, in Gal it is the Law in relation to grace and spiritual liberty, and while it was almost exclusively the moral law that Paul had in view in Rom, in Gal it is rather the Law of Moses in its entirety, with special emphasis upon the ceremonial. He introduces the subject by referring to the episode at Antioch, when he had to rebuke Peter for his "dissimulation" (**2** 13). He shows the inconsistency of those who knew that they had been "justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law" (ver 16), compelling the gentile Christians to live according to the Law, and sums up with the striking statement, "For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God" (ver 19). The Law in revealing his sin and pronouncing condemnation, drove him to Christ for justification. Crucified with Christ he has entered into such vital union with Christ that his whole self-life is dominated by the Christ-life: "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me" (ver 20). Here we have the same line of thought as in Rom; then Paul goes on to show that all the blessings of grace which these Christians enjoy have come to them not by way of the Law, but "by the hearing of faith" (**3** 2–5). Again, citing the case of Abraham as an instance of justification by faith, he shows how utterly opposed the Law is to the grace that brings salvation, "For as many as are of the works of the law are under a curse" (ver 10), but in gracious contrast, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law" (ver 13), having Himself borne the curse, and so the blessing of Abraham can come upon the Gentiles through faith (ver 18).

(2) *The function of the Law not to give life, but to guide life.*—As in Rom, he shows that the promise of the inheritance was apart from the Law, was given 430 years before the Law was promulgated, and answers the question as to the purpose of the Law, by saying, "It was added because of transgressions" (**3** 19), the thought already noted in Rom. Yet the Law was not in its nature opposed to the promise. If any law could have given life, "could make alive," then so perfect was the Law of Moses that it would have served the purpose; "Verily, righteousness would have been of the law" (ver 21). The Law was never meant to give life to those who had it not. "He that doeth them shall live in them" (ver 12), but the doing implies the possession of life, and the Law only guarantees the continuance of life while it is perfectly obeyed. Law controls life, but cannot confer life. It regulates life, but cannot restore life. It may impel to righteousness, but it cannot impart righteousness.

(3) *The Law our schoolmaster.*—The Law, he shows, was our schoolmaster, our pedagogue, "to bring us unto Christ" (ver 24). The Grecian youth was under the charge of a pedagogue during his minority, one part of the pedagogue's duty being to take the boy, unwilling enough sometimes, to school. In the sense already shown in Rom, the moral law by showing us our sinfulness leads us to Christ; but here we may take the Law as a whole, including all the ceremonial and typical observances which were designed to lead the people to Christ.

(4) *The bondage of the Law.*—But while there was undoubtedly much of privilege for the people under the Mosaic dispensation, there was also something of bondage. And so Paul says, "We were kept in ward under the law" (ver 23), and in the next chapter, he speaks of the child, though heir to a great estate, being "under guardians and stewards until the day appointed of the father" (**4** 2), which seems to be the same thought as under the pedagogue, and this he calls a state of "bondage" (ver 3). The Law guarded and tutored and restrained; the great typical observances, though foreshadowing the grace of the gospel, were yet, in their details, irksome and burdensome, and the mass of rules as to every part of the Jew's conduct proved to be, speaking after the present-day manner, a system of red tape. Little was left to the free, spontaneous action of the spirit; the whole course of the Jew from the cradle to the grave was carefully marked out.

(5) *Sonship and its freedom from the Law's restrictions.*—But in the fulness of time "God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (**4** 4f). The gospel of the grace of God embodied in Christ shows its gracious character in that it not only answers the requirements of the moral law and removes its condemnation; fulfils, and by fulfilling abrogates the typical observer of the ceremonial law, but also abolishes all the directions and restrictions given to the Jews as a separate people, and brings its subjects into a condition of liberty where the renewed spirit under the mighty love of Christ can act spontaneously, the great principles of the moral law remaining as its guide, while the minute rules needed for the infancy of the race are no longer appropriate for the "sons of God, through faith, in Christ Jesus" (**3** 26). And so Paul warns these Christians against turning back to the "weak and beggarly rudiments" and observing "months, and seasons, and years" (**4** 9.10).

3. In the Other Pauline Epistles

In the remaining Epp. of Paul, little is said of the Law, and we need only indicate the connections in which the word occurs. In 1 Cor **7** 39 there is a reference to the wife being "bound by the law as long as her husband liveth" (AV). The word "law," however, is omitted from the critical texts and from RV. In the same ep. (**9** 8.9; **14** 21.34) the word is used of the Pent or the Scriptures as a whole. In **9** 20 Paul refers to his practice of seeking to win men to Christ by accommodating himself to their standpoint, "to them that are under the law, as under the law"; and in **15** 56 occurs the pregnant statement, an echo of Rom, "The power of sin is the law." In 2 Cor the word does not occur, though the legal system is referred to as the ministration of death, in contrast to the gospel ministration of the Spirit (ch **3**). The word "law" is once used in Eph (**2** 15), in reference to the work of Christ not only producing harmony between God and man, but between Jew and Gentile: "abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances," also spoken of as "the middle wall of partition," and referring esp. to the ceremonial enactments.

In Phil **3** 5.6.9 we have the fine autobiographical passage wherein we see the self-righteous Pharisee reckoning himself "blameless" in the eye of the Law, until convinced of his sin, and led to find in Christ the righteousness "which is through faith," instead of his own righteousness "which is of the law" (ver 9). The word does not occur in Col, but the thought is found of the spiritual circumcision in contrast to the physical, the blotting out through the work of the cross, of the bond written in ordinances and the consequent deliverance of the believer from the bondage of ceremonial observances (**2** 11–17), those being affirmed to be "a shadow of the things to come," Christ being the glorious substance. In 1 Tim **1** 8.9, we have the two pregnant statements that "the law is good, if a man use it lawfully," and that "law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless."

4. In the Epistle to the Hebrews

The word "law" occurs 14 t in this ep., and a great deal of attention is given to the subject, but it is generally the law in its ceremonial and typical aspect that is in question. It is not necessary to look at the matter in detail, but simply to indicate the line of teaching.

(1) *Harmony with the Pauline teaching.*—The ancient doubt as to the authorship of the ep. seems today to have crystallized into certainty, albeit the grounds for a conclusion are no stronger than formerly, but in the desire to prove the non-Pauline authorship, too much emphasis is perhaps laid upon the supposed un-Pauline character of the teaching. There is, after all, profound harmony between the teaching of the Pauline Epp. and the teaching of He, and the harmony applies to this matter of the Law. While Paul, as we have seen, gives prominence in Rom to the moral law, in Gal and elsewhere he deals with the ceremonial law, in much the same way, though not so fully, as the writer to the Hebrews. Such utterances as, "Our Passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ" (1 Cor **5** 7); "The rock was Christ"; "Now these things were our examples" (types of us) (1 Cor **10** 4–6); "Which are a shadow of the things to come; but the body is Christ's" (Col **2** 17) are exactly in line with the teaching of Hebrews.

(2) *The Law transcended by the gospel.*—The author shows how the Law, which was a word spoken through angels, is transcended by the gospel, which has been spoken by the Lord of the angels, and so demands greater reverence (He **2** 2–4), and all through the ep. it is the transcendent glory of the gospel dispensation introduced by Christ and ascribed to Him, which is made to shine before us.

(3) *Law of priesthood.*—The author deals specifically in chs **7** and **8** with the law of priesthood, showing that Christ's Priesthood, "after the order of Melchisedek," surpasses in glory that of the Aaronic priesthood under the law; not only surpasses but supersedes it; the imperfect gives place to the perfect; the shadowy to the real; the earthly to the heavenly; the temporal to the eternal. And as Paul justifies his doctrine of justification apart from the deeds of the Law by reference to the OT teaching, so here the writer finds in the OT prediction of the New Covenant, the basis for all his reasoning, and in his reference to the description of the New Covenant, he is at one with Paul in regard to the moral law, seeing it as now written on the heart, and becoming an internal power, rather than an external precept. See NEW COVENANT.

(4) *The law of the sanctuary and the sacrifices.*—He next deals with the law of the sanctuary, and in connection therewith considers the law of the sacrifices (chs **9**–**10**), and in the same way shows that Christ makes good all that the tabernacle and its services typified, that His one, all-perfect eternal sacrifice takes the place of the many imperfect temporary sacrifices offered under the Law. At the best the Law had "a shadow of the good things to come" (**10** 1). The shadow was useful for the time being, the people were greatly privileged in having it, it directed them to the great Figure who cast the shadow. The whole ceremonial system was really a system of grace at the heart of it; in spite of its external rubrics which might well be abused, it made provision for satisfying for the time the breaches of the law; the sacrifices themselves could not take away sin, but periodical forgiveness was conveyed through them, by virtue of their relation to the Coming One. Now the great sacrifice having been offered, eternal redemption is secured, perfect forgiveness obtained, free access into the heavenly Holy Place assured, and the eternal inheritance provided. The Substance of all the shadows has appeared, the shadows pass away, and the great truth indicated by Christ Himself is now fully made known through His Spirit-taught servants. Christ, who "is the end of the law [the moral law] unto righteousness to every one that believeth" (Rom **10** 4), is also the end of the ceremonial law, the full realization of all its types and shadows.

5. In the Epistle of James

James mentions the "law" 10 t in his ep., and in each case it is the moral law. The influence of the Sermon on the Mount is seen throughout the ep., and some distinct echoes of it are heard, as e.g. the injunction, "Swear not [at all]" (**5** 12). James has nothing but good to say of the Law, and that fact in the light of the influence of the Sermon on the Mount is enough to show that Christ, in that wonderful discourse, did not disparage the Law, far less abrogate it, but rather exalted and reinforced it. James taught by Christ exalts the Law, glorifies it, in fact seems almost to identify it with the gospel, for in ch **1**, when speaking of the Word and the importance of hearing and doing it, he in the same breath speaks of looking into "the perfect law, the law of liberty" (ver 25). And indeed, it is just possible, as some think, that he means the gospel by the epithet, although it seems better to take it as the Law tr^{d} in the gospel, the Law looked at in its spirituality, as the guide of the Christian man who has entered into the spirit of it.

Even in the OT, as Pss **19** and **119** specifically show, it was possible for spiritually-minded men to see the beauty of the Law and find delight in its precepts. In **2** 8 he speaks of the "royal law," and that here he does mean the Mosaic Law is beyond doubt, since he cites the particular requirement, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," in this agreeing with his Master and with Paul, finding in love of neighbor the sum of the Law and its true fulfilment. Respect of persons, he affirms, is a breach of this "royal law," and leads to those indulging in it being "convicted" by the law of transgression (ver 9). He then affirms the solidarity of the Law, so that a breach of it in one particular is a breach of the whole, and makes a man "guilty of all" (ver 10), a far-reaching principle which Paul had also indicated when quoting in Gal the words, "Cursed is every one who continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law, to do them" (Gal **3** 10), and when in Rom **7** he showed that the conviction that he had broken the 10th commandment made him realize that he had broken the whole Law. James then exhorts his readers to speak and act as those who are to be judged by "a law of liberty" (**2** 12), so that he sets no limit to the range of that law. Finally, in **4** 11, he warns them by implication against speaking against the Law or judging the Law, that is, to assume the place of judge instead of "doer of the law." James could not have used such language unless he had a profound conviction of the perfection of the Law. And it is the perfection of the Law as a rule of life for spiritual men redeemed from its condemnation that James considers it, and so we can call it the perfect law, the law of liberty, the Royal Law.

6. In the Epistles of Peter and John

In the Epp. of Peter and John, the word "law" does not occur, but Peter shows that the holiness of God remains as in the Pent the standard of life, and the example of Christ shows the way (1 Pet **2** 21), while in the church is found the spiritual realization of the sanctuary, priesthood and sacrifices of the old economy (1 Pet **2** 5–9). Peter has one reference to the Rom law, enjoining upon his readers obedience to it in the political sphere. John enjoins the keeping of the commandments, these being apparently the commandments of Christ (1 Jn **2** 3.4; **5** 2), and the test of keeping the commandments is love of the brethren, while hatred of a brother is, as in the Sermon on the Mount, murder. All sin is "lawlessness" (**3** 4), and the sum of all law-keeping is love of God and love of the brethren, and so the summary of the old Law is echoed and endorsed.

LITERATURE.—Chiefly the works on NT theology (Weiss, Beyschlag, Schmid, etc), and on Christian ethics (Martensen, Dorner, Harless, etc), with comms. on Pauline Epp. (Rom, etc); Ritschl, *Entstehung der altk. Kirche* (2d ed); Zahn, *Das Gesetz Gottes nach der Lehre und der Erfahrung des Apostels Paulus;* J. Denney, in *HDB*.

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LAW IN THE OLD TESTAMENT:

- I. TERMS USED
    - 1. *Tōrāh* ("Law")
    - 2. Synonyms of *Tōrāh*
        - (1) *Miçwāh* ("Command")
        - (2) *'Ēdhāh* ("Witness," "Testimony")
        - (3) *Mishpāṭīm* ("Judgments")
        - (4) *Ḥuḳḳīm* ("Statutes")
        - (5) *Piḳḳūdhīm* ("Precepts")
- II. THE WRITTEN RECORD OF THE LAW
    - 1. The Critical Dating of the Laws
    - 2. Groups of Laws in P
    - 3. The Book of the Covenant
        - (1) Judgments. Compared with Code of Ḥammurabi
        - (2) Basis of Law of Covenant. Earlier Customs
    - 4. The Book of the Law of Dt **31**
    - 5. The Law of Holiness
    - 6. The Final Compilation
- III. THE GENERAL CHARACTER AND DESIGN OF THE LAW
    - 1. The Civil Law
        - (1) Servants and the Poor
        - (2) Punishments
        - (3) Marriage
        - (4) Sabbaths and Feasts
    - 2. The Ceremonial Law
        - (1) Origin of Sacrifice
        - (2) The Levitical Ritual
        - (3) The Law Truly a *Tōrāh*
- IV. THE PASSING AWAY OF THE LAW
- LITERATURE

Law, at least as custom, certainly existed among the Hebrews in the times before Moses, as appears from numerous allusions to it, both in matters civil and ceremonial, in the earlier Scriptures. But we have no distinct account of such law, either as to its full contents or its enactment. Law in the OT practically means the Law promulgated by Moses (having its roots no doubt in this earlier law or custom), with sundry later modifications or additions, rules as to which have been inserted in the record of the Mosaic law.

The following are matters of pre-Mosaic law or custom to which allusion is made in Gen and Ex: the offering of sacrifice and the use of altars (Gen *passim*); the religious use of pillars (Gen **28** 18); purification for sacrifice (**35** 2); tithes (**14** 20; **28** 22); circumcision (**17** 10; Ex **4** 25 f); inquiry at a sanctuary (Gen **25** 22); sacred feasts (Ex **5** 1, etc); priests (Ex **19** 22); sacred oaths (Gen **14** 22); marriage customs (**16**; **24**; **25** 6; **29** 16–30); birthright (**25** 31–34); elders (**24** 2; **50** 7; Ex **3** 16); homicide (Gen **9** 6), etc. We proceed at once to the Law of Moses.

I. Terms Used.—The Heb word rendered "law" in our Bibles is תּוֹרָה, *tōrāh*. Other synonymous words either denote (as indeed does *tōrāh* itself) aspects under which the Law may be regarded, or different classes of law.

1. *Tōrāh*

Tōrāh is from *hōrāh*, the Hiphil of *yārāh*. The root meaning is "to throw"; hence in Hiphil the word means "to point out" (as by throwing out the hand), and so "to direct"; and *tōrāh* is "direction." *Tōrāh* may be simply "human direction," as the "law of thy mother" in Prov **1** 8; but most often in the OT it is the Divine law. In the sing. it often means *a law*, the pl. being used in the same sense; but more frequently *tōrāh* in the sing. is the general body of Divinely given law. The word tells nothing as to the way in which the Law, or any part of it, was first given; it simply points out the general purpose of the Law, viz. that it was for the guidance of God's people in the various matters to which it relates. This shows that the end of the Law lay beyond the mere obedience to such and such rules, that end being instruction in the knowledge of God and of men's relation to Him, and guidance in living as the children of such a God as He revealed Himself to be. This is dwelt upon in the later Scriptures, notably in Pss **19** and **119**.

In the completed Canon of the OT, *tōrāh* technically denotes the Pent (Lk **24** 44) as being that division of the OT Scriptures which contains the text of the Law, and its history down to the death of Moses, the great lawgiver.

2. Synonyms of *Tōrāh*

(1) *Miçwāh*, "command" (or, in pl., "commands"), is a term applied to the Law as indicating that it is a charge laid upon men as the expression of God's will, and therefore that it must be obeyed.

(2) *'Ēdhāh*, "witness" or "testimony" (in pl. "testimonies"), is a designation of God's law as testifying the principles of His dealings with His people. So the ark of the covenant is called the "ark of the testimony" (Ex **25** 22), as containing "the testimony" (ver 16), i.e. the tables of the Law upon which the covenant was based. The above terms are general, applying to the *tōrāh* at large; the two next following are of more restricted application.

(3) *Mishpāṭīm*, "judgments": *Mishpāṭ* in the sing. sometimes means judgment in an abstract sense, as in Gen **18** 19; Dt **32** 4; sometimes the act of judging, as in Dt **16** 18.19; **17** 9; **24** 17. But "judgments" (in the pl.) is a term constantly used in connection with, and distinction from, *statutes*, to indicate laws of a particular kind, viz. laws which, though forming part of the *tōrāh* by virtue of Divine sanction, originated in decisions of judges upon cases brought before them for judgment. See further below.

(4) *Ḥuḳḳīm*, "statutes" (lit. "laws engraven"), are laws immediately enacted by a lawgiver. "Judgments and statutes" together comprise the whole law (Lev **18** 4; Dt **4** 1.8 AV). So also we now distinguish between consuetudinary and statute law.

(5) *Piḳḳūdhīm*, "precepts": This term is found only in the Pss. It seems to mean rules or counsels *provided* to suit the various circumstances in which men may be placed. The term may perhaps be meant to apply both to the rules of the actual *tōrāh*, and to others found, e.g. in the writings of prophets and "wise men."

II. The Written Record of the Law.—The enactment of the Law and its committal to writing must be distinguished. With regard to the former, it is distinctly stated (Jn **1** 17) that "the law was given through Moses"; and though this does not necessarily imply that every regulation found in the Pent is his, a large number of the laws are expressly ascribed to him. As regards the latter, we are distinctly told that Moses wrote certain laws or collections of laws (Ex **17** 14; **24** 4.7; Dt **31** 9). These, however, form only a portion of the whole legislation; and therefore, whether the remaining portions were *written* by Moses, or—if not by him—when and by whom, is a legitimate matter of inquiry.

It is not necessary here to discuss the large question of the literary history of the Pent, but it must briefly be touched upon. The Pent certainly appears to have reached its present form by the gradual piecing together of diverse materials. Dt being a separate composition, a distinction would seem to have been clearly established by critical examination between a number of paragraphs in the remaining books which apparently must once have formed a narrative by themselves, and other paragraphs, partly narrative but chiefly legislative and statistical, which appear to have been subsequently added. Without endorsing any of the critical theories as to the relation of these, one to the other, or as to the dates of their composition, we may, in a general way, accept the analysis, and adopt the well-known symbol JE to distinguish the former, and P the latter. Confining ourselves to their *legislative* contents, we find in JE a short but very important body of law, the Law of the Covenant, stated in full in Ex **20–23**, and repeated as to a portion of it in Ex **34** 10–28. All the rest of the legislation is contained in P and Dt.

1. The Critical Dating of the Laws

We are distinctly told in Ex that the law contained in Ex **20–23** was given through Moses. Rejecting this statement, critics of the school of Wellhausen affirm that its true date must be placed considerably later than the time of Joshua. They maintain that previous to their conquest of Canaan the Israelites were mere nomads, ignorant of agriculture, the practice of which, as well as their culture in general, they first learned from the conquered Canaanites. Therefore (so they argue), as the law of Ex **20–23** presupposes the practice of agriculture, it cannot have been promulgated until some time in the period of the Judges at the earliest; they place it indeed in the early period of the monarchy. All this, however, is mere assumption, support for which is claimed in some passages in which a shepherd life is spoken of, but with utter disregard of others which show that both in the patriarchal period and in Egypt the Israelites also cultivated land. See B. D. Eerdmans, "Have the Hebrews Been Nomads?" *Expos*, August and October, 1908. It can indeed be shown that this law was throughout in harmony with what must have been the customs and conceptions of the Israelites at the age of the exodus (Rule, *OT Institutions*). Professor Eerdmans in his *Alttestamentliche Studien*, Part III (1910), vigorously defends the Mosaic origin of the Book of the Covenant.

The same critics bring down the date of the legislation of Dt to the time of Josiah, or at most a few years earlier. They affirm (wrongly) that the chief object of Josiah's reformation narrated in 2 K **23** was the *centralization* of worship at the temple in Jerus. They rightly attribute the zeal which carried the reform through to the discovery of the "Book of the Law" (**22** 8). Then arguing that the frequent previous practice of worship at high places implied the non-existence of any law to the contrary, they conclude that the rule of Dt **12** was a rule recently laid down by the temple priesthood, and written in a book in Moses' name, this new book being what was "found in the house of Jeh." But this argument is altogether unsound: its grave difficulties are well set out in Möller's *Are the Critics Right?* And here again careful study vindicates the Mosaic character of the law of Dt as a whole and of Dt **12** in particular. M. Édouard Naville in *La découverte de la loi sous le roi Josias* propounds a theory which he supports by a most interesting argument: that the book found was a foundation deposit, which must therefore have been built over by masonry at the erection of the temple by Solomon.

Equally unsound, however plausible, are the arguments which would make the framing of the Levitical ritual the work of the age of Ezra. The difficulties created by this theory are far greater than those which it is intended to remove. On this also see Möller, *Are the Critics Right?*

Rejecting these theories, it will be assumed in the present art. that the various laws are of the dates ascribed to them in the Pent; that whatever may be said as to the date of some "of the laws," all which are therein ascribed to Moses are truly so ascribed.

2. Groups of Laws in P

The laws in P are arranged for the most part in groups, with which narrative is sometimes intermingled. These e.g. are some of the groups: Ex **25–31**; Lev **1–7**; **11–15**; Nu **1–4**, etc. The structure and probable history of these groups are very interesting. That many of them must have undergone interpolation appears certain from the following considerations. Each of the groups, and often one or more paragraphs within a group, is headed by a recurring formula, "Jeh spake unto Moses [or unto Aaron, or unto Moses and Aaron], saying." We might at first expect that the contents of each group or paragraph so headed would consist solely of what Jeh had said unto Moses or Aaron, but this is not always so. Not infrequently some direction is found within such a paragraph which cannot have been spoken to Moses, but must have come into force at some later date. Unless then we reject the statement of the formula, unless we are prepared to say that Jeh did not speak unto Moses, we can only conclude that these later directions were at some time inserted by an editor into paragraphs which originally contained Mosaic laws only. That this should have been done would be perfectly natural, when we consider that the purpose of such an editor would be not only to preserve (as has been done) the record of the original Law, but to present a manual of law complete for the use of his age, a manual (to use a modern phrase) made complete to date.

That the passages in question were indeed interpolations appears not only from the fact that their removal rids the text of what otherwise would be grave discrepancies, but because the passages in question sometimes disturb the sequence of the context. Moreover, by thus distinguishing between laws promulgated (as stated) by Moses, and laws to which the formula of statement was not intended to apply, we arrive at the following important result. It is that the former laws can all be shown to be in harmony one with another and with the historical data of the Mosaic age; while the introduction of the later rules is also seen to be what would naturally follow by way of adaptation to the circumstances of later times, and the gradual unfolding of Divine purpose.

It would be much too long a task here to work this out in detail: it has been attempted by the writer of this article in *OT Institutions, Their Origin and Development.* Two instances, however, may be mentioned.

Instances of interpolation.—In Ex **12** 43 ff (ERV) we read, "This is the ordinance of the passover: there shall no alien eat thereof; but every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof. A sojourner and a hired servant shall not eat thereof." This was the original Mosaic rule introduced by the formula in ver 43. But in vs 48.49 it is said that *sojourners* (when circumcised) *may* eat of the passover. This was plainly a relaxation of later date, made in accordance with the principle which is enlarged upon in Isa **56** 3–8.

According to Lev **23** 34.39*a*.40–42, the Feast of Tabernacles was a feast of seven days only. This was the Mosaic rule as appears from the formula in ver 33, and in certain other passages. But as a development in the feast's observance, an eighth day was subsequently added, and therefore insertions to that effect were made here at vs 36 and 39*b*. The introduction of this additional day would be in keeping with that elaboration in the observance of the "set feasts" which we find in Nu **28** and **29**, as compared with the simpler observance of the same days ordered in Lev **23**. Here again the formula in Nu **28** 1 plainly covered a few verses immediately following, but not the whole content of the two chapters.

Premising then the existence in writing from an early age of numerous groups of Mosaic laws and their subsequent interpolation, the ultimate compilation of these groups together with other matter and their arrangement in the order in which we now find them must have been the work, perhaps indeed of the interpolator, but in any case of some late editor. These numerous groups do not, however, make up the whole legislative contents of the Pent; for a very large portion of these contents consists of three distinct books of law, which we must now examine. These were the "Book of the Covenant," the "Book of the Law" of Dt **31** 26, and the so-called "Law of Holiness."

3. The Book of the Covenant

This book, expressly so named (Ex **24** 7), is stated to have been written by Moses (**24** 3.4). It must have comprised the contents of Ex **20**–**23**. The making of the covenant at Sinai, led up to by the revealing words of Ex **3** 12–17; **6** 2–8; **19** 3–6, was a transaction of the very first importance in the religious history of Israel. God's revelation of Himself to Israel being very largely, indeed chiefly, a revelation of His moral attributes (Ex **34** 6.7), could only be effectively apprehended by a people who were morally fitted to receive it. Hence it was that Israel as a nation was now placed by God in a stated relation to Himself by means of a covenant, the condition upon which the covenant was based being, on His people's part, their obedience to a given law. This was the law contained in the "Book of the Covenant."

It consisted of "words of Jeh" and "judgments" (Ex **24** 3 AV). The latter are contained in Ex **21** 1—**22** 17; the former in ch **20**, in the remaining portion of ch **22**, and ch **23**. The "judgments" (ARV "ordinances") relate entirely to matters of right between man and man; the "words of Jeh" relate partly to these and partly to duties distinctively religious.

(1) *The judgments compared with Code of Ḥammurabi.*—The "judgments" appear to be taken from older consuetudinary law; not necessarily comprising the whole of that law, but so much of it as it pleased God now to stamp with His express sanction and to embody in this Covenant Law. They may well be compared with those contained in the so-called Code of Ḥammurabi, king of Babylon, who is thought to have been the Amraphel of Gen **14**. These are called "the judgments of righteousness which Ḥammurabi the mighty king confirmed." The resemblances in form and in subject between the two sets of "judgments" are very striking. All alike have the same structure, beginning with a hypothetical clause, "if so and so," and then giving the rule applicable in the third person. All alike relate entirely to civil, as distinguished from religious, matters, to rights and duties between man and man. All seem to have had a similar origin in judgments passed in the first place on causes brought before judges for decision: both sets therefore represent consuetudinary law.

(2) *Basis of the law of the covenant on earlier custom and conception.*—It is remarkable that, alike in matters of right between man and man, and in matters relating directly to the service of God, the Law of the Covenant did little (if anything) more than give a new and Divinely attested sanction to requirements which, being already familiar, appealed to the general conscience of the community. If, indeed, in the "words of Jeh" there was any tightening of accustomed moral or (more particularly) religious requirements, e.g. in the first and second commandments of the Decalogue, it would seem to have been by way of enforcing convictions which must have been already gaining hold upon the minds of at least the more thoughtful of the people, and that in large measure through the lessons impressed upon them by the events of their recent history. In no other way could the Law of the Covenant have appealed to their conscience, and so formed a foundation on which the covenant could be securely based.

As in the "judgments" we have a ratification of old consuetudinary law; as again in the second table of the Decalogue we have moral rules in accordance with a standard of moral right—no doubt already acknowledged—very similar indeed to that of the "negative confession" in the Egyp Book of the Dead; so in the more especially religious rules of the Law of the Covenant we find, not new rules or an establishment of new institutions, but a new sanction of what was already old. These "words of Jeh" assume the rendering of service to Jeh: they do not enjoin it as if it were a new thing, but they enjoin that the Israelites shall not add to His service also the service of other gods (Ex **20** 3; **23** 24). They assume the observance of the three "feasts," they enjoin that these shall be kept to Jeh—"unto me," i.e. "unto me only" (vs 14.17). They assume the making of certain offerings to Jeh, they enjoin that these shall be made liberally—"of the first," i.e. of the best—and without delay (**22** 29 f). They assume the rendering of worship by sacrifice, and the existence of an accustomed ritual, and therefore they do not lay down any scheme of ritual, but they give a few directions designed to guard against idolatry, or any practices tending either to irreverence or to low and false conceptions of God (Ex **20** 4–6.23–26; **22** 31; **23** 18 f). While insisting upon the observance of the three "feasts," spoken of as already accustomed, it is remarkable that they contain no command to keep the Passover, which as an annual observance was not yet an accustomed thing.

This absence of ritual directions is indeed very noticeable. It was in the counsel of God that He would in the near future establish a reconstituted ritual, based upon what was already traditional, but containing certain new elements, and so framed as more and more to foster spiritual conceptions of God and a higher ideal of holiness. This however was as yet a thing of the future. No mention therefore was made of it in the Law of the Covenant; that law was so restricted as that it should at once appeal to the general conscience of the people, and so be a true test of their desire to do what was right. This would be the firm basis on which to build yet higher things. It is impossible to estimate the true character of the subsequent legislation, i.e. of what in bulk is by far the larger part of the *tōrāh*—except by first grasping the true character and motive of the Covenant, and the Covenant Law. See also COVENANT, BOOK OF; PENTATEUCH.

4. The Book of the Law of Dt 31

Immediately after the making of the Covenant, Moses was called up into the mount, and there received instructions for the erection of the tabernacle, these being followed in due course by the rules of the reconstituted ceremonial of which the tabernacle was to be the home. All these for the present we must pass over.

Having arrived on the E. of the Jordan, Moses, now at the close of his career, addressed discourses to the people, in which he earnestly exhorted them to live up to the high calling with which God had called them, in the land of which they were about to take possession. To this end he embodied in his discourse a statement of the Law by which they were to live. And then, as almost his last public act, he wrote "the words of this law in a book," and directed that the book should be placed "by the side of the ark of the covenant" (Dt **31** 24–26). What now was this book? Was it Dt, in whole or in part? The most reasonable answer to this question is that the book actually written by Moses comprised at least the contents of Dt **5**–**26** and **28**. Whether the whole or any parts of the remaining contents of Dt also formed part of *this book*, or were subsequently added to it, the whole being brought by a process of editing to our present Dt, is again a legitimate matter of inquiry.

Characteristics of Deuteronomy.—Regarding Dt **5**–**26** and **28** (with or without parts of other chapters) as the "book" of Dt **31** 24–26, we find that it is a manual of instruction for the people at large—it is not a priest's manual. It deals with matters of morals, and of religion in its general principles, but

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only subordinately with matters of ritual: it warns against perils of idolatry and superstitious corruptions, common in the service of other gods, but which might by no means be mixed up with Jeh's service: it insists upon righteous conduct between man and man, and very strongly inculcates humanity toward the poor and the dependent: it enjoins upon those in authority the impartial maintenance of right, as also fairness, moderation and mercy, in the administration of law and the infliction of punishment: it sets forth the fear of God as the guide of His people's actions, and the love of God in response to His mercy toward them. It does not lay down any scheme of ritual, though it gives rules (**14** 3–21) as to things which might not be eaten as unclean; it also gives directions as to the disposal of tithes (**14** 22–29; **26** 12); it enlarges upon the direction in the Law of the Covenant for the observance of the three "feasts," adding to this the observance of the Passover (ch **16**); it lays down a law (expressed conditionally) restricting to one sanctuary the offering of at least the more solemn sacrifices (ch **12**); and it frequently inculcates liberality toward the Levites, both on account of the sacred services rendered by them, their dispersal among the tribes, and the precarious character of their livelihood. Like the Law of the Covenant it assumes the existence of an accustomed ceremonial, and it is remarkable that when there is occasion to do so it makes use of phraseology (ch **12**) similar to that of the ritual laws of Moses in Lev and Nu.

It is quite possible that some interpolations may have been made in the text of chs **5–26**, but not on any sufficient scale to affect the general character of the original book. This "Book of the Law" then was an expansion of the Law of the Covenant, enforcing its principles, giving directions in greater detail for carrying them out, and setting them in a framework of exhortation, warning and encouragement. Thus its relation to the covenant is indicated by Dt **26** 16–19; **29** 1. This is that "book of the Law of Moses" of which frequent mention is made in the books of K, Ch, Ezr and Neh.

5. The Law of Holiness

In marked contrast to the numerous rules, sometimes intermingled with narrative, which we find in Ex **25–40**; Lev **1–16**, and throughout Nu, we have in Lev **17–26** a collection of laws which evidently was once a book by itself. This, from its constant insistence upon *holiness* as a motive of conduct, has been called "the Law of Holiness." Though it contains many laws stated to have been spoken by Jeh to Moses, we are not told by whom it was written, and therefore its authorship and date are a fair subject of inquiry. In its general design it bears much resemblance to the Law of the Covenant, and the Book of the Law contained in Dt. As in them, and esp. in the latter, the laws are set up in a parenetic framework, the whole closing with promise of reward for obedience and a threat of punishment for disobedience (cf Ex **23** 20–33; Lev **26**; Dt **28**). Like them it deals much with moral duties: chs **19** and **20** are practically an expansion of the Decalogue; but it deals also more than they do with ceremonial. With regard to both it sets forth as the motive of obedience the rule, "Be ye holy, for I am holy."

A clue as to date.—A clue to its date is to be found in its conception of cleanness. The idea found in the Prophets and the NT that moral wrongdoing renders unclean must be based upon some earlier conception, viz. upon the OT conception of *ritual* uncleanness. Now ritual uncleanness was originally physical uncleanness only; the idea of moral right or wrong did not enter into it at all: this is perfectly clear from the whole contents of Lev **11–15**. On the other hand we find the idea of *moral* cleanness and uncleanness fully formed in the Pss, Prov, and in the Prophets, including the earlier prophets, Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. In H we find an intermediate conception. We find that whereas in Lev **11–15** sexual acts which were lawful rendered unclean equally with those which were unlawful, in H adultery and incest are denounced as rendering specially unclean, the idea being that their technical uncleanness became more intensely unclean through their immorality (Lev **18** 24–30). Similarly, converse with familiar spirits and wizards, which probably involved physical defilement (perhaps through the ingredients used in charms), is mentioned as specially causing defilement, probably as such technical defilement would be intensified by the unlawfulness of dealing with familiar spirits and wizards at all (Lev **19** 31). Sins, however, which did not in themselves entail physical uncleanness, such e.g. as injustice, are not mentioned in H as rendering unclean, though they are so regarded in the Prophets. First, then, we have ritual uncleanness, which is physical only in the rules of Lev **11–15** (Mosaic rules undoubtedly embodying a pre-Mosaic conception); lastly, we have moral wrong *in itself* rendering unclean, in the Pss and the Prophets; intermediately we have the transitional conception in H. The date therefore of the Law of Holiness *may be* Mosaic, but *must be* considerably earlier than the earliest of the writing prophets.

6. The Final Compilation

The remaining groups of Mosaic laws would appear to have been extant in their original form (i.e. without interpolation), no doubt in the custody of the priesthood for probably a very considerable time, it may have been for centuries, before their final compilation in their present form. The arrangement of these groups as they now stand, before and after H and with narrative intermingled, is by no means haphazard, as it might at first appear.

(1) *Exodus.*—As the directions for the erection of the tabernacle with the purpose of its several parts were given to Moses immediately after the making of the covenant, they follow the account of it immediately. Thus Ex contains the history of the covenant-making, of what led up to it, and of what immediately followed it, viz. the provision of the home for the covenant-worship.

(2) *Leviticus.*—This book follows with the rules of that worship; not indeed with all its details, but with an account of all that was essential to it. First (in Lev **1–7**) we have the law of sacrifice, including what was so esp. peculiar to the covenant-worship, the law of the sin offering. Then in chs **8–10** we have the consecration of the tabernacle and its contents, the consecration of its priests and the inauguration of the newly prescribed system of worship. Then in chs **11–15** we have the rules for purification from ritual uncleanness, without which it would have been impossible for this system of covenant-worship to be carried on. Then there follows in Lev **16** the account of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement, the crown and completion of the whole. Thus in these 16 chapters we have an account of the *essentials* of the newly instituted covenant-worship. And then immediately we have in the Law of Holiness the great motive that underlay both this ceremonial law and the preceding moral and religious law of the Book of the Covenant, viz. the principle that God's people must be holy, because He is holy. The emphasizing of this principle in H thus closes this whole statement of law, as its first enunciation had introduced it in Ex **19** 6.

(3) *Numbers.*—The purpose of Nu is supplementary. Nu **1–6**, containing the numbering and ordering of the tribes and rules as to the representative Levitical ministry, sets forth the corporate character of Israel's service of God. The Israelites were not to be a mere aggregation of tribes, but a single nation, the bond of their union being the covenant with God. The camp itself, ordered and carefully guarded against pollution, was to be a symbol of this holy unity. Chs **7–10** narrate the remaining occurrences at Sinai, including (**9** 1–14) the important account of the first *commemorative* Passover. The remaining chapters contain, alternately, a narrative of events following the departure from Sinai and groups of laws usually in some way connected with the events narrated, but all of them supplementary to the more essential laws already recorded.

(4) *Deuteronomy.*—As a separate work and based upon sayings and doings at the very close of the 40 years, Dt naturally follows last.

III. The General Character and Design of the Law.—Both in civil matters and in ceremonial the Law had to deal with men who lived in a comparatively early age of human history. Its rules were necessarily adapted in both departments to the standards of the age. At the same time they inculcated principles, the working out of which would by degrees bring about a great advance in men's conceptions both of what is true and of what is right.

1. The Civil Law

As J. B. Mozley says (*Lectures on the OT*), "The morality of a progressive revelation is not the morality with which it starts but that with which it concludes"; yet the excellence of the OT Law is evident, not only in its great underlying principles, but in the suitability of its individual rules to promote moral advance.

(1) *Servants and the poor.*—We have already noted the similarity between the "judgments" of Ex **20** and **21** and the "judgments" of Ḥammurabi, in respect to form and subject. Notwithstanding the practical wisdom found in many of the latter, there is in one matter a marked contrast in spirit between them and the former, for while both the Law of the Covenant and its enlargement in Dt guarded the interest of and secured justice, and mercy too, to slaves and the poor, the laws of Ḥammurabi were framed rather in the interests of the well-to-do. Cf (e.g.) with the rule as to a runaway slave in Dt **23** 15 f, the following (CH, § 16): "If a man has harbored in his house a manservant or a maidservant fugitive from the palace, or a poor man, and has not produced them at the demand of the commandant, the owner of that house shall be put to death." The Law indeed permitted slavery, an institution universal in the ancient world, but it made provisions which must very greatly have mitigated its hardship. It was enjoined, both in Ex and in Dt, that after six years' service a Heb manservant should "go out free for nothing," unless he himself *preferred* to remain in servitude (Ex **21** 2–6; Dt **15** 12–18). The rule in Ex **21** 7–11 as to women servants was not exactly the same, but it nevertheless guarded their interests, while Heb women servants were afterward included in the rule of Dt **15** 12. A still greater amelioration was brought in by a later rule connected with the law of the Jubilee as set out in Lev **25** 39–55. Again, though servitude was permitted on account of debt, or as a rescue from poverty (Ex **21** 2.7; Dt **15** 12), manstealing was a capital offence (Ex **21** 16).

(2) *Punishments.*—The rule of Ex **21** 22–25 ("eye for eye," etc; cf Lev **24** 19.20; Dt **19** 16–19) sounds harsh to us, but while the justice it sanctioned was rough and ready according to the age, it put a restraint on vindictiveness. The punishment might be so much, *but no more:* and the same spirit of restraint in punishment is seen in the rule as to flogging (Dt **25** 2 f). Similarly the rule that murder was to be avenged by "the avenger of blood," a rule under the circumstances of the age both necessary and salutary, was protected from abuse by the appointment of places of refuge, the rule with respect to which was designed to prepare the way for a better system (see Ex **21** 12–14; Nu **35** 9–24; Dt **19** 1–13).

(3) *Marriage.*—The marriage customs of the Mosaic age permitted polygamy and concubinage, marriage by purchase or by capture in war, slave-marriage, and divorce. The Law allowed the continuance of these customs, but did not originate them; on the contrary, its provisions were designed to restrict the old license, giving protection to the weaker party, the woman, limiting as far as possible the evils of the traditional system, a system which could not suddenly be changed, and preparing the way for a better. Consider the effect of the following rules: as to slave-wives (Ex **21** 7–11); captives of war (Dt **21** 10–14); plurality of wives (Dt **21** 15–17); adultery (Ex **20** 14.17; Dt **22** 22); fornication (Dt **22** 23–29; **23** 17.18; Lev **21** 9); divorce (Dt **24** 1–4); Levirate marriage (Dt **25** 5–10); incest (Lev **18** 6–18); marriage of priests (Lev **21** 7.10–15); royal polygamy (Dt **17** 17).

(4) *Sabbaths and feasts.*—The law as to these, though partly ceremonial, yet served social ends. The Sabbath day gave to all, and particularly to servants and the poor, and domestic cattle too, a needful respite from daily toil; it also served men's spiritual welfare, and did honor to God (Ex **23** 12; Dt **5** 14.15; Ex **31** 12–17). The seventh year's rest to the land —it also "a sabbath of solemn rest, a sabbath unto Jeh"—was for the land's recuperation, but it served also to safeguard common rights at perhaps a time of transition as to customs of land tenure: connected with it also there were rules as to release of slaves and relief of debtors (Ex **23** 9–11; Lev **25** 2–7; Dt **15** 1–18). The observance of the Sabbath year as a rest to the land seems to have fallen into disuse, perhaps as early as some 500 years before the Bab captivity (2 Ch **36** 21), and it is probable that the Jubilee (the design of which seems to have been to adjust conflicting rights under new customs of land tenure and in the relation of employer to employed) was instituted to take its place (Lev **25**). The law as to the annual feasts insured both the social advantages of festive gatherings of the people, and their sanctification by the worship of God, and the public recognition of His hand in matters agricultural and political, which were either the occasion of, or connected with, these gatherings. Considerate liberality to the poor and dependent was, on these occasions, esp. enjoined (Ex **23** 14–17; Dt **16** 1–17; **12** 12.18.19).

2. The Ceremonial Law

We have already noted that the conception of sin as uncleanness, rendering the sinner therefore unfit for the presence of God, must have been an outgrowth from the earlier conception of purely ritual (physical) uncleanness. This development, and an accompanying sense of the heinousness of sin and of its need of atonement by sacrifice, were undoubtedly brought about by the gradual working of the law of the sin offering (Lev **4** 1—**5** 13; **12–15**; **16**). Similarly the rules as to guilt offerings (Lev **5** 14—**6** 7) must by degrees have led to a true conception of repentance, as including both the seeking of atonement through sacrifice *and* restitution for wrong committed. The sin offering was, however, a peculiarly Mosaic institution, marking a development in the sacrificial system. The only sacrifices of which we have any trace in pre-Mosaic times were meal and drink offerings, whole burnt offerings and sacrifices (or, to use the Levitical term, peace offerings).

(1) *Origin of sacrifice.*—We read of the offering of sacrifice all through the patriarchal history, and farther back even than Noah in the story of Cain and Abel; and there can be no doubt that the Levitical scheme of sacrifice was based upon, and a development (under Divine ordering) of, the sacrificial system already traditional among the Hebrews. Sacrifice was undoubtedly of Divine origin; yet we have no account, or even hint, of any formal institution of sacrifice. The sacrifices of Cain and Abel are spoken of in a way that leaves the impression that they were offered spontaneously, and the most probable assumption would seem to be that the very first offering of sacrifice was the outcome of a spontaneous desire (Divinely implanted, we may be sure) in early men to render service to the higher Being of whose relation to themselves they were, if ever so dimly, conscious.

Prehistoric research has not yet been able to present to us a distinct picture of primitive men; and even if the results of anthropology were more certain than they can yet claim to be, what in this connection we are concerned in is the conceptions, not of early men everywhere, but of the early ancestors of the Heb race. However infantile their ideas may have been and probably were, there may well have been far more of elementary truth in them—in simple ideas Divinely implanted—than students of anthropology have any knowledge of. Sooner or later early men did make offerings to God; and as the Mosaic sacrificial system was certainly based upon the patriarchal, so we may fairly assume that the ideas underlying the latter were an outgrowth from those which underlay the sacrifice of the patriarch's own still earlier ancestors.

It is well observed by Dr. A. B. Davidson (*OT Theology*, p. 315) that the sacrifices of Cain and Abel are called a *minḥāh* or present; and this idea of sacrifice as a gift to God most easily accounts for the facts with which we have to deal in the history of OT sacrifice. When early men first made offerings to God, they probably did so in the spirit of young children who give gifts to older persons without knowing whether, or in what way, the gifts will be of any use to them. They simply give in affection what is of value in their own eyes. The one only thing of prime value to the earliest men must have been food; hence offerings to God were everywhere in the first place offerings of food. But here a difficulty must soon have arisen, for men must have become convinced very soon that the Divine Being did not feed upon the food offered, at least in men's way of feeding. Ultimately, among the Israelites, the idea of His actual feeding became eliminated altogether (Ps **50** 13.14), but in the meantime the difficulty seems to have been met by the assumption that the Divine Being consumed an inner essence of food; and this being supposed to be set free by fire, food offered in sacrifice came to be burnt in order to fit it to become the food of God. This certainly appears from Lev **3** 11.16 (cf Lev **21** 6.8.17.21).

Coming, however, to animal as distinguished from vegetable sacrifice, we do not find that its origin can be accounted for as *at the first* being an offering of food. We learn from Lev **17** 10–14 that the essential part of animal sacrifice was the offering of the blood, and that blood was offered because blood was life. The idea that life can be given by giving blood lay at the root of a custom which must have been well-nigh universal in primitive times, that of blood covenanting (see H. Clay Trumbull, *Blood Covenant*). In this, two persons would give each to the other of his own blood, drawn from the living vein. Persons united in blood covenant were supposed, *by the commingling of their blood*, to become actual sharers of one life. To give to another of one's own blood was to give one's own life, i.e. one's own self, with all the dedication of love and service which that would imply. Now a similar idea would seem to have lain at the root of the primitive offering of blood to God: it was the offering of the life of the offerer.

In the very first blood offerings it is probable that the blood offered was the blood of the offerer, and that there was no infliction of death—only in this way the dedication of life. The dedicatory rite of circumcision may have been a survival of sacrifice in this its earliest form; so also what is narrated in 1 K **18** 28. When, however, the blood offered had come to be the blood of a substitute, and that a substitute animal, the sacrifice would come (no doubt soon) to include the slaughter of the animal and further the consumption, in whole or in part, of its carcase by fire as an offering of food.

(2) *The Levitical ritual.*—Whether the above theory be accepted or not, in so far as animal sacrifice became an offering of food, it would stand in line with vegetable sacrifice; but in both the excellence of the Levitical ritual stood in this, that while it was framed for a people whose conceptions were in a stage of transition, it was yet adaptable to higher conceptions, and fitted to become at length symbolical of purely spiritual truth. It was through the teaching, not only of prophets but of the Levitical ritual itself, and while it was still in full force, that the words of Ps **50** 13.14 were uttered: "Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the Most High." The Levitical ritual, as respects animal sacrifice in particular, was so framed as, on the one hand, to keep alive the idea of sacrifice as the offering of life, not of death, of life's dedication, not its destruction, and therefore to make it a true type of Christ's living sacrifice. On the other hand, the rules of sacrifice guarded against abuses which, as a matter of fact, sprang up widely among the heathen. The rule, e.g. in Lev **1** 2 and elsewhere, that "ye shall offer your oblation of the cattle, even of the herd and of the flock," excluded human sacrifice. The rule that the first act in every sacrifice must be to slay the creature offered excluded the infliction of unnecessary suffering. The detailed rules as to the offering and disposal of the blood, and the varying modes of disposal of the carcase, kept alive the essential idea of all such sacrifice, and saved it from degenerating into a mere heaping up, as in Egypt, of altars with mere loads of food. The rules of the peace offering, clothing it always with a spiritual motive (see Lev **7** 12.16), raised it to a level far above the sacrifice of that class among the surrounding heathen, guarding it against their licentious festivity (cf Hos **2** 11–13; **4** 13.14; Am **2** 8; **5** 21–23) and gross ideas as to the part of God in the feasting.

(3) *The Law truly a tōrāh.*—In every one of its departments the Law proved itself to be indeed a *tōrāh* directing God's people in the upward way; leading them on from the state of advancement, such as it was, to which they had already attained by Moses' time, to higher and higher standards, both of faith and of duty, till they were prepared for the gospel of Christ, who Himself said of the old Law, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled" (Mt **5** 18 AV). Meanwhile we have, in the teaching of the prophets, not a counter influence, not a system rivaling the Law, but its unfolding, both inspired of God, both instruments in His progressive revelation. "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" were the words of Samuel, a faithful servant of the Law, and himself a frequent offerer of sacrifice. What the Law was to the heart of devout Israelites in the prophetic age is seen in the fervent words of Ps **119**.

IV. The Passing Away of the Law.—The great general principles of the Law were not transitory but abiding, and reappear under the gospel dispensation. Otherwise, however, i.e. in those particulars, whether ceremonial or civil, in which it was adapted to merely passing needs, the Law passed away when Christ came. It is not always realized that already before Christ came it had begun to pass away. The following are illustrations:

(1) The whole rationale of the Levitical worship consisted in its being based upon the covenant made at Sinai, and the symbol of the Covenant was the ark containing the tables of the Law and surmounted by the mercy-seat. Therefore one of its most significant acts was the sprinkling of the blood of sin offering within the veil upon the mercy-seat, or without the veil, but yet before the mercy-seat. But this most significant act could no longer be performed when, after the Bab captivity, there was no longer either ark or mercy-seat.

(2) The law that tithe should be paid to the Levites, a tithe only of it being paid by them to "Aaron the priest" (Nu **18**), was practicable so long as the priests were a small portion only of the whole Levitical body, as they appear in the history down to the middle period of the monarchy. But by the time of the exile they disappeared from history except as actual temple ministrants, and, after the return from the exile, even these were in number a mere handful compared with the priests (Ezr **2** 36–42; **8** 15–20.24–30; Neh **11** 10–19). The attempt to revive the old law (Neh **10** 38.39) was well-intentioned but impracticable: it was evidently soon abandoned (Neh **13** 10–13; Mal **3** 8–10). We learn from Jos that tithes were regarded later as due to the priests, not to the Levites (Jos, *Ant*, XX, viii, 8; ix, 2).

(3) That the Mosaic law as to divorce was to give place to one more stringent appears not only from Our Lord's words in Mt **19** 7–9, but from Mal **2** 16.

(4) It is probable that some of the supplementary rules in Nu may have been designed for temporary use only, and may have passed away before the close of the OT. It may have been so, e.g., with the law of Nu **5** 11–31, a law probably most useful in the circumstances of the Mosaic age, and perhaps itself an endorsement of a pre-Mosaic custom.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT*, with which should be read Möller, *Are the Critics Right?* and Orr, *POT*; A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the OT*; J. B. Mozley, *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*; Rule, *OT Institutions, Their Origin and Development*; Kurtz, *Sacrificial Worship of the OT*; Hoonacker, *Le sacerdoce lévitique*; Édouard Naville, *La découverte de la loi sous le roi Josias;* H. Clay Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant;* Milligan, *Resurrection of Our Lord* (274 ff, on "blood-offering").

Ulric Z. Rule

LAW, JUDICIAL, jōō-dish′al: This was the form of Divine law which, under the dominion of God, as the Supreme Magistrate, directed the policy of the Jewish nation, and hence was binding only on them, not on other peoples. The position of Jeh, as the Supreme Ruler, was made legally binding by a formal election on the part of the national assembly (Ex **19** 3–8); and that there might be no question about the matter, after the death of Moses, Joshua, in accordance with instructions received by his great predecessor in the office of federal judge, in the public assembly caused the contract to be renewed in connection with most solemn exercises (Josh **8** 30–35). No legal contract was ever entered into with more formality and with a clearer understanding of the terms by the several parties than was the contract which made it binding on the Hebrews permanently to recognize Jeh as the Supreme Ruler (Ex **24** 3–8). He was to be acknowledged as the Founder of the nation (Ex **20** 2); Sovereign, Ruler, and Judge (Ex **20** 2–6); and in these capacities was to be the object of love, reverential fear and worship, service, and absolute obedience. Flagrant disregard of their obligations to Him manifested in idolatry or blasphemy was regarded as high treason, and like high treason in all nations and history was punishable by death (Ex **20** 3–5.7; **22** 20; Lev **24** 16; Dt **17** 2–5). The will of Jeh in critical cases was to be ascertained through special means (Nu **9** 8; Jgs **1** 1.2; **20** 18. 23.28; 1 S **10** 22).

The ruling official recognized by the Hebrews as a nation was the chief magistrate, but he stood as Jeh's vicegerent, and therefore combined various authorities in his person. We must distinguish the functions of the chief magistrate (1) under the republic, (2) under the constitutional monarchy, and (3) under the senatorial oligarchy after the Bab captivity. Moses was the first chief magistrate under the republic; after him, Joshua, and the other judges. Under the constitutional monarchy, it was the king whose government was limited, for he was to be elected by the people; must be a native Hebrew; must not keep a large cavalry; must not support a harem; must not multiply riches; must be a defender of the national religion; must be guided by law, not whim; must be gracious and condescending to the people (Dt **17** 15–20). After the Bab captivity, the senatorial oligarchy combined ecclesiastical and state authority, later sharing it with the Rom government. See also Sanhedrin.

Frank E. Hirsch

LAW, ROMAN. See Roman Law.

LAWFUL, lô′fŏŏl (usually מִשְׁפָּט, *mishpāṭ,* "relating to judgment," or "a pronounced judgment"; צַדִּיק, *çaddīḳ,* "relating to that which is righteous" or "just"; **ἔξεστι,** *éxesti,* **εὔνομος,** *eúnomos,* "that which is authorized according to law," or "a privilege according to legitimate custom" [cf Ezk **18** 5.19. 21.27; Isa **49** 24; Mt **12** 10; Acts **16** 21; **19** 39]): Used of persons: of God, as being righteous both in the punishment of the wicked and the rewarding of the righteous (Ps **145** 17 Heb); of man, as being just and equitable in all his dealings with his fellow-man (Ezk **33** 19). It is used of things when the same are in accord with a pronounced judgment or a declared will of God, and thus pleasing in His sight (Mk **3** 4). When the course of individual conduct is according to God's law of righteousness, it is declared to be "lawful" (Ezk **33** 19). The word is used in a forensic sense as declaring the legal status of a person conforming to law. The idea of *straightness,* rigid adherence to God's law, whether religious, civil or ceremonial, cannot be excluded from the definition of the word "lawful."

Neither AV nor ARV is consistent in its tr of the Heb and Gr words tr^d "lawful." Ofttimes the words "just" and "righteous" are used. To arrive at the full and proper meaning of "lawful," therefore, it is necessary that we study the passages containing these synonymous terms. The written Law of God is the recognized standard by which things, actions and persons are to be judged as being lawful or unlawful.

William Evans

LAWGIVER, lô′giv-ẽr (מְחֹקֵק, *m^{e}ḥōḳēḳ;* **νομοθέτης,** *nomothétēs*): There are two words, one Heb and one Gr, which are tr^d "lawgiver." The former occurs 7 t in the OT, and in AV in every case except Jgs **5** 14 is thus tr^d. In RV it bears the tr "lawgiver" but twice (Dt **33** 21; Isa **33** 22), though in the other passages (Gen **49** 10; Nu **21** 18; Jgs **5** 14; Ps **60** 7; **108** 8) this meaning is retained in the margin. The Gr word occurs in the NT but once (Jas **4** 12), where it has a meaning that is almost the exact equivalent of the Heb word in Isa **33** 22. In both passages God is declared to be the "lawgiver," and in the NT passage is so called because He has the power to rule and judge, to save and destroy. Man is denied the authority to judge because he is not the lawgiver. God is the lawgiver, and therefore possesses the right to pronounce judgment (cf Isa, *supra*). The word, however, implies more than mere legislative function; it also connotes the idea of ruling. Isaiah makes this very plain, since he adds to the statement that God is our judge and lawgiver the further declaration that He is also king. This meaning adheres in the very history of the word. It is based upon the monarchical conception in which the legislative, judicial and administrative functions are all vested in one person. In Jas the two terms "lawgiver and judge" express the idea of God's absolute sovereignty. The vb. *nomotheteín* occurs in He **7** 11; **8** 6, but it does not extend beyond the meaning "to enact laws."

The Heb word is restricted to poetic passages, and except in Isa **33** 22 is applied to a tribal or kingly ruler. Moses is preëminently the lawgiver in Jewish and Christian circles, but it should be noted that in the Scriptures of neither is he given this title. The primary meaning of the vb. from which *m^{e}ḥōḳēḳ* is derived is "to cut," "to carve," and a derived meaning is "to ordain." The meaning of the part. *m^{e}ḥōḳēḳ* is based upon this last. It means (1) the symbol which expresses the lawmaker's authority, that is, the commander's staff; and (2) the person who possesses the authority (Dt **33** 21). It has the first of these meanings in Nu **21** 18; Ps **60** 7; **108** 8, and probably in Gen **49** 10, though here it may have the second meaning. The parallelism, however, seems to require an impersonal object to correspond to scepter, and so the reading of the text (RV) is to be preferred to that of the margin (Skinner, ad loc.). In Dt **33** 21; Jgs **5** 14; Isa **33** 22, it means the person who wielded the symbol of authority, that is the prescriber of laws. In a primitive community this would be a military commander. In Gen **49** 10 the "ruler's staff" is the symbol of kingly authority (Driver), and this verse consequently implies the supremacy of Judah which came in with the Davidic kingdom. This word contains no reference to the Messiah. In Nu **21** 18 there is an allusion to the custom of formally and symbolically opening fountains under the superintendence and at the instruction of the leader of the tribe. Such a custom seems to have been in vogue till comparatively modern times. Gray cites Budde in the *New World* for March, 1895, and Muir's *Mohamet and Islam*, 343 f. In Jgs **5** 14 the word means "military commander," as the context shows. This is the meaning also in Dt **33** 21, where it is affirmed that Gad obtained a position worthy of its warlike character. Tg, Vulg, Pesh, and some moderns have seen here a reference to the grave of Moses, but Nebo was in Reuben and not in Gad.

W. C. Morro

LAWLESS, lô′les (**ἄνομος,** *ánomos*): While occurring but once in AV (1 Tim **1** 9), is trd in various ways, e.g. "without law" (1 Cor **9** 21); "unlawful" (2 Pet **2** 8 AV); "lawless" (1 Tim **1** 9); "transgressor" (Mk **15** 28; Lk **22** 37); "wicked" (Acts **2** 23 AV; 2 Thess **2** 8 AV). When Paul claims to be "without law," he has reference to those things in the ceremonial law which might well be passed over, and not to the moral law. Paul was by no means an antinomian. Those are "lawless" who break the law of the Decalogue; hence those who disobey the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother," are lawless (1 Tim **1** 9). The civil law is also the law of God. Those breaking it are lawless, hence called "transgressors." Those who are unjust in their dealings are also "lawless"; for this reason the hands of Pilate and those who with him unjustly condemned Jesus are called "wicked [unlawful] hands" (Acts **2** 23 AV). The most notable example of lawlessness is the Antichrist, that "wicked [lawless] one" (2 Thess **2** 8).

William Evans

LAWYER, lô′yẽr (**νομικός,** *nomikós*, "according or pertaining to law," i.e. legal; as noun, "an expert in law," "about the law," "lawyer" [Mt **22** 35; Lk **7** 30; **10** 25; **11** 45.46.52; **14** 3; Tit **3** 13]): The work of the "lawyers," frequently spoken of as "scribes," also known as "doctors" of the law (Lk **2** 46 m), was first of all that of jurists. Their business was threefold: (1) to study and interpret the law; (2) to instruct the Heb youth in the law; (3) to decide questions of the law. The first two they did as scholars and teachers, the last as advisers in some court. By virtue of the first-named function, they gradually developed a large amount of common law, for no code can go into such detail as to eliminate the necessity of subsequent legislation, and this usually, to a great extent, takes the form of judicial decisions founded on the code rather than of separate enactment. And so it was among the Hebrews. The provisions of their code were for the most part quite general, thus affording much scope for casuistic interpretation. As a result of the industry with which this line of legal development had been pursued during the centuries immediately preceding our era, the Heb law had become a very complicated science; and since it was forbidden to record these judicial decisions, a protracted study was necessary in order to commit them to memory.

But since the law must have universal application, the views of the individual scribe could not be taken as a standard; hence the several disciples of the law must frequently meet for discussion, and the opinion of the majority then prevailed. To these meetings the youth interested in the study would be invited, that they might memorize the formulas agreed upon and might clear up the points upon which they were uncertain by asking questions of the recognized doctors (Lk **2** 46).

Such centers of legal lore, of course, would seldom be found in rural communities; the authorities would naturally gather in large centers of population, esp.—until 70 AD—in Jerus. While the deliverances of these law schools were purely theoretical, yet they stood in close relation to the practical. Whenever doubt arose regarding the application of the law to a particular case, the question was referred to the nearest lawyer; by him to the nearest company of lawyers, perhaps to the Sanhedrin; and the resultant decision was henceforth authority. Thus the lawyers became law makers, and after the destruction of Jerus, which brought an end to the existence of the Sanhedrin, the rabbinical doctors were recognized as the absolute authority in such matters. Frequently a single lawyer of great rank, as for instance Hillel or Gamaliel I, might pronounce dicta of unquestioned recognition with as much authority as a supreme court in our day, though sometimes his opinions were received and corrected by the legal tribunal, especially the Sanhedrin. Of course, frequently, these tribunals were under the sway of such a man's influence, so that what he said upon his own authority would be ratified in the assembly of the doctors.

The second function of the lawyers was that of teachers. The renowned rabbis always sought to gather a company of pupils about them whose business it was to repeat the teachers' law formulas until they had "passed into their flesh and blood." For the purposes of such instruction as well as for the discussion of the teachers and the students, there were special schoolhouses, which are often mentioned in connection with the synagogues as places of special merit and privilege. In Jerus, these law schools were conducted in the temple—probably in the hall dedicated to this special purpose (Mt **21** 23; **26** 55; Mk **14** 49; Lk **2** 46; **20** 1; **21** 37; Jn **18** 20). The students during the lectures sat on the floor, the teacher on a raised platform, hence the expression "sitting at the feet of" (Acts **22** 3; Lk **2** 46). Finally, the lawyers were called upon to decide cases in court or to act as advisers of the court. Before the destruction of Jerus, technical knowledge of the law was not a condition of eligibility to the office of judge. Anyone who could command the confidence of his fellow-citizens might be elected to the position, and many of the rural courts undoubtedly were conducted, as among us, by men of sterling quality but of limited knowledge. Naturally such men would avail themselves of the legal advice of any "doctor" who might be within reach, esp. inasmuch as the latter was obliged to give his services gratuitously. And in the more dignified courts of large municipalities, it was a standing custom to have a company of scholars present to discuss and decide any new law points that might arise. Of course, frequently, these men were elected to the office of judge, so that practically the entire system of jurisprudence was in their hands.

Frank E. Hirsch

LAY, lā, **LAYING,** lā′ing: (1) **שִׂים**, *sīm*, "to put," and the Gr equivalent, **τίθημι,** *títhēmi*, are very frequently trd by "to lay." RV very often changes the AV rendering of *sīm*, but never that of *tithēmi:* 1 S **15** 2, "how he set himself against him in the way" (AV "he laid wait for him"); 2 K **11** 16, "So they made way for her" (AV "And they laid hands on her"); cf 2 Ch **23** 15; Job **24** 12, "God regardeth not the folly" (AV "God layeth not folly"); Job **34** 23, "For he needeth not further to consider a man" (AV "For he will not lay upon man more"); Isa **28** 17, "And I will make justice the line" (AV "Judgment also will I lay to the line"); Job **17** 3, "Give now a pledge" (AV "Lay down now"). (2) **נָתַן**, *nāthan*, lit. "to give," is very commonly trd by "to lay." RV changes the tr of AV in Ezk **4** 5, "I have appointed"; Ezk **33** 28 f, "I will make the land a desolation" (AV "I will lay the land most desolate"). (3) "To lay" of AV is frequently rendered differently in RV; Isa **54** 11, "I will set thy stones" (AV "lay thy stones"); Dt **29** 22, "the sicknesses wherewith Jeh hath made it sick" (AV "sicknesses which the Lord hath laid upon"). For other differences of RV and AV cf Dt **21** 8; 2 K **9** 25 m; 2 K **12** 11; Ezr **8** 31; Ps **104** 5 m; Isa **53** 6; Jer **5** 26; Mk **7** 8; Lk **19** 44; Jas **1** 21; 1 Pet **2** 1. In most of these passages the change of RV is due to the peculiar use of the word "to lay" in AV. The following expressions are found very frequently: "to lay hands on," "to lay wait," "to lay up," "to lay aside," "to lay upon," "to lay down," etc.

"Laying of wait," AV, is rendered "lying in wait" in Nu **35** 20 ff; Acts **9** 24 reads: "But their plot became known" (AV "But their laying await was known"). The "laying on of hands" is a very general expression. See HANDS, LAYING ON OF.

A. L. BRESLICH

LAZARUS, laz′a-rus (**Λάζαρος**, *Lázaros*, an abridged form of the Heb name Eleazar, with a Gr termination): Means "God has helped." In LXX and Jos are found the forms **Ἐλεαζάρ**, *Eleazár*, and **Ἐλεάζαρος**, *Eleázaros*. The name was common among the Jews, and is given to two men in the NT who have nothing to do with each other.

1. Lazarus of Bethany

The home of the Lazarus mentioned in Jn **11** 1 was Bethany. He was the brother of Martha and Mary (Jn **11** 1.2; see also Lk **10** 38–41). All three were esp. beloved by Jesus (Jn **11** 5), and at their home He more than once, and probably often, was entertained (Lk **10** 38–41; Jn **11**). As intimated by the number of condoling friends from the city, and perhaps from the costly ointment used by Mary, the family was probably well-to-do. In the absence of Jesus, L. was taken sick, died, and was buried, but, after having lain in the grave four days, was brought back to life by the Saviour (Jn **11** 3.14.17.43.44). As a result many Jews believed on Jesus, but others went and told the Pharisees, and a council was therefore called to hasten the decree of the Master's death (Jn **11** 45–53). Later, six days before the Passover, at a feast in some home in Bethany where Martha served, L. sat at table as one of the guests, when his sister Mary anointed the feet of Jesus (Jn **12** 1–3). Many of the common people came thither, not only to see Jesus, but also the risen L., believed in Jesus, and were enthusiastic in witnessing for Him during the triumphal entry, and attracted others from the city to meet Him (Jn **12** 9.11.17.18). For that reason the priests plotted to murder L. (Jn **12** 10). This is all that we really know about the man, for whether the Jews accomplished his death we are not informed, but it seems probable that, satiated with the death of Jesus, they left L. unmolested. Nothing is told of his experiences between death and resurrection (cf Tennyson, "In Memoriam," xxxi), of his emotions upon coming out of the tomb, of his subsequent life (cf Browning, "A Letter to Karshish"), and not a word of revelation does he give as to the other world. His resurrection has been a favorite subject for various forms of Christian art, and according to an old tradition of Epiphanius he was 30 years old when he was raised from the dead, and lived 30 years thereafter.

Traditional Tomb of Lazarus.

As might be expected this miracle has been vigorously assailed by all schools of hostile critics. Ingenuity has been exhausted in inventing objections to it. But all told, they really amount only to three.

(1) *The silence of the other Gospels.*—There is here, no doubt, some difficulty. But the desire of the early Christians, as many scholars think, to screen the family from danger may have kept the story from becoming current in the oral tradition whence the Synoptics drew their materials, though Matthew was probably an eyewitness. But, in any case, the Synoptics do not pretend to give all the deeds of Jesus, and in the report by them we have few save those which were wrought in Galilee. Each of them has omitted elements of highest interest which others have preserved. Thus Lk alone gives us the raising of the widow's son at Nain. John, knowing that the others had omitted this, tells us what he had himself witnessed, since all danger to the family had long ago passed away, as it was of especial interest to his story, and he had recorded no other case of resurrection. At any rate, the Gospel writers do not seem to regard a resurrection from the dead by the power of Jesus as so much more stupendous than other miracles, as they seem to modern scholars and to the Jews, and, moreover, the Synoptics do unconsciously attest this miracle by describing a sudden outburst of popular excitement in favor of Jesus which can be accounted for only by some extraordinary event.

(2) *The stupendous character of the miracle.*—But to a philosophical believer in miracles this is no obstacle at all, for to omnipotence there are no such things as big miracles or little ones. Of course, Martha's statement as to the decomposition of the body was only her opinion of the probability in the case, and He, who sees the end from the beginning and who had intended to raise L., might well in His providence have watched over the body that it should not see corruption. When all is said, "He who has created the organic cell within inorganic matter is not incapable of reëstablishing life within the inanimate substance."

(3) *Its non-use as an accusation against Jesus.*—The objection that Jn **11** 47–53 is inconsistent with the fact that in accusing Jesus before Pilate no mention is made of this miracle by the enemies of Jesus has little weight. Who would expect them to make such a self-convicting acknowledgment? The dismay of the priests at the miracle and their silence about it are perfectly compatible and natural.

No one of the attempted explanations which deny the reality of the miracle can offer even a show of probability. That L. was just recovering from a trance when Jesus arrived; that it was an imposture arranged by the family and sanctioned by Jesus in order to overwhelm His enemies; that it was a fiction or parable tr^{d} into a fact and made up largely of synoptic materials, an allegorical illustration of the words, "I am the resurrection, and the life," a myth—such explanations require more faith than to believe the fables of the Talm. They well illustrate the credulity of unbelief. The narrative holds together with perfect consistency, is distinguished by vivacity and dramatic movement, the people who take part in it are intensely real and natural, and the picture of the sisters perfectly agrees with the sketch of them in Lk. No morbid curiosity of the reader is satisfied. Invented stories are not like this. Even a Renan declares that it is a necessary link in the story of the final catastrophe.

The purpose of the miracle seems to have been: (1) to show Himself as Lord of life and death just before He should be Himself condemned to die; (2) to strengthen the faith of His disciples; (3) to convert many Jews; (4) to cause the priests to hasten their movements so as to be ready when His hour had come (Plummer, *HDB*, III, 87).

2. The Beggar

In the parable in Lk **16** 19–31, L. is pictured as in abject poverty in this world, but highly rewarded and honored in the next. It is the only instance of a proper name used in a parable by Jesus. Some think that he was a well-known mendicant in Jerus, and have even attempted to define his disease. But this is no doubt simple invention, and, since "in Christ's kingdom of truth names indicate realities," this was probably given because of its significance, suggesting the beggar's faith in God and patient dependence upon Him. It was this faith and not his poverty which at last brought him into Abraham's bosom. Not one word does L. speak in the parable, and this may also be suggestive of patient submission. He does not murmur at his hard lot, nor rail at the rich man, nor after death triumph over him. The parable is related to that of the Rich Fool (Lk **12** 16–21). This latter draws the veil over the worldling at death; the other lifts it. It is also a counterpart of that of the Unjust Steward (Lk **16** 1–13), which shows how wealth may wisely be used to our advantage, while this parable shows what calamities result from failing to make such wise use of riches. The great lesson is that our condition in Hades depends upon our conduct here, and that this may produce a complete reversal of fortune and of popular judgments. Thus L. represents the pious indigent who stood at the opposite extreme from the proud, covetous, and luxury-loving Pharisee. The parable made a deep impression on the mind of the church, so that the term "lazar," no longer a proper name, has passed into many languages, as in lazar house, lazaretto, also lazzarone, applied to the mendicants of Italian towns. There was even an order, half-military, half-monastic, called the Knights of St. Lazarus, whose special duty it was to minister to lepers.

The rich man is often styled **Dives,** which is not strictly a proper name, but a Lat adj. meaning "rich," which occurs in this passage in the Vulg. But in Eng. lit., as early as Chaucer, as seen in the "Sompnoure's Tale" and in "Piers Plowman," it appears in popular use as the name of the Rich Man in this parable. In later theological lit. it has become almost universally current. The name Nineuis given him by Euthymius never came into general use, though the Sahidic version has the addition, "whose name was Ninue." His sin was not in being rich, for Abraham was among the wealthiest of his day, but in his worldly unbelief in the spiritual and eternal, revealing itself in ostentatious luxury and hard-hearted contempt of the poor. Says Augustine, "Seems he [Jesus] not to have been reading from that book where he found the name of the poor man written, but found not the name of the rich, for that book is the book of life?"

G. H. Trever

LEACH, lēch. See Horseleach.

LEAD, led (עֹפֶרֶת, *ʿōphereth*): Lead was one of the first metals to be used in the free state, probably because it was so easily obtained from its ores. Lead was found anciently in Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula. There is no lead found in Pal proper, but in Northern Syria and Asia Minor it occurs in considerable quantities, usually associated with silver. These sources no doubt furnished an important supply in Bible times. It was also brought by the Phoenicians from Spain (Tarshish) (Ezk **27** 12) and the British Isles.

Lead was used, as it still is, all along the Mediterranean shores for sinkers. Pieces of Egyp fish-nets probably dating from 1200 BC are now preserved in the British Museum, with their lead sinkers still attached. Since lead was the heaviest metal known to the ancients, gold excepted, it was generally used for fish-lines and sounding lines (cf Acts **27** 28), esp. in the dense waters of the Mediterranean. Moses mentioned the sinking qualities of lead in the sea in his simile of the sinking of Pharaoh's hosts "as lead in the mighty waters" (Ex **15** 10).

Lead was used by the ancients for binding stones together. In most of the ancient ruins of Syria the Arabs have dug holes at the seams between stones in walls and columns in order to remove the iron, bronze, or lead thus used. In the museum of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirût, there are several specimens of cast-lead sarcophagi dating from the time of Christ.

In Job **19** 23.24, lead is mentioned as used in the engraving of permanent records. Two inferences might be drawn from this passage: either that the letters were cut with a chisel (pen) and then the cutting was filled with lead, or that sheets of lead were used as tablets on which to grave the record with an iron tool. Lead is frequently referred to along with iron, brass, silver and tin (Nu **31** 22; Ezk **22** 18.20; **27** 12). The use of lead for plumblines is implied in Am **7** 7.8; Zec **4** 10; as a weight in Zec **5** 7.8. That OT writers understood the use of lead for purifying gold is shown by Jer **6** 29 and Ezk **22** 18–22 (cf Mal **3** 2.3). See Metals; Refiner.

James A. Patch

LEAF, lēf, **LEAVES,** lēvz: Used in three different senses, with reference: (1) To trees (עָלֶה, *ʿāleh,* "a coming up"), Gen **3** 7; **8** 11; Lev **26** 36 (טֶרֶף, *ṭereph*); Ezk **17** 9; *φύλλον, phúllon.* **Figuratively** (*a*) of spiritual blessings (Ezk **47** 12; cf Rev **22** 2) and prosperity (Ps **1** 3); (*b*) of moral decay (Isa **64** 6), and (*c*) of a formal, empty profession (Mt **21** 19). (2) To a book (דֶּלֶת, *deleth*), Jer **36** 23 (m "columns"; see ver 2); as the parchment was gradually unfolded the successive columns could be read. (3) To doors (צֵלָע, *çēlāʿ*, "side," קֶלַע, *ḳelāʿ*, "a screen," "hanging"), 1 K **6** 34. The door of the Holy Place consisted of two halves, but each half had two leaves (cf Ezk **41** 24).

M. O. Evans

LEAGUE, lēg. See Confederacy.

LEAH, lē′a (לֵאָה, *lē'āh;* **Λεία,** *Leía,* "weary," "dull"[?], "wild cow"): Rachel's sister, and the elder daughter of Laban (Gen **29** 16). We are told that her eyes were "tender" (רַכּוֹת, *rakkōth*). Gesenius renders it "weak," LXX *ἀσθενεῖς, astheneís;* accordingly, she was weak-eyed, but by no means "blear-eyed" (cf Vulg). Her eyes were lacking that luster which always and everywhere is looked upon as a conspicuous part of female beauty. Jos (*Ant,* I, xix, 7) says of her, *τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ, tḗn ópsin ouk euprepḗ,* which may safely be rendered, "she was of no comely countenance."

L. became the wife of Jacob by a ruse on the part of her father, taking advantage of the oriental custom of heavily veiling the prospective bride. When taken to task by his irate son-in-law, Laban excused himself by stating it was against the rule of the place "to give the younger before the first-born" (Gen **29** 21–26). Although Rachel was plainly preferred by Jacob to L., still the latter bore him six sons: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah (Gen **29** 31 ff), Issachar, Zebulun, and a daughter, Dinah (Gen **30** 17–21). Up to this time Rachel had not been blessed with children of her own. Thus the lesson is brought home to us that Jeh has a special and kindly regard for the lowly and despised, provided they learn, through their troubles and afflictions, to look to Him for help and success. It seems that homely L. was a person of deep-rooted piety and therefore better suited to become instrumental in carrying out the plans of Jeh than her handsome, but worldly-minded, sister Rachel.

When Jacob decided to return to the "land of his fathers," both of his wives were ready to accompany him (Gen **31** 4.14). Before they reached the end of their journey their courage was sorely tried at the time of the meeting between Jacob and his brother Esau. Although L. was placed between the handmaids in the front, and Rachel with her son Joseph in the rear, she still cannot have derived much comfort from her position. We may well imagine her feeling of relief when she saw Esau and his 400 men returning to Seir (Gen **33** 2.16).

According to Gen **49** 31, L. was buried at Machpelah. We cannot know for a certainty that she died before Jacob's going down to Egypt, though it is very likely. If she went down with her husband and died in Egypt, he had her body sent to the family burying-place. Ruth **4** 11 discloses the fact that her memory was not forgotten by future generations. When Boaz took Ruth for a wife the witnesses exclaimed, "Jeh make the woman that is come into thy house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel."

William Baur

LEANNOTH, lḗ-an′oth (Ps **88,** title). See Psalms.

LEAPING, lēp′ing. See Games.

LEASING, lēz′ing (כָּזַב, *kāzabh,* "to devise," "to fabricate," hence "to lie"; occurs but twice in AV [Ps **4** 2, RV "falsehood"; **5** 6, RV "lies"]; the Heb word is tr^{d} "liars" [Ps **116** 11]; "lie" or deceive [Job **6** 28]): The idea of treachery, lying, and deceit, lies at the root of this word. Joab's conduct is a good illustration of the meaning (2 S **3** 27; **20** 8–10). In Ps **5** 6 David is referring to the cunning, treachery, and falsehood of his adversaries; cf 2 S **13** 28; **15** 7–9. Doubtless David had a special person in mind as being guilty of "leasing," probably Ahithophel.

William Evans

LEATHER, leth′ẽr. See Skin; Girdle; Tanner.

LEAVEN, lev′′n (שְׂאֹר, *s^{e}'ōr,* חָמֵץ, *ḥāmeç;* ζύμη, *zúmē;* Lat *fermentum*): The nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews, like the Bedouin of today, probably made their bread without leaven; but leaven came to play a great part in their bread-making, their law and ritual, and their religious teaching (see Ex **12** 15.19; **13** 7; Lev **2** 11; Dt **16** 4; Mt **13** 33; **16** 6–12; Mk **8** 15 f; Lk **12** 1; **13** 21).

(1) *In bread-making.*—The form of leaven used in bread-making and the method of using it were simple and definite. The "leaven" consisted always, so far as the evidence goes, of a piece of fermented dough kept over from a former baking. There is no trace of the use of other sorts of leaven, such as the lees of wine or those mentioned by Pliny (*NH,* xviii.26). The lump of dough thus preserved was either dissolved in water in the kneading-trough before the flour was added, or was "hid" in the flour (AV "meal") and kneaded along with it, as was the case mentioned in the parable (Mt **13** 33). The bread thus made was known as "leavened," as distinguished from "unleavened" bread (Ex **12** 15, etc). See Bread.

(2) *In law and ritual.*—The ritual prohibition of leaven during "the feast of unleavened bread" including the Passover (Ex **23** 15, etc) is a matter inviting restudy. For the historical explanation given in the Scriptures, see esp. Ex **12** 34–39; **13** 3 ff; Dt **16** 3. The antiquity of the prohibition is witnessed by its occurrence in the earliest legislation (Ex **23** 18; **34** 25). A natural reason for the prohibition, like that of the similar exclusion of honey, is sought on the ground that fermentation implied a process of corruption. Plutarch voices this ancient view of the matter when he speaks of it as "itself the offspring of corruption, and corrupting the mass of dough with which it is mixed." *Fermentatum* is used in Persius (Sat., i.24) for "corruption." For this reason doubtless it was excluded also from the offerings placed upon the altar of Jeh, cakes made from flour without leaven, and these only, being allowed. The regulation name for these "unleavened cakes" was *maççōth* (Lev **10** 12). Two exceptions to this rule should be noted (Lev **7** 13; cf Am **4** 5): "leavened bread" was an accompaniment of the thank offering as leavened loaves were used also in the wave offering of Lev **23** 17. Rabbinical writers regularly use leaven as a symbol of evil (Lightfoot).

(3) *In teaching.*—The figurative uses of leaven in the NT, no less than with the rabbins, reflect the ancient view of it as "corrupt and corrupting," in parts at least, e.g. Mt **16** 6 ‖, and esp. the proverbial saying twice quoted by Paul, "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (1 Cor **5** 6 f; Gal **5** 9). But as Jesus used it in Mt **13** 33, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven," it is clearly the hidden, silent, mysterious, but all-pervading and transforming action of the leaven in the measures of flour that is the point of the comparison.

Literature.—Nowack, *Heb Arch.,* II, 145 f; Talm, *B^{e}rākhōth,* **17***a;* Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Mt **16** 6.

Geo. B. Eager

LEBANA, lḗ-bā′na, leb′a-na (לְבָנָא, *l^{e}bhānā'*), or **LEBANAH** (לְבָנָה, *l^{e}bhānāh,* "white"): Head of a family of returning exiles (Ezr **2** 45; Neh **7** 48; cf 1 Esd **5** 29).

LEBANON, leb′a-non (לְבָנוֹן, *l^{e}bhānōn;* LXX Λίβανος, *Líbanos;* Vulg *Libanus*): Derived from the root לָבֵן, *lābhēn,* "to be white," probably from the snow which covers its summits the greater part of the year. "White mountains" are found in almost every country. The light color of the upper limestone may, however, form a sufficient reason for the name. In prose the article is usually connected with the name. In poetry it is more often without the article. In the LXX, however, the article is generally present both in prose and poetry.

1. Name

Anti-Lebanon: Souk-Wâdy-Barrada.

2. General Description

The Lebanon range proper borders the east coast of the Mediterranean, for a distance of 100 miles, running N.N.E and S.S.W. from the mouth of the *Litâny* river, the classic Leontes (which enters the sea a little N. of Tyre), to the mouth of the Eleuthurus (*Nahr el-Kebir*), a few miles N. of Tripolis. This river comes through a depression between Lebanon and the *Nuseiriyeh* mountains, known as "the entrance to Hamath," and connects with a caravan route to the Euphrates through Palmyra. For a considerable distance N. of the *Litâny,* the mountain summits average from 4,000 to 6,000 ft. in height, and the range is more or less dissected by short streams which enter the Mediterranean. Most prominent of these is the *Nahr ez-Zaherâny,* which, after running 25 or 30 miles in a southerly direction through the center of the range, like the *Litâny,* turns abruptly W. opposite Mt. Hermon, reaching the sea between Tyre and Sidon. In roughly parallel courses *Nahr el-ʽAwleh* and *Nahr Damur* descend to the sea between Sidon and Beyrout, and *Nahr Beyrout* just N. of the city. Throughout this district the mountain recesses are more or less wooded. Opposite Beyrout the range rises in *Jebel Sannin* to an elevation of 8,560 ft. Thirty miles farther N.E. the summit is reached in *Jebel Mukhmal,* at an elevation of 10,225 ft., with several others of nearly the same height. An amphitheater here opens to the W., in which is sheltered the most frequented cedar grove, and from which emerges the *Nahr Ḳadîsha* ("sacred stream") which enters the Mediterranean at Tripolis. Snow is found upon these summits throughout the year (Jer **18** 14), while formerly the level area between them furnished the snow fields from which a glacier descended several miles into the headwaters of the *Ḳadîsha,* reaching a level of about 5,000 ft. The glacier deposited in this amphitheater a terminal moraine covering several sq. miles, which at its front, near *Bsherreh,* is 1,000 ft. in thickness. It is on this that the grove of cedars referred to is growing.

The view from this summit reveals the geographical features of the region in a most satisfactory manner. Toward the E. lies Coele-Syria (the modern *Buka),* 7,000 ft. below the summit, bordered on the eastern side by the mountain wall of Anti-Lebanon, corresponding to the cliffs of Moab E. of the Jordan valley, opposite Judaea. This depression in fact is but a continuation of the great geological fault so conspicuous in the Jordan valley (see Arabah). As one looks down into this valley, *Baʽalbek* appears at the base of Anti-Lebanon, only 20 miles away. The valley is here about 10 miles wide, and forms the watershed between the Orontes and the *Litâny.* To the N.E. the valley of the Orontes is soon obscured by intervening peaks, but to the S.W. the valley of the *Litâny* closes up only where the glistering peak of Mt. Hermon pierces the sky, as the river turns abruptly toward the sea 40 miles distant. Toward the W., the blue waters of the Mediterranean, only 25 miles distant as the crow flies, show themselves at intervals through the gorges cut by the rapid streams which have furrowed the western flanks of the mountain (Cant **4** 15); 3,500 ft. beneath is the amphitheater many sq. miles in area, filled with the terminal moraine from which the *Ḳadîsha* river emerges, and on which the grove of cedars (cf 1 K **4** 33; Ps **92** 12; Hos **14** 5) appears as a green spot in the center. Onward to the W. the river gorge winds its way amid numerous picturesque village sites and terraced fields, every foot of which is cultivated by a frugal and industrious people. To the traveler who has made the diagonal journey from Beyrout to the cedars, memory fills in innumerable details which are concealed from vision at any one time. He has crossed *Nahr el-Kelb* ("Dog River"), near its mouth, where he has seen Egyp and Assyr inscriptions dating from the time of Sennacherib's invasion. Ascending this river, after passing numerous villages surrounded by mulberry and olive groves, vineyards, and fields of wheat, and pausing to study the ruins of a temple dating from Rom times, and having crossed a natural bridge at *Jisr el-Hagar* with a span of 120 ft., rising 75 ft. above the stream, he arrives, at the end of the second day, at the ruins of the famous temple of Venus destroyed by the order of Constantine on account of the impurity of the rites celebrated in it. Here, too, is a famous spring, typical of many others which gush forth on either side of the Lebanon range from beneath the thick deposits of limestone which everywhere crown its summit. The flow of water is enormous, and at certain seasons of the year is colored red with a mineral matter which the ancients regarded with mysterious reverence (see *LB,* III, 244). The lower part of the amphitheater is covered with verdure and a scanty growth of pine and walnut trees, but the upper part merges in the barren cliffs which lie above the snow line. Onward, alternately through upturned limestone strata, left by erosion in fantastic forms, and through barren areas of red sandstone, where the cedars of Lebanon would flourish if protected from the depredations of man and his domestic animals, he crosses by turns at higher and higher levels the headwaters of the *Ibrahim, Fedar, Jozeh, Byblus* and the *Botrys* rivers, and at length reaches, on the fourth day, the *Ḳadîsha,* 5 miles below the cedars of Lebanon. Viewed from the Mediterranean the Lebanon range presents a continuous undulating outline of light-colored limestone peaks, the whole rising so abruptly from the sea that through most of the distance there is barely room for a road along the shore, while in places even that is prevented by rocky promontories projecting boldly into the sea. The only harbors of importance are at Beyrout and Tripolis, and these are only partially protected, being open to the N.W. The eastern face of the range falling down into Coele-Syria is very abrupt, with no foothills and but one or two important valleys.

3. Geology

Geologically considered, the Lebanon consists of three conformable strata of rock thrown up in an anticline with its steepest face to the E. The lowest of these are several thousand ft. thick, consisting of hard limestone containing few fossils, the most characteristic of which is *Cidaris glandaria,* from which the formation has been named Glandarian limestone. In its foldings this has been elevated in places to a height of 5,000 ft. Through erosion it is exposed in numerous places, where it presents picturesque castellated columns, whose bluish-gray sides are beautifully fluted by atmospheric agencies. The second formation consists of several hundred feet of red-colored sandstone alternating with soft limestone and clay deposits, occasionally containing a poor quality of bituminous coal, with pyrites and efflorescent salts. It is this that occasionally colors the water of the spring at Adonis. The characteristic fossil is *Trigonia syriaca.* Altogether this formation attains a thickness of 1,000 ft., and it is on its exposed surfaces that the most of the Lebanon pines are found. It contains also many signs of volcanic action. The third formation consists of hippurite limestone, a cretaceous formation, in some places almost wholly composed of fragments of the fossils from which it derives its name. This formation appears on all the highest summits, where in most cases it is nearly horizontal, and in places attains a thickness of 5,000 ft. Between the summits of the range and the foothills this formation has been almost wholly carried away by erosion, thus exposing the underlying formations. Cretaceous strata of still later age are found at low levels near the sea, which in places are covered by small deposits of Tertiary limestone, and by a porous sandstone of the Pleistocene age.

4. Scenery

The scenery of the western slopes of Lebanon is most varied, magnificent, and beautiful, and well calculated, as indeed it did, to impress the imagination of the Heb poets. Originally it was heavily covered with forests of pine, oak and cedar; but these have for the most part long since disappeared, except in the valley of *Nahr Ibrahim,* which is still thickly wooded with pine, oak and plane trees. Of the cedars there remain, besides the grove at the head of the *Ḳadîsha*, only two or three, and they are of less importance. Every available spot on the western flanks of the Lebanon is cultivated, being sown with wheat or planted with the vine, the olive, the mulberry and the walnut. Irrigation is extensively practised. When we let the eye range from the snowy summits of the mountain over all that lies between them and the orange groves of Sidon on the seashore, we understand why the Arabs say that "Lebanon bears winter on its head, spring on its shoulders, autumn in its lap, while summer lies at its feet."

In the more desolate places jackals, hyenas, wolves, and panthers are still found (cf 2 K **14** 9).

The original inhabitants of Lebanon were Hivites and Gebalites (Jgs **3** 3; Josh **13** 5.6).

5. History

The whole mountain range was assigned to the Israelites, but was never conquered by them. It seemed generally to have been subject to the Phoenicians. At present it is occupied by various sects of Christians and Mohammedans, of whom the Maronites, Druzes and Orthodox Greeks are most active and prominent. Since 1860 the region has been under the protection of European powers with a Christian governor. No exact figures are available, but the population at present numbers probably about 275,000.

Ruins of ancient temples are numerous throughout Lebanon. Bacon estimates that within a radius of 20 miles of *Ba'albek* there are 15 ruined sun-temples, the grandeur and beauty of which would have made them famous but for the surpassing splendor of *Ba'albek*.

6. Anti-Lebanon

Anti-Libanus (Jth **1** 7; Josh **13** 5; Cant **7** 4) is an extension northward of the great mountain system facing on the E. the great geological fault most conspicuous in the valley of the Jordan (see Jordan, Valley of), extending from the Gulf of Akabah to Antioch on the Orontes River. The system begins at the Barada River just N. of Mt. Hermon, and, running parallel to Mt. Lebanon for 65 miles, terminates at *Ḥums*, the "entering in of Hamath." The highest points of the range reach an elevation of over 8,000 ft. Eastward the range merges into the plateau of the great Syrian desert. South of *Ba'albek* the *Yahfufah*, a stream of considerable importance, empties into the *Litâny*, while the *Barada* (the "Abana" of Scripture), rising in the same plateau, flows eastward to Damascus, its volume being greatly increased by fountains coming in from the base of the dissected plateau.

Literature.—The geographical and geological descriptions are largely obtained by the writer from an extended excursion through the region in the company of Professor Day of the Protestant College at Beyrout, whose knowledge of the region is most intimate and comprehensive. For more detailed information see Robinson, *BRP*^{2}, II, 435 ff, 493; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, 45 ff; Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria;* Benjamin W. Bacon, and G. F. Wright in *Records of the Past*, 1906, V, 67–83, 195–204; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*

George Frederick Wright

LEBAOTH, lḗ-bā'oth, -ōth (לְבָאוֹת, *l*^{e}*bhā'ōth*): An unidentified city in the S. of the territory of Judah (Josh **15** 32). It is the same as **Beth-lebaoth** of Josh **19** 6, which, by a clerical error appears in 1 Ch **4** 31 as "Beth-biri."

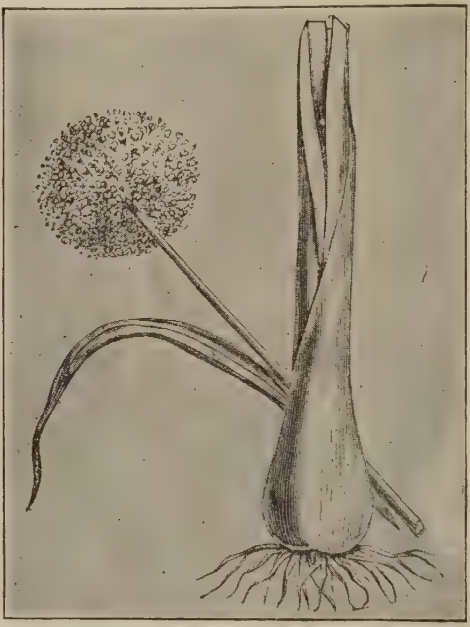
LEBBAEUS, le-bē'us (Λεββαῖος, *Lebbaíos*): Mentioned in Mt **10** 3 AV as "Lebbaeus, whose surname was Thaddaeus" (RV omits); one of the twelve apostles. See Thaddaeus.

LEBONAH, lḗ-bō'na (לְבוֹנָה, *l*^{e}*bhōnāh*): A place on the great north road between Shiloh and Shechem (Jgs **21** 19). It is represented by the modern *Khān el-Lubbān*, about 3 miles W.N.W. of *Seilūn* ("Shiloh"), on the way to *Nablūs*. It is a wretched village lying on the slope of a hill, with many rock tombs in the vicinity.

LECAH, lē'ka (לֵכָה, *lēkhāh*): A descendant of Judah (1 Ch **4** 21).

LEDGE, lej (שָׁלָב, *shālābh*): The word in the sense of side-projection is used in 1 K **7** 28.29 in connection with the bases of Solomon's Molten Sea (q.v.); in vs 35.36, where AV uses the same word, RV has "stay" (*yādh*, lit. "hand"). RV likewise has "ledge" (round) for AV "compass" (*karkōbh*) in the description of the altar in Ex **27** 5; **38** 4 (see Altar), and ARV substitutes "ledge" for "settle" (*'ăzārāh*) in Ezk **43** 14.17.20; **45** 19. See Temple.

LEEKS, lēks (חָצִיר, *ḥāçīr;* τὰ πράσα, *tá prása*): This word, elsewhere tr^{d} "grass," is in Nu **11** 5 rendered "leeks" in all the ancient VSS, on account of its association with garlic and onions; such a use of the word occurs in the Talm. The leek (*Allium porrum*) is much grown today in Pal, while in ancient Egypt this vegetable was renowned.



Leek (*Allium porrum*).

LEES, lēz. See Wine.

LEFT, left (שָׂמַאל, *sāma'l*, "to go to the left," "to turn to the left," שְׂמֹאול, שְׂמֹאל, *s*^{e}*mō'l*, "the left hand," שְׂמָאלִי, *s*^{e}*mā'lī*, "belonging to the left," "situated on the left"; ἀριστερός, *aristerós*, and euphemistically εὐώνυμος, *euōnumos*, lit. "having a good name," "of good omen"): The words are chiefly used in orientation with or without the addition of the word "hand." So Abraham says to Lot: "If thou wilt take the left hand [*s*^{e}*mō'l*], then I will go to the right; or if thou take the right hand, then I will go to the left [*sāma'l*]" (Gen **13** 9). Frequently in Heb idiom the right hand and the left are mentioned together in order to express the idea "everywhere," "anywhere," "altogether" (Gen **24** 49; Ex **14** 22.29; Nu **22** 26; Dt **2** 27; **5** 32;

2 Cor **6** 7). In the geographical sense the left is synonymous with north (Gen **14** 15; Josh **19** 27; Ezk **16** 46; Acts **21** 3). While the left hand is considered as weaker than the right (see Lefthanded), it is the hand which holds the bow (Ezk **39** 3). The left hand is the side from which bad omens come, and therefore less lucky and less honored than the right hand (see Hand, note).

H. L. E. Luering

LEFTHANDED, left'hand-ed (אִטֵּר יַד־יְמִין, *'iṭṭēr yadh-yāmīn;* LXX **ἀμφοτεροδέξιος,** *amphoterodéxios,* i.e. "ambidextrous"): The Heb presents a combination of words signifying lit. a man whose right hand is impeded or lame, who therefore uses the left hand instead, or one who by habit prefers the use of the left hand, where others use the right. It is interesting to note that in both instances, where the expression occurs in the Scripture, it refers to individuals belonging to the tribe of Benjamin (which name itself signifies "a son of the right hand"!). The first is Ehud, son of Gera, who killed Eglon, king of Moab, and thereby delivered Israel from paying tribute to the Moabites (Jgs **3** 15). The other instance is that of the 700 selected Benjamites, who, though lefthanded, "could sling stones at a hair-breadth, and not miss" (Jgs **20** 16; cf 1 Ch **12** 2).

H. L. E. Luering

LEG ([1] שׁוֹק, *shōḳ,* Aram. שָׁק, *shoḳ;* [2] כְּרַע, *kāraʿ,* dual כְּרָעַיִם, *kᵉrāʿayim;* [3] רֶגֶל, *reghel;* **σκέλος,** *skélos;* AV trˢ also שֹׁבֶל, *shōbhel,* and צְעָדָה, *çᵉʿādhāh,* with "leg," but mistakenly): (1) The first Heb word (*shōḳ*) denotes the upper leg, and is therefore synonymous with Thigh (q.v.). It expresses metaphorically the muscular strength, and the pride of the runner. "He taketh no pleasure in the legs of a man" (Ps **147** 10). "His legs are as pillars of marble, set upon sockets of fine gold" (Cant **5** 15). If the legs have lost their strength as in the lame or the Beri-beri patient, they become a metaphor for anything useless, inefficient or disappointing: "The legs of the lame hang loose; so is a parable in the mouth of fools" (Prov **26** 7). The Aram. form is found in the description of the image of Nebuchadnezzar, "its legs of iron" (Dnl **2** 33). (2) *Kāraʿ,* dual *kᵉrāʿayim,* the "leg," "respecting the legs," mentioned as a portion of the paschal lamb (Ex **12** 9), or, usually, in connection with the head and the inwards, as a sacrificial portion (Ex **29** 17; Lev **1** 9.13; Am **3** 12). The word designates also the legs of leaping insects of the orthopterous family, locusts, etc, which were permitted as food to the Israelites (Lev **11** 21). (3) *Reghel,* lit. "foot" (q.v.), found in this sense only once: "He [Goliath] had greaves of brass upon his legs" (1 S **17** 6).

Two passages of wrong tr in AV have been corrected by RV. The virgin daughter of Babylon is addressed: "Make bare the leg, uncover the thigh" (Isa **47** 2), RV renders: "Strip off the train [*shōbhel*], uncover the leg," the idea being that the gentle maid, who has been brought up in affluence and luxury, will have to don the attire of a slave girl and do menial work, for which her former garments are unsuited. The other passage is in Isa **3** 20, where AV reads: "the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs," RV corrects: "the headtires [*çᵉʿādhāh*], and the ankle chains."

In the NT the word "leg" is found only in connection with the breaking of the legs of the persons crucified with the Saviour (Jn **19** 31.32.33). We know from Rom and Gr authors that this was done as a *coup de grâce* to shorten the miseries of criminals condemned to die on the cross. The practice bore the technical name of σκελοκοπία, *skelokopía,* Lat *crurifragium.* The vb. σκελοκοπεῖν, *skelokopeín* ("to break the legs"), is found in the apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter (**4** 14), where it is distinctly stated that the legs of Jesus were not broken, that His sufferings on the cross might be extended, while the two malefactors crucified with Him were mercifully dispatched in this way. The *crurifragium* consisted of some strokes with a heavy club or mallet, which always materially hastened the death of the sufferer, and often caused it almost immediately.

Edersheim, in *LTJM,* II, 613, suggests that the breaking of legs was an additional punishment, and that it was always followed by a *coup de grâce,* the *perforatio* or *percussio sub alas,* a stroke with sword or lance into the side. This, however, is not borne out by any classical information which is known to me, and is contradicted by the statement of the evangelist that Jesus received the *percussio,* while the malefactors endured the *crurifragium.* Cf on this subject, esp. for parallels from classical authors, Sepp, *Das Leben Jesu,* VII, 441, and Keim, *Jesus von Nazara* (ET), VI, 253, note 3.

H. L. E. Luering

LEGION, lē'jun. See Army; Army, Roman.

LEGISLATION, lej-is-lā'shun, **OF SANCTITY.** See Astronomy, I, 5.

LEHABIM, lê-hā'bim (לְהָבִים, *lᵉhābhīm*): Named in Gen **10** 13; 1 Ch **1** 11 as descendants of Mizraim. They are probably to be identified with the Lubim (q.v.), and the one word may be a corruption of the other.

LEHI, lē'hī. See Ramath-lehi.

LEMUEL, lem'ū-el (לְמוּאֵל, *lᵉmū'ēl,* or לְמוֹאֵל, *lᵉmō'ēl*): A king whose words, an "oracle [taught him by his mother]," are given in Prov **31** 1–9; and possibly the succeeding acrostic poem (vs 10–31) is from the same source. Instead of translating the word after this name as "oracle," some propose to leave it as a proper name, translating "king of Massa," and referring for his kingdom to Massa (Gen **25** 14), one of the sons of Ishmael, supposedly head of a tribe or sheikh of a country. It is to be noted, however, that the words of Agur in the previous chapter are similarly called *massā',* "oracle," with not so clear a reason for referring it to a country. See for a suggested reason for retaining the meaning "oracle" in both places, Proverbs, Book of, II, 6.

John Franklin Genung

LEND, LOAN, lōn: The tr of 7 Heb and 2 Gr vbs.:

1. Lexical Usages

In the OT: לָוָה, *lāwāh,* "to join," "cause to join," "lend" (Ex **22** 25; Dt **28** 12.44; Ps **37** 26; Prov **19** 17); נָשָׁה, *nāshāh,* "to bite," "lend" (Dt **24** 11; Jer **15** 10); נָשָׁה, *nāshāh* (same root as last, though different vb. stem, Hiphil), "to cause to bite," "lend on usury" (Dt **15** 2; **24** 10); נָשַׁךְ, *nāshakh,* "to bite," "lend" "[cause to lend] on usury" (Dt **23** 19.20); נָתַן, *nāthan,* "to give" (Lev **25** 37, RV "to give"); עָבַט, *ʿābhaṭ* (Hiphil), "to cause to borrow," "to lend" (Dt **15** 6.8); שָׁאַל, *shā'al* (Hiphil), "to cause to ask," "to lend" (Ex **12** 36, RV "ask"; 1 S **1** 27). In LXX δανείζω, *daneízō,* δανίζω, *danízō,* "to lend," trˢ לָוָה, עָבַט, and שָׁאַל in above passages and in Neh **5** 4; Prov **22** 7, and Isa **24** 2; κιχράω, *kichráo,* also trˢ לָוָה and שָׁאַל (Ps **112** 5; Prov **13** 11); δάνειον(-ιον), *dáneion(-ion),* "loan," occurs in Dt **15** 8.10; **24** 11; 4 Macc **2** 8. In the NT "lend" trˢ two Gr vbs., *daneizō,* "to lend money" (Lk **6** 34.35, usually in commercial sense); κίχρημι, *kíchrēmi,* "to lend [as a friendly act]" (Lk **11** 5). The subst. "loan," שְׁאֵלָה, *shᵉ'ēlāh,* occurs only once in the OT (1 S **2** 20 AV and ERV), not at all in the NT.

(1) Lending on interest to the poor is prohibited

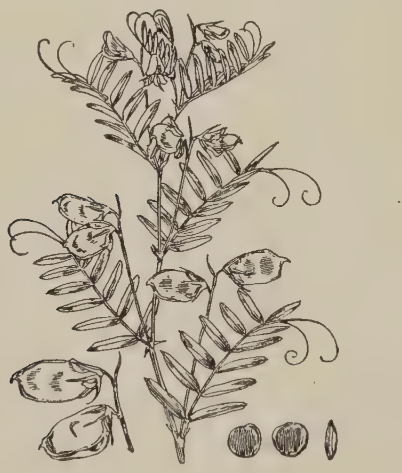
2. History of Lending in the Bible and Apocrypha

in the code in Ex **22** 25. (2) In the code in Dt **15** 1–6; **23** 19.20; **24** 10.11; **28** 12.44, borrowing and lending are taken for granted as existing in Israel, but the creditor is required to release his Heb brother as debtor in the 7th year (either the cancellation of the loan [so in Jewish lit. and early Christian scholars] or suspension of payment that year [so most modern scholars]), though he may exact payment from a foreigner. Israel may lend, and will be able to lend, because of Jeh's blessing, to other nations, but must not borrow from them. A pledge, or security, must not be taken in person by the creditor from the house of the debtor, nor kept over night, if the debtor be poor. (3) The code in Lev **25** 35–38 requires that the Israelite receive no interest from his poor brother, because of the goodness of Jeh to Israel. (4) Notwithstanding the prohibition of the early laws against lending on interest or usury, the same seems to have become common in Israel before the exile (Isa **24** 2; Jer **15** 10), was practised on the return, and was an evil to be corrected by Nehemiah (Neh **5** 7.10). (5) According to Ps **37** 26; **112** 5; Prov **19** 17, lending to the needy was regarded as a mark of the pious Hebrew, but no interest is to be charged. (6) According to Apoc (Wisd **15** 16; Sir **8** 12; **18** 33; **20** 15. 29; 4 Macc **2** 8), borrowing is discouraged, and lending is exalted as a mark of the merciful man. (7) Jesus teaches that His followers should lend, even to enemies, to men from whom they have no reasonable hope of expecting anything in return, because thus to do is to be like the Most High (Lk **6** 34.35). He did not discuss lending for commercial purposes, and so does not necessarily forbid it.

LITERATURE.—See Driver on Dt **15** 1–6; Benzinger, *Heb Archäol.* (1894), 350 f; Oehler, *OT Theol.*, 150, 10; Plummer on Lk **6** 34.35.

CHARLES B. WILLIAMS

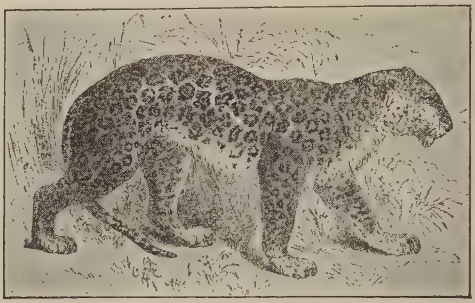
LENTILS, len′tilz (עֲדָשִׁים, *ʿădhāshīm;* **φακός**, *phakós;* Gen **25** 34; 2 S **17** 28; **23** 11; Ezk **4** 9; AV **Lentiles**): These are undoubtedly identical with the Arab. *ʿadas,* a small, reddish bean, the product of *Ervum lens,* a dwarf leguminous plant, half a foot high, which is extensively cultivated in Pal as a summer crop. The flour is highly nutritious, and the well-known food, *Revalenta arabica,* is simply one form, specially prepared; *ʿadas* are highly esteemed in Pal, and are used in soup and as a "pottage" known as *mujedderah.* This last is of a reddish-brown color and is without doubt the "pottage" of Gen **25** 34. Lentils were part of the provisions brought to David when fleeing from Absalom (2 S **17** 28) and were used in the making of the bread for the prophet Ezekiel (**4** 9). In a "plot of ground full of lentils," Shammah, one of David's "mighty men," stood and defended it and slew the marauding Philis (2 S **23** 11.12).



Lentil (*Ervum lens*).

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

LEOPARD, lep′ẽrd ([1] נָמֵר, *nāmēr* [Cant **4** 8; Isa **11** 6; Jer **5** 6; **13** 23; Hos **13** 7; Hab **1** 8]; cf Arab. نمر, *nimr,* "leopard." [2] Chald נְמַר, *nemar* [Dnl **7** 6]. [3] **πάρδαλις**, *párdalis* [Rev **13** 2; Ecclus **28** 23]; cf נִמְרִים, *nimrīm,* Nimrim [Isa **15** 6; Jer **48** 34], נִמְרָה, *nimrāh,* Nimrah [Nu **32** 3], and בֵּית נִמְרָה, *beth-nimrāh,* Beth-nimrah [Nu **32** 36; Josh **13** 27]): The leopard is found throughout Africa and ranges through Southern Asia from Asia Minor to Japan, being absent from Siberia and Central Asia. Its range is much the same as that of the lion, which latter, however, does not extend so far to the E. Like other animals of wide range, it has local varieties, but these shade into each other imperceptibly, and the one specific name, *Felis pardus,* includes all. Leopards live in some of the valleys E. and S. of the Dead Sea, and in the mountains of Sinai and Northwestern Arabia. They have but rarely been seen of recent years in Lebanon or the more settled portions of Pal. So far as can be judged from skins which are available for comparison, the leopard of Pal is rather light in color, and is not as large as some found in Africa or India. It is not certain that the place-names, NIMRIM, NIMRAH, and BETH-NIMRAH (q.v.), have to do with *nāmēr,* "leopard," but their location is in Moab, where leopards are well known, even at the present day. One of the valleys entering the Dead Sea from the E., S. of the Arnon, is called *Wâdi-en-Numeir* ("valley of the little leopard"; *numeir,* dim. of *nimr*).



Leopard (*Felis leopardis*).

In the Bible "leopard" occurs mainly in **figurative** expressions, as a large and fierce beast. The leopard is mentioned with the lion and bear in Dnl **7** 6; Hos **13** 7; Rev **13** 2; with the lion, wolf and bear in Isa **11** 6; with the lion and wolf in Jer **5** 6; with the lion alone in Ecclus **28** 23; with the wolf alone in Hab **1** 8. The leopard is smaller than the lion and the tiger, but is more active than either. Its swiftness is referred to in Hab **1** 8: "Their horses also [of the Chaldaeans] are swifter than leopards." The spots of the leopard are referred to in Jer **13** 23: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"

The Gr πάρδαλις, *párdalis,* and πάνθηρ, *pánthēr,* were both applied to the leopard. "Panther" is sometimes used of large leopards, while in America, with its corrupt form "painter," it is one of the names applied to the cougar or puma, *Felis concolor,* which, as the specific name implies, is not spotted like the leopard, or striped like the tiger.

Alfred Ely Day

LEPER, lep′ẽr, **LEPROSY,** lep′ro-si (צָרַעַת, *çāra‘ath;* **λέπρα,** *lépra*): A slowly progressing and intractable disease characterized by subcutaneous nodules (Heb *s*^{e}*'ēth;* LXX *oulḗ;* AV "rising"), scabs or cuticular crusts (Heb *ṣappaḥath;* LXX *sēmasía*) and white shining spots appearing to be deeper than the skin (Heb *bahereth;* LXX *tēlaúgēma*). Other signs are (1) that the hairs of the affected part turn white and (2) that later there is a growth of "quick raw flesh." This disease in an especial manner rendered its victims unclean; even contact with a leper defiled whoever touched him, so while the cure of other diseases is called healing, that of leprosy is called cleansing (except in the case of Miriam [Nu **12** 13] and that of the Samaritan [Lk **17** 15] where the word "heal" is used in reference to leprosy). The disease is described in the Papyrus Ebers as *ukhedu* (the Coptic name for leprosy is *çeht*). It is also mentioned in ancient Indian and Japanese history. Hippocrates calls it "the Phoen disease," and Galen names it "elephantiasis." In Europe it was little known until imported by the returning soldiers of Pompey's army after his Syrian campaign in 61 BC; but after that date it is described by Soranus, Aretaeus and other classic authors.

1. OT Instances

The first OT mention of this disease is as a sign given by God to Moses (Ex **4** 6 [J]), which may be the basis of the story in *CAp,* I, 31, that Moses was expelled from Heliopolis on account of his being a leper (see also I, 26 and *Ant,* III, xi, 4). The second case is that of Miriam (Nu **12** 10), where the disease is graphically described (EP$_2$). In Dt **24** 8 there is a reference to the oral tradition concerning the treatment of lepers, without any details, but in Lev **13, 14** (PC) the rules for the recognition of the disease, the preliminary quarantine periods and the ceremonial methods of cleansing are given at length. It is worthy of note that neither here nor elsewhere is there any mention of treatment or remedy; and Jehoram's ejaculation implies the belief that its cure could be accomplished only by miracle (2 K **5** 7).

Group of Lepers Begging.

The case of Naaman (2 K **5** 1) shows that lepers were not isolated and excluded from society among the Syrians. The leprosy of Gehazi (2 K **5** 27) is said to have been the transference of that of Naaman, but, as the incubation period is long, it must have been miraculously inflicted on him. The four lepers of Samaria of 2 K **7** 3 had been excluded from the city and were outside the gate. The leprous stroke inflicted on Uzziah (2 K **15** 5; 2 Ch **26** 23) for his unwarrantable assumption of the priestly office began in his forehead, a form of the disease peculiarly unclean (Lev **13** 43–46) and requiring the banishment and isolation of the leper. It is remarkable that there is no reference to this disease in the prophetical writings, or in the Hagiographa.

2. Leprosy in the NT

In the NT, cleansing of the lepers is mentioned as a specific portion of Our Lord's work of healing, and was included in the commission given to the apostles. There are few individual cases specially described, only the ten of Lk **17** 12, and the leper whom Our Lord touched (Mt **8** 2; Mk **1** 40; Lk **5** 12), but it is probable that these are only a few out of many such incidents. Simon the leper (Mt **26** 6; Mk **14** 3) may have been one of those cured by the Lord.

3. Nature and Locality of the Disease

The disease is a zymotic affection produced by a microbe discovered by Hansen in 1871. It is contagious, although not very readily communicated by casual contact; in one form it is attended with anaesthesia of the parts affected, and this, which is the commonest variety now met with in the East, is slower in its course than those forms in which nodular growths are the most prominent features, in which parts of the limbs often drop off. At present there are many lepers to be seen at the gates of the cities in Pal. It is likewise prevalent in other eastern lands, India, China, and Japan. Cases are also to be seen in most of the Mediterranean lands and in Norway, as well as in parts of Africa and the West Indies and in South America. In former times it was occasionally met with in Britain, and in most of the older English cities there were leper houses, often called "lazarets" from the mistaken notion that the eczematous or varicose ulcers of Lazarus were leprous (Lk **16** 20). Between 1096 and 1472, 112 such leper houses were founded in England. Of this disease King Robert Bruce of Scotland died. There was special mediaeval legislation excluding lepers from churches and forbidding them to wander from district to district. Leprosy has been sometimes confounded with other diseases; indeed the Gr physicians used the name *lepra* for the scaly skin disease now called psoriasis. In the priestly legislation there was one form of disease (Lev **13** 13) in which the whiteness covers all the body, and in this condition the patient was pronounced to be clean. This was probably psoriasis, for leprosy does not, until a very late stage, cover all the body, and when it does so, it is not white. It has been surmised that Naaman's disease was of this kind. Freckled spots (Heb *bōhaḳ*), which were to be distinguished from true leprosy (Lev **13** 39), were either spots of herpes or of some other non-contagious skin disease. The modern Arab. word of the same sound is the name of a form of eczema. RV reads for freckled spot "tetter," an old Eng. word from a root implying itchiness (see *Hamlet,* I, v, 71).

The homiletic use of leprosy as a type of sin is not Bib. The only Scriptural reference which might approach this is Ps **51** 7, but this refers to Nu **19** 18 rather than to the cleansing of the leper. The Fathers regarded leprosy as typical of heresy rather than of moral offences. (See Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoria,* s.v. "Lepra.")

(1) *Leprosy in garments.*—The occurrence of certain greenish or reddish stains in the substance of woollen or linen fabrics or in articles made of leather is described in Lev **13** 47 ff, and when these stains spread, or, after washing, do not change their color, they are pronounced to be due to a fretting

leprosy (*çāra‘ath mam’ereth*), and such garments are to be burnt. As among the fellahin articles of clothing are worn for years and are often hereditary, it is little wonder that they become affected by vegetable as well as animal parasites, and that which is here referred to is probably some form of mildew, such as *Penicillium* or mold-fungus. The destruction of such garments is a useful sanitary precaution. Possibly this sort of decaying garment was in Job's mind when he compares himself to a "rotten thing that consumeth, like a garment that is moth-eaten" (**13** 28); see also Jude ver 23, "the garment spotted [*espilōménon*] by the flesh."

(2) *Leprosy in the house* (*Lev* **14** *34 ff*).—The occurrence of "hollow streaks, greenish or reddish," in the plaster of a house is regarded as evidence that the wall is affected with leprosy, and when such is observed the occupant first clears his house of furniture, for if the discoloration be pronounced leprous, all in the home would become unclean and must be destroyed. Then he asks the priest to inspect it. The test is first, that the stain is in the substance of the wall, and, second, that it is spreading. In case these conditions are fulfilled, it is pronounced to be leprosy and the affected part of the wall is taken down, its stones cast outside the city, its plaster scraped off and also cast outside the city; new stones are then built in and the house is newly plastered. Should the stain recur in the new wall, then the whole house is condemned and must be destroyed and its materials cast outside the city. The description is that of infection by some fungus attacking whatever organic material is in the mud plaster by which the wall is covered. If in woodwork, it might be the dry rot (*Merulius lacrimans*), but this is not likely to spread except where there is wood or other organic matter. It might be the efflorescence of mural salt (calcium nitrate), which forms flocculent masses when decomposing nitrogenous material is in contact with lime; but that is generally white, not green or reddish. Considering the uncleanly condition of the houses of the ordinary fellah, it is little wonder that such fungus growths may develop in their walls, and in such cases destruction of the house and its materials is a sanitary necessity.

4. The Legal Attitude

It should be observed here that the attitude of the Law toward the person, garment or house suspected of leprosy is that if the disease be really present they are to be declared unclean and there is no means provided for cure, and in the case of the garment or house, they are to be destroyed. If, on the other hand, the disease be proved to be absent, this freedom from the disease has to be declared by a ceremonial purification. This is in reality not the ritual for cleansing the leper, for the Torah provides none such, but the ritual for declaring him ceremonially free from the suspicion of having the disease. This gives a peculiar and added force to the words, "The lepers are cleansed," as a testimony to Our Lord's Divine mission.

Alex. Macalister

LESHEM, lē′shem. See Laish.

LESSAU, les′ô (**Λεσσαού**, *Lessaoú;* AV **Dessau**): A place mentioned only in 2 Macc **14** 16 as the scene of a battle between Nicanor and the Jews. "Dessau" of AV arises from confusion of Λ with Δ in the Gr. The place may be identical with Adasa (q.v.).

LET (**κατέχω**, *katéchō*): Usually in the sense of "permit" (AS *lætan*), but also in Old Eng. with meaning of "hinder" (AS *lettan*). This latter sense is found in 2 Thess **2** 7 AV, "Only he who now letteth will let," where RV has, "Only there is one that restraineth now."

LETHECH, lē′thek (לֶתֶךְ, *lethekh*): A liquid measure equivalent to half a homer (Hos **3** 2 m) and containing about 5½ bushels. See Weights and Measures.

LETTER, let′ẽr. See Epistle.

LETTERS, let′ẽrz. See Alphabet; Writing.

LETUSHIM, lḗ-tōō′shim, lḗ-tū′shim (לְטוּשִׁים, *l^eṭūshīm*): A Dedanite tribe in North Arabia (Gen **25** 3). With it are connected the Asshurim and Leummim (q.v.).

LEUMMIM, lḗ-um′im (לְאֻמִּים, *l^e’ummīm*): A Dedanite tribe of North Arabia, connected with the Letushim (q.v.).

LEVI, lē′vī (לֵוִי, *lēwī;* **Λευί**, *Leuí;* WH **Λευεί**, *Leueí*):

(1) The 3d son of Jacob by Leah. See separate article.

(2) (3) Two ancestors of Jesus in Lk's genealogy (Lk **3** 24.29).

(4) The apostle Matthew. See Matthew.

LEVI (לֵוִי, *lēwī;* **Λευεί**, *Leueí*): The third of Leah's sons born to Jacob in Paddan-aram (Gen **29** 34). In this passage the name is connected with the vb. *lāwāh*, "to adhere," or "be joined to," Leah expressing assurance that with the birth of this third son, her husband might be drawn closer to her in the bonds of conjugal affection. There is a play upon the name in Nu **18** 2.4, where direction is given that the tribe of Levi be "joined unto" Aaron in the ministries of the sanctuary. The etymology here suggested is simple and reasonable. The grounds on which some modern scholars reject it are purely conjectural. It is asserted, e.g., that the name is adjectival, not nominal, describing one who attaches himself; and this is used to support the theory that the Levites were those who joined the Sem people when they left Egypt to return to Pal, who therefore were probably Egyptians. Others think it may be a gentilic form *lē’āh*, "wild cow" (Wellhausen, *Proleg.*, 146; Stade, *GVI*, 152); and this is held to be the more probable, as pointing to early totem worship!

Levi shared with Simeon the infamy incurred at Shechem by the treacherous slaughter of the Shechemites (Gen **34**). Jacob's displeasure was expressed at the time (ver 3), and the memory was still bitter to him in his last days (**49** 5 f). The fate predicted for the descendants of Simeon and Levi (ver 7), in the case of the latter on account of the tribe's stedfast loyalty in a period of stern testing, was changed to a blessing (Ex **32** 26 ff). In later lit. the action condemned by Jacob is mentioned with approval (Jth **9** 2 ff). Levi was involved in his brothers' guilt with regard to Joseph (Gen **37**), and shared their experiences in Egypt before Joseph made himself known (chs **42–45**). Three sons, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, were born to him in Canaan, and went down with the caravan to Egypt (**46** 11). Nothing further is known of the personal history of this patriarch. He died and found sepulture in Egypt. For the tribal history and possessions, see Priests and Levites.

W. Ewing

LEVIATHAN, lḗ-vī′a-than (לִוְיָתָן, *liwyāthān* [Job **41** 1–34], from √ לָוָה, *lāwāh*, "to fold"; cf Arab.

name of the wry neck, *Iynx torquilla*, أَبُو لُوَى, *abū-luwā*, from kindred √, لَوَى, *lawā*, "to bend"):

(1) The word "leviathan" also occurs in Isa **27** 1, where it is characterized as "the swift serpent . . . . the crooked serpent"; in Ps **104** 26, where a marine monster is indicated; also in Ps **74** 14 and Job **3** 8. The description in Job **41** has been thought by some to refer to the whale, but while the whale suits better the expressions denoting great strength, the words apply best on the whole to the crocodile. Moreover, the whale is very seldom found in the Mediterranean, while the crocodile is abundant in the Nile, and has been known to occur in at least one river of Pal, the *Zarḳa*, N. of Jaffa. For a discussion of the behemoth and leviathan as mythical creatures, see *EB*, s.v. "Behemoth" and "Leviathan." The points in the description which may well apply to the crocodile are the great invulnerability, the strong and close scales, the limbs and the teeth. It must be admitted that there are many expressions which a modern scientist would not use with reference to the crocodile, but the Book of Job is neither modern nor scientific, but poetical and ancient.

(2) See ASTRONOMY, II, 2, 5.

ALFRED ELY DAY

LEVIRATE, lev′i-rāt, **LAW.** See MARRIAGE.

LEVIS, lē′vis (Λευίς, *Leuís*): 1 Esd **9** 14, properly the Levite of Ezr **10** 15; "Shabbethai the Levite" for "Levis and Sabbateus."

LEVITES, lē′vīts. See PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

LEVITICAL, lē-vit′i-kal, CITIES:

- I. LEGAL PROVISIONS
  - 1. Numbers
  - 2. Deuteronomy
- II. WELLHAUSEN'S VIEW
- III. ALTERNATIVE VIEW AND EVIDENCE
  - 1. Traces of the Cities
  - 2. Wellhausen's Arguments Answered
  - 3. Van Hoonacker's Reply
  - 4. Ezekiel's Vision
  - 5. Priestly Cities and Cities in Which Priests Dwell
- LITERATURE

I. Legal Provisions.—Nu **35** 1–8 provides that 48 cities should be given to the Levites, each surrounded by a pasturage.

1. Numbers

The exact details are not quite clear, for in the Heb, ver 4 would naturally be read as meaning that the pasturage was a radius of 1,000 cubits from the city walls, while ver 5 makes *each* city the center of a square, each side of which was 2,000 cubits long. Extant variants in the VSS suggest, however, that the text has suffered slightly in transmission. Originally there seems to have been no discrepancy between the two verses, and it may be doubted whether the intent was that the city was always to be in the mathematical center of the patch. The Levites were to have the right of redeeming the houses at any time, and in default of redemption they were to go out in the Jubilee. The field was not to be sold (Lev **25** 32 f).

2. Deuteronomy

Dt **18** 8 undoubtedly recognizes patrimonial possessions of the Levites outside the religious capital, and sees no inconsistency with its earlier statement that Levi had no portion or inheritance with Israel (ver 1). The explanation lies in the fact that these cities were not a tribal portion like the territories of the secular tribes. The area occupied by the whole 48 jointly would only have amounted to less than 16 miles.

II. Wellhausen's View.—Josh **21** relates that this command was fulfilled by the allocation of 48 cities, but it is clear that some of those cities were not in fact reduced into possession; see e.g. Josh **16** 10; Jgs **1** 29 as to Gezer, and Jgs **1** 27 as to Taanach. Wellhausen treats the whole arrangement as fictitious. His main reasons are: (1) that the arrangement is physically impracticable in a mountainous country, and (2) that "there is not a historical trace of the existence of the Levitical cities." Many remained in the hands of the Canaanites till a late period, while others were "important but by no means ecclesiastical towns" (*Prolegomena*, 160). Two pages later he says that "four of them were demonstrably famous old seats of worship," and conjectures that most, if not all, were ancient sanctuaries. He also regards Ezekiel's scheme of a heave offering of land (ch **45**) as the origin of the idea. Yet "Jerus and the temple, which, properly speaking, occasioned the whole arrangement, are buried in silence with a diligence which is in the highest degree surprising" (p. 164).

III. Alternative View and Evidence.—In point of fact, there are traces of some of the Levitical cities in the later history.

1. Traces of the Cities

Such are Anathoth (1 K **2** 26; Jer **1** 1; **32**), Jattir (2 S **20** 26, where, as shown in the art. PRIESTS AND LEVITES [q.v.], Jattirite should be read for the Massoretic Jairite), Beth-shemesh (1 S **6** 13–15; see PRIESTS AND LEVITES as to the text). (From Am **7** 17 it appears that Amaziah of Bethel had land, but we do not know that he was of Levitical descent or where the land was.)

2. Wellhausen's Arguments Answered

Further, the fact that many other Levitical cities appear to have been centers of worship points to the presence of priests. Was the great high place of Gibeon (1 K **3** 4) unserved by priests? It is surely natural to suppose that during the period between the capture of the Ark and its transport to Jerus there was a tendency for high places to spring up in cities where there were priests rather than elsewhere; indeed there would probably be a disposition on the part of unemployed priests to go astray in a direction that would prove lucrative.

3. Van Hoonacker's Reply

With regard to the other objection, Van Hoonacker's answer is convincing: "As to the way in which the measurements were to be carried out in the mountainous country of Pal, the legislator doubtless knew what method was usually employed. Besides, we are free to believe that he only gives these figures as approximate indications" (*Sacerdoce lévitique*, 433).

4. Ezekiel's Vision

The same writer's reply to the theory that the idea originated with Ezekiel is wholly admirable. "Strictly we could ask . . . . whether Ezekiel did not found himself on the description of the camp of the Israelites in the desert. It is only too manifest that the division and appointment of the territory as presented in ch **48** of the prophet are scarcely inspired by practical necessities, that they have a very pronounced character of ideal vision; and 'as no fancy is pure fancy,' we ought also to find the elements which are at the basis of Ezekiel's vision. The tents of the tribe of Levi ranged around the tabernacle explain themselves in the PC; we may doubt whether the Levites, deprived of territory (Ezk **44** 28) and nevertheless grouped on a common territory, in the conditions described in Ezk **48**, explain themselves with equal facility. A camp is readily conceived on the pattern of a chessboard, but not the country of Canaan. We need not stop there. It is in fact certain that Ezekiel here has in view the protection of the holiness of the temple from all profanation; and in the realm of the ideal, the means are appropriate to the end" (op. cit., 425 f).

5. Priestly Cities and Cities in Which Priests Dwell

Lastly there runs through Wellhausen's discussion the confusion between a city where priests may be dwelling and a priestly city. There were priests in Jerus, as there are today in London or Chicago; but none of these three places can be regarded as a priestly city in the same sense as the Levitical cities. Not one of them has ever been a patrimonial city of priests, or could be the origin of such an arrangement.

While therefore the whole of the cities mentioned in Josh **21** were certainly not reduced into possession at the time of the conquest, the Wellhausen theory on this matter cannot be sustained.

LITERATURE.—J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 159–63; A. Van Hoonacker, *Sacerdoce lévitique*, 423–35 (very brilliant and important). HAROLD M. WIENER

LEVITICUS, lē-vit′i-kus:

- I. GENERAL DATA
  - 1. Name
  - 2. Character of Book
  - 3. Unity of Book: Law of Holiness Examination of Critical Theory
- II. STRUCTURE
  - 1. Modern Analyses
    - (1) Theories of Disintegration
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- III. ORIGIN
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    - (5) Dt and PC
  - 2. Connection with Mosaic Period
    - (1) PC and Desert Conditions
    - (2) Unity and Construction Point to Mosaic Origin
- IV. THE SIGNIFICANCE
  - 1. Positive
    - (1) The Law Contains God's Will
    - (2) The Law Prepares for the Understanding of Christianity
    - (3) The Law as a Tutor unto Christ
  - 2. Negative
- LITERATURE

1. Name

I. General Data.—The third book of the Pent is generally named by the Jews according to the first word, וַיִּקְרָא, *wayyiḳrā'* (Origen **Οὐικρά,** *Ouikrá*, by the LXX called according to its contents **Λευιτικόν,** *Leuitikón*, or **Λευειτικόν,** *Leueitikón*, by the Vulg, accordingly, "Leviticus" [i.e. *Liber*], sometimes "Leviticum"). The Jews have also another name taken from its contents, viz. תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים, *tōrath kōhănīm*, "Law of the Priests."

2. Character of Book

As a matter of fact ordinances pertaining to the priesthood, to the Levitical system, and to the cultus constitute a most important part of this book; but specifically religious and ethical commands, as we find them, e.g. in chs **18–20**, are not wanting; and there are also some historical sections, which, however, are again connected with the matter referring to the cultus, namely the consecration of the priests in chs **8** and **9**, the sin and the punishment of two sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu (**10** 1 ff), and the account of the stoning of a blasphemer (**24** 10 ff). Of the Levites, on the other hand, the book does not treat at all. They are mentioned only once and that incidentally in **25** 32 ff. The laws are stated to have been given *bᵉhar ṣīnay* (**7** 38; **25** 1; **26** 46; **27** 34), which expression, on account of ch **11**, in which Jeh is described as speaking to Moses out of the tent of meeting, is not to be trd "upon" but "at" Mt. Sinai. The connection of this book with the preceding and following books, i.e. Ex and Nu, which is commonly acknowledged as being the case, at least in some sense, leaves for the contents of Lev exactly the period of a single month, since the last chronological statement of Ex **40** 17 as the time of the erection of the tabernacle mentions the 1st day of the 1st month of the 2d year of the Exodus, and Nu **1** 1 takes us to the 1st day of the 2d month of the same year. Within this time of one month the consecration of the priests fills out 8 days (Lev **8** 33; **9** 1). A sequence in time is indicated only by **16** 1, which directly connects with what is reported in ch **10** concerning Nadab and Abihu. In the same way the ordinances given in **10** 6 ff are connected with the events described in **8** 1—**10** 5. The laws are described as being revelations of Jeh, generally given to Moses (cf **1** 1; **4** 1; **5** 14; **6** 19.24 [Heb 12.17]; **7** 22.28, etc); sometimes to Moses and Aaron (cf **11** 1; **13** 1; **14** 33; **15** 1, etc), and, rarely, to Aaron alone (**10** 8). In **10** 12 ff, Moses gives some directions to the priests, which are based on a former revelation (cf **6** 16 [Heb 9] ff; **7** 37 ff). In **10** 16 ff, we have a difference of opinion between Moses and Aaron, or rather his sons, which was decided on the basis of an independent application of principles given in Lev. Most of these commands are to be announced to Israel (**1** 2; **4** 2; **7** 23.29; **9** 3 ff; **11** 2; **12** 2; **15** 2; **18** 2, etc); others to the priests (**6** 9.25 [Heb 2.18]; **21** 2; **22** 2, etc); or to the priests and the Israelites (**17** 2; **22** 18), while the directions in reference to the Day of Atonement, with which Aaron was primarily concerned (**16** 2), beginning with ver 29, without a special superscription, are undeniably changed into injunctions addressed to all Israel; cf also **21** 24 and **21** 2. As the Book of Ex treats of the communion which God offers on His part to Israel and which culminates at last in His dwelling in the tent of meeting (**40** 34 ff; cf under EXODUS, I, 2), the Book of Lev contains the ordinances which were to be carried out by the Israelites in religious, ethical and cultural matters, in order to restore and maintain this communion with God, notwithstanding the imperfections and the guilt of the Israelites. And as this book thus with good reason occupies its well-established place in the story of the founding and in the earliest history of the theocracy, so too even a casual survey and intelligent glance at the contents of the book will show that we have here a well-arranged and organic unity, a conviction which is only confirmed and strengthened by the presentation of the structure of the book in detail (see under II, below).

3. Unity of Book: Law of Holiness

As a rule, critics are accustomed first of all to regard chs **17–25** or **26** as an independent section, and find in these chapters a legal code that is considered to have existed at one time as a group by itself, before it was united with the other parts.

It is indeed true that a series of peculiarities have been found in these chapters. To these peculiarities belongs the frequent repetition of the formula: "I am Jeh your God" (**18** 2.4; **19** 2.4, etc); or "I am Jeh" (**18** 5.6.21; **19** 14.16, etc), or "I am Jeh . . . . who hath separated you" (**20** 24), or "who sanctifieth you" (**20** 8; **21** 8.15.23, etc). To these peculiarities belong the references in words, or, in fact, to the land of Canaan, into which Israel is to be led (**18** 3.24 ff; **19** 23 ff.29; **20** 22 ff; **23**; **25**), and also to Egypt, out of which He has led the people (**18** 3; **19** 34; **22** 33; **26** 13.45, etc); as, further, the demand for sanctification (**19** 2), or the warning against desecration (**19** 12; **21** 23, etc), both based on the holiness of Jeh. In addition, a number of peculiar expressions are repeatedly found in these chapters. Because of their contents these chapters have, since Klostermann, generally been designated by the letter H (i.e. Law of Holiness); or, according to the suggestion of Dillmann, by the letter S (i.e. Sinaitic Law), because, according to **25** 1; **26** 46, they are said to have been given at Mt. Sinai, and because in certain critical circles it was at one time claimed that these chapters contain old laws from the Mosaic period, although these had been changed in form. These earlier views have apparently now been discarded by the critics entirely.

Examination of critical theory.—We, however, do not believe that it is at all justifiable to separate these laws as a special legal code from the other chapters. In the first place, these peculiarities, even if such are found here more frequently than elsewhere, are not restricted to these chapters exclusively. The Decalogue (Ex **20** 2) begins with the words, "I am Jeh thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." Ex **22** 31 contains the demand, "Ye shall be holy men unto me." Ex **29** 44.45 contains a promise that God will dwell in the midst of the Israelites, so that they shall learn that He is Jeh, their God, who has brought them out of Egypt in order to dwell in their midst as Jeh, their God (cf, further, Ex **6** 6–8; **31** 13 f; Lev **10** 10.11; **11** 44; Nu **15** 37–41; **33** 52 f.55 f; Dt **14** 2.21). It is a more than risky undertaking to find in these and in other sections scattered remnants of H, esp. if these are seen to be indispensable in the connection in which they are found, and when no reason can be given why they should be separated from this collection of laws. Then, too, the differences of opinion on the part of the critics in assigning these different parts to H, do not make us favorably inclined to the whole hypothesis. Hoffmann, esp. (*Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese*, 16 ff), has shown how impossible it is to separate H from the other ordinances of the PC in so radical a manner. In saying this we do not at all wish to deny the peculiar character of these chapters, only we do not believe that ch **17** can be added or ch **26** can be taken away from this section; for in ch **17** all the characteristic peculiarities of the Holiness Law are lacking; and, on the other hand, in ch **26** the expression "I am Jeh your God," or a similar one in vs 12.13.44 f, is found. The subscription in ver 46 connects ch **26** with the preceding; and, further, the reference to the Sabbatical year as described in ch **25**, found in **26** 34 f. 43, is not to be overlooked. Finally, also, other legal codes, such as that in the first Book of the Covenant (Ex **23** 20–33) and that of Dt (**27** 11–**28** 68) close with the offer of a blessing or a curse.

The chapters under consideration (Lev **18**–**26**) are most closely connected with each other solely through their contents, which have found expression in a particular form, without these facts being sufficient to justify the claim of their being a separate legal code. For since in chs **1**–**17** all those things which separate the Israelites from their God have been considered and bridged over (cf chs **1**–**7**, the laws concerning sacrifices; chs **8**–**10**, the mediatorship of the priests; chs **11**–**15**, the unclean things; ch **16**, the Day of Atonement; ch **17**, the use made of blood), we find in chs **18**–**26** an account of the God-pleasing conduct, which admits of nothing that desecrates; namely, chs **18**–**20** contain laws dealing with marriage and chastity and other matters of a religious, ethical or cultural kind, together with the punishments that follow their transgression; chs **21** f determine the true character of the priests and of the sacred oblations; chs **23** f, the consecration of the seasons, of life and death, etc; ch **25**, the Sabbath and the Jubilee year; ch **26** contains the offer of a blessing or a curse. Chs **1**–**17** have, as it were, a negative character; chs **18**–**26** a positive character. In chs **1**–**17** the consciousness of what is unclean, imperfect and guilty is awakened and the possibility of their removal demonstrated; while in chs **18**–**26** the norm of a holy life is set forth. Even if these two parts at certain places show so great a likeness that the occurrence of an interchange of ordinances could be regarded as possible, nevertheless the peculiar character of each part is plainly recognized; and this is also a very essential argument for the view that both parts have one and the same author, who intentionally brought the two parts into closer connection and yet separated the one from the other. On this supposition the peculiarities of chs **18**–**26** are sufficiently explained, and also the positive contents of these chapters and the fact that just these chapters are referred to in preëxilic lit. oftener than is the case with chs **1**–**17**, and particularly the close connection between Ezk and H is to be regarded as a consequence of the common tendency of both authors and not as the result of their having used a common source (see Ezekiel, II, 2). In **26** 46 we have what is clearly a conclusion, which corresponds to **25** 1; **7** 37 f; **1** 1, and accordingly regards chs **1**–**26** as a unity; while ch **27**, which treats of vows and of tithes, with its separate subscription in ver 34, shows that it is an appendix or a supplement, which is, however, in many ways connected with the rest of the book, so that this addition cannot, without further grounds, be regarded as pointing to another author.

II. Structure.—Modern criticism ascribes the entire Book of Lev, being a special legal code, to the PC. The questions which arise in connection with this claim will be discussed under III, below. At this point we must first try to awaken a consciousness of the fact, that in this special particular, too, the documentary theory has entered upon the stage of total disintegration; that the reasons assigned for the separation of the sources are constantly becoming more arbitrary and subjective; and that the absurd consequences to which they consistently lead from the very outset arouse distrust as to the correctness of the process. Just as in the historical parts the critics have for long been no longer content with J (Jahwist) and E (Elohist), but have added a J^1 and J^2, an E^1 and E^2, and as Sievers and Gunkel have gone farther, and in detail have completely shattered both J and E into entirely separate fragments (see Genesis), so P, too, is beginning to experience the same fate. It is high time that, for both the historical and the legal sections, the opposite course be taken, and that we turn from the dismemberment to the combination of these documents; that we seek out and emphasize those features which, in form and content, unite the text into a clear unity. For this reason we lay the greatest stress on these in this section, which deals with the structure of the book, and which treats of the matter (1) negatively and (2) positively (see also Exodus, II).

1. Modern Analyses

(1) *Theories of disintegration.*—We have already seen in the art. Day of Atonement (I, 2, [2]) in connection with Lev **16** an example of these attempts at dissection, and here still add several examples in order to strengthen the impression on this subject.

(*a*) General considerations: If we for the present disregard the details, then, according to Bertholet (*Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament*), not only chs **17**–**26** (see, above, under I) at one time existed as a separate legal corpus, but also the sacrificial legislation in chs **1**–**7**, and also the laws concerning the clean and the unclean in chs **11**–**15**. Concerning ch **16** see above. Then, too, ch **27** is regarded as a supplement and is ascribed to a different author. Finally, the so-called "fundamental document" of P (marked Pg) contained only parts from chs **9** f (also a few matters from ch **8**), as also one of the three threads of ch **16**, for Lev **8**–**10**, it is said, described the consecration of the priests demanded in Ex **25** ff, which also are regarded as a part of Pg, and ch **16** 1 is claimed to connect again with Lev **10** (cf on this point Day of Atonement, I, 2). All these separate parts of Lev (i.e. chs **1**–**7**, **8**–**10**, **11**–**15**, **16**, **17**–**26**, **27**) are further divided into a number of more or less independent subparts; thus, e.g., chs **1**–**7**, containing the sacrificial laws, are made to consist of two parts, viz. chs **1**–**5** and chs **6**–**7**; or the laws concerning the clean and the unclean in chs **11**–**15** are divided into the separate pieces, chs **11**, **12**; **13** 1–46; and these are regarded as having existed at one time and in a certain manner independently and separated from each other. But how complicated in detail the composition is considered to be, we can see from chs **17–26**.

(*b*) Chs **17–26** considered in detail: While Baentsch (*Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament*) accepts, to begin with, three fundamental strata (H^1=chs **18–20** and certain portions from chs **23–25**; H^2=chs **21** f; H^3=ch **17**), Bertholet, too (op. cit., x), regards the development of these chapters as follows: "In detail we feel justified in separating the following pieces: (i) **17** 3.4 (5.7*a*).8.9.10–14; (ii) **18** 7–10.12–20.22 f; and this united with (iii) **19** 3 f.11 f.27 f.30.31.35.36, which was probably done by the author of (iii). The following were inserted by the person who united these parts, viz. **18** 6.27.25.26.28.30; (iv) **19** 9.10.13–18.19.29.32; (v) **19** 5–8.23–26; (vi) **20** 2(3).6(27); (vii) **20** 9.10–21; **19** 20; (viii) **21** 1*b*–5.7.9–15.17*b*–24; **22** 3.8.10–14.18*b*–25.27–30; (ix) **23** 10–20.39–43; (x) **24** 15–22, except vs 16*aβb*; (xi) **25** 2–7 (4).18–22.35–38.39.40*a*.42 f.47.53.55; (xii) **25** 8*a*.9*b*.10*a*.13.14–16.17.24 f. In uniting these pieces Rh (the Redactor of the Law of Holiness) seems to have added *de suo* the following: **17** 5 (beginning); **18** 2*b*–5.21.24.26*a*,*β*.29; **19** 33f.37; **20** 4f.7f.22–26; **21** 6.8; **22** 2.9.15f.31–33; **23** 22; **25** 11 f; **26** 1 f. At the same time he united with these an older parenetic section, **26** 3–45, which, by inserting vs 10.34 f.39–43, he changed into a concluding address of this small legal code. All the rest that is found in chs **17–26** seems to be the result of a revision in the spirit of P, not, however, as though originally it all came from the hand of Rp (Redactor P). That he rather added and worked together older pieces from P (which did not belong to Pg) is seen from an analysis of ch **23**. . . . . As far as the time when these parts were worked together is concerned, we have a reliable *terminus ad quem* in a comparison of Neh **8** 14–18 with Lev **23** 36 (P). 39 ff (H). Only we must from the outset remember, that still, after the uniting of these different parts, the marks of the editorial pen are to be noticed in the following chs, **17–26**, i.e. that after this union a number of additions were yet made to the text. This is sure as far as **23** 26–32 is concerned, and is probable as to **24** 1–9.10–14.23; **25** 32–34; and that this editorial work even went so far as to put sections from P in the place of parts of H can possibly be concluded from **24** 1–9."

(*c*) Extravagance of critical treatment: This is also true of all the other sections, as can be seen by a reference to the books of Bertholet and Baentsch. What should surprise us most, the complicated and external manner in which our Bib. text, which has such a wonderful history back of it, is declared by the critics to have originated, or the keenness of the critics, who, with the ease of child's play, are able to detect and trace out this growth and development of the text, and can do more than hear the grass grow? But this amazement is thrust into the background when we contemplate what becomes of the Bible text under the manipulations of the critics. The compass of this article makes it impossible to give even as much as a general survey of the often totally divergent and contradictory schemes of Baentsch and Bertholet and others on the distribution of this book among different sources; and still less possible is it to give a criticism of these in detail. But this critical method really condemns itself more thoroughly than any examination of its claims would. All who are not yet entirely hypnotized by the spell of the documentary hypothesis will feel that by this method all genuine scientific research is brought to an end. If the way in which this book originated had been so complicated, it certainly could never have been again reconstructed.

(2) *Reasons for dismemberment.*—We must at this place confine ourselves to mentioning and discussing several typical reasons which are urged in favor of a distribution among different authors.

(*a*) Alleged repetitions: We find in the parts belonging to P a number of so-called repetitions. In chs **1–7** we find a twofold discussion of the five kinds of sacrifices (**1–5**; **6** 1 ff); in ch **20** punitive measures are enacted for deeds which had been described already in ch **18**; in **19** 3.30; **23** 3; **26** 2 the Sabbath command is intensified; in **19** 5 ff; **22** 29 f, we find commands which had been touched upon already in **7** 15 ff; **19** 9 f we find almost verbally repeated in **23** 22; **24** 2 ff repeats ordinances concerning the golden candlestick from Ex **27** 20 ff, etc. The existence of these repetitions cannot be denied; but is the conclusion drawn from this fact correct? It certainly is possible that one and the same author could have handled the same materials at different places and from different viewpoints, as is the case in chs **1–7** in regard to the sacrifices. Chs **18** and **20** (misdeeds and punishments) are even necessarily and mutually supplementary. Specially important laws can have been repeated, in order to emphasize and impress them all the more; or they are placed in peculiar relations or in a unique light (cf, e.g., **24** 1 ff, the command in reference to the golden candlestick in the pericope chs **23–24**; see below). Accordingly, as soon as we can furnish a reason for the repetition, it becomes unobjectionable; and often, when this is not the case, the objections are unremoved if we ascribe the repetitions to a new author, who made the repetition by way of an explanation (see Exodus, II, 2, [5]).

(*b*) Separation of materials: Other reasons will probably be found in uniting or separating materials that are related. That ch **16** is connected with chs **8–10**, and these connect with Ex **25** ff, is said to prove that this had been the original order in these sections. But why should materials that are clearly connected be without any reason torn asunder by the insertion of foreign data? Or has the interpolator perhaps had reasons of his own for doing this? Why are not these breaks ascribed to the original author? The sacrificial laws in chs **1–7** are properly placed before Lev **8–10**, because in these latter chapters the sacrifices are described as already being made (**9** 7.15, the sin offering; **9** 7.12.16, the burnt offering; **9** 17; **10** 12, the meal offering; **9** 18, the peace offering; **9** 3 f, all kinds). In the same way chs **11–15**, through **15** 31, are inwardly connected with Lev **16**, since these chapters speak of the defiling of the dwelling-place of Jeh, from which the Day of Atonement delivers (**16** 16 f.33). As a matter of course, the original writer as well as a later redactor could have at times also connected parts in a looser or more external manner. In this way, in **7** 22 ff, the command not to eat of the fats or of the blood has been joined to the ordinances with reference to the use of the peace offerings in **7** 19 ff. This again is the case when, in ch **2**, vs 11–13 have been inserted in the list of the different kinds of meal offering; when after the general scheme of sin offerings, according to the hierarchical order and rank in ch **4**, a number of special cases are mentioned in **5** 1 ff; and when in **5** 7 ff commands are given to prevent too great poverty; or when in **6** 19 ff the priestly meal offerings are found connected with other ordinances with references to the meat offerings in general (**6** 14 ff); or when the share that belongs to the priest (**7** 8 ff) is found connected with his claim to the guilt offering (**7** 1 ff); or the touching of the meat offering by something unclean (**7** 19 ff) is found connected with the ordinances concerning the peace offerings; or when in ch **11** the ordinances dealing with the unclean animals gradually pass over into ordinances concerning the touching of these animals, as is already indicated by the subscription **11** 4.6 f (cf with ver 2). Still more would it be natural to unite different parts in other ways also. In this way the ordinances dealing with the character of the sacrifices in **22** 17–30 could, regarded by themselves, be placed also in chs **1–7**. But in ch **22** they are also well placed. On the other hand, the character of chs **1–7** would have become too complicated if they were inserted here. In such matters the author must have freedom of action.

(*c*) Change of singular and plural: Further, the frequent change between the sing. and the pl. in the addresses found in the laws which are given to a body of persons is without further thought used by the critics as a proof of a diversity of authors in the section under consideration (cf **10** 12 ff; **19** 9.11 ff,15 ff, etc). But how easily this change in numbers can be explained! In case the pl. is used, the body of the people are regarded as having been distributed into individuals; and in the case of a more stringent application the pl. can at once be converted into the sing., since the author is thinking now only of separate individuals. Naturally, too, the sing. is used as soon as the author thinks again rather of the people as a whole. Sometimes the change is made suddenly within one and the same verse or run of thought; and this in itself ought to have banished the thought of a difference of authors in such cases. In the case of an interpolator or redactor, it is from the outset all the more probable that he would have paid more attention to the person used in the addresses than that this would have been done by the original writer, who was completely absorbed by the subject-matter. Besides, such a change in number is frequently found in other connections also; cf in the Book of the Covenant (Ex **22** 20–25.29 f; **23** 9 ff; cf Dt **12** 2 ff.13 ff). In regard to these passages, also, the modern critics are accustomed to draw the same conclusion; and in these cases, too, this is hasty. In the same way the change in the laws from the 3d to the 2d person can best be explained as the work of the lawgiver himself, before whose mind the persons addressed are more vividly present and who, when speaking in the 2d person, becomes personal (cf Lev **2** 4 ff with **2** 1–3, and also **1** 2; **3** 17; **6** 18.21.25 ff).

(*d*) Proofs of religious development: A greater importance seemingly must be attributed to the reasons based on a difference in the terminology or on contradictions in the laws, as these appear to lead to a religio-historical development. But the following examples are intended to show how all-important it is to be slow in the acceptance of the materials which the critics offer in this connection.

(3) *Insufficiency of these reasons.*—(*a*) In **5** 1–7, in the section treating of the sin offering (**4** 1—**5** 13), we find the word *'āshām*, which also signifies "guilt offering" (cf vs 14 ff; **7** 1 ff). Accordingly, it is claimed, the author of **5** 1–7 was not yet acquainted with the difference between the two kinds of offerings, and that this part is older than that in **4** 1 ff; **5** 14 ff. However, in **5** 1 ff the word *'āshām* is evidently used in the sense of "repentance," and does not signify "sin offering" at all; at any rate, already in vs 6 f we find the characteristic term *ḥaṭṭā'th* to designate the latter, and thus this section appears as entirely in harmony with the connection.

(*b*) Critics find a contradiction in **6** 26; **7** 33.7, and in **6** 29; **7** 31.6, since in the first case the officiating priest and in the other case the entire college of priests is described as participating in the sacrifice. In reply it is to be said that the first set of passages treat of the individual concrete cases, while the second set speak of the general principle. In **7** 8 f, however, where the individual officiating priest is actually put in express contrast with all the sons of Aaron, the matter under consideration is a difference in the meal offerings, which, beginning with ch **2**, could be regarded as known. Why this difference is made in the use of this sacrifice is no longer intelligible to us, as we no longer retain these sacrifices, nor are we in possession of the oral instruction which possibly accompanied the written formulation of these laws; but this is a matter entirely independent of the question as to the author.

(*c*) According to Ex **29** 7; Lev **4** 3.5.16; **6** 20.22; **8** 12; **16** 32; **21** 10.12, the high priest is the only one who is anointed; while, on the other hand, in Ex **28** 41; **29** 21; **30** 30; **40** 15; Lev **7** 36; **10** 7, all the priests are anointed. But the text as it reads does not make it impossible that there was a double anointing. According to the first set of passages, Aaron is anointed in such a manner that the anointing oil is poured out upon his head (cf esp. Ex **29** 7 and Lev **8** 12). Then, too, he and all his sons are anointed in such a way that a mixture of the oil and of the blood is sprinkled upon them and on their garments (cf esp. Ex **29** 21 and Lev **8** 30). Were we here dealing with a difference in reference to the theory and the ranks of the priesthood, as these discussions were current at the time of the exile (see III, below), then surely the victorious party would have seen to it that their views alone would have been reproduced in these laws, and the opposing views would have been suppressed. But now both anointings are found side by side, and even in one and the same chapter!

(*d*) The different punishments prescribed for carnal intercourse with a woman during her periods in **15** 24 and **20** 18 are easily explained by the fact that, in the first passage, the periods are spoken of which only set in during the act, and in the second passage, those which had already set in before.

(*e*) As far as the difference in terminology is concerned, it must be remembered that in their claims the critics either overlook that intentional differences may decide the preference for certain words or expressions; or else they ignore the fact that it is possible in almost every section of a writer's work to find some expressions which are always, or at least often, peculiar to him; or finally, they in an inexcusable way ignore the freedom of selection which a writer has between different synonyms or his choice in using these.

All in all, it must be said that however much we acknowledge the keenness and the industry of the modern critics in clearing up many difficulties, and the fact that they bring up many questions that demand answers, it nevertheless is the fact that they take the matter of solving these problems entirely too easily, by arbitrarily claiming different authors, without taking note of the fact that by doing this the real difficulty is not removed, but is only transferred to another place. What could possibly be accepted as satisfactory in one single instance, namely that through the thoughtlessness of an editor discrepancies in form or matter had found their way into the text, is at once claimed to be the regular mode of solving these difficulties—a procedure that is itself thoughtlessness. On the other hand, the critics overlook the fact that it makes little difference for the religious and the ethical value of these commands, whether logical, systematic, linguistic or aesthetic correctness in all their parts has been attained or not; to which must yet be added, that a failure in the one particular may at the same time be an advantage in the other. In this respect we need recall only the anacoluths of the apostle Paul.

2. Structure of the Biblical Text

(1) *Structure in general.*—The most effective antidote against the craze to split up the text in the manner described above will be found in the exposition of all those features which unite this text into one inseparable whole. What we have tried to demonstrate in the arts. GENESIS; EXODUS, II; DAY OF ATONEMENT, I, 2 (cf also EZEKIEL, I, 2, [2]) can be repeated at this point. The Book of Lev shows all the marks of being a well-constructed and organic literary product, which in its fundamental characteristics has already been outlined under I above. And as this was done in the several articles just cited, we can here add further, as a confirmatory factor in favor of the acceptance of an inner literary unity of the book, that the division of the book into its logical parts, even down to minute details, is here, as is so often the case elsewhere, not only virtually self-evident in many particulars, but that the use made of typical numbers in many passages in this adjustment of the parts almost forces itself upon our recognition. In other places the same is at least suggested, and can be traced throughout the book without the least violence to the text. The system need not be forced upon the materials. We often find sections but loosely connected with the preceding parts (cf under 1 above) and not united in a strictly logical manner, but which are nevertheless related in thought and association of ideas. In harmony with the division of the Book of Gen we find at once that the general contents, as mentioned under I above, easily fall into 10 pericopes, and it is seen that these consist of 2 sets each of 5 pericopes together with an appendix.

(*a*) Ten pericopes in two parts: Part I, the separation from God and the removal of this separation: (i) chs **1–7**; (ii) chs **8–10**; (iii) chs **11–15**; (iv) ch **16**; (v) ch **17**.

Part II, the normal conduct of the people of God: (i) chs **18–20**; (ii) chs **21–22**; (iii) chs **23–24**; (iv) ch **25**; (v) ch **26**.

Appendix, ch **27**; cf for the number 10 the division of Ex **1** 8—**7** 7; **7** 8—**13** 16; **13** 17—**18** 27; also the Decalogue, **20** 1 ff; **21** 1—**23** 19; **32** 1—**35** 1; and see EXODUS, II, 2; and in Lev probably **18** 6–18; **19** 9–18, and with considerable certainty **19** 1–37 (see below).

(*b*) Correspondence and connections: I leave out of consideration in this case the question whether an intentional correspondence among the different parts be traced or not, even in their details. Thus, e.g., when the 2d pericope (chs **8–10** and **21** f) treats particularly of the order of the priests, or when the 4th pericope of the 2d set (ch **25**) states that the beginning of the Year of Jubilee fell on the 10th day of the 7th month, i.e. on the Day of Atonement as described in Lev **16**, in the 4th pericope of the 1st set (cf **25** 9 with **16** 29); or when both sets close with two shorter pericopes, which evidently express high stages of development (chs **16** and **17**, respectively, chs **25** and **26** treating of the Day of Atonement, of the use made of blood and the purposes of blood for the altar or the Jubilee Year, of the blessing and the curse).

And, as far as the order in other respects is concerned, it is throughout to be regarded as founded in the subject-matter itself that chs **1–17** must precede chs **18–26**. First that which separates the people from God must be removed, and then only is a God-pleasing conduct possible. Just as easily, and in agreement with the context, it is possible that the consecration of the priests in chs **8–10** presupposes the sacrificial *tōrāh* (chs **1–7**; cf under 1 above) and follows the latter, and is immediately introduced by the mention made of the installation sacrifices for which otherwise there are no reasons assigned in the concluding formula in **7** 37 (cf **8** 22–32). The Day of Atonement (ch **16**), which in vs 16 f and 33 is spoken of in connection with the purification of the sanctuary, is in turn introduced by chs **11–15**, or more particularly by the remark in **15** 31, where mention is made of the pollution of the dwelling-place of Jeh. And on the other hand, the ordinances dealing with the priests (chs **8–10**) in **10** 10, where the command is given to discriminate between what is holy and what is unholy and to teach Israel accordingly, already point to the contents of chs **11–15**. The sacrifices, with which the first part in chs **1–7** begins, are taken up again by the conclusion in ch **17**, in the commandment concerning the blood for the altar. The second part, too, already at the beginning (chs **18–20**) in its religiously cultural and ethical ordinances, shows in the clearest possible manner what matters it proposes to discuss. In this way the systematic structure of the book is apparent in all particulars.

Close connections: comparison with Ex: And, further, the different pericopes are also so closely connected among themselves and with the corresponding pericopes in the books of Ex and Nu, that many have thought it necessary to regard them as a special body of laws. But the connection is so close and involves all the details so thoroughly, that all efforts to divide and distribute them after the examples described under 1 above must fail absolutely. We shall now give the proofs for the different pericopes in Lev, but in such a manner as to take into consideration also Ex **25–31**; **35** ff, treating of the tabernacle and its utensils and the Aaronitic priesthood, which are most intimately connected with Lev. All details in this matter will be left out of consideration.

(*α*) Tabernacle and priesthood: That Lev **8–10** (the consecration of the priests, etc), together with Ex **25** ff, constitutes a single whole is accepted on all hands. But the tent of meeting and its utensils, and also the priesthood, both with and without any emphasis on the Aaronitic origin, are presupposed also in almost each one of the other pericopes of Lev; cf for chs **1–7**, e.g., **1** 3.5; **3** 2.8.13; **4** 4.5.7.14.16.18; **6** 26 (tent of meeting); **1** 5.12; **3** 5; **4** 7.25.30; **6** 12 (altar of burnt sacrifices); **4** 7.18 (altar of incense sacrifices); **4** 6.17 (veil); **6** 9.19 (court); **1** 5.7.8.11; **2** 2; **3** 2.5.8.13; **6** 9.14.16.20.25, etc (Aaron and his sons as priests); for chs **11–15** see **12** 4.6; **14** 11.23; **15** 14.29.31 (sanctuary, tent of meeting, dwelling-place); **11** 1; **12** 6 f; **13** 1 ff; **14** 2 ff.33 ff; **15** 1 (priesthood); for ch **16** see vs 2.7. 16f.20.23.33 (sanctuary and Holy of Holies, tent of meeting); **16** 2.12 (veil); **16** 2.13 ff (lid of the Ark of the Covenant); **16** 12.18.20.33 (altar); **16** 1 ff (Aaronitic priesthood); for ch **17** see vs 4–6.9 (tent of meeting); vs 6.11 (altar); ver 5 (priesthood); for chs **18–20** see **19** 30.21 (sanctuary of Jeh, tent of meeting); **19** 22 (priesthood); for ch **21** f see **21** 12 (sanctuary); **21** 23 (sanctuaries of Jeh); **21** 23 (veil, altar); **21** 1ff.21 (Aaronitic priesthood); for chs **23, 24** see **23** 2.4.21.24.27.36 f (sanctuary); **24** 1 ff (candlestick, tent of meeting); **24** 5 ff (table of showbread); **23** 10.20 (priesthood); **24** 3.9 (Aaronitic priesthood); for ch **26** see vs 2.11.31 (sanctuary, dwelling-place of Jeh, sanctuaries); for ch **27** see vs 10.33 (sanctuary); vs 8 ff (priesthood).

(*β*) In the same way the sacrificial laws of chs **1–7** are mentioned in the following pericopes as matters that are well known. For chs **8–10** see **9** 7.15 (sin offering); **9** 7.12.16 (burnt offering); **9** 17; **10** 12 (meal offering); **9** 18 (peace offering); **9** 3 f (all together); cf also Ex **29** 14.18.28. In Lev **9** 21; **10** 14 f (wave-breasts and heave-thigh) direct reference is made to **7** 30–36. In the same manner **10** 16 ff presupposes the ordinances dealing with the different ways of offering the sin offerings in **4** 3 ff.13 ff; **6** 24–30; for chs **11–15** see **12** 6 ff; **14** 12 ff (cf esp. **14** 13 with **4** 24); **14** 21 ff; **15** 14 f. 29 f; for ch **16** see vs 3.5 f.9.11.15.24 f.27; for ch **17** see vs 5 ff.8.11; for chs **18–20** see **19** 6 ff.21 f (here is therefore the *'āshām* found in H, which is claimed to be of a later date); for ch **21** f see **21** 6.21 f; **22** 17 ff.29 f; for chs **23, 24** see **23** 12 f; **18** 19.27.37; **24** 9; for ch **26** see vs 30 f; for ch **27** cf vs 15.19.27.31 with **5** 16; **6** 5.

(*γ*) Laws on clean and unclean: The laws in reference to the clean and the unclean in chs **11–15** are also interwoven with the whole book. For chs **1–7** see **5** 2 f; **6** 27; **7** 19 ff; for chs **8–10** see **10** 10 f; for ch **16** see vs 16.19; for ch **17** see vs 13.15 f; for chs **18–20** cf **20** 25 with **11** 44, and in general with ch **11**; for chs **21** f see **21** 10; **13** 45; **22** 3 ff with chs **13–15**; for ch **27** see vs 11 and 27, as also ch **11**.

(*δ*) The laws in reference to the Day of Atonement found in Lev **16** are prepared for by those found in chs **11–15**, viz. in **14** 4 ff.49 ff (the ceremony with the two birds in connection with the purification from leprosy), and in **15** 31 (cf **16** 16.19; see above). For chs **23, 24** cf **23** 26 ff with **16** 29 ff, and for **25** 9 with **16** 29 see above; cf also Ex **30** 10.

(*ε*) Ch **17** is reëchoed in chs **1–7** (**7** 26 f) and in chs **18–20** (**19** 26).

(*ζ*) Finally ch **25** (Year of Rest and Year of Jubilee) is presupposed in ch **26** (vs 34 f.43) and in ch **27** (vs 17 ff.23 f).

The above, however, by no means exhausts this list of references and similar thoughts, and we have here given only some leading illustrations. What literary tricks must be resorted to when, over against this overwhelming mass of evidence, critics yet insist that the different parts of the book were originally independent writings, esp., too, when the entire tabernacle and utensils of the Aaronitic priesthood, the Day of Atonement, the Year of Jubilee, the whole sacrificial scheme and the laws dealing with the great festivals, the restriction of the slaying of the sacrificial animals to the central sanctuary, are regarded as the products of imagination alone, according to the Wellhausen hypothesis (cf III, below, and see also EXODUS, III, 5; DAY OF ATONEMENT, III, 1; EZEKIEL, II, 2). And how little is gained in addition when, as is sometimes done, in a most arbitrary manner, the statements found in chs **1–3** concerning the tabernacle of revelation ("tent of meeting") and concerning Aaron's sons, or concerning Aaron and his sons together, are regarded as later additions. In Lev and Ex **25** ff, **35** ff, everything is so entirely of one and the same character and has so clearly emanated from one and the same spirit, that it is impossible to separate from this product any constituent parts and to unite these into groups that were originally independent, then to split up these still further and to trace the parts to their sources, and even to construct a scheme of religious and historical development on this reconstruction of the sources.

(2) *Structure of the individual pericopes.*—As the windows and the column capitals of a mediaeval cathedral are arranged according to different schemes and this divergence is regarded as an enrichment of the structure, thus, too, we find it to be in the structure of the various pericopes of the Book of Lev. These latter, too, possess a certain symphony of different tones, but all are rhythmically arranged, and only when united do they produce the entire symphony.

(*a*) The laws concerning the sacrifices (Lev **1**–

7): In the first place, the five different kinds of sacrifices in Israel are mentioned in succession twice, in **1** 1—**7** 21: Part I, chs **1–5,** namely (i) ch **1,** burnt offerings; (ii) ch **2,** meal offering; (iii) ch **3,** peace offerings; (iv) **4** 1—**5** 13, sin offering; (v) **5** 14–26, guilt offering; Part II, **6** 1—**7** 21, namely (i) **6** 8–13, burnt offerings; (ii) **6** 14–23, meal offering; (iii) **6** 24–30, sin offering; (iv) **7** 1–7 with appendix, vs 8–10, dealing with that part of the sacrifices which belongs to the priest (see under 1, above), guilt offering; (v) **7** 11–21, peace offerings. With this is found connected in **7** 22–27 the prohibition of the use of the fat or the blood, and in **7** 28–36, the laws concerning the wave-breast and the heave-thigh. We have accordingly at once twelve of these laws (cf on Ex **25** 1—**30** 10 in art. on Exodus, II, 2, [5] and on Ezekiel, I, 2, [5]). But even apart from this we have no right to ascribe chs **1–5** and **6** 1—**7** 21, on the ground that they are duplicates, to different authors.

That there is a difference between these two accounts is proved, not only by the fact that the first set of laws from chs **1–5** is addressed to all the Israelites (cf **1** 2; **4** 2), and the second set **6** 8; **7** 21 to Aaron and his sons (cf **6** 9.25); but the second set has also in content a number of altogether different viewpoints as compared with the first set, so that the same author found himself induced or compelled to write both sets. On the other hand, the fact that both have the same author is evident from the very close connection between the two sections. In addition to the fact that both make mention of all five kinds of sacrifices, we can yet compare **3** 5 with **6** 22 (fat pieces of the peace offering over the burnt sacrifices upon the pieces of wood); and, further, the express reference of **6** 17 to ch **4,** while **6** 30 presupposes the distinct separation of the sin offering, the blood of which is brought into the tent of meeting, from the other sacrifices, as these are given in **4** 3 ff.13 ff over against **4** 22 ff.27 ff. Ch **4,** with its reference to the peace offerings (vs 10.26.31.35), is again most closely connected with ch **3.** We must accordingly insist that the whole account is most intimately interwoven. Over against this, the omission within the first set, chs **1–5,** in **5** 14–16, of the ritual for the peace offering, is sufficiently explained only by the fact that this ritual was to be used in the second set (**6** 8—**7** 21), and here for the first time only in **7** 1–15, which fact again speaks for the same author for both sets and against the supposition that they were merely mechanically united by a redactor. The fact that the second set **6** 8—**7** 21 has a different order from that of chs **1–5,** by uniting the sin offering immediately with the meal offering (**6** 24 ff with vs 14–23), is probably on account of the similar ordinances in **7** 9 and **7** 19 (manner of eating the meal offering and the sin offering). On the other hand, the position of the peace offering at the close of the second set (**7** 11 ff) furnished the possibility of giving to the piece of the entire pericope embraced in **7** 22–27.28–36 a suitable conclusion; since **7** 22 ff (prohibition of the eating of the fat and the blood), connected with **7** 19 ff, contained in **7** 28 ff an ordinance that pertained to the peace offering (heave-breast and wave-thigh). At any rate, these last two pieces are to be regarded separately from the rest, since they are no longer addressed to the priests, as is **6** 8—**7** 21, but to all Israel; cf **7** 23.29. On some other data less intimately connected with the matter, cf above under 1.

(*b*) Consecration of priests and related matters (Lev **8–10**): In this pericope, as in the following, down to ch **17** inclusive, but esp. from ch **11** on, the principle of division on the basis of the number four predominates, in many cases in the details, too; so that this could scarcely be regarded as an accidental feature (cf also the history of Abraham in Gen **12–26;** further, in Ex **35** 4—**40** 38; and in Exodus, II, 2, [7]; Lev **16,** under Day of Atonement, I, 2, [1]); Dt **12–26,** too, is probably to be divided on this principle, even to the minutest details (cf finally Lev **21**—**22** 16; **22** 17–30; chs **23** f and **26**).

(i) Ch **8,** treating of the first seven days of the consecration of the priests: The outline is found in ver 2, namely Aaron, the sacred garments, the anointing oil, the bullock of the sin offering, two rams, unleavened bread (cf vs 6.7 ff.10 ff.14 ff.18 ff. 22 ff.26 ff). (ii) Ch **9** the first sacrifices of Aaron and his sons on the 8th day (vs 2–4 contain the outline, after the manner of **8** 2; cf vs 7 ff.11 ff, the sin offering and the burnt offering of Aaron, with ver 2; also vs 15–18, treating of what the people brought for the sacrifices, with vs 3 f; but it is to be noticed that the meal offering and the peace offering [vs 17.18] are given in inverted order from that found in vs 3 f). Here too we find the number seven, if we add the burnt offering for the morning (ver 17). (iii) **10** 1–7, the sin of Nadab and Abihu and their punishment by death; (iv) **10** 8–20, ordinances concerning the priests, occasioned by **8** 1—**10** 7 and provided with a new superscription in **10** 8, namely (α) **10** 8, dealing with the prohibition of the use of wine and intoxicants; (β) **10** 9 f, distinction between the holy and the unholy; (γ) **10** 12–15, the eating of the sacred oblations; (δ) **10** 16–20, the treatment of the goat for the sin offering.

(*c*) Laws concerning the clean and unclean (Lev **11–15**): (i) ch **11,** treating of clean and unclean animals. The outline of the chief contents is found in **11** 46 with a free transposition of one number. There are accordingly four pieces, viz. (α) vs 2–8, quadrupeds; (β) vs 9–12, water animals; (γ) vs 13–23, birds (with an appendix, treating of contact with the unclean, vs 24–28, which give a summary of the animals mentioned [α+γ]; see under 1); (δ) vs 29–45, the small animals upon the earth (again in four subdivisions, viz. [i] vs 29–38; [ii] vs 39 ff; [iii] vs 41 f; [iv] vs 44 f).

(ii) Ch **12** treats of women in confinement, also in four pieces (vs 2–4, birth of a male child; ver 5, birth of a female child; vs 6 f, purification ceremony; ver 8, ordinances in case of extreme poverty). These parts are not joined logically, but in a rather external manner.

(iii) The passage **13** 1—**14** 53, containing the laws of leprosy, with the subscription in **14** 54 ff. (Because seven points are to be enumerated, ver 55 [garments and houses], this is not as in its further exposition separated from the other laws and is placed in their midst.) The exposition contains four pieces, viz. (α) **13** 1–44, leprosy on human beings (with concluding verses, 45 f), with seven subdivisions, of which the first five longer ones are constructed along fairly parallel lines, and again can be divided into four sub-subdivisions, viz. vs 1–8; 9–17; 18–23; 24–28; 29–37; 38 f; 40–44. The significance of the number seven for the structure (see [2], [*b*], i, above) is akin to that found, e.g., in Ex **24** 18*b*—**31** 18 (see Exodus, II, 2, [5]); Lev **8, 9** (see above); Lev **23, 25,** and **27;** and possibly **26** 3–13.14–39 (see below); finally, the whole Book of Ex is divided into seven parts (see Exodus, II, 1). (β) **13** 47–59, leprosy in connection with garments, with four subdivisions, namely vs 47–50; 51 f; 53 f; 55 ff. The last subdivision can again be readily separated into four sub-subdivisions, viz. vs 55; 56; 57; 58. (γ) **14** 1–32, purifications (ver 2 being a special superscription), with 4 subdivisions, viz. (i) vs 2*b*–3*a*, the leper before the priest; (ii) vs 3*b*–9, the purification ceremonies on the first seven days, again divided into 4 sub-subdivisions: vs 3*b* f; 5–7; 8; 9; (iii) vs 10–20, the ceremony of the eighth day (4 sacrifices, namely vs 12–18, guilt offering; ver 19*a*, sin offering; ver 19*b*, burnt offering; ver 20, meal offering; in the 4 sacrifices (**5** 12—**6** 7) there are again 4 different actions: vs 14; 15 f; 17; 18; (iv) vs 21–32 (in cases of poverty) (δ) **14** 33–53, leprosy in houses, with four subdivisions: vs 33–35; 36–38; 39–42; 43–53.

(iv) Ch **15,** sickness or natural issues, with 4 subdivisions, viz. (α) **15** 1–15, checked or running issues together with their purification (vs 3–12 contain 12 laws: vs 3; 4*a;* 4*b;* 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*a;* 10*b;* 11; 12); (β) vs 16–18, issue of seed; (γ) vs 19–24, periods; (δ) vs 25–30, other flows of blood and their purification. α + β refer to men and γ + δ to women; and in addition to these implied suggestions, as α+δ to dealing with abnormal issues and their purification ceremonies, β+γ with normal issues.

(*d*) The Day of Atonement (Lev **16**): See IV, 1, (2), 2, and under Atonement, Day of.

(*e*) Uses and significance of the blood of sacrifices (Lev **17**): (i) Vs 3–7, only one place for killing the sacrifices and the rejection of all foreign cultures; (ii) vs 8.9, only one place for sacrificing; (iii) vs 10–14, prohibitive of eating the blood; (iv) ver 15, pertaining to carcases of animals found dead or which have been torn by wild beasts.

Here the form and the contents of the section have been brought into perfect harmony by the author. Vs 3 ff. 8ff. 10 ff. 13 ff begin with same words, and each contains a similar formula in reference to the punishment, while logically vs 10 ff and 13 ff are evidently only subdivisions of the third part in vs 10–14, which treats of the prohibition of eating blood. In the fourth division, again, while in substance connected with the rest, there is lacking the formal agreement with the first three divisions.

(*f*) (*g*) (Lev **18–20, 21**): These naturally fall each into 2 parts. Chs **18–20** contain (i) chs **18** f, religious and ethical laws; (ii) ch **20,** laws dealing with punishments.

(*f* i) Religious and ethical laws (chs **18** f): (*a*) ch **18:** Ordinances with reference to marriage and chastity. (α) **18** 1–5, introductory; (β) vs 6–18, prohibition of marriage between kindred of blood; (γ) vs 19–23, prohibition of other sexual sins; (δ) vs 24–30, warnings.

The subdivision (β) can perhaps be divided into 10 subordinate parts, if it is permitted to combine the different degrees of relationship mentioned in vs 12–14 (viz. 7.8.9.10.11.12–14.15.16.17.18). Since (γ) of itself manifestly consists of 5 ordinances (vs 19.20.21.22.23), this whole section, if we are permitted to divide (α) into 5 commandments (vs 2.3*a*.3*b*.4.5) and (δ) also into 5 (vs 24 f. 26–28.29.30*a*.30*b*), would contain 5×5 words; but this is uncertain.

(*b*) Ch **19:** various commands of the deepest significance. In order to discover the divisions of this chapter we must note the characteristic formula, "I am Jeh, your God," or a similar expression, which often appears at the beginning and at the end of certain divisions, e.g. in series (1) (9) and (10), but which in the middle series appears in each case only once, and which in all the series is found also at the conclusion.

In this way we can compute 10 tetralogues. Thus after the superscription in ver 2 containing a summary, we have (i) vs 3.4 (vs 3*a*.3*b*.4*a*.4*b*); (ii) vs 5–10 (vs 5 f. 7 f.9.10); (iii) vs 11 f (vs 11*a*.11*b*α.11*b*β.12); (iv) vs 13 f (vs 13*a*.13*b*.14*a*.14*b*); (v) vs 15 f (15*a*.15*b*.16*a*.16*b*); (vi) vs 17 f (vs 17*a*.17*b*.18*a*.18*b*); (vii) vs 19–25 (vs 19*a*.19*b*.20–22.23–25); (viii) vs 26–28 (vs 26*a*.26*b*.27.28), (ix) 29–32 (vs 29.30.31.32); (x) vs 33–36 (vs 33.34.35.36); ver 37 constitutes the conclusion of the whole. (Note that the number ten here is certain in the conviction of the present writer; but he is not quite so sure of the number of subdivisions within the main divisions; we may have to do here with pentalogues and not with tetralogues. If this is the case, then the agreements with ch **18** would under certain circumstances be even greater.)

Possibly groupings of two can yet form a closer union (cf on Ex **1–18, 21–23,** Exodus, II, 2, [1–4]). At any rate (iii) and (iv) can be summarized under the general heading of defrauding one's neighbors; (v) and (vi) under that of observation of the laws; (vii) and (viii) under that of heathen abuses; while (ix) and (x) perhaps intentionally mingle together the religious and cultural and ethical elements, in order thereby already to express that all these things are most intimately connected (but cf also vs 12.14. 17, in the middle sections). In vs 5 ff.20 ff.23 ff, the author develops his subject somewhat more fully.

(*f* ii) Laws dealing with punishments (ch **20**): The regulations in reference to punishments stand in such close relation to the contents of ch **18** and to parts of ch **19,** that it is absolutely incomprehensible how the critics can assign these three chapters to different authors. Even if certain regulations of ch **18** are not found here in ch **20** (vs 7.10.17*b*.18), and even if another order has been followed, this variation, which doubtless also hangs together with a new grouping of the materials, is rather an advantage than a disadvantage for the whole. It is impossible to conceive that a redactor would have altered anything in two entirely parallel and similar texts, or would himself have written a parallel text differing from the other. Ch **20** can probably be divided into 4 parts, viz. (i) vs 1–8, punishments for idolatry and witchcraft with a concluding formula, vs 7 f; (ii) vs 9–18, punishment of death for ten crimes, all of which, with the exception of the first, are of a sexual nature (vs 9–18). It is a question whether the first in the second group (ver 14), i.e. the sixth in the whole series, was intended to be made prominent by the peculiar character of the punishment (burning to death); (iii) vs 19–21, other sexual sins, with lighter punishments; (iv) vs 22–27, with 4 subdivisions (warning, vs 22 f; promise, ver 24; emphatic repetitions of two commands already given, vs 25 ff; [cf with **11** 44 ff, and in general with ch **11**]; and ver 27 with **19** 26.31; **20** 6). Perfectly certain in this chapter is the fact that the different kinds of punishments are likewise decisive for their order. It is doubtless not to be regarded as accidental that both at the beginning and at the end death by stoning is mentioned.

(*g*) (Lev **21** 1—**22** 33): (i) Laws concerning the quality of the priests (**21** 1–22.16); and (ii) concerning sacred oblations (**22** 17–30) with the subscription vs 31–33.

(*g* i) Qualities of priests: **21** 1—**22** 16 in four sections (**21** 1 ff.10 ff.16 ff; **22** 1 ff; note also in **21** 18–20 the 12 blemishes; in **22** 4–8 the 7 cases of uncleanness).

(*g* ii) Sacred oblations: **22** 17–30 in four sections (**22** 18–20.21–25.26–28.29 f).

(*h*) Consecration of seasons, etc (chs **23, 24**): (i) ch **23,** laws for the feasts (7 sections, viz. vs 3. 4 f.6–14.15–22.23–25.26–32.33–36, with the appendix that in every particular suits the connection, in vs 39 ff, added to the feast of the tabernacles); (ii) **24** 1–4, treating of the sacred candlestick, which represents the moral conduct of the Israelites, and for this reason suits admirably in the connection; as this is true also of (iii) **24** 5–9, treating of the shewbread, which represents the results of the labor of Israel; (iv) **24** 10–23, containing the report of the punishment of a blasphemer of God and of one who cursed.

Probably the example was made of a person who took the name of God in vain at the time which this chapter describes. But possibly there is a still closer connection to be found with that which precedes. The shewbread and the candlestick were found in the holy place, which with its utensils pictured the relation of Israel's character to their God; while the utensils in the Holy of Holies indicated God's relation to His people (cf Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, III, 644 ff). But since the holy place, in addition to the shewbread and the candlestick, contained only the incense altar, which symbolized the prayers of Israel, and as the blasphemer represents the exact opposite of prayer, it is probable that in **24** 10 ff prayer is indicated by its counterpart. This section consists of 4 parts, viz. vs 10–12; 13–14; 15–22 (giving a series of punishments for certain wrongdoings which are more or less closely connected with that found in the text); ver 23.

(*i*) Sabbatic and Jubilee years (ch **25**): Sabbatic and Jubilee years in 7 sections, viz. vs 1–7; 8–12; 13–28; 29–34; 35–38; 39–46; 47–55.

(*j*) Conclusion: Curse and blessing (ch **26**): The grand concluding chapter, offering a curse and a blessing and containing all the prophetic utterances of later times in a nutshell, viz. (i) vs 1–2, repetition of four important demands (vs 1*a*.1*b*.2*a*. 2*b*); (ii) **26** 3–13, the blessing, possibly to be divided into 7 stages, one more spiritual than the other; (iii) **26** 4–39, the curse, possibly to be divided into seven stages, one more intense than the other (cf also the play on words 7 times repeated, in reference to *shabbāth*, possibly found in vs 34 f, and certainly found in vs 18.21.24.27 f); (iv) **26** 40–45, the mercy finally shown by Jeh for His covenant's sake.

(*k*) Appendix: Finally, the appendix in ch **27**, dealing with vows and tithes, in 7 parts, viz. vs 1–8; 9–13; 14–15; 16–21; 26 f; 28–29; 30–33.

III. Origin.—As in the art. Atonement, Day of, I, 2, (2), we took a stand against the modern attempts at splitting up the text, and in III, 1 against the theory of the late origin of the whole pericope, we must, after trying under II to prove the unity of the Book of Lev, yet examine the modern claim that the book as a whole is the product of later times. Since the entire book is ascribed to the PC (see II, 1 above), the answer to the question as to the time when it was written will depend on the attitude which we take toward the Wellhausen hypothesis, which insists that the PC was not published until the time of the exile in 444 BC (Neh **8–10**).

1. Against the Wellhausen Hypothesis

(1) *Argument from silence.*—One of the most important proofs for this claim is the "argument from silence" (*argumentum e silentio*). How careful one must be in making use of this argument can be seen from the fact that, e.g., the high priest with his full title is mentioned but a single time in the entire Book of Lev, namely in **21** 10; and that the Levites are not mentioned save once (**25** 32 ff), and then incidentally. As is well known, it is the adherents of the Wellhausen hypothesis themselves who now claim that the bulk of the entire literature of the OT originated in the post-exilic period and long after the year 444 BC. Leaving out of consideration for the present the Books of Ch, Ezr and Neh, all of which describe the history of Israel from the standpoint of P, we note that this later literature is not any richer in its references to P than is the older literature; and that in those cases where such references are found in this literature assigned to a late period, it is just as difficult to decide whether these passages refer merely to a custom or to a codified set of laws.

(2) *Attitude of prophets toward sacrificial system.*—A further proof against the preëxilic origin of the priestly legislation is found in what is claimed to be the hostile attitude of the prophets to the sacrificial system (cf Am **5** 21 ff; **4** 4 f; Hos **6** 6; Mic **6** 6 ff; Isa **1** 11 ff; Jer **6** 20; **7** 21 ff; Ps **40** 6; **50** 8.9; **51** 16 f). But this cannot possibly be an absolute antithesis; for in this case, it would be directed also against the Books of the Covenant and, in part, too, against Dt, which books in Ex **20** 24; **22** 19; **23** 18; **34** 25; Dt **12** 5 f.11.13.17. 26; **15** 19–23; **16** 2.5 f; **17** 1; **18** 1.3 also give directions for sacrifices, and which, at least in part, are yet regarded as older writings. Further, these passages under discussion are also, in part, assigned to a later and even a very late period (cf even such cases as Ps **40** 6; **50** 8 f; **51** 16 f; Mic **6** 6 ff, and in addition also Mal **1** 10), i.e. they are assigned to a time in which, according to the views of the critics, the priestly laws are said to have had their origin or were already regarded as authoritative. As a rule, the prophets make sacrifices, Sabbaths, sacred places and persons a part of their pictures of the future; cf, as far as sacrifices are concerned, e.g. Jer **17** 26; **31** 14; **33** 14 ff. Finally, Lev **26** 31 shows how, under certain circumstances, even P can declare sacrifices to be useless.

(3) *The people's disobedience.*—Further, the transgressions of the Levitical laws in the course of Israel's history cannot be regarded as a proof of the non-existence of the priestly legislation in pre-exilic times. This is clear from an analogous case. Idolatry was forbidden by the Books of the Covenant (Ex **20–24**; **34**), which are recognized as ancient documents; but according to 2 K **22** the pious king Josiah down to the year 622 BC takes no offence at idolatry. Even after the reformation, which had been inaugurated in consequence of the finding of the Book of the Law in the temple during the reign of Josiah (2 K **22** f), idolatry was again practised in Israel, as is proved by Ezk **8** and Jer **44**, notwithstanding that the Books of the Covenant and Dt already were extant at that time, even according to the views of the critics.

But let us pass on to P itself, and not forget that the directions given for the Jubilee Year (Lev **25**), according to Jewish tradition, were never actually observed. According to the reasoning of the critics, this law could not be in existence even in the present day. According to all reports the transgressions of the Divine ordinances began even as early as the Mosaic period; cf Ex **32** (J, E, golden calf); Am **5** 25; Ezk **20**; Dt **12** 8 and also Lev **17** 7 (sacrifice to the Satyrs in PC). This condition of affairs can readily be understood because the religion of Jeh does not claim to be an emanation from the spirit of the people, but the result of a revelation from on high. In the light of these facts can we be surprised, that in the times of the Judges, when a great prophetic leader was so often not to be found in Israel, the apostasy was so great and so widespread? But all of these cases of disobedience, that have been demonstrated as actual facts in Israel's history, are not able to eliminate the fact that there are many data to prove the existence of a central sanctuary already in the earliest history of the people, which fact presupposes as a matter of course that there were also laws for the cultus in existence (see Exodus, III, 5). We must further not forget how the sacrifices of the sons of Samuel (1 S **2** 11 ff), notwithstanding all their arbitrary conduct, presupposes such passages as Lev **7** 30–32; **10** 15; Ex **29** 31 f; Lev **8** 31; Nu **6** 19 f; Lev **7** 23–32; or that the high priest, as described in PC, is already before the year 444 BC as well-known a character as he is after the exile (cf Ezekiel, II, 2); or that the question of Hag **2** 11 ff takes into consideration a code of cultus-laws, and that the answer is given on the basis of Lev **6** 27; Nu **19** 22.

(4) *Indiscriminate sacrificing.*—To this must be added that the transgressions, to which the critics appeal in proof of their claims, and which they abuse for their own purposes, must in part be interpreted differently from what they are. In the case of sacrificing indiscriminately at any place whatever, and by any person whatever, we have in many cases to deal with extraordinary instances of theophanies (cf Jgs **2** 1 ff; **6** 11 ff; **13** 1 ff), as these had been foreseen in Ex **20** 24. Even the Book of Dt does not insist throughout (cf **16** 21) that the sacrifices must be made at one and the same place (cf also PC: Lev **24** 31; Josh **22**). After the rejection of Shiloh, at which the central sanctuary had been deposited, as recorded in 1 S **4**, the cultural ordinances of PC, as we learn from Jer **7** 11 ff; **26** 6; Ps **78** 59 ff, became more or less a dead letter. Even the Books of Ch, which throughout record history from the standpoint of the PC, at this period and down to the dedication of the temple take no offence at the cultural acts of a Solomon in contrast with their attitude toward the conduct of

Uzziah (see 2 Ch **1** 6; **6** 1–4; **7** 1–7, as compared with **26** 16 ff). In the same way the pious people in the Northern Kingdom, after it had, by Divine consent, been separated from the Southern, could not do otherwise than erect altars for themselves, since they could not participate in the worship of the calves in Bethel and Dan. Further, modern criticism overlooks the fact that what is regular and normal is much less liable to be reported in historical narrative than that which is irregular and abnormal.

(5) *Dt and PC, etc.*—It is not possible at this place to enter into further details; we accordingly refer only to Exodus, III and IV; Day of Atonement, III, and esp. Ezekiel, II, 2, where the proof has been furnished that this prophet belongs to a later period than PC as far as Ezk **40–48** (containing his picture of the future) in general is concerned, and as far as Ezk **44** 4 ff (where it is claimed that the prophet first introduces the distinction between priests and Levites) in particular is concerned. All the important problems that are connected with this matter, esp. the difficulties which result from the Wellhausen hypothesis, when the questions as to the purpose, the form, the success and the origin of the priestly legislation come under consideration, are discussed in my book, *Are the Critics Right?* The result of this investigation is all the more noteworthy, as I was myself formerly an adherent of the Wellhausen school, but was forced to the conclusion that this hypothesis is untenable.

We have here yet to refer to the one fact that the relation of Dt and the PC, as far as Lev in particular is concerned, justifies the scheme of P followed by D as the historical order, while Wellhausen makes D older than P. Dt **10** 8 f; **33** 8 ff presuppose more detailed ordinances in reference to the priests such as those which have been given in P. The book of Dt further takes into account different kinds of sacrifices (cf **12** 5 f.11.13.17.26; **15** 19–23; **17** 1; **18** 1.3, such as are described in Lev **1** ff). The law in Dt **14** (ordinances with reference to what is clean) agrees almost word for word with Lev **11**, and is in such perfect harmony with the linguistic peculiarities of PC, that Lev **11** must be regarded as the original, and not vice versa. Dt **24** 8 f refers directly to the injunctions concerning leprosy, as we find these in Lev **13** f, and the Deuteronomic passage is doubtless modeled after that of Lev. Dt **12** 15.22; **15** 22 cannot be understood at all, except in the light of Lev **17** 13. Dt **26** 14 ff again expressly takes into account ideas that have been taken from Lev **22** 3 ff. As far as the laws dealing with the great feasts in Dt **16** are concerned, it is impossible to understand ver 9 without Lev **23** 15 ff.10 f; and the designation "feast of tabernacles" in vs 13 ff cannot even be understood without a reference to such a law as we find in Lev **23** 39 ff. The other passages to be discussed on this subject lead us to the following results.

2. Connection with Mosaic Period

Even if the Book of Dt were the product of the 7th cent. BC, the facts that have been stated above would nevertheless disprove the claim of the Wellhausen hypothesis as to an exilic or post-exilic date for the PC. But if Dt, even in its essential and fundamental parts, merely, is Mosaic (cf *Are the Critics Right?* 1–55), then the PC which is still older than Dt must also belong to the Mosaic period.

(1) *PC and desert conditions.*—This conclusion is in this point confirmed still further by a series of facts. As Dt permits the firstborn to be ransomed (Dt **14** 22 ff), but the PC demands their consecration *in natura* (Lev **27** 26 f; cf Nu **18** 15 ff), the latter ordinances could be preferred and enforced only during the wandering in the desert, where the whole nation was in the neighborhood of the sanctuary. The fact that the ordinances dealing with the domestic celebration of the Passover in the private houses on the 14th of Niṣan and the holy convocation on the 15th of Niṣan at the sanctuary could be carried out only during the wanderings in the desert (cf Ex **12** 3 ff.6; Lev **23** 5; Nu **28** 16; Lev **27** 6 ff; Nu **28** 17ff), and that this was changed in Dt **16** 5 f to correspond to changed conditions, can be seen by reference to Exodus, III, 3. Still more important is a third command in Lev **17** in comparison with Dt **12**. The commandment that every animal that is to be slain is to be brought to the central sanctuary can have a purpose only for the Mosaic period, and could not even have been invented at a later period. Because of the entrance of Israel into Canaan, the Book of Dt changes this ordinance in such a way that from this time on the killing of the animals is permitted at any place (**12** 13 ff.20ff). The different commands in reference to the carcases of animals that have died and of those torn to pieces are all dependent on Lev **17**. In Dt **14** 21, it was possible to forbid the use of such animals absolutely for Israel, because from now on, and in contrast to Lev **17**, the killing of sacrificial animals was permitted at any place (vs 13 ff). In Ex **22** 30 all use of such meat could be forbidden, because Lev **17**, with its command to bring all blood to the sanctuary, had not yet been given. Lev, now, on the other hand, forbids this use only to the priests (**22** 8), and sees in this use in the case of the other Israelites only a transitory defilement (cf Lev **17** 15; **11** 40); and in **7** 24 forbids only the use of the fat, but not of the meat of these animals; for now, according to Lev **17** 1 ff, all the killing is a sacrifice which only those who are clean were permitted to eat and which could not be secured at all times (cf Hoffmann, op. cit., 23 f).

Our exposition of Lev **17** 1 ff is, however, in another respect also of the greatest significance, for in vs 4–6.8 f the tent of meeting is presupposed as existing; in vs 5.8 also different kinds of sacrifices, and in ver 6 the priesthood; so that at once further ordinances concerning the tent of meeting, the sacrificial code, the priesthood, such as we find in Ex **25** ff; **35** ff; Lev **1–7**; Ex **29**; Lev **8—10** 21 ff, were possible and necessary, and these very laws must probably originate in and date from the Mosaic period. This same conclusion is sustained by the following considerations. For what other source or time could be in harmony with such statements found very often in other parts of Lev also, as "into the camp" in **4** 11 ff; **6** 11; **13** 46; **14** 3.8 (unconscious contrast to later times); **14** 33 ff.40.41.45.53; **16** 26–28; **24** 10–23; or "into the desert," in **16** 10.21 f. In **5** 15.18; **6** 6 (cf also **27** 2ff), the words "according to thy estimation" are addressed personally to Moses. In **6** 20 a calculation is based on the day on which Aaron was consecrated to the priesthood, while ver 22 is the first that has general coloring. Such hints, which, as it were, have only been accidentally scattered in the body of the laws, and which point to the situation of the lawgiver and of his times, are of especial value for the argument in favor of the Mosaic origin of these laws. Further, we everywhere find that Aaron and his sons are as yet the only incumbents of the priestly office (cf **1** 5.7.8.11; **2**.3; **3** 13; **6** 9.14.16, etc). All the laws claim to have been given through Moses or Aaron or through both at Mt. Sinai (see I above). And who, in later times, if it was the purpose to magnify the priesthood of Aaron, would have thought of inventing the fact that on the Day of Atonement and on other occasions it was necessary for Aaron to bring a burnt offering and a sin offering for himself (Lev **16**; **8–10**; **6** 19 ff), or that Moses in his view of a certain cultural act had been mistaken (cf Lev **10** 16 ff)? The law concerning the Jubilee Year (Lev **25**) presupposes that each tribe is confined in its own district and is not intermingled with the other tribes, a presupposition which was no longer possible after the occupation of Canaan, and is accordingly thinkable only in the Mosaic times. And now let us remember that this fact, when we recall (see II, above) that the unity of the book was proved, is a ground for claiming that the entire book dates from the Mosaic period. As far as Lev at least is concerned, there is nothing found in the book that calls for a later date. Lev **18** 24 ff can be regarded as post-Mosaic only if we translate these verses thoughtlessly, as though the inhabitants of the country were here described as being expelled earlier. On the other hand, in ver 24, just as is the case with the parallel passage, **20** 22 ff, the idea is, without any doubt, that Israel is not yet in the Holy Land. Accordingly the *waw* consecutives at this place are to be regarded not as indicating temporal but logical sequences. In the passage **18** 27, we further find the archaic form *hā'ēl* for *hā'ēlleh;* cf in the Pent Gen **19** 8.25; **26** 3.4; Dt **4** 42; **7** 22; **19** 11. Just as little does ch **26** take us into the exilic period. Only dogmatical prejudices can take offence at prediction of the exile. Lev **26** cannot be regarded as a "prophecy after the event," for the reason, too, that the restoration of the people by God's pardon is here promised (cf vs 40 ff). And, too, the exile is not the only punishment with which Israel is threatened; and finally as far as Israel is concerned, by the side of the statements concerning their dwelling in one single country (vs 34.38.41.44), it is also said that they are to be scattered among many nations and countries (cf vs 23.36.39).

(2) *Unity and construction point to Mosaic origin.*—If to this we yet add the unity of the thought and of the external construction, looking at the whole matter, we do not see anything that would lead us to accept a post-Mosaic period for this book. Then, too, it is from the outset in itself only probable that Moses gave his people a body of cultus-laws and did not leave this matter to chance. We need only think of the great rôle which among the oriental peoples was assigned to their religious cultus. It is indeed nowhere said, in so many words, that Moses wrote even the laws of the PC. But the references made by Dt to the PC; the fact that Nu **33,** which also is credited to Moses, is characterized by the style of PC; further, that the author of Dt could write in the style of P (cf Dt **14** with Lev **11**); and, per contra, that the author of Lev **26** had the mastery of the style peculiar to Dt (cf Dt **28**)—all this makes it probable that Moses even wrote these things himself; at any rate, no reasons can be cited against this view. Very interesting in connection with the question of the unity of the Pent are the close connecting links between Lev **18** 24 ff; **20** 22 ff, and JE. The question whether Moses in the composition of the book made use of his own notes or of those of others, cannot be decided; but this is an irrelevant matter. What the facts may be in reference to the development of other ordinances, which have taken different forms in the Books of the Covenant and in PC, or in Dt and in PC, and whether the existence of these differences in the cases of particular laws compels us to accept later additions, cannot be discussed at this place. Yet from the outset it is to be emphasized that already in the Mosaic period there could possibly have been reasons for changing some of these laws; esp. was this so in the Book of Dt, just before the people entered the promised land (cf e.g. the laws concerning tithes, Dt **12** 6 f.17 ff; **14** 22 ff; **26** 12 ff; Lev **27** 30 ff; Nu **18** 20 ff, or the laws concerning contributions for sacrifices, Dt **18** 3; Lev **7** 29 ff).

Then, too, the decision whether this development took place as early as the time of Moses or not is not to be made dependent on the possibility of our being able to explain the reasons for such changes. We lack both the daily practice in these cultural ordinances, as also the oral instruction which makes these ordinances intelligible. The manner in which in Lev **1** ff the different kinds of sacrifices are introduced sounds as though these were already known to the people and were practised by them, except in the case of sin and guilt offerings. This is further in harmony with earlier narratives, which already report concerning sacrifices. It is possible that in this way we can also explain a certain relationship between the Jewish sacrificial ritual and that of Babylon (cf Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*). The ordinances in reference to the clean and the unclean may also have emanated from religious and ethical ideas which are older than Moses' times. In this matter the thought was decisive, that everything that was impure, everything that suggested death or decay or sin or displeasure to God, should be kept separated and apart from the religion of Jeh. In all such cases it is not the newness of the laws but their adaptability to the character and spirit of the Jeh-religion that is to be regarded as the decisive factor.

1. Positive

IV. The Significance.—(1) *The law contains God's will,* although in transitory form. In the art. EZEKIEL under II, 2, (3) we have referred to the fact that Leviticism is an important and necessary stage in the development of true religion, and that the entire OT did not advance beyond this stage and was not intended to go beyond it. The leading prophets (Isa **40** ff, Jer, Ezk), even in their visions of the future, cling to the temple, sacrifices, holy oblations, sacred seasons and persons. Christianity was the first to discard this external shell, after it had ripened the kernel that was concealed in this shell (cf worship in the spirit and in the truth, Jn **4** 20–24). Down to this time, kernel and shell were inseparably united. This must not be forgotten, if we would appreciate the Book of Lev properly. It is true that this book to a large extent deals with laws and ordinances, to which we Christians should not and need not return (cf the voice from heaven to Peter, Acts **10** 15, "What God hath cleansed, make not thou common," and Paul's opposition to all work-righteousness that was based on compliance with these external institutions, e.g. in Rom, Gal, Col, as also his independent attitude over against the Jewish law in those cases where it could not be taken into consideration as the way to salvation; cf Acts **21** 17 ff; Rom **14** 1 ff; 1 Cor **9** 19 ff). But these laws and ordinances were something more than merely external matters, since they contained the highest religious thoughts. We surely should not forget from the outset that Lev **19** contains also the word, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (ver 18), a command which in vs 33 f is even made to cover the strangers too, and which by Jesus, next to the absolute love demanded for God, is designated as the chief commandment of the law (Mt **22** 39); and when in **19** 17 f the hatred of the brother and desire for revenge on him are forbidden, we already seem to breathe the atmosphere of Christianity. The entire ch **19** is, in addition, as it were, a sermon on almost all of the commandments of the Decalogue, the abiding authority of which the Christian, after the example and interpretation of Jesus, will at once recognize. But as the Decalogue itself is found inclosed in the specifically Jewish national shell (cf Ex **20** 2, exodus out of Egypt; ver 8, Sabbath commandment; ver 12, promise of the holy land; ver 17, slaves), so, too, this is the case in Lev **19** (cf vs 3.6 ff.20–22.23–25.29.30.33 f). But how little the specifically Levitical ordinances, in the narrower sense of the term, exclude the spiritual factor, and how closely they are interwoven with the deepest of thoughts, can be seen from ch **26,** according to which all merely external sacrifices, into which formalism naturally the Levitical legal code could degenerate, do not protect from punishment, if the heart remains uncircumcised (vs 30 f.41).

Above all, there are four leading thoughts which are emphasized forcibly, particularly by the legal system of PC. In reality all times, all places, all property, all persons are sacred to God. But as it is impossible that this ideal should be realized in view of the imperfections and guilt of man, it was decided that certain particular seasons and places, gifts and persons should be separated from others, and that in these this sacredness should be realized as far as possible, and that these representatives should by their mere existence continually remind the people of God's more comprehensive claims, and at the same time arouse and maintain the consciousness that their entire life was to be saturated by the thoughts of a holy God and His demands. From this point of view, none of the particular laws are worthless; and when they are once appreciated in this their central significance, we can understand that each law has its share in the eternal authority of the law (cf Mt **5** 17 f). Paul, too, who absolutely rejects the law as a way to salvation expresses no doubt that the law really contains the will of God (Rom **8** 3 f); and he declares that it was the purpose of the sending of Jesus, that the demands made upon us by the law should be fulfilled; and in Rom **13** 10 he tells us that love is the fulfilment of the law (cf ver 8); and according to Rom **7** 12, it is certain that the law is holy and the commandment is holy, righteous and good.

(2) *The law prepares for the understanding of Christianity.*—But the ceremonial law, too, contains not only the demands of God's will. It prepares also for the understanding of the work, the person and the mission of Jesus. In Ex **25** 8; **29** 45 f; **40** 34 ff the indwelling of God in the tent of meeting is declared, which prophesied the incarnation of God in Christ Jesus (Jn **1** 14); and then the indwelling of God through the Holy Ghost in the Christian congregation (1 Pet **2** 5; Eph **4** 12) and in the individual (1 Cor **3** 16; **6** 19; 2 Cor **6** 16; Jn **14** 23). Through the sacrificial system in Lev **1–7**, and the ordinances of the Day of Atonement (Lev **16**), we are enabled to understand the character of sin, of grace and of the forgiveness of sin (cf Atonement, Day of, II). Let us remember to what extent Jesus and Paul, the Ep. to the He, and the other NT writings operate with OT thoughts, particularly with those of Lev (priesthood, sacrifices, atonement, Passover, signification of blood, etc), and Paul correctly says that the righteousness of God was prophesied, not only by the prophets, but also by the law (Rom **3** 21).

(3) *The law as a tutor unto Christ.*—Finally, the ceremonial law too has the purpose to protect Israel from the errors of the heathen, a thought that is esp. emphasized in the Law of Holiness (cf Lev **18** 3.24 ff; **19** 26 ff; **20** 2 ff.22 ff; **26** 1) and which is in harmony with the elementary stage of Israel's education in the OT, when the people still stood in need of the "tutor . . . . unto Christ" (Gal **3** 23 f; **4** 1). This already leads us over to the negative side, which Paul particularly emphasizes.

2. Negative

The law is in itself holy, and the commandment is holy and righteous and good (Rom **7** 12), but it has lost its power because the flesh of man is sinful (cf Rom **8** 3); and thus it happens that the law is the occasion for sin and leads to a knowledge of sin and to an increase of sin (cf Rom **3** 20; **4** 15; **5** 20; **7** 13); and this shall be brought about according to the purposes of God in order that in upright hearts the desire for forgiveness should arise. It is true that nothing was so well adapted as were the details of the law, to bring to consciousness in the untutored mind that in which man yet came short of the Divine commands. And as far as the removal of the guilt was concerned, nothing was needed except the reference to this in order to make men feel their imperfections (cf He **7–10**). God merely out of grace was for the time being contented with the blood of goats and of calves as a means for atonement; He was already counting on the forgiveness in Christ (Rom **3** 25). All the sacrifices in Lev **1–7**, e.g., did not make the ritual of the Day of Atonement superfluous (Lev **16**); and in this case the very man who brought the sacrifice was also a sinful creature who must first secure the forgiveness of God for himself. Only Jesus, at once the perfect priest and the perfect sacrifice, has achieved the perfect redemption. It accordingly remains a fact that the righteousness which avails before God can be secured only through faith in Jesus Christ, and not through the deeds of the law (Rom and Gal).

The law with its incomplete atonement and with its arousing of the consciousness of sin drives man to Jesus; and this is its negative significance. Jesus, however, who Himself has fulfilled the demands of the law, gives us through His spirit the power, that the law with its demands (1, [1] above) may no longer stand threateningly over against us, but is now written in our hearts. In this way the OT law is fulfilled in its transitory form, and at the same time becomes superfluous, after its eternal contents have been recognized, maintained and surpassed.

Literature.—Comms. by Ryssel, Lange, Keil, Strack, Baentsch, Bertholet; esp. for the Law of Holiness see Horst, *Lev **17–26*** and *Ezk;* Wurster, *ZATW*, 1884, 112 ff; Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz;* Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch*, 368 ff; Delitzsch, *Zeitschrift fur kirch. Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1880, 617 ff; Intros to the OT by Baudissin, Strack, Kuenen, König, Cornill, Driver, Sellin; Archaeology, by Benzinger, Nowack; History of Israel, by Köhler, König, Kittel, Oettli, Klostermann, Stade, Wellhausen; for kindred laws in Babylonia, cf Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babyl. Religion;* against the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, Möller, *Are the Critics Right?* (ib, "Literature"), and art. Ezekiel in this Encyclopaedia; Orr, *POT;* Wiener, *EPC, OP;* Hoffmann, *Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese;* Kegel, *Wilh. Vatke und die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese.*

Wilhelm Möller

LEVY, lev′i. See War.

LEWD, lūd, **LEWDNESS**, lūd′nes (זִמָּה, *zimmāh*, מְזִמָּה, *m^{e}zimmāh*, נַבְלוּת, *nabhlūth;* **πονηρός**, *ponērós*, **ῥᾳδιούργημα**, *rhadioúrgēma*):

1. In the OT

There are three Heb words tr^{d} "lewd," "lewdness": (1) *Zimmāh*, meaning a "plan," a "purpose," so tr^{d} several times and then shading off into "evil plan"; tr^{d} also "heinous crime," "wicked purpose or device." It is the most frequent word for "lewdness": Ezk **16** 27, "lewd way"; found in Jgs **20** 6; Ezk **16** 27.43.58; **22** 9.11; **23** 21.27.29.35.44.48.49; **24** 13; Hos **6** 9. (2) *M^{e}zimmāh* means a "plan," generally "[evil] machination"; used only in Jer **11** 15, "lewdness." (3) *Nabhlūth*, meaning "disgrace" in reference to females. Found only in Hos **2** 10, ARVm "shame."

2. In the NT

The word tr^{d} "lewd," "lewdness" in AV occurs only twice in the NT, and in each instance is more correctly tr^{d} in RV by another word: (1) *Ponēros*, found in Acts **17** 5, tr^{d} in ARV "vile." The Gr word elsewhere is tr^{d} "bad," "evil," "grievous," "harmful," "malicious," "wicked." AV "lewd" gives the wrong impression. The idea of unchastity is not present in the text or context. (2) *Rhadiourgēma* likewise occurs only once, viz. Acts **18** 14, and is correctly tr^{d} in RV and ARV "wicked villany." The thought of impurity or lewdness is foreign to the meaning in this connection.

William Edward Raffety

LIBANUS, lib′a-nus. See LEBANON.

LIBATION, lī-bā′shun. See SACRIFICE.

LIBERAL, lib′ẽr-al, **LIBERALITY,** lib-ẽr-al′i-ti, **LIBERALLY,** lib′ẽr-al-i: The different forms of the word all refer to one who is generous, bountiful, willing and ready to give and to help. Both the Heb words of the OT and the Gr words of the NT tr^{d} into the Eng. word "liberal" have a deeper and nobler meaning than is generally conveyed by the Eng. word. In Prov **11** 25, the liberal soul (*nephesh b^{e}rākhāh*) means a soul that carries a blessing. In Isa **32** 5, ARV has "bountiful" where AV has "liberal," and in ver 8 "noble" takes the place of "liberal" (*nādhībh*). The principal Gr words are ἁπλότης, *haplótēs*, lit. "simplicity," "sincerity," and χάρις, *cháris*, "grace," "favor." In 1 Cor **16** 3, "bounty" substitutes "liberality." It is well to bear in mind that a Bib. liberality can spring only out of a noble soul, and is Godlike in its genesis and spirit. G. H. GERBERDING

LIBERTINES, lib′ẽr-tinz, li-bûr′tinz (Λιβερτῖνοι, *Libertínoi*): These were among Stephen's opponents: "There arose certain of them that were of the synagogue called [the synagogue] of the Libertines, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen" (Acts **6** 9).

1. "Synagogue of the Libertines"

How many synagogues are denoted? The answer may aid in the interpretation of "Libertines": (1) The words may be read as denoting one synagogue (Calvin). However (*a*) the number of worshippers would be extremely large, (*b*) the bond of union is not obvious, (*c*) rabbinic tradition speaks of 480 synagogues in Jerus. (2) The double *tṓn* ("of them") seems to denote two parties, the one consisting "of them that were of the synagogue called [the synagogue] of Libertines and Cyrenians and Alexandrians," the other "of them of Cilicia and Asia" (Winer, Wendt, Holtzmann). But the second *tōn* is dependent on synagogue. "As Cyrenians and Alexandrians both belong to towns . . . . a change of designation would be necessary when the Jews of whole provinces came to be mentioned: this being the case, the article could not but be repeated, without any reference to the *tṓn* before" (Alford). (3) There were three synagogues: (*a*) that of the Libertines, (*b*) that of the Cyrenians and Alexandrians and (*c*) that "of them of Cilicia and Asia" (Alford). There is no grammatical reason for this division, but it is based on an interpretation of "Libertines." There were "Libertines," Africans and Asiatics. (4) Each party had a separate synagogue (Schürer, Hausrath). The number of worshippers, their different origin and connections, and the number of synagogues in Jerus give weight to this view.

2. Interpretation of "Libertines"

(1) They are "freedmen," liberated slaves or their descendants. Against this it is held that the Gr equivalent (*apeleútheroi*) would have been used in this case. However, the Rom designation would be common all over the empire. In what sense were they "freedmen"? Various answers are given: (*a*) they were freedmen from Jewish servitude (Lightfoot); (*b*) they were Italian freedmen who had become proselytes; (*c*) they were "the freedmen of the Romans" (Chrysostom), the descendants of Jewish freedmen at Rome who had been expelled by Tiberius. In 63 BC Pompey had taken prisoners of war to Rome. These, being liberated by those who had acquired them as slaves, formed a colony on the banks of the Tiber (Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*). Tacitus relates that the senate decreed (19 AD) that a number of Jewish Libertines should be transported to Sardinia, and that the rest should leave Italy, unless they renounced, before a certain day, their profane customs (*Ann.* ii, 85; see also Jos, *Ant*, XVIII, iii, 5). Many would naturally seek refuge in Jerus and build there a synagogue.

(2) They are an African community. There were two synagogues, one of which was Asiatic. In the other were men from two African towns (Cyrene and Alexandria), therefore the Libertines must have been African also, all forming an African synagogue. Various explanations are given: (*a*) They were inhabitants of Libertum, a town in Africa proper: an "Episcopus Ecclesiae Catholicae Libertinensis" sat in the Synod of Carthage (411 AD). (*b*) Some emend the text; Wetstein and Blass, following the Armenian VS, conjecture *Libustínōn*, "of the Libystines." Schulthess reads for "Libertines and Cyrenians" (*Libertínōn kaí Kúrēnaíōn*) "Libyans, those about Cyrene" (*Libúōn tṓn katá Kurḗnēn*) (cf Acts **2** 10).

These emendations are conjectural; the MSS read "Libertines." It seems, therefore, that 2, (1) (*c*) above is the correct interpretation.

S. F. HUNTER

LIBERTY, lib′ẽr-ti (דְּרוֹר, *d^{e}rōr*, רָחָב, *rāḥābh;* ἐλευθερία, *eleuthería*): The opposite of servitude or bondage, hence applicable to captives or slaves set free from oppression (thus *d^{e}rōr*, Lev **25** 10; Isa **61** 1, etc). Morally, the power which enslaves is sin (Jn **8** 34), and liberty consists, not simply in external freedom, or in possession of the formal power of choice, but in deliverance from the darkening of the mind, the tyranny of sinful lusts and the enthralment of the will, induced by a morally corrupt state. In a positive respect, it consists in the possession of holiness, with the will and ability to do what is right and good. Such liberty is possible only in a renewed condition of soul, and cannot exist apart from godliness. Even under the OT godly men could boast of a measure of such liberty (Ps **119** 45, *rāḥābh*, "room," "breadth"), but it is the gospel of Christ which bestows it in its fulness, in giving a full and clear knowledge of God, discovering the way of forgiveness, supplying the highest motives to holiness and giving the Holy Spirit to destroy the power of sin and to quicken to righteousness. In implanting a new life in the soul, the gospel lifts the believer out of the sphere of external law, and gives him a sense of freedom in his new filial relation to God. Hence the NT expressions about "the glorious liberty" of God's children (Rom **8** 21 AV; cf Gal **2** 4; **5** 13, etc), about liberty as resulting from the possession of the Spirit (2 Cor **3** 17), about "the perfect law of liberty" (Jas **1** 25). The instrument through which this liberty is imparted is "the truth" (Jn **8** 32). Christians are earnestly warned not to presume upon, or abuse their liberty in Christ (Gal **5** 13; 1 Pet **2** 16). JAMES ORR

LIBNAH, lib′na (לִבְנָה, *libhnāh*, "whiteness," "transparency," "pavement" [cf Ex **24** 10 where לִבְנַת, *libhnath*, is tr^{d} "paved work" or a "compact foundation"]; Λεβνά, *Lebná*):

(1) A desert camp of the Israelites between Rimmon-perez and Rissah (Nu **33** 20.21). Probably the same as Laban (Dt **1** 1). See WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

(2) A town in the Shephelah of Judah (Josh **15** 42). "Joshua passed from Makkedah, and all Israel with him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah: and Jeh delivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel. . . . . And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought against it" (Josh **10** 29–31; **12** 15). It was one of the cities given to the "children of Aaron" (Josh **21** 13; 1 Ch **6** 57). In the reign of Joram, Libnah joined the Edomites in a revolt against the king of Judah (2 K **8** 22; 2 Ch **21** 10). In the reign of Hezekiah, Libnah was besieged by Sennacherib (2 K **19** 8; Isa **37** 8). The wife of King Josiah

was "Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah," she was the mother of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah (2 K **23** 31; **24** 18; Jer **52** 1).

The site of this important stronghold remains unknown. In the *Onom* it is described, under the name Lobana or Lobna, as near Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jebrîn*). All the indications point to a site in the S.W. of the Shephelah, not very far from Lachish. The Palestine Exploration Fund surveyors suggested (*PEF*, III, 259) the commanding site *'Arāk el Menshîyeh*, or rather the white chalky mound 250 ft. high to the N. of this village, and Stanley proposed *Tell eṣ Ṣafi*. (Both these identifications are due to the interpretation of Libnah as meaning "whiteness.") In the *PEFS* (1897, Sh XX) Conder suggests a ruin called *el Benâwy*, 10 miles S.E. of Lachish. E. W. G. MASTERMAN

LIBNI, lib'nī (לִבְנִי, *libhnī*):

(1) Son of Gershon (Ex **6** 17; Nu **3** 18; 1 Ch **6** 17.20). Families who traced their descent from Libni are called Libnites (Nu **3** 21; **26** 58).

(2) A son of Merari (1 Ch **6** 29). See LADAN.

LIBNITES, lib'nīts (הַלִּבְנִי, *ha-libhnī*). See LIBNI.

LIBRARIES, lī'brā-riz, lī'brẽr-iz:

1. The Bible a Library
2. Mythological and Apocryphal Libraries
3. Libraries for the Dead
4. Memory Libraries
5. Prehistoric and Primitive Libraries
6. Mesopotamian Period
7. Patriarchal Period
8. Egyptian Period
9. The Exodus
10. Palestine at the Conquest
11. Period of the Judges
12. Saul to the Maccabees
13. NT Times
14. Bookcases and Buildings
LITERATURE

A library is a book or books kept for use, not for sale. A one-book library is just as much a library as a one-cell animal is animal. The earliest libraries, like the earliest plants and animals, were very simple, consisting of a few books or perhaps only a single tablet or manuscript. An archive is a library of official documents not in active use; a registry, a library of going documents.

1. The Bible a Library

The Bible is itself a library. During the Middle Ages it was commonly called, first, "The Divine Library," and then, "The Library" (*Bibliotheca*), in the same exclusive sense as it is now known as "The Book" (*Biblia* as Lat sing.). Even the word "Bible" itself is historically "Library" rather than "Book" (for it was originally the neuter pl. *Biblia*, "The Books"; cf Dnl **9** 2). The Bible is also a library in that it is an organized collection of books rather than a single work.

This fact that the Bible is itself a library is increasingly mentioned of late, esp. in OT studies (Kent, *Narratives of the Beginnings of Heb History*, 1, "The Old Testament as a Library"; Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, 4, "the Old Testament, that small library of books of the most multifarious kind"). Its profound bearing on the theory of the composition and inspiration of the Bible (cf BOOK) has given the fact new significance and makes an understanding of the nature of a library one of the best tools for the interpretation of the Bible in the face of modern problems. While it is not possible to elaborate this within these limits, it may be said briefly that the logical end of the application of the doctrine of evolution to books and libraries is that the Bible is, like man, the result of natural selection, and is as unique among books as man among the animals. And, whatever may be true of men, in the case of books the formation of a book-library by natural selection tends toward the elimination of error. The more numerous the individuals and the longer the period, the greater the reduction of error, so that the logical inference as to the Bible is that on purely natural grounds it may be, or is, the nearest approximation to inerrancy among books, because of its history as a library. This does not quite lead to the position that the Bible is as unique among books as Jesus Christ among men, but under the doctrine of a creative Providence, it does imply what may be called real superhuman authorship and authority.

2. Mythological and Apocryphal Libraries

Somewhat apart from historical libraries, but closely connected with Bible study, are the alleged superhuman libraries, libraries of, or written by, the gods, libraries for the dead and apocryphal libraries. The Vedas are said to have existed as a collection even before the Creator created Himself (*Manu* **1** 21). All religions have their book-gods—Thoth and Seshait, Apollo, Hermes, Minerva, Ida, Bridget, Soma, Brahma, Odin, Kvasir, Ygdrasil and many others. To the ancient Babylonians the whole firmament was a library of "celestial tablets." The mythological ideas often have important bearing on Bib. doctrines, e.g. the Creation, the Word, the Tree of Life, the Book of Life, the Holy Spirit. Apocryphal libraries include the library which Jeh is alleged to have formed on the 7th day of creation on a mount E. of the Garden of Eden, and other libraries ascribed to Enoch, Noah and Seth. See for this the OT pseudepigrapha.

3. Libraries for the Dead

Another class of collections of real books, written or gathered for mythological purposes, is what may be called libraries for the dead. It is well known that in most countries of antiquity, at one time or another, and among primitive people like the American Indians, in modern times, it has been the custom to bury with the dead the things which friends thought would be useful in the Elysian fields or happy hunting grounds, or on the way thither—the bow and horse of the warrior, the *ushabti* servants, children's playthings, the models of food objects, and so on. This same motive led also to the burying of books with the dead. For long periods in the history of Egypt every Egyptian of any position was buried with one or more books. These books were not his chance possessions, buried with him as, in some burials, all a man's personal belongings are, but books selected for their usefulness to him after death. For the most part these were of the nature of guidebooks to the way to the heavenly world, magic formulae for the opening of doors, instruction as to the right method of progress toward, or introduction into, paradise, etc. These books were afterward gathered together and form what is now known as "the Book of the Dead" and other such books.

4. Memory Libraries

In modern times the actor or professional story-teller often has in memory a collection of remembered books which is in effect a library. Among primitive peoples the medicine-man was lit. a library of tribal traditions. The priests of India and the minstrels of Greece or of the Middle Ages often had a large repertory. By the prevailing theory of the origin of the books of the OT such memory traditions, transmitted orally, were the chief source of the Hex, but in view of what is now known of the library situation of the time, this must be doubted.

5. Prehistoric and Primitive Libraries

In general terms it may be said that when man began not only to make but to keep records, libraries began. Even a memorial stone contains the germ of a mnemonic library. The primitive medicine-man's collection of notched message sticks, tallies, quipus or wampum belts is a great advance in complexity on these, and the simplest collection of picture narratives of Hottentot or American Indian, an advance on this. A combination of pictures with signs is still another forward step, and this step is already to be found in the Pyrenean caves of the Stone Age (see WRITING). Most of these earliest libraries were kept at the sanctuary. The gathering together of books in libraries had its origin in the ideas of (1) preservation, (2) gathering together like books in order to join together their contents, and (3) circulation—the great modern expansion of the idea. The owner of flocks and herds gathers together his lists of cattle or other possessions, his receipts for purchases and record of sales, whether these are recorded on the walls of his cave or on wooden tallies or on knotted cords or on clay tablets gathered in little jars and buried under the floor of his house. Large owners and sovereigns and the temples of Egypt and Assyria gathered large stores of these archival records and with them records of tribute, oracles, etc. As early as 2700 BC we have the account of King Dedkere Isesi, his archival library and his librarian Senezemib. The annals of Thutmose III were preserved in the palace library as well as cut in selections on the walls of the temple. A few years later, and we know that the archival records were kept in a special room in the palace at Amarna—and many of the records themselves were found there. All this was before the year 1300.

6. Mesopotamian Period

Bible history through the 10th chapter of Gen covers the whole civilized world, but its main line up to about 2000 BC is almost wholly Mesopotamian. Up to the time of Abram's migration from Haran, the history of Bib. libraries and the history of Bab and Sumerian libraries are one. Most of the cities mentioned in this period are now known to have had collections of books in those days. At the time when Abram left Haran there were hundreds of collections of written documents in scores of different geographical localities and containing millions of tablets.

7. Patriarchal Period

From Abram's emigration out of Haran to Jacob's emigration to Egypt was, on the face of Bib. data, mainly a time of wandering in Pal, but this was not wholly nomad nor wholly Palestinian. Whether there were libraries in Pal at this time or not, the Patriarchs were all in close personal contact with the library lands of Babylonia and Egypt. Abram himself was familiar with both Mesopotamia and Egypt. His son Ishmael married an Egyptian, his son Isaac a Mesopotamian. His grandson Jacob married two wives from between the rivers, and had himself 20 years' residence in the region. While it does not appear that Isaac lived at any time either in Syria or in Egypt, during most of his life all the members of his nearest family, father, mother, wife, sons' wives, had had from one to three score years' life in the mother-country. Whether there were public records in this region at this time is another matter, but it would seem that the whole region during the whole period was under the influence of the Bab civilization. It was freely traversed by trading caravans, and the Hittite and Mesopotamian records extend at least a little back into this period.

8. Egyptian Period

The Egyp period of Bible history begins with the immigration of Jacob and his sons, but fringes back to the visit of Abram (Gen **12** 10–20), if not to Mizraim of Gen **10** 6. On the other hand, it ends properly with the exodus, but fringes forward through frequent points of contact to the flight of the Virgin and Pentecost. Whether the sojourn was 430 or 215 years, or less, it was a long residence at a time when libraries were very flourishing in Egypt. Already at the time of Abram's visit, collections of books, not only of official accounts, but of religious texts, medical texts, annals, and the like, had been common in Egypt for nearly 1,000 years, and had perhaps existed for 1,000 years or more before that.

Under the older of the modern datings of the exodus, the period of the sojourn included the times of Thothmes III (Thutmose), and in this reign there are peculiarly interesting records, not only of the existence of temple and palace libraries, but of the nature of their contents. The official recorder of Thothmes III, accompanying him on his campaign in Syria and Pal, set down each day the events of the day, while he or others also made lists of tribute, spoils, commissary matters, etc. These daily records were deposited in the palace library, as it appears, but a narrative compiled from these and written on a leather roll was deposited in the temple library, and from this roll in turn an abstract was engraved on the walls of the temple, where it remains to this day. This probably gives the library situation of the time in a nutshell: (1) the simple saving of utilitarian documents, often on papyrus or wood tablets, (2) the gathering of books written for information on more durable material, (3) preserving choice books for posterity by a local series of inscriptions.

The rolls must have been kept in chests or in small boxes, like the box containing the medical papyri of King Neferikere some 1,300 years before, or the "many boxes" at Edfu long after. Many pictures of these book-chests or bookcases are found in the monuments (Birt, *Buchrolle*, 12, 15 ff).

Again, the palace library of King Akhnaton (c 1360 BC) at Amarna, which contained collections of the royal foreign correspondence on clay tablets, has been excavated. Its bricks bear the inscription, "Place of the records of the palace of the king," and some hundreds of tablets from this spot have been recovered.

At the time of the exodus there were thus probably libraries in all palaces, temples and record offices, although the temple libraries were by no means confined to sacred writings or the palace to secular. There were also at least archives, or registers, in the royal treasury and in all public departments. Schools for scribes were, it would seem, held in the palace, temple and treasury libraries. There were, therefore, apparently, at this time millions of documents or books, in hundreds of organized collections, which could be called archives or libraries.

9. The Exodus

Supposing any exodus at all, Moses and Aaron and all the Heb "officers" ("scribes" or writers) under the Egyp taskmasters (Ex **5** 6.10.14.15.19), brought up as they were in the scribal schools, were of course quite familiar with the Egyp ways of keeping their books. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the first and chief provision which Moses made for the Tabernacle was a book-chest for the preservation of the sacred directions given by Jeh. It makes little difference whether the account is taken in its final form, divided horizontally into Ex, Lev, Nu, Dt and Josh, or divided perpendicularly into J, E, D, P, the fact of the ark and enough of its details are given even in the very oldest sources to show that the authors understood the ark to be a glorified book-chest in or near which were kept written documents: the tables of stone, the inscribed rod, all the testimony given from the mercy-seat which formed its lid, and perhaps the Book of Dt. The ark is in fact much the size and shape of a portable bookcase, and the LXX tr renders the word by the ordinary technical Gr word for the book-chest (*kibōtós;* cf Birt, op. cit., 248–49). It appears also to have been the later Heb word for book-chest (cf *Jew Enc*, II, 107 ff). At the exodus, whenever that may have been, Moses is alleged to have made the ark the official library, and in it apparently he is thought to have kept the oracles as uttered from time to time and the record of his travels from day to day (as well as the tables of stone), precisely as the scribe of Thutmose recorded his Syrian campaigns from day to day. This record (if it was a record) was in all likelihood on a leather roll, since this became the traditional form of books among the Hebrews, and this too was like the annals of Thutmose. When the tribes separated to N. and S., the books may have been either separated or copied, and doubtless they suffered much wear and tear from the harsh times until we find Dt turning up again in a temple library (2 K **22** 8 ff; 2 Ch **34** 14 ff).

The evidence from Egyp, Bab, Mitannian, Amorite and Hittite documents shows the existence of official chanceries and by implication of archives throughout the whole region of Syria and Pal at the time when the "Hebrew" invasion

10. Palestine at the Conquest

began (Winckler, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*). The Am Tab and the tablets from the Hittite archives at Boghaz-keui (Winckler, *DOG Mitt.*, 1907, no. 35) include actual letters from the princes, elders and governors of dozens of places, scattered all over this region from Egypt to the land of the Hittites and the Mitannians. These places include among others Jerus, Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, Acco, Ashkelon, Gaza, Lachish, Keilah and Aijalon.

Remains of two of such archival libraries have been dug up—one at Lachish and one at Taanach near Megiddo, both dating back to the 14th cent. BC.

Whether there were temple libraries as well does not appear so clearly from external evidence but may probably be inferred from the names, Debir and (perhaps) Nebo, as well as from the well-known fact that each of the many city-lands must have had its center of worship. When it was thought that writing did not exist to any extent in Pal before the time of David, it was the fashion to account for the name of the city of "Kirjath Sepher," the "City of Books," by curious *tours de force* of conjectural emendation (*Sephûr* for Sepher, *Tabor* for Debir), but with the recent progress of excavation the possibility of the name has been fully established and the insight of Sayce probably justified.

11. Period of the Judges

That the situation at the Conquest continued also during the period of the Judges appears from sundry considerations: (1) The fact that all the surrounding nations, Moabites, Edomites, Amorites, Hittites, Mitannians, etc, were literate nations with public archives. (2) The high state of organization under David requires an evolutionary background. (3) Even the extreme (and quite untenable) theory that the Hebrews were illiterate wild Arab nomads and remained so for a long time would actually demonstrate the matter, for, as has been pertinently observed (Sellin, *Einl*, 7), many at least of the Can. cities were not destroyed or even occupied for a long time, but were surrounded by the Hebrews, and finally occupied and assimilated. It follows, therefore, that the archival system continued, and, under this theory, for a long time, until the Hebrews absorbed the culture of their neighbors—and, by inference, libraries with the rest. (4) Taking the evidence of the documents as they stand, the matter is simple enough; various works were kept in or near the ark. Joshua added to these at least the report of a boundary commission (Josh **18** 9.10) which was brought to the sanctuary, and Samuel "laid up" the book that he wrote "before Jeh," i.e. at the ark. Moreover, the Books of Jasher, the Wars of Jeh, etc, imply a lit. which in turn implies libraries. Whenever or however composed, there is no good reason to distrust their historical existence. (5) Even on the extreme critical hypothesis, "Most of the stories found in the first 8 books of the OT originated before or during the age of song and story (c 1250–1050)" (Kent, *Beginnings*, 17). (6) To this may also be added, with all reservations, the mysterious metal ephod which appears only in this period. The ephod seems to have been either (*a*) a case (*BDB*, 66) or (*b*) an instrument for consulting an oracle (*BDB*, 65). The linen ephod had a pouch for the Urim and Thummim. The metal ephod seems to be distinguished from the image and may have contained the written oracular instructions (torah?) as well as the oracular instruments. (7) The Kenite scribes of Jabez (1 Ch **2** 55); the simple fact that a chance captive from Succoth could write out a list of names and some one at least of the rudest 300 survivals of Gideon's 32,000 primitive warriors in those bloody frontier times could read it, the reference to the staff of the muster-master, marshal or scribe, and the "governors" (inscribers), in Deborah's Song, point in the same direction.

While, therefore, the times were doubtless wild, the political unity very slight, and the unity of worship even less, there is evidence that there were both political and religious libraries throughout the period.

12. Saul to the Maccabees

Beginning with the monarchy, the library situation among the Israelites appears more and more clearly to correspond with that of the surrounding nations. The first act recorded after the choice and proclamation of Saul as king was the writing of a constitution by Samuel and the depositing of this in the sacred archives (1 S **10** 25). This document (LXX *biblíon*) was perhaps one of the documents ("words") of Samuel whose words (1 Ch **29** 29, history, chronicles, acts, book, etc) seem to have been possibly a register kept by him, perhaps from the time that he succeeded Eli, as later the high-priestly register (day-book) of Johannes Maccabaeus was certainly kept from the beginning of his high-priesthood (1 Macc **16** 24).

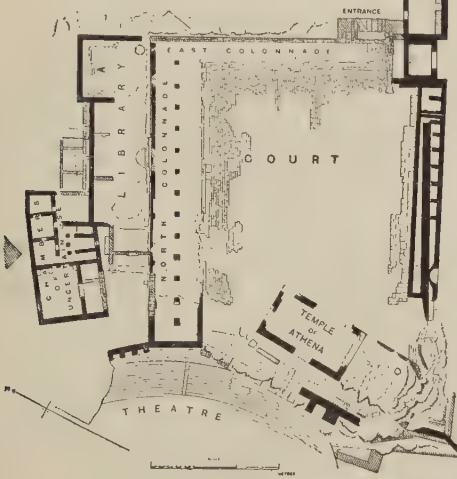
Whether these "words" of Samuel were equivalent to the technical register or "book of the words of days" or not, such registers were undoubtedly kept from the time of David on, and there is nothing so illuminating as to the actual library conditions of the times as the so-called chronicles, histories or acts—the registers, journals or archives of the time. The roll-register seems to be called in full "the book of the words of days," or with explanatory fulness "book of the records of the words of days," but this appears to be an evolution from "words of days" or even "words," and these forms as well as the abbreviations "book of days" and "book" are used of the same technical work, which is the engrossing in chronological book-form of any series of individual documents—all the documents of a record-office, general or local. The name is used also of histories written up on the basis of these register-books (the Books of Ch are in Heb, "words of days") but not themselves records. These charter-books, of course, so far as they go, mirror the contents of the archives which they transcribe, and the key to the public-library history of the period, both sacred and royal, as regards contents, at least, is to be found in them, while in turn the key to the understanding of this technical book-form itself lies in the understanding of the "word" as a technical book-form.

The "word" in Heb is used of books, speeches, sayings, oracles, edicts, reports, formal opinions, agreements, indictments, judicial decisions, stories, records, regulations, sections of a discourse, lines of poetry, whole poems, etc, as well as acts, deeds, "matters," "affairs," events and words in the narrowest sense. It is thus very exactly, as well as lit., tr^{d} in the LXX by *lógos*, which as a technical book-term (Birt, *Antikes Buchwesen*, 28, 29) means any distinct composition, long or short, whether a law, an epigram, or a whole complex work. The best Eng. equivalent for this "work-complete-in-itself," in the case of public records, is "document," and in the case of literary matters, it is "work or writing." The "words" of Samuel or David thus are his "acts" or "deeds" in the sense, not of doings, but of the individual documentary records of those doings quite in the modern sense of the "acts and proceedings" of a convention, or the "deeds" to property.

In the pl., *dibhrē* and *lógoi* or *lógia* alike mean a collection of documents, works or writings, i.e. "a library." Sometimes this is used in the sense of archives or library, at other times as a book containing these collected works.

These collected documents in register-form constituted apparently a continuous series until the time when the Book of Ch was written and were extant at that time: the "words" of Samuel, "chronicles" and "last words" of David (1 Ch **23** 27; **27** 24), the "book of the words [acts] of Solomon" (1 K **11** 41), the book of the words of days of the kings of Judah, and the book of the words of days of the kings of Israel—the kingdoms after division each having naturally its own records.

The general situation during the period as to archival matters is pretty well summarized by Moore in the *EB*. From the time of Solomon, and more doubtfully from the time of David, he recognizes that "records were doubtless kept in the palace," and that "the temples also doubtless had their records," while there may have been also local records of cities and towns. These records contained probably chief events, treaties, edicts, etc—probably brief annals "never wrought into narrative memoirs." The temple records contained annals of succession, repairs, changes, etc (*EB*, II, 2021–28). The records were, however, probably not brief, but contained treaties, etc, verbatim in full. To this should moreover be added the significant fact that these archives contained not only business records but also various works of a more or less literary character. Those mentioned include letters, prophecies, prayers, and even poems and Wisdom literature. The "words" of the kings of Israel contained prayers, visions and other matter not usually counted archival. The "acts" (*words*) of Solomon also contained literary or quasi-literary material. According to Jos the archives of Tyre contained similar material and this was also true of the Amarna archives (c 1380 BC) and those at *Boghazkeui*, as well as of the palace archives of Nineveh and the great temple archives of Nippur and *Abu Habeh* (Sippara). So, too, in Egypt the palace archives of King Neferikere contained medical works and those of Rameses III, at least, magical works, while the temple archives in the time of Thutmose III (Breasted, *Ancient Records*) contained military annals, and those of Denderah certainly many works of a non-registerial character. The temples of early Greece also contained literary works and secular laws as well as temple archives proper.



Plan of Pergamon.
(Showing typical relation of temple, colonnades, and library.)

In short, the palace collections of Israel were no exception to the general rule of antiquity in containing, besides palace archives proper, more or less of religious archives and literary works, while the temple collections contained more or less political records and literary works.

This record system in Israel and Judah, as appears from the OT itself, was the system of Persia in OT times. It was the system of the Jews in Maccabean times, of Egypt during this whole period and for centuries before and after, and of Northern Syria likewise at about this time (Zakar-Baal, of Gebal, c 1113 BC). The books of Ex, Lev, Nu and Dt, whenever written, reveal the same system, Ex to Nu being in the form of a register, and Dt represented as an abstract prepared for engraving on stone, a use which Joshua is said to have made of it. We have, therefore, the same system existing before and after and on all sides geographically.

All this neighboring practice points to a system of (1) archival collections, (2) contemporary book registers, (3) contemporary publication by inscription, and, in the light of these, the OT method, from the time of David at least, becomes clear, certainly as to archival collections and registers and hardly less so as to the setting-up of inscriptions in permanent material. Even if D is not earlier than 621 BC, it assumes public inscription long before that time, quite comparable in extent to the inscriptions of Thutmose III or King Mesha of Moab, and, although few long inscriptions have been recovered thus far, there is at least the Siloam inscription (cf also Isa **30** 8; Job **19** 23.24; Isa **8** 1; Jer **17** 1; also the Decalogue). Each one of these three elements (even the collection of inscriptions in the temple) was, it must be remembered, called in antiquity a "library."

The reference to "the books" in Dnl (**9** 2) may possibly point to or foreshadow the synagogue library.

Little weight is generally and properly given to the statement of 2 Macc **2** 13, that Nehemiah founded a library and gathered into it the writings "about the kings, the prophets and David, and the letters of the kings concerning votive offerings," but it is, as a matter of fact, evident that he, as well as Judas Maccabaeus, who is linked with him in the statement, must have done just this.

From the time of the LXX tr, the idea of the library (*bibliothḗkē*) and even the public library ("books of the people," i.e. public records) was familiar enough, the LXX itself also, according to Jos, linking the temple library of Jerus with the Alexandrian library through the furnishing of books by the former to the latter for copying.

13. NT Times

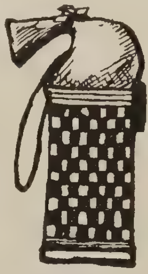
With the Rom conquest and the rise of the Idumaeans, naturally the methods developed in accordance with Rom practice. It appears from the frequent references of Jos that the public records were extensive and contained genealogical records as well as official letters, decrees, etc. The triple method of record continues. It appears, further (Blau, 96; Krauss, III, 179), that there were libraries and even lending libraries in the schools and synagogues, not of Pal only, but wherever Jews were settled. Jos and Chrysostom with the Mish confirm the already very clear inference from St. Luke's account of Our Lord's teaching in the synagogue that at this time, and probably from the beginning of the synagogue, the books, the manner of their keeping and the ritual of their using were already essentially as in the modern synagogue. The first preaching-places of the Christians were the synagogues, and when churches succeeded these, the church library naturally followed, but whether in Bible times or not is a matter of conjecture; they appear at least in very early churches.

Whether the rich secular lit. to which Jos had access was in public or private libraries does not appear directly. It is well known that it was as much a part of Rom public policy in Herod's time to found public libraries in the provinces as it was to restore temples. Twenty-four such provincial libraries, chiefly temple libraries, are known.

The Rom practice of the time still mixed literary with the archival material, and it is likely therefore that the public records of the Jewish temple had in them both Gr and Lat secular books in considerable quantity, as well as the Gr Apoc and a large amount of Aram. or late Heb lit. of Talmudic character.

14. Bookcases and Buildings

As to the receptacles and places in which the books were kept, we have reference even in the Heb period to most of the main forms used among the nations: the wooden box, the clay box or pot, the pouch, and on the other hand, once, the "house of books" so familiar in Egyp use and apparently referring to an individual chamber or semi-detached building of temple or palace. Most significant, however, is the statement that the books were kept in the palace and temple treasuries or storehouses.



Old Egyptian Bookcase.

The sacred ark (*'ārōn*), whatever it may have originally contained, was looked on when D was written as a sacred wooden book-chest, and the ark in which the teaching priests carried the law about for public reading was in fact likewise a chest.

Such chests were common among the Jews later, some with lids and some with side-opening (*Jew Enc*, II, 107–8; Blau, 178). It is tempting to find in D, where the book is to be put "by [AV "in"] the side of the ark" (Dt **31** 26), a chest having both lid and openings in the side, but more likely perhaps D means a separate chest, like the coffer or pouch with the golden mice, which was also put "by the side" (*miççadh*) of the ark (1 S **6** 8).

In the NT the "cloak" which Paul left behind at Troas (2 Tim **4** 13) was probably (Wattenb., 614; see also Birt and Gardthausen), if not a wooden "capsa," at least some sort of bookcase or cover.

The earthen vessel in which Jeremiah (**32** 14) puts the two "books" (tr^d "deeds"), one sealed and one unsealed, was one of the commonest bookcases of the ancient world. This information has lately been widely reinforced and associated with Bib. history by the discovery of the Elephantine papyri, which were, for the most part, kept in such clay jars (Meyer, *Papyrusfund*, 15). The word Pentateuch perhaps harks back to a five-roll jar, but more likely to a basket or wooden box with five compartments (Blau, 65; Birt, *Buchrolle*, 21, 22). It was the collective label of a five-roll case, whether of earthenware, wood or basket work.

The pouch or bag bookcase has perhaps its representative in the phylactery (Mt **23** 5), which was a sort of miniature armarium in that each of the four little rolls of its four compartments was technically a "book" (*ṣēpher*). This name is commonly explained as an amulet guarding against evil spirits, but the term actually occurs in the papyri (*Bibliophylax*) of the preservation of books.

The "house of books" (Ezr **6** 1m) or "place of books" is a very close parallel to *bibliothēkē*, by which (in the pl.) it is tr^d in the LXX. The phrase was a common term in Egypt for library, perhaps also sometimes for *scriptorium* or even registry, and it points to a chamber or semi-detached room or building where the book-chests, jars, etc, were kept. That at Edfu is a semi-detached room and contained many such cases.

While there is little record of libraries in Bib. times, the very formation of the Canon itself, whether by the higher critical process, or by natural processes of gathering whole literary works, implies the gathering together of books, and the temple libraries common to both Egypt and Assyria-Babylonia are almost inevitably implied wherever there was a temple or sanctuary, whatever may be the facts as to the temple libraries. According to Hilprecht there were certainly such libraries and from very ancient times. The palace library of Assurbani-pal, though itself a discovery of the last times, brings the story down to the times of the written history. For the rest of the story see lit. below, esp. Dziatzko, *Bibliotheken*, and the art. on "Libraries" in the *Enc Brit*. See also NINEVEH, LIBRARY OF.

In the earlier period at least and including for the Jews the NT times, the particular locality in palace or temple seems to have been the treasury. In the Book of Ezr, search for the decree of Cyrus was to be made in the king's treasure-house (Ezr **5** 17), and was made in the "house of books where the treasures were laid up" (Ezr **6** 1m). The document was finally found in the palace at Ecbatana—so too in 1 Macc **14** 49 the archives are placed in the treasury.

In NT times there had already been a good deal of development in the matter of library buildings. A general type had been evolved which consisted of (1) a colonnade, (2) a lecture-room, a reading-room or assembly room, (3) small rooms for book storage. Such accounts as we have of the Alexandrian libraries, with the excavations at Pergamus, Athens and Rome, reveal the same type—the book-rooms, the colonnade where masters walked or sat and talked with their pupils, the rooms for assembly where the senate or other bodies sometimes sat. In short, as long before in Egypt, whether in palace or temple, the place of teaching was the place of books.

It is significant thus that Our Lord taught in the Treasury, which in Herod's Temple was in the court of the temple proper—probably the porticos under the women's gallery, some of the adjoining rooms being used for books. As this was within the barrier which no Gentile could pass, Herod must have had also a library of public records in the outer colonnade. See further, NINEVEH, LIBRARY OF.

LITERATURE.—Ludwig Blau, *Studien zum althebräischen Buchwesen*, Strassburg i, E, 1902, 178–80; Sam. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1912, III, 193–98; J. W. Clark, *Care of Books*, Cambridge, 1901; E. C. Richardson, *Biblical Libraries: A Sketch of Library History from 3400 BC to 150 AD*. London. Oxford University Press, 1914. See the lit. under WRITING.

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LIBRARY OF NINEVEH. See NINEVEH, LIBRARY OF.

LIBYA, lib'i-a, **LIBYANS**, lib'i-anz: In the OT the word occurs in AV in 2 Ch **12** 3; **16** 8; Nah **3** 9 for "Lubim" (thus RV). RV, however, retains "Libyans" in Dnl **11** 43. In Jer **46** 9; Ezk **30** 5; **38** 5, the words are replaced in RV by PUT (q.v.). In the NT the word "Libya" (Λιβύη, *Libúē*) occurs, in close connection with CYRENE (q.v.) (Acts **2** 10). Gr and Rom writers apply the term to the African continent, generally excluding Egypt. See LUBIM.

LICE, līs (כִּנִּים, *kinnīm* [Ex **8** 17.18; Ps **105** 31], כִּנִּם, *kinnim* [Ex **8** 16], כִּנָּם, *kinnām* [Ex **8** 17.18]; LXX **σκνῖφες**, *skníphes* [Ex **8** 16.18], **τὸν**

σκνίφα, *tón sknípha,* once in Ex **8** 18; **σκνῖπες,** *sknípes* [Ps **105** 31]; Vulg *sciniphes;* acc. to Liddell and Scott, s.v. **σκνίψ,** Slav. *sknipa=culex*): The references, both in Ex and in Pss, are all to the plague of "lice." RVm suggests "fleas" or "sand-flies." The LXX rendering would favor "sand-flies" or "mosquitoes," between which two insects the OT writers would hardly be expected to discriminate. Mosquitoes belong to the order of *Diptera,* family *Culicidae;* the sandfly (*Plebotomus papataci*) to the family of *Simuliidae* of the same order. The sandflies are much smaller than mosquitoes, and are nearly noiseless, but give a sharp sting which may leave an unpleasant irritation. They are abundant in the Levant. In Southern Europe they cause the "three-day fever" or "papataci." As stated under GNAT (q.v.), there is little ground other than the authority of the LXX for deciding between "lice," "fleas," "sand-flies," or "mosquitoes" as trs of *kinnīm.* See also under GNAT the note on *kēn,* RVm "gnat" (Isa **51** 6).

ALFRED ELY DAY

LICENCE, lī′sens: This word is not found at all in RV (except in Jth **11** 14; Ecclus **15** 20; 1 Macc **1** 13), and twice only in AV (except in 2 Macc **4** 9), both times in Acts. In Acts **21** 40 (as tr of *ἐπιτρέπω, epitrépō*) ARV has "leave" where AV has "licence." In **25** 16, "opportunity to make his defence" (as tr of *τόπον ἀπολογίας, tópon apologías*) takes the place of "have licence to answer for himself."

LIDEBIR, lid′ĕ-bẽr (לִדְבִר, *lidhebhīr*): For "of Debir" in EV; RVm suggests the name "Lidebir" (Josh **13** 26), a city in the territory of Gad. It is probably identical with LO-DEBAR (q.v.).

1. Lying Defined

LIE, lī, **LYING** (שֶׁקֶר, *sheḳer* [usually, e.g. Isa **9** 15; Zec **13** 3], or כָּזַב, *kāzabh* vb. [Job **34** 6; Mic **2** 11]; **ψεῦδος,** *pseúdos* [Jn **8** 44; Rev **21** 27], "to speak falsely," "to fabricate," "to make a false statement"; **ψεύδομαι,** *pseúdomai,* in Acts **5** 3.4): In its very essence, a lie is something said with intent to deceive. It is not always a spoken word that is a lie, for a life lived under false pretenses, a hypocritical life, may be a lie equally with a false word (Jer **23** 14). A vain thing, like an idol, may be a lie (Isa **59** 4), as also a false system (Rom **3** 7). Error, as opposed to truth, is a lie (1 Jn **2** 21). The denial of the deity of Jesus Christ is regarded as "the" lie (1 Jn **2** 22).

The origin of lies and lying is traced to Satan who is called "a liar, and the father thereof" (Jn **8** 44; Acts **5** 3). Satan's dealing with Eve (Gen **3**) furnishes us with a splendid illustration of the first lie, so far as we have any record of it.

2. A Racial Sin

The whole race is guilty of this sin: "The wicked are estranged from the womb: they go astray as soon as they are born, speaking lies" (Ps **58** 3). It is a part of the old Adamic nature, "the old man" (Col **3** 9), which the believer in Jesus Christ is called upon to put off. So prominent a factor is it in the experience of the race that among the condensed catalogue of sins, for the commission of which men are finally condemned, the sin of lying finds its place: "All liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone" (Rev **21** 8 AV).

3. God's Attitude to It

God's attitude toward this sin is strongly marked throughout both the OT and NT. The righteous are called upon to hate lying (Prov **13** 5), to avoid it (Zeph **3** 13), to respect not those who lie, and utterly reject their company (Ps **40** 4; **101** 7), to pray to be delivered from it (Ps **119** 29). The wicked are said to love lying (Ps **52** 3), to delight in it (Ps **62** 4), to seek after it (Ps **4** 2), and to give heed to it (Prov **17** 4). Lying leads to worse crimes (Hos **4** 1.2).

4. The Penalty

The punishment to be meted out to liars is of the severest kind. They are positively and absolutely excluded from heaven (Rev **21** 27; **22** 15), and those who are guilty of this sin are cast into the lake of fire (Rev **21** 8). We are reminded of the awful fate meted out to Ananias and Sapphira when they lied to God and man (Acts **5** 1-11). God will "destroy them that speak lies" (Ps **5** 6), and "he that uttereth lies shall not escape" (Prov **19** 5), yea "a sword is upon the liars" (Jer **50** 36 AV). The liar is thereby debarred from rendering any true and acceptable worship unto the Lord (Ps **24** 4).

The Scriptures abound with illustrations of lying and the results and penalties therefor. A careful study of these illustrations will reveal the subtilty of falsehood. Sometimes a lie is a half-truth, as set forth in the story of Satan's temptation of Eve (Gen **3**). Cain's lie (Gen **4** 9) was of the nature of an evasive answer to a direct question. Jacob's deception of his father, in order that he might inherit the blessing of the firstborn, was a barefaced and deliberate lie (Gen **27** 19). The answer which Joseph's brethren gave to their father when he asked them concerning the welfare of their brother Joseph is an illustration, as well as a revelation, of the depth of the wickedness of hearts that deliberately set themselves to falsify and deceive (Gen **37** 31.32). Even good men are sometimes overtaken in a lie, which, of course, is no more excusable in them than in the wicked; indeed, it is more shameful because the righteous are professed followers of the truth (David in 1 S **21** 2). What more striking example of the heinousness of lying in the sight of God can we have than the fate which befell Gehazi who, in order to satisfy a covetous desire for possessions, misrepresented his master Elisha to Naaman the Syrian whom the prophet had healed of his leprosy: "The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave unto thee, and unto thy seed for ever. And he went out from his presence a leper as white as snow" (2 K **5** 22-27)? The story of Peter's denial of his Lord, and his persistent asseverations that he did not know Him and was not one of His followers, makes us shudder to think that it is possible for a follower of Christ so far to forget himself as not only to lie, but buttress lying with swearing (Mt **26** 72).

5. *Pseudós* United with Other Words

Throughout the Scriptures we find *pseudos* joined to other words, e.g. "false apostles" (*ψευδαπόστολος, pseudapóstolos,* 2 Cor **11** 13), so called probably because a true apostle delivers the message of another, namely, God, while these "false apostles" cared only for self. Such are from Satan, and, like him, they transform themselves into angels of light, and sail under false colors. We read also of "false prophets" (*ψευδοπροφήτης, pseudoprophḗtēs,* Mt **7** 15; cf Jer **23** 16f), thereby meaning those who falsely claim to bring messages from God and to speak in behalf of God. Mention is made also of "false brethren" (*ψευδάδελφος, pseudádelphos,* 2 Cor **11** 26), meaning Judaizing teachers, as in Gal **2** 4; "false teachers" (*ψευδοδιδάσκαλος, pseudodidáskalos,* 2 Pet **2** 1), men whose teaching was false and who falsely claimed the teacher's office. We read further of "false witnesses" (*ψευδόμαρτυς, pseudómartus,* Mk **26** 60); by such are meant those who swear falsely, and testify to what they know is not true. So, too, we find mention of the "false Christs" (*ψευδόχριστοι, pseudóchristoi,* Mt **24** 24; Mk **13** 22). This personage does not so much deny the existence of a Christ, but rather, on the contrary, builds upon the world's expectations of such a person, and falsely, arrogantly, blasphemously asserts that he is the Christ promised and foretold. It is the Antichrist who denies that there is a Christ; the false Christ affirms himself to be the Christ. Of course there is a sense in which the man of sin will be both Antichrist and a false Christ. See FALSE CHRISTS; FALSE PROPHETS; FALSE SWEARING, FALSE WITNESS.

WILLIAM EVANS

LIERS-IN-WAIT, lī-ẽrz-in-wāt′ (Jgs **9** 25; **16** 12; **20** 36 ff). See Ambush.

LIEUTENANT, lū̇-ten′ant, lef-ten′ant. See Satraps.

LIFE, līf (חַיִּים, *ḥayyīm*, נֶפֶשׁ, *nephesh*, רוּחַ, *rūaḥ*, חָיָה, *ḥāyāh*; **ζωή**, *zōḗ*, **ψυχή**, *psuchḗ*, **βίος**, *bíos*, **πνεῦμα**, *pneúma*):

- I. The Terms
- II. The OT Teaching
    - 1. Popular Use of the Term
    - 2. Complexity of the Idea
- III. In the Apocrypha
- IV. In the NT
    - 1. In the Synoptic Gospels
    - 2. In the Fourth Gospel
    - 3. In the Acts of the Apostles
    - 4. In the Writings of Paul
    - 5. In the Writings of John
    - 6. In the Other Books of the NT
- Literature

I. The Terms.—Of the Heb terms, *ḥāyāh* is the vb. which means "to live," "to have life," or the vital principle, "to continue to live," or "to live prosperously." In the Piel it signifies "to give life, or preserve, or quicken and restore life." The Hiphil is much like the Piel. The noun *hayyīm* generally used in the pl. is an abstract noun meaning "life," i.e. the possession of the vital principle with its energies and activities. *Nephesh* often means "living being" or "creature." Sometimes it has the force of the reflexive "self." At other times it refers to the seat of the soul, the personality, the emotions, the appetites—passions and even mental acts. Frequently it means "life," the "seat of life," and in this way it is used about 171 t in the OT, referring to the principle of vitality in both men and animals. *Rūaḥ* signifies "wind," "breath," principle or source of vitality, but is never used to signify life proper.

1. Popular Use of the Term

II. The OT Teaching.—The term "life" is used in the OT in the popular sense. It meant life in the body, the existence and activity of the man in all his parts and energies. It is the person complete, conscious and active. There is no idea of the body being a fetter or prison to the soul; the body was essential to life and the writers had no desire to be separated from it. To them the physical sphere was a necessity, and a man was living when all his activities were performed in the light of God's face and favor. The secret and source of life to them was relationship with God. There was nothing good or desirable apart from this relation of fellowship. To overcome or be rid of sin was necessary to life. The real center of gravity in life was in the moral and religious part of man's nature. This must be in fellowship with God, the source of all life and activity.

2. Complexity of the Idea

The conception of life is very complex. Several meanings are clearly indicated: (1) Very frequently it refers to the vital principle itself, apart from its manifestations (Gen **2** 7). Here it is the breath of life, or the breath from God which contained and communicated the vital principle to man and made him a *nephesh* or living being (see also Gen **1** 30; **6** 17; **7** 22; **45** 5, etc). (2) It is used to denote the period of one's actual existence, i.e. "lifetime" (Gen **23** 1; **25** 7; **47** 9; Ex **6** 16; 18.20, etc). (3) The life is represented as a direct gift from God, and dependent absolutely upon Him for its continuance (Gen **1** 11–27; **2** 7; Nu **16** 22). (4) In a few cases it refers to the conception of children, denoting the time when conception was possible (Gen **18** 10.14 m; 2 K **4** 16.17 m). (5) In many cases it refers to the totality of man's relationships and activities, all of which make up life (Dt **32** 47; 1 S **25** 29; Job **10** 1, etc). (6) In a few instances it is used synonymously with the means of sustaining life (Dt **24** 6; Prov **27** 27). (7) Many times it is used synonymously with happiness or well-being (Dt **30** 15.19; Ezr **6** 10; Ps **16** 11; **30** 5; Prov **2** 19, and frequently). (8) It is always represented as a very precious gift, and offences against life were to be severely punished (Gen **9** 4.5; Lev **17** 14; **24** 17).

Capital punishment is here specifically enjoined because of the value of the life that has been taken. The *lex talionis* required life for life (Ex **21** 23; Dt **19** 21); and this even applies to the beast (Lev **24** 18). The life was represented as abiding in the blood and therefore the blood must not be eaten, or lightly shed upon the ground (Lev **17** 15; Dt **12** 23). The Decalogue forbids murder or the taking of human life wrongfully (Ex **20** 13; Dt **5** 17). Garments taken in pledge must not be kept over night, for thereby the owner's life might be endangered (Dt **24** 6). That life was considered precious appears in 2 K **10** 24; Est **7** 7; Job **2** 4; Prov **4** 23; **6** 26. The essence of sacrifice consisted in the fact that the life (the *nephesh*) resided in the blood; thus when blood was shed, life was lost (Dt **12** 23; Lev **17** 11). Oppression on the part of judges and rulers was severely condemned because oppression was detrimental to life.

(9) Long life was much desired and sought by the Israelites, and under certain conditions this was possible (Ps **91** 16). The longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs is a problem by itself (see Antediluvians). It was one of the greatest of calamities to be cut off in the midst of life (Isa **38** 10–12; **53** 8); that a good old age was longed for is shown by Ex **20** 12; Ps **21** 4; **34** 12; **61** 6, etc. This long life was possible to the obedient to parents (Ex **20** 12; Dt **5** 16), and to those obedient to God (Dt **4** 4; Prov **3** 1.2; **10** 27); to the wise (Prov **3** 16; **9** 11); to the pure in heart (Ps **34** 12–14; **91** 1–10; Eccl **3** 12.13); to those who feared God (Prov **10** 27; Isa **65** 18–21; **38** 2–5, etc). (10) The possibility of an immortal life is dimly hinted at in the earliest writing, and much more clearly taught in the later. The Tree of Life in the midst of the garden indicated a possible immortality for man upon earth (Gen **2** 9; **3** 22.24) (see Tree of Life).

Failing to partake of this and falling into sin by partaking of the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil," they were driven forth from the garden lest they should eat of the tree of life and become immortal beings in their sinful condition. To deprive man of the possibility of making himself immortal while sinful was a blessing to the race; immortality without holiness is a curse rather than a blessing. The way to the tree of life was henceforth guarded by the cherubim and the flame of a sword, so that men could not partake of it in their condition of sin. This, however, did not exclude the possibility of a spiritual immortality in another sphere. Enoch's fellowship with God led to a bodily translation; so also Elijah, and several hundred years after their deaths, God called Himself the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, implying that they were really alive then. In Isa **26** 19 there is a clear prophecy of a resurrection, and an end of death. Dnl **12** 2 asserts a resurrection of many of the dead, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt. Some of the psalmists firmly believed in the continuity of the life in fellowship with God (Ps **16** 10.11; **17** 15; **23** 6; **49** 15; **73** 24.25). The exact meaning of some of these statements is difficult to understand, yet this much is clear: there was a revolt against death in many pious minds, and a belief that the life of fellowship with God could not end or be broken even by death itself. See Immortality.

(11) The fundamental fact in the possession of life was vital relationship with God. Men first lived because God breathed into them the breath of life (Gen **2** 7). Man's vital energies are the outflowing of the spirit or vital energies of God, and all activities are dependent upon the vitalizing power from God. When God sends forth His spirit, things are created, and live; when He withdraws that spirit they die (Ps **104** 30). "In his favor is life" (Ps **30** 5 AV). He is the fountain of life (Ps **36** 9; **63** 3). "All my fountains are in thee" (Ps **87** 7). The secret of Job's success and happiness was that the Almighty was with him (Job **29** 2). This fellowship brought him health, friends, prosperity and all other blessings. The consciousness of the fellowship with God led men to revolt against the idea of going to Sheol where this fellowship must

cease. They felt that such a relationship could not cease, and God would take them out of Sheol.

III. In the Apocrypha.—A similar conception of life appears here as in the OT. *Zōē* and *psuchē* are used and occur most frequently in the books of Wisd and Ecclus. In 1 and 2 Esd the word is little used; 2 Esd **3** 5; **16** 61 are but a quotation from Gen **2** 7, and refer to the vital principle; 2 Esd **14** 30, Tob, Jth, Ad Est use it in the same sense also. Wisd and Ecclus use it in several senses closely resembling the use in Prov (cf Ecclus **4** 12; Prov **3** 18; **10** 16). In general there is no additional meaning attached to the word. The Ps Sol refer to everlasting life in **3** 16; **13** 10; **14** 2.6.

IV. In the NT.—Of the Gr terms *bios* is used at times as the equivalent of the Heb *ḥayyīm*. It refers to life extensively, i.e. the period of one's existence, a lifetime; also to the means of sustaining life, such as wealth, etc. *Psuchē* is also equivalent to *ḥayyīm* at times, but very frequently to *nephesh* and sometimes to *rūaḥ*. Thus it means the vital principle, a living being, the immaterial part of man, the seat of the affections, desires and appetites, etc. The term *zōē* corresponds very closely to *ḥayyīm*, and means the vital principle, the state of one who is animate, the fulness of activities and relationship both in the physical and spiritual realms.

The content of the word *zōē* is the chief theme of the NT. The life is mediated by Jesus Christ. In the OT this life was through fellowship with God, in the NT it is through Jesus Christ the Mediator. The OT idea is carried to its completion, its highest development of meaning, being enriched by the supreme teaching and revelation of Jesus Christ. In the NT as well as in the OT, the center of gravity in human life is in the moral and religious nature of man.

1. In the Synoptic Gospels

The teaching here regarding life naturally links itself with OT ideas and the prevailing conceptions of Judaism. The word is used in the sense of (1) the vital principle, that which gives actual physical existence (Mt **2** 20; Mk **10** 45; Lk **12** 22 f; **14** 26). (2) It is also the period of one's existence, i.e. lifetime (Lk **1** 75; **16** 25). (3) Once it may mean the totality of man's relationships and activities (Lk **12** 15) which do not consist in abundance of material possessions. (4) Generally it means the real life, the vital connection with the world and God, the sum total of man's highest interests. It is called "eternal life" (Mt **19** 29; **25** 46). It is called "life" (Mt **18** 8.9; **19** 17; Mk **9** 43.45.46). In these passages Jesus seems to imply that it is almost equivalent to "laying up treasures in heaven," or to "entering the kingdom of God." The entering into life and entering the kingdom are practically the same, for the kingdom is that spiritual realm where God controls, where the principles, activities and relationships of heaven prevail, and hence to enter into these is to enter into "life." (5) The lower life of earthly relationship and activities must be subordinated to the higher and spiritual (Mt **10** 39; **16** 25; Lk **9** 24). These merely earthly interests may be very desirable and enjoyable, but whoever would cling to these and make them supreme is in danger of losing the higher. The spiritual being infinitely more valuable should be sought even if the other relationship should be lost entirely. (6) Jesus also speaks of this life as something future, and to be realized at the consummation of the age (Mt **19** 29; Lk **18** 30), or the world to come.

This in no wise contradicts the statement that eternal life can be entered upon in this life. As Jesus Himself was in vital relationship with the spiritual world and lived the eternal life, He sought to bring others into the same blessed state. This life was far from being perfect. The perfection could come only at the consummation when all was perfection and then they would enter into the perfect fellowship with God and connection with the spirit-world and its blessed experiences. There is no conflict in His teaching here, no real difficulty, only an illustration of Browning's statement, "Man never is but wholly hopes to be." Thus in the synoptists Jesus teaches the reality of the eternal life as a present possession as well as future fruition. The future is but the flowering out and perfection of the present. Without the present bud, there can be no future flower.

(7) The conditions which Jesus lays down for entering into this life are faith in Himself as the one Mediator of the life, and the following of Him in a life of obedience. He alone knows the Father and can reveal Him to others (Mt **11** 27). He alone can give true rest and can teach men how to live (**11** 28 f). The sure way to this life is: "Follow me." His whole ministry was virtually a prolonged effort to win confidence in Himself as Son and Mediator, to win obedience, and hence bring men unto these spiritual relationships and activities which constitute the true life.

2. In the Fourth Gospel

The fullest and richest teachings regarding life are found here. The greatest word of this Gospel is "life." The author says he wrote the Gospel in order that "ye may have life" (**20** 31). Most of the teachings recorded, circle around this great word "life." This teaching is in no way distinctive and different from that of the synoptists, but is supplementary, and completes the teaching of Jesus on the subject. The use of the word is not as varied, being concentrated on the one supreme subject. (1) In a few cases it refers only to the vital principle which gives life or produces a lifetime (**10** 11.15–18; **13** 37; **15** 13). (2) It represents Jesus the Logos as the origin and means of all life to the world. As the preincarnate Logos He was the source of life to the universe (**1** 4). As the incarnate Logos He said His life had been derived originally from the Father (**5** 26; **6** 57; **10** 18). He then was the means of life to men (**3** 15.16; **4** 14; **5** 21.39.40); and this was the purpose for which He came into the world (**6** 33.34.51; **10** 10). (3) The prevailing reference, however, is to those activities which are the expression of fellowship with God and Jesus Christ. These relationships are called "eternal life" (**3** 15.16.36; **4** 14, etc). The nearest approach to a definition of eternal life is found in **17** 3. Though not a scientific or metaphysical definition, it is nevertheless Jesus' own description of eternal life, and reveals His conception of it. It is thus more valuable than a formal definition. It is "to know God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent."

This knowledge is vastly more than mere intellectual perception or understanding. It is moral knowledge, it is personal acquaintance, it is fellowship, a contact, if we may so speak, of personality with personality, an inner affinity and sympathy, an experience of similar thoughts, emotions, purposes, motives, desires, an interchange of the heart's deepest feelings and experiences. It is a bringing of the whole personality of man into right relationship with the personality of God. This relation is ethical, personal, binding the two together with ties which nothing can separate. It is into this experience that Jesus came to bring men. Such a life Jesus says is satisfying to all who hunger and thirst for it (**4** 14; **6** 35); it is the source of light to all (**1** 4; **8** 12); it is indestructible (**6** 58; **11** 26); it is like a well of water in the soul (**4** 14); it is procured by personally partaking of those qualities which belong to Jesus (**6** 53).

(4) This life is a present possession and has also a glorious future fruition. (*a*) To those who exercise faith in Jesus it is a present experience and possession (**4** 10; **5** 24.40). Faith in Him as the Son of God is the psychological means by which persons are brought into this vital relationship with God. Those who exercised the faith immediately experienced this new power and fellowship and exercised the new activities. (*b*) It has a glorious fruition in the future also (**4** 36; **5** 29; **6** 39.44.54). John does not give so much prominence to the eschatological phase of Jesus' teachings as to the present reality and actual possession of this blessed life.

(5) It has been objected that in speaking of the Logos as the source of life John is pursuing a metaphysical line,

whereas the life which he so much emphasizes has an ethical basis, and he makes no attempt to reconcile the two. The objection may have force to one who has imbibed the Ritschlian idea of performing the impossible task of eliminating all metaphysics from theology. It will not appeal very strongly to the average Christian. It is a purely academic objection. The ordinary mind will think that if Jesus Christ is the source of ethical and eternal life it is because He possesses something of the essence and *being* of God, which makes His work for men possible. The metaphysical and the ethical may exist together, may run concurrently, the one being the source and seat of the other. There is no contradiction. Both metaphysics and ethics are a legitimate and necessary exercise of the human mind.

3. In the Acts of the Apostles

In His intercessory prayer (Jn **17**), Jesus said His mission was to give eternal life to as many as the Father had given Him (**17** 2). The record in Acts is the carrying out of that purpose. The word "life" is used in several senses: (1) the vital principle or physical life (**17** 25; **20** 10.24; **27** 10.22); (2) also the sum total of man's relationships and activities upon earth (**5** 20; **26** 4); (3) Jesus Christ is regarded as the source and principle of life, being called by Peter, "the Prince of life" (**3** 15). Also the life eternal or everlasting is spoken of with the same significance as in the Gospels (**11** 18; **13** 46.48).

4. In the Writings of Paul

Here also the words for "life" are used in various senses: (1) the vital principle which gives physical vitality and existence (Rom **8** 11.38; **11** 15; 1 Cor **3** 22; Phil **1** 20; **2** 30); (2) the sum total of man's relationships and activities (1 Cor **6** 3.4; 1 Tim **2** 2; **4** 8; 2 Tim **1** 1; **3** 10 AV); (3) those relationships with God and with Christ in the spiritual realm, and the activities arising therefrom which constitute the real and eternal life. This is mediated by Christ (Rom **5** 10). It is in Christ (Rom **6** 11). It is the free gift of God (**6** 23). It is also mediated or imparted to us through the Spirit (Rom **8** 2.6.9.10; 2 Cor **2** 16; **3** 6; Gal **6** 8). It comes through obedience to the word (Rom **7** 10; Phil **2** 16); and through faith (1 Tim **1** 16). It may be apprehended in this life (1 Tim **6** 12. 19). It is brought to light through the gospel (2 Tim **1** 10). It is a reward to those who by patience in well-doing seek it (Rom **2** 7). It gives conquering power over sin and death (Rom **5** 17.18.21). It is the end or reward of a sanctified life (Rom **6** 22). It is a present possession and a hope (Tit **1** 2; **3** 7). It will be received in all its fulness hereafter (Rom **2** 7; 2 Cor **5** 4). Thus Paul's use of the word substantially agrees with the teaching in the Gospels, and no doubt was largely based upon it.

5. In the Writings of John

In the Johannine Epp. and Rev, the contents of the term "life" are the same as those in the Fourth Gospel. Life in certain passages (1 Jn **3** 16; Rev **8** 9; **11** 11; **12** 11) is mere physical vitality and existence upon earth. The source of life is Christ Himself (1 Jn **1** 1 f; **5** 11 f.16). The blessed eternal life in Christ is a present possession to all those who are in fellowship with the Father and the Son (1 Jn **5** 11.12). Here is an echo of the words of Jesus (Jn **17** 3) where John describes the life, the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us. It is virtually fellowship with the Father and with the Son (1 Jn **1** 2.4). Life is promised to those who are faithful (Rev **2** 7); and the crown of life is promised to those who are faithful unto death (Rev **2** 10). The crown of life doubtless refers to the realization of all the glorious possibilities that come through fellowship with God and the Son. The thirsty are invited to come and drink of the water of life freely (Rev **21** 6; **22** 17). The river of life flows through the streets of the New Jerusalem (**22** 1), and the tree of life blooms on its banks, bearing twelve manner of fruit (**22** 2.14). See Tree of Life.

6. In the Other Books of the NT

The Ep. to the He speaks of our lifetime or periods of existence upon earth (**2** 15; **7** 3), likewise of the power of an indissoluble life (**7** 16); James promises the crown of life to the faithful (**1** 12). This reward is the fulness of life's possibilities hereafter. Our lifetime is mentioned in **4** 14 and represented as brief as a vapor. Peter in 1 Pet **3** 7 speaks of man and wife as joint-heirs of the grace of life, and of loving life (**3** 10), referring to the totality of relationships and activities. The "all things that pertain unto life and godliness" (2 Pet **1** 3) constitute the whole Christian life involving the life eternal.

Literature.—Articles on "Life" in *HDB*, *DCG*, *Jew Enc;* on "Soul," "Spirit," etc, ibid, and in *Enc Brit*, *EB*, Kitto, Smith, *Standard*, etc; Laidlaw, *Bible Doctrine of Man;* Delitzsch, *A System of Bib. Psychology;* comms. on the various passages; Davidson, *OT Theology;* Oehler and Schultz, *OT Theology;* Stevens, *Johannine Theology* and *Pauline Theology;* Holtzmann, *NT Theology*, I, 293 ff; G. Dalman, *Words of Jesus;* Phillips Brooks, *More Abundant Life;* B. F. Westcott, *Historic Faith;* F. J. A. Hort, *The Way, the Truth, the Life;* J. G. Hoare, *Life in St. John's Gospels;* E. White, *Life and Christ;* Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality;* R. J. Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles* and *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ;* comms. on the various passages; McPherson, "The NT View of Life," *Expos*, I, ser. v, 72 ff; Massie, "Two NT Words Denoting Life," *Expos*, II, ser. iv, 380 ff; Schrenk, *Die Johannistische Anschauung vom Leben.*

J. J. Reeve

LIFE, TREE OF. See Tree of Life.

LIFT: To make lofty, to raise up. A very common word in EV representing a great variety of Heb and Gr words, although in the OT used chiefly as the tr of נָשָׂא, *nāsā'*. Of none of these words, however, is "lift" used as a technical tr, and "lift" is interchanged freely with its synonyms, esp. "exalt" (cf Ps **75** 5; **89** 24) and "raise" (cf Eccl **4** 10; 2 S **12** 17). "Lift" is still perfectly good English, but not in all the senses in which it is used in EV; e.g. such phrases as "men that lifted up axes upon a thicket" (Ps **74** 5), "lift up thy feet unto the perpetual ruins" (Ps **74** 3, etc), and even the common "lift up the eyes" or "hands" are distinctly archaic. However, almost all the uses are perfectly clear, and only the following need be noted. "To lift up the head" (Gen **40** 13.19.20; 2 K **25** 27; Ps **3** 3; Sir **11** 13; Lk **21** 28) means to raise from a low condition (but on Ps **24** 7.9 see Gate). To "lift up the horn" (Ps **75** 5) is to assume a confident position, the figure being taken from fighting oxen (see Horn). "Lift up the face" may be meant lit. (2 K **9** 32), or it may denote the bestowal of favor (Ps **4** 6); it may mean the attitude of a righteous man toward God (Job **22** 26), or simply the attitude of a suppliant (Ezr **9** 6).

Burton Scott Easton

LIGHT, līt (אוֹר, *'ōr*, מָאוֹר, *mā'ōr;* **φῶς**, *phōs;* many other words):

1. Origin of Light
2. A Comprehensive Term
   (1) Natural
   (2) Artificial
   (3) Miraculous
   (4) Mental, Moral, Spiritual
3. An Attribute of Holiness
   (1) God
   (2) Christ
   (3) Christians
   (4) The Church
4. Symbolism
5. Expressive Terms

The creation of light was the initial step in the creation of life. "Let there be light" (Gen **1** 3) was the first word of God spoken after His creative Spirit "moved" upon the primary material out of which He created the heavens and the earth, and

1. Origin of Light

which lay, until the utterance of that word, in the chaos of darkness and desolation. Something akin, possibly, to the all-pervasive electro-magnetic activity of the aurora borealis penetrated the chaotic night of the world. The ultimate focusing of light (on the 4th day of creation, Gen **1** 14) in suns, stars, and solar systems brought the initial creative process to completion, as the essential condition of all organic life. The origin of light thus finds its explanation in the purpose and very nature of God whom John defines as not only the Author of light but, in an all-inclusive sense, as light itself: "God is light" (1 Jn **1** 5).

2. A Comprehensive Term

The word "light" is Divinely rich in its comprehensiveness and meaning. Its material splendor is used throughout the Scriptures as the symbol and synonym of all that is luminous and radiant in the mental, moral and spiritual life of men and angels; while the eternal God, because of His holiness and moral perfection, is pictured as "dwelling in light unapproachable" (1 Tim **6** 16). Every phase of the word, from the original light in the natural world to the spiritual glory of the celestial, is found in Holy Writ.

(1) *Natural light.*—The light of day (Gen **1** 5); of sun, moon and stars; "lights in the firmament" (Gen **1** 14–18; Ps **74** 16; **136** 7; **148** 3; Eccl **12** 2; Rev **22** 5). Its characteristics are beauty, radiance, utility. It "rejoiceth the heart" (Prov **15** 30); "Truly the light is sweet" (Eccl **11** 7); without it men stumble and are helpless (Jn **11** 9.10); it is something for which they wait with inexpressible longing (Job **30** 26; cf Ps **130** 6). Life, joy, activity and all blessings are dependent upon light.

Light and life are almost synonymous to the inhabitants of Pal, and in the same way darkness and death. Theirs is the land of sunshine. When they go to other lands of clouded skies their only thought is to return to the brightness and sunshine of their native land. In Pal there is hardly a day in the whole year when the sun does not shine for some part of it, while for five months of the year there is scarcely an interruption of the sunshine. Time is reckoned from sunset to sunset. The day's labor closes with the coming of darkness. "Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labor until the evening" (Ps **104** 23).

The suddenness of the change from darkness to light with the rising sun and the disappearance of the sun in the evening is more striking than in more northern countries, and it is not strange that in the ancient days there should have arisen a worship of the sun as the giver of light and happiness, and that Job should mention the enticement of sun-worship when he "beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness" (Job **31** 26). The severest plague in Egypt next to the slaying of the firstborn was the plague of darkness which fell upon the Egyptians (Ex **10** 23). This love of light finds expression in both OT and NT in a very extensive use of the word to express those things which are most to be desired and most helpful to man, and in this connection we find some of the most beautiful figures in the Bible.

(2) *Artificial light.*—When natural light fails, man by discovery or invention provides himself with some temporary substitute, however dim and inadequate. The ancient Hebrews had "oil for the light" (Ex **25** 6; **35** 8; Lev **24** 2) and lamps (Ex **35** 14; Mt **5** 15). "There were many lights [λαμπάς, *lampás*] in the upper chamber" at Troas, where Paul preached until midnight (Acts **20** 8); so Jer **25** 10 RV, "light of the lamp," AV "candle."

(3) *Miraculous light.*—When the appalling plague of "thick darkness," for three days, enveloped the Egyptians, terrified and rendered them helpless, "all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings" (Ex **10** 23). Whether the darkness was due to a Divinely ordered natural cause or the light was the natural light of day, the process that preserved the interspersed Israelites from the encompassing darkness was supernatural. Miraculous, also, even though through natural agency, was the "pillar of fire" that gave light to the Israelites escaping from Pharaoh (Ex **13** 21; **14** 20; Ps **78** 14), "He led them . . . . all the night with a light of fire." Supernatural was the effulgence at Christ's transfiguration that made "his garments . . . . white as the light" (Mt **17** 2). Under the same category Paul classifies 'the great light' that 'suddenly shone round about him from heaven' on the way to Damascus (Acts **22** 6; cf **9** 3). In these rare instances the supernatural light was not only symbolic of an inner spiritual light, but instrumental, in part at least, in revealing or preparing the way for it.

(4) *Mental, moral, spiritual light.*—The phenomena of natural light have their counterpart in the inner life of man. Few words lend themselves with such beauty and appropriateness to the experiences, conditions, and radiance of the spiritual life. For this reason the Scriptures use "light" largely in the figurative sense. Borrowed from the natural world, it is, nevertheless, inherently suited to portray spiritual realities. In secular life a distinct line of demarkation is drawn between intellectual and spiritual knowledge and illumination. Education that enlightens the mind may leave the moral man untouched. This distinction rarely obtains in the Bible, which deals with man as a spiritual being and looks upon his faculties as interdependent in their action.

(*a*) A few passages; however, refer to the light that comes chiefly to the *intellect* or *mind* through Divine instruction, e.g. Ps **119** 130, "The opening of thy words giveth light"; so Prov **6** 23, "The law is light." Even here the instruction includes moral as well as mental enlightenment.

(*b*) Moral: Job **24** 13.16 has to do exclusively with man's moral attitude to truth: "rebel against the light"; "know not the light." Isa **5** 20 describes a moral confusion and blindness, which cannot distinguish light from darkness.

(*c*) For the most part, however, light and life go together. It is the product of salvation: "Jeh is my light and my salvation" (Ps **27** 1). "Light," figuratively used, has to do preëminently with spiritual life, including also the illumination that floods all the faculties of the soul: intellect, conscience, reason, will. In the moral realm the enlightenment of these faculties is dependent wholly on the renewal of the spirit. "In thy light . . . . we see light" (Ps **36** 9); "The life was the light of men" (Jn **1** 4).

Light is an attribute of holiness, and thus a *personal* quality. It is the outshining of Deity.

3. An Attribute of Holiness

(1) *God.*—"God is light, and in him is no darkness at all" (1 Jn **1** 5). Darkness is the universal symbol and condition of sin and death; light the symbol and expression of holiness. "The light of Israel will be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame" (Isa **10** 17). God, by His presence and grace, is to us a "marvellous light" (1 Pet **2** 9). The glory of His holiness and presence is the "everlasting light" of the redeemed in heaven (Isa **60** 19.20; Rev **21** 23.24; **22** 5).

(2) *Christ*, the eternal Word (λόγος, *lógos*, Jn **1** 1), who said "Let there be light" (Gen **1** 3), is Himself the "effulgence of [God's] glory" (He **1** 3), "the light which lighteth every man, coming into the world" (Jn **1** 9) (cf the statements concerning Wisdom in Wisd **7** 25 f and concerning Christ in He **1** 3; and see CREEDS; LOGOS; JOHANNINE THEOLOGY; WISDOM). As the predicted Messiah, He was to be "for a light of the Gentiles" (Isa **42** 6; **49** 6). His birth was the fulfilment of this prophecy (Lk **2** 32). Jesus called Himself "the light of the world" (Jn **8** 12; **9** 5; **12** 46). As light He was "God . . . . manifest in the flesh" (1 Tim **3** 16 AV). "The Word was God" (Jn **1** 1). Jesus as λόγος is the eternal expression of God as a word is the expression of a thought. In the threefold essence of His being *God is Life* (ζωή, *zōḗ*) (Jn **5** 26; **6** 57); *God is Love* (ἀγάπη, *agápē*) (1 Jn **4** 8); *God is Light*

(*φῶς*, *phôs*) (1 Jn **1** 5). Thus Christ, the *logos*, manifesting the three aspects of the Divine Nature, is Life, Love and Light, and these three are inseparable and constitute the *glory* which the disciples beheld in Him, "glory as of the only begotten from the Father" (Jn **1** 14). In revealing and giving life, Christ becomes "the light of men" (Jn **1** 4). God gives "the light of the knowledge of [his] glory in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor **4** 6), and this salvation is called "the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ" (**4** 4). Christ is thus the Teacher, Enlightener ("Christ shall give thee light," Eph **5** 14 AV), Guide, Saviour of men.

(3) *All who catch and reflect the light of God and of Christ are called "light," "lights."* (*a*) John the Baptist: "a burning and a shining light" (Jn **5** 35 AV). It is significant that this pre-Christian prophet was termed a *λύχνος*, *lúchnos*, while the disciples of the new dispensation are called *φῶς*, *phôs* (Mt **5** 14): "Ye are the light of the world." (*b*) Henceforth Christians and saints were called "children of light" (Lk **16** 8; Jn **12** 36; Eph **5** 8), and were expected to be "seen as lights in the world" (Phil **2** 15). (*c*) The Jew who possessed the law mistakenly supposed he was "a light of them that are in darkness" (Rom **2** 19).

(4) *The church.*—Zion was to "shine" because her 'light had come' (Isa **60** 1). The Gentiles were to come to her light (**60** 3). Her mission as the enlightener of the world was symbolized in the ornamentations of her priesthood. The Urim of the high priest's breastplate signified light, and the name itself is but the pl. form of the Heb *'ōr*. It stood for *revelation*, and Thummim for *truth*. The church of the Christian dispensation was to be even more radiant with the light of God and of Christ. The seven churches of Asia were revealed to John, by the Spirit, as seven golden candlesticks, and her ministers as seven stars, both luminous with the light of the Gospel revelation. In Eph, Christ, who is the Light of the world, is the Head of the church, the latter being His body through which His glory is to be manifested to the world, "to make all men see," etc (Eph **3** 9.10). "Unto him be the glory in the church" (ver 21), the church bringing glory to God, by revealing His glory to men through its reproduction of the life and light of Christ.

4. Symbolism

Light symbolizes: (1) *the eye*, "The light of the body is the eye" (Mt **6** 22 AV; Lk **11** 34); (2) *watchfulness*, "Let your lights [RV "lamps"] be burning," the figure being taken from the parable of the Virgins; (3) *protection*, "armor of light" (Rom **13** 12), the garment of a holy and Christlike life; (4) *the sphere of the Christian's daily walk*, "inheritance of the saints in light" (Col **1** 12); (5) *heaven*, for the inheritance just referred to includes the world above in which "the Lamb is the light thereof"; (6) *prosperity*, relief (Est **8** 16; Job **30** 26), in contrast with the calamities of the wicked whose "light . . . . shall be put out" (Job **18** 5); (7) *joy and gladness* (Job **3** 20; Ps **97** 11; **112** 4); (8) *God's favor*, "the light of thy countenance" (Ps **4** 6; **44** 3; **89** 15), and a *king's favor* (Prov **16** 15); (9) *life* (Ps **13** 3; **49** 19; Jn **1** 4).

5. Expressive Terms

Expressive terms are: (1) "fruit of the light" (Eph **5** 9), i.e. goodness, righteousness, truth; (2) "light in the Lord" (Eph **5** 8), indicating the source of light (cf Isa **2** 5); (3) "inheritance of the saints in light" (Col **1** 12), a present experience issuing in heaven; (4) "Father of lights" (Jas **1** 17), signifying the Creator of the heavenly bodies; (5) "marvellous light" (1 Pet **2** 9), the light of God's presence and fellowship; (6) "Walk in the light" (1 Jn **1** 7), in the light of God's teaching and companionship; (7) "abideth in the light" (1 Jn **2** 10), in love, Divine and fraternal; (8) "Light of the glorious gospel of Christ"; "light of the knowledge of the glory of God" (2 Cor **4** 4.6 AV).

Dwight M. Pratt

LIGHT, LIGHTNESS, līt'nes: "Light" is used in Scripture, as in ordinary speech, in the sense of what is small, slight, trivial, easy; "lightness" with the connotation of vacillation or lasciviousness. Thus in the OT, "a light thing," a small, easy, slight thing (קָלַל, *ḳālal*, 2 K **3** 18; Isa **49** 6; Ezk **8** 17; **22** 7, in the last case "to treat slightingly"). "Lightness" (קוֹל, *ḳōl*) occurs in Jer **3** 9 ("the lightness of her whoredom"); in **23** 32, RV changes "lightness" (a different word) to "vain boasting." In the NT the phrase occurs in Mt **22** 5, "made light of it" (*ἀμελέω*, *ameléō*), i.e. "treated it with neglect"; and St. Paul asks (2 Cor **1** 17), "Did I show lightness?" (RV "fickleness"). These examples sufficiently illustrate the meaning.

James Orr

LIGHTNING, līt'ning (בָּרָק, *bārāḳ*, חֲזִיז, *ḥăzīz*; **ἀστραπή**, *astrapḗ*): Lightning is caused by the discharge of electricity between clouds or between clouds and the earth. In a thunder-storm there is a rapid gathering of particles of moisture into clouds and forming of large drops of rain. This gathers with it electric potential until the surface of the cloud (or the enlarged water particles) is insufficient to carry the charge, and a discharge takes place, producing a brilliant flash of light and the resulting thunder-clap. Thunder-storms are common in Syria and Pal during the periods of heavy rain in the spring and fall and are often severe. Lightning is usually accompanied by heavy rainfall or by hail, as at the time of the plague of hail (Ex **9** 24). See Hail.

In the Scriptures it is used: (*a*) indicating the power of God: The power of God is shown in His command of the forces of Nature, and He is the only one who knows the secrets of Nature: "He made . . . . a way for the lightning" (Job **28** 26); "He directeth . . . . his lightning" (Job **37** 3 AV); "Canst thou send forth lightnings, that they may go?" (Job **38** 35); "Ask ye of Jeh . . . . that maketh lightnings" (Zec **10** 1). See also Ps **18** 14; **97** 4; **135** 7; Job **36** 32; Jer **10** 13; (*b*) figuratively and poetically: David sings of Jeh, "He sent . . . . lightnings manifold, and discomfited them" (Ps **18** 14); used for speed: "The chariots . . . . run like the lightnings" (Nah **2** 4); "His arrow shall go forth as the lightning" (Zec **9** 14); "The living creatures ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning" (Ezk **1** 14). The coming of the kingdom is described by Jesus as the shining of the lightning from one part of heaven to another, even "from the east unto the west" (Mt **24** 27; Lk **17** 24); (*c*) meaning bright or shining: Daniel in his vision saw a man and "his face [was] as the appearance of lightning" (Dnl **10** 6). See also Rev **4** 5; **8** 5; **16** 18.

Alfred H. Joy

LIGN-ALOES, līn-al'ōẓ, lig-nal'ōz. See Aloes.

LIGURE, lig'ūr (Ex **28** 19; **39** 12 AV, RV "jacinth"). See Stones, Precious.

LIKE, līk, **LIKEN**, līk''n, **LIKENESS**, līk'nes, **LIKING**, līk'ing: (1) As a noun, "like" in modern Eng. is virtually obsolete, except in the phrase "and the like," which is not found in EV. "The like," however, occurs in 1 K **10** 20 ‖ 2 Ch **9** 19; 2 Ch **1** 12; Ezk **5** 9; **18** 10 (RV "any one of these things"—the text is uncertain); **45** 25; Joel **2** 2; Wisd **16** 1 (RV "creatures like those"); Sir **7** 12. "His like" is found in Job **41** 33; Sir **13** 15; "their like" in Sir **27** 9. "And such like" (Gal **5** 21) is only slightly archaic, but "doeth not such like" (Ezk **18** 14) is quite obsolete.

(2) As an adj. "like" is common in AV in such combinations as "like manner" (frequently), "like weight" (Ex **30** 34), "like occupation" (Acts **19** 25), etc. Modern Eng. would in most cases replace

"like" by "the same," as has been done in 1 Thess **2** 14 RV (cf Rom **15** 5; Phil **2** 2). So RV has modernized the archaic "like precious faith" of 2 Pet **1** 1 by inserting "a" before "like." AV's rendering of 1 Pet **3** 21, "the like figure whereunto," could not have been very clear at any time, and RV has revised completely into "after a true likeness" (m "in the antitype").

(3) As an advb. "like" is used in Jer **38** 9, "He is like to die"; Jon **1** 4, "like to be broken." RV could have used "likely" in these verses. Most common of all the uses of "like" is the quasi-prepositional construction in "He is like a man," etc. This is of course good modern Eng., but not so when "like" is enlarged (as it usually is in EV) into the forms "like to" (Dnl **7** 5), "like unto" (very common), "like as" (Isa **26** 17, etc). These forms and the simple "like" are interchanged without much distinction, and the RV has attempted little systematizing beyond reducing the occurrences of "like as" (cf Mt **12** 13, and ARV Isa **13** 4; Jer **23** 29).

(4) The vb. "like" has two distinct meanings, "be pleased with" and "give pleasure to." The latter sense occurs in Dt **23** 16 (AV, ERV), "in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best," and in Est **8** 8; Am **4** 5 AV; Sir **33** 13 (ARV has "pleaseth" in the three OT passages). The other use of "like" belongs also to modern Eng., although in a much weakened sense. On account of this weakening, 1 Ch **28** 4 AV, "liked me to make me king" and Rom **1** 28 AV, "did not like to retain God," have become in RV "took pleasure in" and "refused to" (m "did not approve"). It would have been better if Dt **25** 7.8, "like not to take," had been modified also into "hath no wish to take." From this use of "like" is derived **liking** in the modern sense in Wisd **16** 21, "tempered itself to every man's liking" (RV "choice"). In 1 Esd **4** 39, "All men do well like of her works" is a further obsolete use.

(5) **Liken** and "make like" are common. To be noted only is that, in He **7** 3, "made like unto the Son of God," the sense really is "likened to," "presented by the writer with the qualities of." **Likeness** normally means "a copy of," but in Ps **17** 15 it means the actual form itself ("form" in ARV, ERVm); cf Rom **6** 5; **8** 3; Phil **2** 7, and perhaps Acts **14** 11. Closely allied with "likeness" is an obsolete use of "liking" (quite distinct from that above) in Job **39** 4 AV, ERV, "Their young ones are in good liking"; Dnl **1** 10, "see your faces worse liking." The meaning is "appearance," "appearing," and ARV renders "their young ones become strong," "see your faces worse looking." **Likewise** varies in meaning from the simple conjunction "and" to a strong advb., "in exactly the same way." RV has made some attempt to distinguish the various forces (e.g. cf AV with RV in Lk **22** 36; **15** 7; **22** 20). But complete consistency was not attainable, and in certain instances was neglected deliberately, in order to preserve the familiar wording, as in Lk **10** 37, "Go, and do thou likewise." BURTON SCOTT EASTON

LIKHI, lik'hī (לִקְחִי, *likḥī*): A descendant of Manasseh (1 Ch **7** 19).

LILITH, lil'ith, lī'lith. See NIGHT-MONSTER.

LILY, lil'i (שׁוּשַׁן, *shūshan* [1 K **7** 19], שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, *shōshannāh* [2 Ch **4** 5; Cant **2** 1 f; Hos **14** 5]; pl. [Cant **2** 16; **4** 5; **5** 13; **6** 2 f; **7** 2; Ecclus **39** 14; **50** 8]; **κρίνον,** *krínon* [Mt **6** 28; Lk **12** 27]): The Heb is probably a loan word from the Egyp, the original *s-sh-n* denoting the lotus-flower, *Nymphaea lotus.* This was probably the model of the architectural ornament, tr^d "lily-work," which appeared upon the capitals of the columns in the temple porch (1 K **7** 19), upon the top of the pillars (ver 22) and upon the turned-back rim of the "molten sea" (ver 26).

Botanically the word *shōshannāh*, like the similar modern Arab. *Sūsan*, included in all probability a great many flowers, and was used in a way at least as wide as the popular use of the Eng. word "lily." The expression "lily of the valleys" (Cant **2** 1) has nothing to do with the plant of that name; the flowers referred to appear to have been associated with the rank herbage of the valley bottoms (Cant **4** 5); the expression "His lips are as lilies" (**5** 13) might imply a scarlet flower, but more probably in oriental imagery signifies a sweet-scented flower; the sweet scent of the lily is referred to in Ecclus **39** 14, and in **50** 8 we read of "lilies by the rivers of water." The beauty of the blossom is implied in Hos **14** 5, where Jeh promises that repentant Israel shall "blossom as the lily." A "heap of wheat set about with lilies" (Cant **7** 2) probably refers to the smoothed-out piles of newly threshed wheat on the threshing-floors decorated by a circlet of flowers.

The reference of Our Lord to the "lilies of the field" is probably, like the OT references, quite a general one.

The Heb and the Gr very likely include not only any members of the great order *Liliaceae*, growing in Pal, e.g. asphodel, squill, hyacinth, ornithogalum ("Star of Bethlehem"), fritillaria, tulip and colocynth, but also the more showy irises ("Tabor lilies," "purple irises," etc) and the beautiful gladioli of the N.O. *Irideae* and the familiar narcissi of the N.O. *Amaryllideae*.

In later Jewish lit. the lily is very frequently referred to **symbolically,** and a lotus or lily was commonly pictured on several Jewish coins.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

LILY-WORK: The ornament of the capitals on the bronze pillars, Jachin and Boaz, in front of Solomon's temple (1 K **7** 19.22). See LILY; TEMPLE; JACHIN AND BOAZ.

LIME, līm ([1] שִׂיד, *sīdh;* cf Arab. شَاد, *shâd*, "to plaster"; [2] גִּיר, *gīr;* cf Arab. جِيْر, *jîr*, "gypsum" or "quick-lime"; [3] אַבְנֵי־גִר, *'abh^{e}nē-ghir*): *Sīdh* is tr^d "lime" in Isa **33** 12, "And the peoples shall be as the burnings of lime, as thorns cut down, that are burned in the fire," and in Am **2** 1, "He burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime." It is tr^d "plaster" in Dt **27** 2, "Thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaster them with plaster," also in Dt **27** 4. *Gīr* is tr^d "plaster" in Dnl **5** 5, "wrote . . . . upon the plaster of the wall." In Isa **27** 9 we have, "He maketh all the stones of the altar as chalkstones" (*'abh^{e}nē-ghir*).

Everywhere in Pal limestone is at hand which can be converted into lime. The lime-kiln is a thick-walled, cylindrical or conical, roofless structure built of rough stones without mortar, the spaces between the stones being plastered with clay. It is usually built on the side of a hill which is slightly excavated for it, so that the sloping, external wall of the kiln rises much higher from the ground on the lower side than on the upper. The builders leave a passage or tunnel through the base of the thick wall on the lower side. The whole interior is filled with carefully packed fragments of limestone, and large piles of thorny-burnet and other shrubs to serve as fuel are gathered about the kiln. The fuel is introduced through the tunnel to the base of the limestone in the kiln, and as the fire rises through the mass of broken limestone a strong draft is created. Relays of men are kept busy supplying fuel day and night. By day a column of black smoke rises from the kiln, and at night the flames may be seen bursting from the top. Several days are required to reduce the stone to lime, the amount of time depending upon the size of the kiln and upon the nature of the fuel. At the present day, mineral coal imported from Europe is sometimes employed, and requires much less time than the shrubs which are ordinarily used. See CHALKSTONE; CLAY.

ALFRED ELY DAY

LIMIT, lim′it (גְּבֻל, *g^ebhul*, "bound"): Occurs once in Ezk **43** 12 ("limit" of holy mountain). "Limited" (Ps **78** 41) and "limiteth" (ὁρίζω, *horízō*, He **4** 7) are changed in RV to "provoked" (m retains "limited") and "defineth" respectively.

LINE, līn (קַו, *ḳaw*, חֶבֶל, *ḥēbhel*): Usually of a measuring line, as Jer **31** 39; Ezk **47** 3; Zec **1** 16 (*ḳaw*); Ps **78** 55; Am **7** 17; Zec **2** 1 (*ḥēbhel*). Other Heb words mean simply a cord or thread (Josh **2** 18.21; 1 K **7** 15; Ezk **40** 3). In Ps **19** 4 (*ḳaw*, "Their line is gone out through all the earth"), the reference is probably still to measurement (the heaven as spanning and bounding the earth), though the LXX, followed by Rom **10** 18, takes it as meaning a musical cord (φθόγγος, *phthóggos*). The "line," as measure, suggests a rule of conduct (Isa **28** 10). For "line" in Isa **44** 13, RV reads "pencil," m "red ochre" (*seredh*), and in 2 Cor **10** 16, "province," m "limit" (*kanôn*). See also MEASURING LINE; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

JAMES ORR

LINEAGE, lin′ē-āj (**πατριά**, *patriá*): Found only once in Lk **2** 4 (AV, RV "family"), and signifying the line of paternal family descent. A word pregnant in meaning among the Jews, who kept all family records with religious care, as may be seen from the long genealogical records found everywhere in the OT.

LINEN, lin′en (בַּד, *badh*, "white linen," used chiefly for priestly robes, בּוּץ, *būç*, "byssus," a fine white Egyp linen, called in the earlier writings שֵׁשׁ, *shēsh;* פֵּשֶׁת, *pesheth*, "flax," סָדִין, *ṣādhīn;* **βύσσος**, *bússos*, **ὀθόνιον**, *othónion*, **λίνον**, *línon*, **σινδών**, *sindṓn*): Thread or cloth made of flax.

1. History Ancient Egypt was noted for its fine linen (Gen **41** 42; Isa **19** 9). From it a large export trade was carried on with surrounding nations, including the Hebrews, who early learned the art of spinning from the Egyptians (Ex **35** 25) and continued to rely on them for the finest linen (Prov **7** 16; Ezk **27** 7). The culture of flax in Pal probably antedated the conquest, for in Josh **2** 6 we read of the stalks of flax which Rahab had laid in order upon the roof. Among the Hebrews, as apparently among the Canaanites, the spinning and weaving of linen were carried on by the women (Prov **31** 13.19), among whom skill in this work was considered highly praiseworthy (Ex **35** 25). One family, the house of Ashbea, attained eminence as workers in linen (1 Ch **4** 21; 2 Ch **2** 14).

2. General Uses Linen was used, not only in the making of garments of the finer kinds and for priests, but also for shrouds, hangings, and possibly for other purposes in which the most highly prized cloth of antiquity would naturally be desired.

3. Priestly Garments The robes of the Heb priests consisted of 4 linen garments, in addition to which the high priest wore garments of other stuffs (Ex **28, 39;** Lev **6** 10; **16** 4; 1 S **22** 18; Ezk **44** 17.18). Egyp priests are said to have worn linen robes (Herod. ii.37). In religious services by others than priests, white linen was also preferred, as in the case of the infant Samuel (1 S **2** 18), the Levite singers in the temple (2 Ch **5** 12), and even royal personages (2 S **6** 14; 1 Ch **15** 27). Accordingly, it was ascribed to angels (Ezk **9** 2.3.11; **10** 2.6.7; Dnl **10** 5; **12** 6.7). Fine linen, white and pure, is the raiment assigned to the armies which are in heaven following Him who is called Faithful and True (Rev **19** 14). It is deemed a fitting symbol of the righteousness and purity of the saints (Rev **19** 8).

4. Other Garments Garments of distinction were generally made of the same material: e.g. those which Pharaoh gave Joseph (Gen **41** 42), and those which Mordecai wore (Est **8** 15; cf also Lk **16** 19). Even a girdle of fine linen could be used by a prophet as a means of attracting attention to his message (Jer **13** 1). It is probable that linen wrappers of a coarser quality were used by men (Jgs **14** 12.13) and women (Prov **31** 22). The use of linen, however, for ordinary purposes probably suggested unbecoming luxury (Isa **3** 23; Ezk **16** 10.13; cf also Rev **18** 12.16). The poorer classes probably wore wrappers made either of unbleached flax or hemp (Ecclus **40** 4; Mk **14** 51). The use of a mixture called *sha'aṭnēz*, which is defined (Dt **22** 11) as linen and wool together, was forbidden in garments.

5. Shrouds The Egyptians used linen exclusively in wrapping their mummies (Herod. ii.86). As many as one hundred yards were used in one bandage. Likewise, the Hebrews seem to have preferred this material for winding-sheets for the dead, at least in the days of the NT (Mt **27** 59; Mk **15** 46; Lk **23** 53; Jn **19** 40; **20** 5 ff) and the Talm (Jerus *Killayim* **9** 32*b*).

6. Hangings The use of twisted linen (*shēsh moshzār*) for fine hangings dates back to an early period. It was used in the tabernacle (Ex **26** 1; **27** 9; **35; 36; 38;** Jos, *Ant*, III, vi, 2), in the temple (2 Ch **3** 14), and no doubt in other places (Mish, *Yōmā'*, iii.4). Linen cords for hangings are mentioned in the description of the palace of Ahasuerus at Shushan (Est **1** 6).

7. Other Uses Other uses are suggested, such as for sails, in the imaginary ship to which Tyre is compared (Ezk **27** 7), but judging from the extravagance of the other materials in the ship, it is doubtful whether we may infer that such valuable material as linen was ever actually used for this purpose. It is more likely, however, that it was used for coverings or tapestry (Prov **7** 16), and possibly in other instances where an even, durable material was needed, as in making measuring lines (Ezk **40** 3).

ELLA DAVIS ISAACS

LINTEL, lin′tel. See HOUSE, II, 1,(4).

LINUS, lī′nus (**Λίνος**, *Línos* [2 Tim **4** 21]): One of Paul's friends in Rome during his second and last imprisonment in that city. He was one of the few who remained faithful to the apostle, even when most of the Christians had forsaken him. And writing to Timothy when he realized that his execution could not be very far distant—for he was now ready to be offered, and the time of his departure was at hand (2 Tim **4** 6)—he sends greeting to Timothy from four friends whom he names, and Linus is one of them. There is a tradition that Linus was bishop of the church at Rome. "It is perhaps fair to assume, though of course there is no certainty of this, that the consecration of Linus to the government of the Rom church as its first bishop was one of the dying acts of the apostle Paul" (H.D.M. Spence, in Ellicott's *NT Comm.* on 2 Tim).

Irenaeus—bishop of Lyons about 178 AD—in his defence of orthodox doctrine against the Gnostics "appeals esp. to the bishops of Rome, as depositaries of the apostolic tradition." The list of Irenaeus commences with Linus, whom he identifies with the person of this name mentioned by St. Paul, and whom he states to have been "entrusted with the office of the bishopric by the apostles. . . . With the many possibilities of error, no more can safely be assumed of Linus . . . . than that he held some prominent position in the Rom church" (Lightfoot's "Dissertation on the Christian Ministry," in *Comm. on Phil*, 220 f).

"Considering the great rarity of this Gr mythological name as a proper name for persons, we can hardly doubt that here, as Irenaeus has directly asserted, the same Rom Christian is meant who, according to ancient tradition, became after Peter and Paul the first bishop of Rome. Among the mythical characters in Apos Const, vii, 46 occurs *Linos ho Klaudias*, who is declared to have been ordained by Paul as the first bishop of Rome. He is thus represented as the son or husband of the Claudia whose name comes after his in 2 Tim **4** 21.

"These meager statements have been enlarged upon by Eng. investigators. The Claudia mentioned here is, they hold, identical with the one who, according to Martial, married a certain Pudens (85–90 AD), and she, in turn, with the Claudia Rufina from Britain, who is then made out to be a daughter of the British king, Cogidumnus, or Titus Claudius Cogidubnus. For a refutation of these assumptions, which, even chronologically considered, are impossible, see Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, I, 76–79" (Zahn, *Intro to the NT*, 20).

JOHN RUTHERFURD

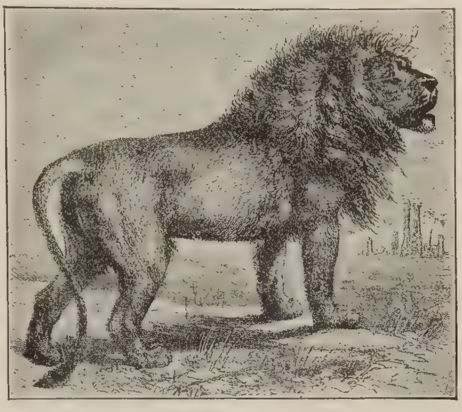
LION, lī′un: (1) Occurring oftenest in the OT is אַרְיֵה, *'aryēh*, pl. אֲרָיוֹת, *'ărāyōth*. Another form, אֲרִי, *'ărī*, pl. אֲרָיִים, *'ărāyīm*, is found less often.

1. Names

Cf אֲרִיאֵל, *'ărī'ēl*, "Ariel" (Ezr **8** 16; Isa **29** 1.2.7); הַרְאֵל, *ḥar'ēl*, "upper altar," and אֲרִאֵיל, *'ărī'ēl*, "altar hearth" (Ezk **43** 15 f); אַרְיֵה, *'aryēh*, "Arieh" (2 K **15** 25); אַרְאֵלִי, *'ar'ēlī*, "Areli" and "Arelites" (Gen **46** 16; Nu **26** 17). (2) כְּפִיר, *kephīr*, "young lion," often trd "lion" (Ps **35** 17; Prov **19** 12; **28** 1, etc). (3) שַׁחַל, *shaḥal*, trd "fierce lion" or "lion" (Job **4** 10; **10** 16; **28** 8; Hos **5** 14). (4) לַיִשׁ, *layish*, trd "old lion" or "lion" (Job **4** 11; Prov **30** 30; Isa **30** 6). Cf Arab. لَيْث, *laith*, "lion"; לַיִשׁ, *layish*, "Laish," or "Leshem" (Josh **19** 47; Jgs **18** 7.14.27.29); לַיִשׁ, *layish*, "Laish" (1 S **25** 44; 2 S **3** 15). (5) לְבִי, *lebhī*, pl. לְבָאִים, *lebhā'īm*, "lioness"; also לָבִיא, *lābhī'*, and לְבִיָּא, *lebhīyā'* (Gen **49** 9; Nu **23** 24; **24** 9); cf town in S. of Judah, Lebaoth (Josh **15** 32) or Beth-lebaoth (Josh **19** 6); also Arab. لَبْوَة, *labwat*, "lioness"; لَبْوَة, *Lebweh*, a town in Coele-Syria. (6) גּוּר, *gūr*, גֹּר, *gōr*, "whelp," with *'aryēh* or a pronoun, e.g. "Judah is a lion's whelp," *gūr 'aryēh* (Gen **49** 9); "young ones" of the jackal (Lam **4** 3). Also בְּנֵי לָבִיא, *benē lābhī'*, "whelps [sons] of the lioness" (Job **4** 11); and כְּפִיר אֲרָיוֹת, *kephīr 'ărāyōth*, "young lion," lit. "the young of lions" (Jgs **14** 5). In Job **28** 8, AV has "lion's whelps" for בְּנֵי שַׁחַץ, *benē shaḥaç*, RV "proud beasts." RVm "sons of pride"; cf Job **41** 34 (Heb 26). (7) λέων, *léōn*, "lion" (2 Tim **4** 17; He **11** 33; 1 Pet **5** 8; Rev **4** 7; **5** 5; Wisd **11** 17; Ecclus **4** 30; **13** 19; Bel 31.32.34). (8) σκύμνος, *skúmnos*, "whelp" (1 Macc **3** 4).

2. Natural History

The lion is not found in Pal at the present day, though in ancient times it is known to have inhabited not only Syria and Pal but also Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula, and its fossil remains show that it was contemporary with prehistoric man in Northwestern Europe and Great Britain. Its present range extends throughout Africa, and it is also found in Mesopotamia, Southern Persia, and the border of India. There is some reason to think that it may be found in Arabia, but its occurrence there remains to be proved. The Asiatic male lion does not usually have as large a mane as the African, but both belong to one species, *Felis leo.*



Lion (*Felis leo*).

3. Figurative

Lions are mentioned in the Bible for their strength (Jgs **14** 18), boldness (2 S **17** 10), ferocity (Ps **7** 2), and stealth (Ps **10** 9; Lam **3** 10). Therefore in prophetical references to the millennium, the lion, with the bear, wolf, and leopard, is mentioned as living in peace with the ox, calf, kid, lamb and the child (Ps **91** 13; Isa **11** 6–8; **65** 25). The roaring of the lion is often mentioned (Job **4** 10; Ps **104** 21; Isa **31** 4 [RV "growling"]; Jer **51** 38; Ezk **22** 25; Hos **11** 10). Judah is a "lion's whelp" (Gen **49** 9), likewise Dan (Dt **33** 22). It is said of certain of David's warriors (1 Ch **12** 8) that their "faces were like the faces of lions." David's enemy (Ps **17** 12) "is like a lion that is greedy of his prey." "The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion" (Prov **19** 12). God in His wrath is "unto Ephraim as a lion, and as a young lion to the house of Judah" (Hos **5** 14). "The devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour" (1 Pet **5** 8). "Lion" occurs in the **figurative** language of Ezk, Dnl, and Rev. The figures of lions were used in the decorations of Solomon's temple and throne (1 K **7** 29.36; **10** 19 f).

4. Narrative

Nearly all references to the lion are **figurative**. The only notices of the lion in narrative are of the lion slain by Samson (Jgs **14** 5); by David (1 S **17** 34 f); by Benaiah (2 S **23** 20; 1 Ch **11** 22); the prophet slain by a lion (1 K **13** 24; also 1 K **20** 36); the lions sent by the Lord among the settlers in Samaria (2 K **17** 25); Daniel in the lions' den (Dnl **6** 16). In all these cases the word used is *'aryēh* or *'ărī*.

5. Vocabulary

The Arab. language boasts hundreds of names for the lion. Many of these are, however, merely adjs. used substantively. The commonest Arab. names are *sab'*, *'asad*, *laith*, and *labwat*, the last two of which are identified above with the Heb *layish* and *lābhī'*. As in Arab., so in Heb, the richness of the language in this particular gives opportunity for variety of expression, as in Job **4** 10.11:

> "The roaring of the lion [*'aryēh*], and the voice of
> the fierce lion [*shaḥal*],

> And the teeth of the young lions [*kᵉphīrīm*], are broken.
> The old lion [*layish*] perisheth for lack of prey,
> And the whelps of the lioness [*bᵉnē lābhī'*] are scattered abroad."

In Jgs **14** 5–18, not less than three different terms, *kᵉphīr 'ărāyōth*, *'aryēh*, and *'ărī*, are used of Samson's lion. Alfred Ely Day

LIP (שָׂפָה, *sāphāh*, שֶׂפֶת, *sepheth*, "lip," "language," "speech," "talk" [also "rim," "border," "shore," "bank," etc], שָׂפָם, *sāphām*, "[upper] lip," "moustache," "beard"; **χεῖλος**, *cheílos*, "lip" [also once, "shore" in the quotation He **11** 12=Gen **22** 17]): (1) Lips stand in oriental idiom for speech or language, like "mouth," "tongue"; therefore they stand in parallelism. "The lip of truth shall be established for ever; but a lying tongue is but for a moment" (Prov **12** 19). "To shoot out the lip" (Ps **22** 7) means to make a mocking, contemptuous, scornful face. As the lips are the chief instrument of speech, we find numerous idiomatic phrases for "speaking," such as: "the utterance of the lips" (Nu **30** 6.8), "to proceed out of the lips" (Nu **30** 12), "to open the lips" (Job **32** 20), "to go out of the lips" (Ps **17** 1). These expressions do not convey, as a rule, the idea that the utterance proceeds merely out of the lips, and that it lacks sincerity and the consent of the heart, but occasionally this is intended, e.g. "This people draw nigh unto me, and with their mouth and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me" (Isa **29** 13; cf Mt **15** 8). The "fruit of the lips" (Isa **57** 19=He **13** 15) and "calves of the lips" (Hos **14** 2 AV) designate the praise and thanksgiving due to God. "Fervent [AV "burning"] lips" (Prov **26** 23) are synonymous with eloquence. "To refrain the lips" (Ps **40** 9; Prov **10** 19) means to keep silence, where the godless or unwise would wish to assert his rights.

Numerous other expressions need no further explanation, such as "perverse lips" (Prov **4** 24), "uncircumcised lips" (Ex **6** 12.30), "feigned lips" (Ps **17** 1), "lying lips" (Ps **31** 18; Prov **10** 18; **12** 22), "wicked [or false] lips" (Prov **17** 4), "unclean lips" (Isa **6** 5), "strange [AV "stammering"] lips" (Isa **28** 11), "flattering lips" (Ps **12** 2.3; Prov **7** 21), "righteous lips" (Prov **16** 13).

(2) The Heb word *sāphām* is found only in the phrase "to cover the lip or lips," which is an expression of mourning, submission and shame. The Oriental covers his lips with his hand or a portion of his garment, when he has been sunk into deep grief and sorrow. He expresses, thereby, that he cannot open his mouth at the visitation of God. Differently, however, from common mourners, Ezekiel was forbidden of God "to cover his lips" (Ezk **24** 17; see also ver 22), i.e. to mourn in the usual way over Israel's downfall, as Israel had brought these judgments upon himself. The leper, victim of an incurable disease, walks about with rent clothes and hair disheveled, covering his lips, crying: "Unclean, unclean!" (Lev **13** 45). The thought here is that even the breath of such a one may defile. The prophet calls upon all seers and diviners, to whom God has refused the knowledge of the future, to cover their lips in shame and confusion (Mic **3** 7). H. L. E. Luering

LIQUOR, lik'ẽr: Every sort of intoxicating liquor except the beverage prepared from the juice of the grape (*yayin*), according to the usage of the OT, is comprehended under the generic term שֵׁכָר, *shēkhār* (cf *shākhar*, to "be drunk"), rendered "strong drink" (cf Gr *síkera* in Lk **1** 15). The two terms, *yayin* and *shēkhār*, "wine" and "strong drink," are often found together and are used by OT writers as an exhaustive classification of the beverages in use among the ancient Hebrews (Lev **10** 9; 1 S **1** 15; Prov **20** 1, etc). See Wine; Drink, Strong.

LIST: A variant of "lust" (see Lust), meaning "to wish," found in AV of Mt **17** 12 ‖ Mk **9** 13; Jn **3** 8, as tr of *θέλω*, *thélō*, and in Jas **3** 4 as tr of *βούλομαι*, *boúlomai*. The last case ERV has rendered "will," and ARV has made the same change throughout. The word is obsolete in modern Eng., but Jn **3** 8 is still used proverbially, "The wind bloweth where it listeth."

LITERATURE, lit'ẽr-a-ţūr, **SUB-APOSTOLIC**, sub-ap-os-tol'ik (**Christian**):

I. Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians
    1. Authorship and Date
    2. Occasion and Contents
    3. Apologetic Testimony
    4. Doctrinal Testimony
    5. Office-Bearers and Organization
    6. Ritual
II. The *Didache*
    1. Disappearance and Recovery
    2. Date
    3. Standpoint, Authorship and Object
    4. Testimony to NT Writings
    5. Contents and Notabilia
III. Epistles of Ignatius
    1. Author and Date
    2. Genuineness
    3. Leading Ideas
    4. Other Notabilia
IV. Epistles of Polycarp
    1. Date and Genuineness
    2. Occasion and Contents
    3. Notabilia
V. Papias Fragments
    1. Author and Date
    2. Testimony to St. Matthew and St. Mark
    3. Other Notabilia
VI. Epistle of Barnabas
    1. Authorship
    2. Date
    3. Object and Contents
    4. Notabilia
VII. Pastor of Hermas
    1. Authorship and Date
    2. Object and Contents
    3. Notabilia
VIII. Second Epistle of Clement
    1. Nature and Document
    2. Date and Authorship
    3. Contents
    4. Notabilia
IX. Apology of Aristides
    1. Recovery and Date
    2. Contents
    3. Notabilia
X. Justin Martyr
    1. Incidents of Life
    2. First Apology
    3. Second Apology
    4. Dialogue with Trypho the Jew
    5. Notabilia
XI. Epistle to Diognetus
    1. Date and Authorship
    2. Contents

Literature

The Sub-apostolic Age is usually held to extend from the death of St. John, the last surviving apostle, about 100 AD, to the death of Polycarp, St. John's aged disciple (155–56 AD). The Christian literature of this period, although as a whole of only moderate intrinsic value, is of historical interest and importance. This is owing to the light which it throws back on apostolic times, and the testimony borne to Christian life, thought, worship, work and organization during an age when the church was under the guidance, mainly, of men who had been associated with the apostles and who might be supposed, therefore, to know their mind. Some writings are omitted from this review, having been dealt with in previous articles. For the Protevangelium of James and the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter see Apocryphal Gospels; Apocryphal Acts. For an account of extant fragments of Basilides and Valentinus, see Gnosticism. For pseudo-Clementine writings see Peter, Epistles of; Simon Magus.

1. Authorship and Date

I. Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.—Only the larger part had previously been extant, when the complete ep. was recovered in 1875 by Bryennios, bishop of Nicomedia. The high honor in which it was held by early Christendom is attested (1) by its position in Codex A, at the end of the NT, and in an ancient Syr MS, between the Catholic and Pauline Epp.; (2) by its being publicly read in many churches down to the 4th cent. (*HE*, III, 16). The work is anonymous, but sent in the name of the Rom church. Dionysius of Corinth (170 AD) refers to it as written by the agency of (*diá*) Clement (*HE*, IV, 23); Clement of Alexandria states distinctly the Clementine authorship (*Strom.*, iv.17). The writer is evidently a leading office-bearer of his church, and is identified with the Clement whom Eusebius designates as third "bishop" (or chief presbyter) of Rome after St. Peter, and as holding office between 92 and 101 AD (*HE*, III, 34). Clement is further identified by Origen (*Comm. on St. John*) and in *HE*, III, 15 with the Clement of Phil **4** 3; but the name is too common and the interval too long to render this identity more than possible. Some conjecture the writer to be the consul, Flavius Clemens, whom Domitian (his cousin) put to death in 95 AD for alleged "atheism," i.e. probably, profession of Christianity (see Harnack, *Gesch. Lit.*, I, 253, note 1). But Clement the "bishop" is never otherwise referred to as a martyr, and a member of the imperial family would hardly have been head of the Rom church without so signal a fact being noted by some contemporary or later writer. Lightfoot, with some probability, supposes (*Apostolic Fathers*, I, 61) that Clement was a "freedman or the son of a freedman, belonging to the household of Flavius Clemens." From St. Paul's time (Phil **4** 22) the imperial household included Christians; and many slaves were men of culture. To such a Christian freedman's influence the consul's conversion may have been due. Internal evidence points to Clement having been a Hellenist Jew or proselyte of Judaism; for he writes with some classical culture and with knowledge of OT history and of the LXX; his style, moreover, has a "strong Hebraistic tinge" (Lightfoot, p. 59). The date of the ep. is fixed approximately by a reference to a persecution at Rome in progress or very recent; this persecution (during Clement's "episcopate") was doubtless that by Domitian in 95 AD. Clement's Ep. is thus not strictly within the Sub-apostolic Age, but it is uniformly included in sub-apostolic literature.

2. Occasion and Contents

The occasion was a church feud at Corinth, and the expulsion of some faithful presbyters. The writer seeks to procure their restoration and to heal the dissension. He quotes OT examples of the evil issue of envy and strife, and of the blessedness of humility, submission and concord. He adduces as a pattern the peace and harmony of Nature. In this connection occurs an anticipation of geographical discovery, when the author writes (ch xx) of "the impassable ocean and the worlds beyond it" (cf Seneca, *Medea* ii.375; Strabo i.4; Plut. *Mor.* ix.41). St. Paul's warnings in 1 Cor about party spirit are recalled; a not unworthy echo of 1 Cor **13** is embodied; and the erring community is solemnly admonished.

In the course of the letter, with obvious reference to 1 Cor **15**, Clement introduces the resurrection, for which he argues from the OT and from natural analogies. He refers to the phoenix which lives 500 years, and, when dissolution approaches, builds a nest of spices into which it enters to die. As the flesh decays, however, a "worm is generated, which is nurtured from the dead bird's moisture and putteth forth wings." The fable is mentioned by Herodotus and Pliny.

A lengthy prayer of intercession for "all sorts and conditions of men" is abruptly introduced near the end, in order, presumably, to imbue Corinthian Christians with that charity which they needed and which is the chief incentive to intercession. The ep. closes with a hopeful anticipation of restored concord and peace.

3. Apologetic Testimony

Apologetic testimony is found to (1) books of the NT, viz. to the Pauline authorship of 1 Cor; to St. Mark's Gospel, through which (ch xv) he quotes Isa **29** 13, reproducing St. Mark's variations from the LXX; to Acts, through which he similarly quotes (ch xviii) 1 S **13** 14; to Rom, Eph, 1 Tim, Tit, Jas, 1 Pet (chs xxxv, xlvi, xxi, ii, xlvi, xlix, respectively). The ∥s between Clement and He are so numerous that the latter work has from early times been ascribed to him by some (*HE*, VI, 25). But the general type both of thought and of diction is dissimilar; (2) against the Tübingen theory of essential divergence between the doctrine of St. Peter and of St. Paul. The chief presbyter of Rome could not have been ignorant of such divergence; yet he refers the partisanship of which the two apostles were victims entirely to the Corinthians, not at all to the apostles (ch xlix).

4. Doctrinal Testimony

Doctrinal testimony is found: (1) to the Trinity, "As God liveth and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit" (ch lviii); (2) to the personality of Christ, "The Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the majesty forever." In union and communion with Christ we have life, are sanctified, possess love, manifest godliness (ch i, xxxvi); (3) to the atonement: Clement ascribes to Christ's death not merely subjective moral influence, but objective vicarious efficacy in securing our salvation, without any attempt, however, to explain the mystery. Christ hath "given his flesh for our flesh, his life for our lives" (ch xlix); (4) to justification which is distinctly enunciated as before God through faith (ch xxxii). But this faith (as in St. Paul's writings) is a "faith which worketh" (ch xxxv), and such justification is consistent with our being justified by works before men; (5) to the inspiration of Scripture, which is real ("the Holy Spirit saith"), but not verbal; for quotations are often inexact. Apocryphal books are quoted, but not with a formula indicating Divine authority.

5. Office-Bearers and Organization

(1) The basis of authority is not sacerdotal, but a combination of official succession and popular call; office-bearers are appointed "by the apostles or afterward by men of repute with consent of the whole ecclesia." (2) Clement indicates no distinction between presbyter and bishop. Office-bearers designated as presbyters (chs xlvii, liv) are referred to (chs xlii, xliv) as filling the office of bishop. Addressing a church on congregational strife and insubordination, he refers to no single bishop in authority over the church. Had the episcopate, in the post-NT sense of mono-episcopate, been apostolically enjoined, surely the injunction would have been obeyed or enforced in Corinth. (3) None the less we discern in Clement's own position and action the anticipation of the later episcopate. Clement is an example of how, through the personal qualities and ecclesiastical services of the man, the status of presiding presbyter developed out of seniority into superiority, out of representativeness into official authority. (4) The early germ of the papacy is disclosed in the passage: "If certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by God through us, let them understand that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and peril" (ch lix).

Such assumption by a revered man like Clement might give no offence, and the Corinthians plainly needed correction. Still we have here the first stage in the process which ultimately issued in the Rom claim to universal spiritual supremacy. The assumption, however, is not grounded on Clement's own official position (he speaks always in the 1st person pl.), but on the superior dignity of the Rom church. The later theory of supremacy builds Rom authority on the primacy of St. Peter and his successors; but here the authority of the leading presbyter, in dealing with a provincial church, rests on the suggested primacy of the ecclesia in which he presides.

6. Ritual

(1) The long prayer (chs lix–lxi) bears internal evidence of liturgical character, through its balanced and rhythmical style, its somewhat remote relevance to the special object of the ep., and greater suitability for congregational worship, than as part of a counsel to a sister church. This internal testimony is confirmed by the correspondence of the prayer in certain verbal details with the earliest extant liturgies, particularly those of St. Mark and St. James, pointing to the early use in the Rom church of forms of prayer afterward incorporated into these liturgies. While there is evidence that down at least to the time (148 AD) of Justin's 1st *Apology* (ch lxvii) a minister offered up prayers of his own composition, this prayer of Clement's Ep. indicates that before the close of the Apostolic Age, forms of supplication had begun to be introduced, not to the exclusion of "free prayer," but simply as a mode of congregational devotion countenanced by a venerated leader of the church at Rome. (2) In ch lvi Clement writes about "compassionate remembrance of them [i.e. the erring brethren] before God and the saints." By the saints, however, are most probably meant, not the beatified dead, but the living Christian brotherhood, as in 1 Cor **1** 2; 2 Cor **8** 4.

This ep. leaves on readers' minds two different yet mutually compatible impressions—impressions both apparently made on the early church, by which the letter was widely read at public worship and yet excluded from the Canon of Scriptures. We realize, on the one hand, the inferiority of this writing to epp. of apostles. Clement's mind is receptive, not creative; and the freshness of thought characteristic of NT writers is absent. What NT book, moreover, contains such a foolish legend as that of the phoenix? On the other hand, this ep. breathes much of the spirit, as it adopts in considerable measure the phraseology and style of apostolic writings. It is as if, although the sun of special inspiration had sunk below the horizon, there remained to the church for a while a spiritual afterglow.

1. Disappearance and Recovery

II. The "Didache" or Teaching (longer title, "The Teaching of the Lord, by [*diá*] the XII Apostles, to the Gentiles").—This work is quoted as "Scripture," without being named, by Clement of Alexandria (c 170 AD, in *Strom.*, i.20). It is mentioned in *HE*, III, 25 as the "Teachings so-called of the Apostles," "recognized by most ecclesiastical writers," although "not a genuine" composition of apostles. Athanasius (*Fest. Ep.*, 39) denies its canonicity, but acknowledges its utility. The latest ancient reference to the work from personal knowledge is by Nicephoros (9th cent.) who includes it among apocryphal writings. Thenceforth it disappears until its recent recovery in 1875 by Bryennios.

2. Date

There is no reliable external testimony to date. Resemblances too considerable to be accidental exist between the *Didache* and the Ep. of Barnabas; but opinion is divided as to priority of composition. Lightfoot and others favor a common lost source. As to internal evidence the simplicity of the Eucharist and of baptism as here described, with no formal admission to the catechumenate (ch vii); the use of "bishop" to denote the same office-bearer as presbyter; and the expectation of an impending Second Advent—point to an early date. On the other hand it is unlikely that a writing which professes to give the Teaching of the Twelve would be issued until all or most apostles had passed away; and the writer seems to be acquainted with writings of St. John (*Did.*, ix.2; x.2; x.5; see Schaff, *Oldest Church Manual*, 90). Probably the document went through a series of recensions (Harnack in *Sch-Herz;* Bartlet in *DB*, V), and the date or dates of composition may be put between 80 and 120 AD.

3. Standpoint, Authorship and Object

The work does not profess to be written by apostles; but the author seems to be a Jewish Christian, for he calls Friday "Preparation Day," and the style and diction are Hebraic. The work is neither Judaistic nor Ebionite: circumcision, the Sabbath, and special Mosaic observances, are ignored. From the book in whole or in part being addressed specially, although not exclusively, to Gentiles, we infer that the community among whom it was composed, while mainly Jewish Christian, made special provision for conversion and instruction of Gentiles. The doctrinal standpoint is neither Pauline nor anti-Pauline, but resembles that of Jas. Canon Spence (*Teaching*) conjectures plausibly that the author may be Simeon, cousin of James the Lord's brother, who became chief presbyter of the Jewish Christian community, first at Jerus, afterward at Pella, until his martyrdom in 107 AD.

4. Testimony to NT Writings

Mt was certainly in the writer's hands; for the *Didache* contains 22 quotations from, or reminiscences of, that Gospel, extending over ten chs of it. Particularly notable is *Did.*, viii.2, "Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel; after this manner pray ye, Our Father," etc (see also vii.1; ix.5; xvi.6). There are also references to the Gospel of Lk (*Did.*, iii.5, 16); St. John's writings (see above); Acts (*Did.*, iv.8), Rom (*Did.*, iv.5), 2 Thess (*Did.*, xiv.1), 1 Pet (*Did.*, i.4). No extra-canonical saying of Our Lord is recorded.

5. Contents and Notabilia

The contents and notabilia may be examined as follows: (1) *Didactic* (chs i–vi), intended for catechumens in preparation for baptism. This catechetical manual (the earliest of its kind) opens with the words: "There are two ways: one of life and one of death" (suggested probably by Jer **21** 8). From this text the writer gives a summary of Christian duty esp. toward our neighbor, based on the Decalogue, the Golden Rule, and the Sermon on the Mount, which is frequently quoted.

Among notable precepts is a command to fast as well as pray for enemies; a warning against infanticide which, in the case of sickly infants, heathenism approved, and against augury and astrology as generating idolatry; an admonition not to "stretch out one's hands for receiving and to draw them in for giving"; an injunction to "share all things with thy brethren, and not to say that they are thine own"; a command to "love some above thine own life"; and a quaint corrective against indiscriminate and ill-informed beneficence: "Let thine alms sweat into thy hands until thou know to whom thou shouldest give." A precept to "give with thy hands a ransom for sin" may not mean more than that sinful habits are subdued by good works, but it suggests and paves the way for the error of the atoning efficacy of almsgiving. The summary of duty relates chiefly to the second Table of the Law; duty toward God is afterward (so far) dealt with under "worship." This may account for obedience to parents being strangely omitted; for among the Jews the Fifth Commandment was included in the First Table.

(2) *Devotional: worship and rites* (*chs vii–x, xiv*).—The Lord's Prayer is to be used thrice a day. "Heaven" and "debt" are found instead of "heavens" and "debts." The Doxology is added (with "kingdom" omitted)—its earliest recorded use in this connection. Christians are to fast on Wednesday and Friday, the days of the betrayal and crucifixion. Fasting is enjoined for a day or two

before baptism, both on baptizer and on baptized; it is recommended to "others who can." There is no mention of oil, salt, or exorcism. The baptismal formula, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," is commanded, confirming the historical trustworthiness of Mt **28** 19. Triple immersion in "living water" is assumed to be normal; but where this is impracticable, other water and affusion are permitted (see Trine Immersion). The Lord's Supper is dealt with only on its eucharistic side, the writer's object being not to expound the nature of the rite, but to give models of thanksgiving.

The phrase, "after being filled give thanks," suggests that the Agape was still associated with the sacrament: the dissociation had begun when Pliny wrote to Trajan in 112 AD. A liturgical element in sacramental worship is indicated by the prescription of forms of thanksgiving for the cup, the broken bread, and spiritual mercies. "Give thanks thus." The thanksgiving for the cup is as follows: "We give thanks to thee our Father, for the holy vine of David, thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus Christ." But nothing suggests that the entire service is liturgical, and the forms supplied are not rigidly imposed; for prophets are to offer thanks in such terms as they choose. On the Lord's Day congregational worship and eucharistic bread-breaking, after confession to God and reconciliation with men, are distinctly enjoined.

(3) *Ecclesiastical* (*chs xi–xiii, xv*).—Of church office-bearers, two classes are mentioned, ordinary and extraordinary. Of the former (essential to congregational organization) only bishops and deacons are mentioned, i.e. those intrusted with rule and oversight, with their assistants. Presbyter and bishop appear to be still identical, as the former is not specified (cf Phil **1** 1). Popular election of these functionaries is indicated: "Elect for yourselves"; without denial, however, of those already in office having a share in the settlement. In the second class, apostles, prophets and teachers are included. "Apostle" is used, not in the narrower sense of men called to the office personally by Christ, but in the wider sense which embraces all whose call to be His ambassadors has been signalized by Divine gifts—specially accredited evangelists unconnected with any particular community. (Among Jewish Christians the designation survived to the 4th cent., for the Theodosian Code of that period refers to Jewish presbyters and to those "quos ipsi apostolos vocant.") These apostles were to be received "as the Lord," and hospitably entertained; but, unlike apostles in the special sense, they were not to remain anywhere longer than "one or two days." Their function was to scatter the seed widely, and any expression of desire to remain longer was to be discouraged, while a demand for salary from a particular community would be evidence of false apostleship. The special function of prophets and teachers, on the other hand, was the instruction and comfort of church members. They accordingly might be encouraged to settle in a community and receive "first-fruits" for their support. These prophets and teachers, however, were not to supersede the "bishops" or presbyters in ruling, but were to undertake only those functions for which they were specially qualified. On the other hand, bishops and deacons were not to be excluded from preaching and teaching by the settlement of prophets and official teachers in particular communities; and in the *Did.* may be traced the transition, then being gradually accomplished, of the preaching and teaching functions from extraordinary to ordinary office-bearers. "They also [the bishops and deacons] minister to you the ministry of prophets and teachers: therefore despise them not." Even before the close of St. Paul's ministry, the *episkopos*, whose essential function was rule and oversight, was expected, if not required, also to be *didaktikós*, "qualified to teach," i.e. along with teachers specially set apart for the purpose (1 Tim **3** 2; **5** 17). By the middle of the 2d cent., the prophets had disappeared, and their preaching function had been vested in the office of bishop or presbyter, assisted by the diaconate.

(4) *Eschatological* (*ch xvi*).—This concluding section consists chiefly of exhortations to watchfulness in view of the Second Advent. The premonitory signs of that Coming are given, with reminiscences from Christ's eschatological discourses, viz. rise of false prophets, decline of love, persecution, lawlessness, and the appearance of Antichrist, who is designated the World-deceiver. Without definitely stating chiliastic doctrine, the writer suggests it; for in referring to the immediate signals of Christ's advent (opening in heaven, voice of trumpet, resurrection of dead) he is careful to add "Not of *all* the dead; but the Lord shall come, and all the saints with Him"—implying that the general resurrection would take place at an after-stage, presumably, as Millennialists held, after the 1,000 years had expired. Without dogmatic authority, and with only moderate spiritual value, the *Did.* is important historically as a witness to the church's beliefs, usages and condition during the transition between the Apostolic and the Post-apostolic Age. During that transition period, we see much of the freedom of primitive Christianity mingled with rudiments of ecclesiastical regulations and formularies; and while we cannot assume that every belief and usage recorded in the *Did.* were sanctioned by apostles, we may reasonably ascribe them to apostolic times, and regard them as not opposed by those apostles within whose view they must have come.

III. Epistles of Ignatius.—Ignatius was bishop of Antioch early in the 2d cent. Origen (*Hom.* vi on Lk) refers to him as "second after St. Peter"; Euodius came between (*HE*, III, 22). As he calls himself *éktrōma*, "untimely born" (cf 1 Cor **15** 8), he was probably converted in mature life: the legend of his being the "child" of Mt **18** 3 rests on misinterpretation of his designation "Theophoros." Traditions current in the 4th cent. represent him as a disciple of St. John (Eus., *Chron.*) and ordained by St. Paul (Apos Const, vii.46).

1. Author and Date

The *Martyrium* of Ignatius (6th cent.) dates his trial at Antioch in the 9th year of Trajan's reign (107–8 AD) and represents it as conducted before the emperor. Only one visit, however, of Trajan to Antioch is known, in 114–15; neither any Ignatian letter nor Eusebius, nor any other early writer refers to so memorable a circumstance as the presidency of an emperor over a Christian's trial, and Ignatius speaks of a proposed attempt by Rom friends to secure a reversal of the sentence, which would have been impossible had Trajan personally pronounced it. His alleged presence, therefore, must be rejected as a later embellishment.

The epp., so far as genuine, were written after Ignatius' condemnation, on his way to martyrdom at Rome.

2. Genuineness

The epp. are extant in 3 edd: (1) the longer Gr, of 15 letters now admitted to be largely spurious; (2) a Syr recension of three letters, now generally held to be a mere epitome; (3) the shorter Gr ed, containing 7 letters of intermediate length, to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, Smyrnaeans, Romans, and Polycarp. Lightfoot, Zahn, and most recent critics accept the substantial genuineness of these seven. The chief external evidence is that of Polycarp (*Phil.*, xiii), who, soon after Ignatius' death, writes of a letter addressed to himself, of another to the Smyrnaeans, and of "all the rest which we have by us." Now 2 Ignatian epp. are addressed to Polycarp and the Christians of Smyrna, while 4 profess to be written by Ignatius at Smyrna, harmonizing well with copies of these being in Polycarp's possession.

Further external evidence is supplied by Irenaeus (v.29) who quotes a saying from Ignat., *Rom.*, iv, as that of a martyr, and who uses 8 notable phrases borrowed apparently from Ignatius. This external testimony (only got rid of by an arbitrary assumption of Polycarp's Ep. being wholly or partly spurious) is supported by strong internal and cumulative evidence:

(1) Frequent *grammatical dislocation*, natural in letters written on a journey but unaccountable on the supposition of a later forgery (*Rom.*, i; *Mag.*, ii; *Eph.*, i).

(2) *Geographical particulars:* e.g. Ignatius goes by land from Antioch to Smyrna—an unusual route which a forger would hardly invent.

(3) *Historical illustrations:* e.g. conveyance of prisoners from distant provinces to Rome harmonizes with the account by Dion Cassius (lxviii.15) of the magnitude of amphitheatrical exhibitions under Trajan causing extensive orders for human victims from all parts.

(4) *Theological evidence:* e.g. these epp. refer to Judaistic error combined with a type of doctrine denying any real incarnation—a combination which ceased after Ignatius' time.

(5) *Ecclesiastical usage:* thus, the Agapē still includes the Eucharist (*Smyr.*, viii), whereas soon after Ignatius' death these were separated (Pliny, *Ep.* 96; Just., 1 *Ap.*, 65,67).

(6) *Personal references.*—The writer shows an excess and affectation of self-depreciation—"last of Antiochene Christians" (*Trall.*, xiii) "not worthy to be counted one of the brotherhood" (*Rom.*, ix)—such as a later forger would hardly have introduced.

3. Leading Ideas

(1) *Joy and glory of martyrdom.*—Heroic courage and loyalty to Christ are united with fanatical craving after a martyr's death: "I would rather die for Christ than reign over the whole earth" (*Rom.*, vi); "He who is near the sword is near to God" (*Smyr.*, iv). This is noble; but when he writes, "Entice wild beasts to become my sepulchre" (*Rom.*, iv); "May I have joy of the wild beasts and find them prompt"; "Though they be unwilling I will force them" (*Rom.*, iv.5), we realize how Aurelius (recalling perhaps some such case) was moved to write that "death was to be encountered, not as by the Christians like a military display, but solemnly, and not as if one acted in a tragedy" (*Med.* xi.3).

(2) *Evil and peril of heresy and schism.*—"Abstain from heresy"; "These heretics mix up Jesus Christ with their own poison" (*Trall.*, vi); "Flee those evil outshoots, which produce death-bearing fruit" (*Trall.*, xi); "Avoid all divisions as the beginning of evils"; "Nothing is better than unity" (*To Polyc.*, i; *Phil.*, iii).

(3) *Submission to office-bearers, esp. to the bishop.*—"Do nothing without your bishop, and be subject to the presbyters" (*Mag.*, vii); "Be on your guard against heresy: and this will be, if ye continue in intimate union with Christ and with the bishop"; "He who does anything without the bishop's knowledge serveth the devil" (*Smyr.*, ix). The bishop here is higher than "primus inter pares"; he is a new and separate office-bearer. Yet, without going beyond these epp., we discern that such an episcopate was not an express apostolic institution. For had Ignatius been able to magnify the office as apostolically enjoined, so zealous a champion of episcopal authority would have adduced such injunction as the most cogent reason for submission. His zeal for the episcopate apparently sprang only from its high ecclesiastical expediency as the most effective agency for maintaining the church's unity against heresy and schism.

4. Other Notabilia

(1) *The Gospel of Jn* is never quoted, but numerous phrases suggest that it was in the writer's hands. He speaks of Christ "proceeding from the Father," "doing nothing without the Father," "in all things pleasing Him who sent Him." Christ is the "Door of the Father" and "Living water." Satan is the "Prince of this world." "The Holy Spirit knoweth whence He cometh and whither He goeth."

(2) *Doctrine.*—Ignatius asserts emphatically Christ's true Divinity: "Our God" (*Eph.*, xviii; *Trall*, vii). The Trinity is frequently suggested, although not expressly affirmed. Christians are "established in the Son, the Father, and the Spirit"; "subject to Christ and the Father, and the Spirit." With strong support of episcopal authority no sacerdotalism is united. "Priest" occurs only once, "The priests are good: but Christ, the High Priest, is better." Here, as the context shows, the imperfect Levitical priesthood is contrasted with the perfect high-priesthood of Christ.

(3) *Ecclesiastical usage.*—Ignatius contains one of the latest references to the Agapē as still conjoined with the Eucharist. The letter to Polycarp (ch iv) contains the earliest allusion to the practice of redeeming Christian slaves at the cost of the congregation. Slaves are not to "long to be set free," thus implying that such emancipation, while not required as a duty, was often conferred as a privilege.

(4) *General characteristics.*—Ignatius presents a striking contrast, as a writer, to Clement. Clement is calm, cultured, chaste in diction, but somewhat commonplace and deficient in originality; his best passages are echoes of Scripture. The diction and style of Ignatius are impassioned, rugged, turgid, but pithy, fresh and individualistic.

IV. Epistle of Polycarp.

1. Date and Genuineness

IV. Epistle of Polycarp.—Polycarp was born not later, perhaps considerably earlier, than 70 AD; for at his martyrdom, of which the now accepted date is 155 or 156 (Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II, i, 629), he declared, when invited to abjure his faith, that he had "served Christ for 86 years" (*Mart. Pol.*, ix). He was a disciple of St. John, who ordained him as bishop or leading presbyter of Smyrna before 100 AD (Iren., iii.3, 4). Of several letters by Polycarp, only this ep. remains: it professes (ch xiii) to have been written soon after the martyrdom of Ignatius. The genuineness of the letter is attested by Irenaeus, Polycarp's own disciple (l.c.), whose evidence cannot be set aside on the ground of its testimony to the Ignatian letters without an obvious begging of the question. The supposition that the Ignatian letters and Polycarp's Ep. are parts of one great forgery is otherwise negatived by the very marked difference of style and standpoint between those writings (Lightfoot, l.c., 577).

2. Occasion and Contents

The ep. replies to a letter from the Philippian church inviting his counsel, and asking for epp. of the recently martyred Ignatius. He acknowledges their kind ministry to that martyr and to others, "entwined with saintly fetters," who had "set a pattern of all patience." He sends what he has of the letters of Ignatius and asks in return for any information which they might possess. He commends to their careful study St. Paul's ep. to themselves, acknowledging his inability to attain to the apostle's wisdom. With much Scripture language, interwoven with his own matter, and giving to his letter the semblance of an apostolic echo, he exhorts his readers to righteousness and godliness, charity and mercy, and warns them against covetousness, evil-speaking and revenge. He dwells on the mutual relations and obligations of presbyters and deacons, on the one hand, and of the congregation on the other. He repeats St. John's admonition against teachers who denied the reality of the incarnation: "Every spirit that confesseth not," etc (1 Jn **4** 3). He grieves over the lapse of a Philippian presbyter, Valens, who, along with his wife had flagrantly sinned; but he bids his readers not count such as enemies, but seek to recall them from their wanderings.

3. Notabilia

(1) Polycarp mentions only one book of the NT, viz. Phil, but within the brief compass of 200 lines he quotes verses or reproduces phrases from 12 NT writings, Mt, 1 Pet, 1 Jn, and 9 Pauline Epp., including three whose early date has been disputed in modern times (1 and 2 Tim and Eph). The absence of any quotation from the Gospel of Jn is notable, considering his relation to the apostle; but the shortness of the letter prevents any conclusion being drawn against the authenticity of that Gospel; and he quotes (as we have seen) from 1 Jn, which is a kind of appendix to the Gospel (Lightfoot).

(2) At a time when Ignatius had been emphasizing

the paramount duty of submission to the bishop, Polycarp, even when enjoining subjection to presbyters, does not mention a bishop. These two inferences are irresistible: (*a*) there was then no *episkopos*, in the post-NT, sense, at Philippi; (*b*) Polycarp did not consider the defect (?) sufficiently important to ask the Philippians to supply it. Had St. John instituted the mono-episcopate as the one proper form of church government, surely his disciple Polycarp would have embraced the opportunity, when the Philippians invited his counsel, to inform them of the apostolic ordinance, and to enjoin its adoption.

V. Papias Fragments.—Papias is called by his younger contemporary Irenaeus (v.33) a "disciple of John and friend of Polycarp."

1. Author and Date

Eusebius writes (*HE*, III, 36) that he was *episkopos* of Hierapolis in Phrygia. The *Chronicon Paschale* (7th cent., but embodying materials from older documents) states that he was martyred about the same time as Polycarp (155–56). His work, *Exposition of Our Lord's Sayings*, was extant in the 13th cent., but only fragments quoted by Irenaeus, Eusebius, etc, remain. These bear out the twofold description of Papias by Eusebius, as a "man of little judgment" yet "most learned and well acquainted with the Scriptures" (*HE*, III, 39, 36). (But the words of praise in ver 36 may be a gloss.) Papias states that he subjoins to his expositions "whatsoever I learned carefully from the elders and treasured up in my memory . . . . I was wont to put questions regarding the words of the elders [i.e. presumably men of an earlier generation], what Andrew or Peter said, or what Philip or Thomas, or James, or what John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples said, as well as regarding what Aristion, and the presbyter John, the disciple of the Lord, have to say."

It is disputed whether Papias here refers to two Johns, the apostle and another disciple of the same name; or to John the apostle in two different relations, i.e. first as one about whose testimony Papias heard from others, and second, as one with whom, also, he held personal communication. In favor of the first view is, (1) Eusebius' own opinion (l.c.); (2) the alleged unlikelihood of the same John being twice mentioned in one sentence; (3) a statement by Eusebius (*HE*, III, 39) that in his day two monuments (*mnēmata*) of "John" existed at Ephesus. For the latter view is, (1) no other writer until Eusebius hints the existence of a presbyter John distinct from the apostle; (2) the change in the quotation from "said" to "say" seems to give a reason for John being twice mentioned; some things stated by John having been heard by Papias through "elders," others having been told him by the apostle himself. The fact that John is called presbyter, instead of apostle, is no insuperable objection, since John so designates himself in 2 and 3 Jn; and Jerome denies that the two *mnēmata* were both *tombs*. See Lightfoot, *Essay on Papias*, and Nicol, *Four Gospels*, 187 ff, who come to divergent conclusions.

2. Testimony to St. Matthew and St. Mark

On the testimony to St. Matthew and St. Mark see MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF; MARK, GOSPEL OF.

(1) According to Eusebius, Papias relates the story of "a woman accused before Our Lord"—the story, presumably, which eventually crept into Jn 8; so that to him, in part, is due the preservation of a narrative, which, whether historical or not, finely illustrates the union in Our Lord of holy purity and merciful charity.

3. Other Notabilia

(2) Papias is quoted by the Chronicler Georgius Hamartolos (in a MS of the 9th cent.) as declaring in his *Expositon* that St. John "was put to death by the Jews," and a similar quotation is made by Philip of Side (*Epitome MS of the 7th–8th cent*). On the bearing of this upon the question of the apostle's residence at Ephesus see JOHN, THE APOSTLE.

(3) Irenaeus (v.32) quotes Papias as writing about a Post-resurrection millennium, and as reporting, on St. John's authority, how the Lord said, "The days will come when vines shall grow having each 10,000 branches, and on each branch 10,000 twigs, and on each twig 10,000 shoots," etc. This may be an exaggerated record (misunderstood by Papias) of some parabolic utterance of Christ, indicating prophetically the wonderful extension of the church.

VI. Epistle of Barnabas.—This book is first expressly quoted by Clement of Alexandria (c 190 AD) as the composition of Barnabas, companion of St. Paul (*Strom.*, ii.6). Origen concurs, and calls it a "Catholic ep." (*Con. Celsum*, i.63), thus suggesting canonical position; Eusebius (*HE*, III, 25) testifies to the widespread ascription of it to this Barnabas, although he himself regards it as "spurious." Cod. Sin places it immediately after the NT, as being read in churches, and thus suggests its composition by a companion at least of apostles.

1. Authorship

Against this external testimony, however, to authorship by the Barnabas of Acts, is strong internal evidence: (1) apostolic sinfulness prior to discipleship is spoken of in exaggerated terms hardly credible in a writer who knew the Twelve—"exceedingly lawless beyond all [ordinary] sin" (ch v)—an echo apparently of St. Paul's "sinners of whom I am chief"; (2) ignorance of Jewish rites incomprehensible in a Levite who had lived in Jerus, e.g. the priests are said to eat goat's flesh on the great Day of Atonement; (3) *extreme* anti-Judaism (see below), inconsistent with the representation of Barnabas in Acts and Gal. The writer may have been some other Barnabas, a converted Alexandrine Jew, or, more probably, a converted gentile proselyte, trained in Philo's school, but ignorant of Jewish rites as practised at Jerus, and possessing little real sympathy with Judaism.

2. Date

The ep. must be dated after 70 AD, as the destruction of Jerus is referred to (ch xvi); also after the publication of the Gospel of Jn, of which there are several reminiscences. But the absence of any reference to the rebuilding of Jerus under Hadrian, in 120 AD, in a passage (ch xvi) where such allusion might have been expected, suggests a date prior to that year. We may place the writing between 90 and 120 AD.

3. Object and Contents

The object is to deter both Jewish and gentile Christians from Judaistic lapse by a bold application of the allegorizing method to the OT, far beyond what Philo would have sanctioned. Jewish sacrifices, festivals, Sabbath enactments, temple-worship, distinction of clean and unclean food, are not only not of perpetual obligation, but never were binding at all, even on Jews. Belief in their obligatoriness rests on a slavishly liberal exegesis of the OT, which, properly interpreted, is not a preparation for Christ but Christianity *itself* in allegorical disguise.

Ceremonies are simply allegorical enforcements of spiritual worship; distinctions of clean and unclean are merely pictorial representations of the necessity of separation from vice and vicious men; interdict of swine's flesh means no more than "associate not with swinish men." The only circumcision really commanded by God is circumcision of the heart. Barnabas ignores what St. Paul realized, that Jewish laws and rites, even lit. interpreted, are a Divine discipline of wholesome self-restraint, neighborly consideration and obedience to God. Barnabas not only explains away OT enactments, but finds in trivial OT statements Christian fact and truth. Thus, in Abraham's circumcision of the 318 men of his house, the 10 and 8 are significantly denoted by the Gr letters I and H, the initial letters of *Iēsous* (Jesus); while the 300 represented by the Gr T, points to the cross. The writer self-complacently intimates that "no one has been admitted by me to a more genuine piece of knowledge than this!" (ch ix).

When Barnabas, however, leaves obscure allegory for plain exhortation, he writes effectively of the "two ways" of light and darkness. Among edifying admonitions the following are outstanding: "Thou shalt not go to prayer with an evil conscience"; "Thou shalt not let the word of God issue from lips stained with impurity"; "Be not ready to stretch forth thine hands to take, while thou contractest them to give"; "Thou shalt not issue orders with bitterness to thy servant, lest thou fail in reverence to God who is above you both"; "Thou shalt not make a schism, but shalt bring together them who contend"; "The way of darkness is crooked"; "In this way are [among others mentioned] those who labor not to aid him who is overdone with toil" (chs xix, xx).

4. Notabilia

(1) The Divinity of Christ is emphasized: "Lord of all the world"; "Joint Creator, with the Father, of mankind" (ch v). (2) The writer, while following the Alexandrian method of allegorical interpretation, is free from the Alexandrian doctrine of the essential evil of matter; the necessity of a real incarnation is affirmed (ch v). (3) In ch xi, he writes, "We go down into the water full of sins and filth, and come up bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear of God and trust in Jesus in our spirit." This has been interpreted as involving the doctrine of *baptismal* regeneration; but the reference may be rather to the regeneration which baptism symbolizes. (4) In ch xv, the words, "We keep the 8th day with joy, the day on which Jesus rose again," are the earliest *express* testimony that the observance of the Lord's Day was a memorial of Our Lord's resurrection. This observance is distinguished from Jewish Sabbath-keeping which is called an error; the Sabbath really intended to be kept being a period of 1,000 years after the 6,000 years in which all things will be finished (ch xv). (5) Testimony to NT Books, (*a*) the existence and canonical authority of the Gospel of Mt are attested (ch iv) by the quotation of Mt **22** 14, "Many are called, but few chosen," introduced by the formula, "It is written"; (*b*) various passages taken together testify to the writer having the Gospel of Jn in his hands: "Whoso eateth of these shall live for ever" (ch xi and Jn **6** 58); "Abraham looking before in Spirit to Jesus" (ch ix and Jn **8** 58); "the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ" (ch ii and Jn **13** 34); a reference to the brazen serpent as a type of Christ's suffering, glory and healing power (ch xii and Jn **3** 14); (*c*) "Thou shalt not say that anything is thine own" (ch xix) appears to be a reminiscence of Acts **4** 32; (*d*) the passage in xv, "The day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years," seems to be an echo of 2 Pet **3** 8, and, if so, is the earliest testimony to the existence of that writing, and thus proves its great antiquity, although not its canonicity.

VII. Pastor* (*Shepherd*) *of Hermas.—This work is the earliest example, on a large scale, of Christian allegory, and was hardly less popular in the early church than the *Pilgrim's Progress* in later times. It was reckoned by many almost, by some altogether, as "Scripture." Irenaeus quotes it as "Scripture" (iv.20); Clement of Alexandria refers to it as "containing revelations Divinely imparted" (*Strom.*, i.29); Origen regards it as "Divinely inspired" (*Comm.* on Rom **16** 14). It is placed with the Ep. of Barnabas in the Cod. Sin at the close of the NT, and was read in many churches down to Jerome's time (*Works*, II, 846). The writer represents himself as a slave sold to a Rom Christian lady. He afterward obtained freedom, lived with his family in Rome, became earnestly religious, and saw visions which he imparted to the community in this book with a view to repentance and spiritual well-being.

1. Authorship and Date

Origen (followed by Eusebius, Jerome, etc) ascribes the work to the Hermes of Rom **16** 14; but his opinion is pure conjecture (*puto*). The Canon Muratori (170 AD) of Italian authorship describes the work as "recently composed at Rome by the brother of Pius during the latter's episcopate" (137–54). This distinct local testimony has been widely accepted (Hefele, Lightfoot, Charteris, Cruttwell, etc). Yet the writer represents himself (*Vision*, ii.4) as enjoined to send his book to Clement as a man in authority in the church, whom it is natural to identify with the chief presbyter of Rome between 92 and 101. This reference, along with the absence of any allusion to Gnosticism or to the mono-episcopate, has led Schaff, Zahn, and others to fix the date of the work at about 100 AD. The external and internal evidence, thus apparently divergent, may be reconciled by supposing (with Krüger and Harnack) that the book was not "written in a single draft"; that portions were issued successively during Clement's episcopate; and that under Pius (c 140) the separate issues were gathered into a volume under the title of *The Pastor*. In Rome, where the author was known, the Canon Muratori attested at once its religious usefulness as a "book to be read" and the absence of any claim to canonical authority.

2. Object and Contents

The purpose of the book is not doctrinal, but ethical; it is an allegorical manual of Christian duty with earnest calls to individual repentance and church revival in view of the near Advent.

The book consists of (1) Five Visions, (2) Twelve Mandates, (3) Ten Similitudes or Parables. In (1) the church appears to the writer as a venerable matron, then as a tower near completion, thereafter as a Holy Virgin. In the last vision, the Angel of Repentance, in pastoral garb, delivers to him the Mandates and Similitudes. The Mandates deal with chastity, truth, patience, meekness, reverence, prayer, penitence, and warn against grieving the Spirit. In the Similitudes the church is again a tower whose stones are examined for approbation or reprobation. Similitudes are also drawn from trees. The vine clinging to the elm signifies union of rich and poor in the church; a large willow from which a multitude receive branches or twigs, some of these blossoming or fruit-bearing, others dry or rotten, symbolizes the diverse effect of law and gospel on different souls. The author, although a Gentile, writes from the standpoint of James rather than of Paul. The closing words summarize his combined ethical and eschatological purpose: "Ye who have received good from the Lord, do good works, lest while ye delay, the tower be completed, and you be rejected."

3. Notabilia

(1) *Montanistic affinity.*—Hermas, indeed, differs from Montanists in permitting, though not encouraging, second marriage, and recognizing one possible repentance after post-baptismal flagrant sin; but he is also their forerunner, through his disallowance of readmission after *second* lapse, through emphatic expectation of an impending Advent, and through his rigorous view of fasting: "On the fast day taste nothing but bread and water."

(2) *Fasting*, however, is regarded not as an end but as a means—a discipline toward humility, purity, charity. Fasting for charity is illustrated by the injunction (*Sim.*, v.3) to "reckon up the price of what you meant to eat, and give that to one in want."

(3) *Absence of names "Jesus" and "Christ."*—The names "Jesus" and "Christ" never occur. He is "Son of God" and "Lord of His people," whom "God made to dwell in flesh," by whom "the whole world is sustained," who "endured great sufferings that He might do away with the sins of His people" (*Sim.*, v.6; ix.14).

(4) *Church organization.*—Hermas is charged (*Vis.*, ii.4) to "read his writings to [or along with] the presbyters who preside over the church" in Rome. It is reasonable to conclude that no one in that community could then be called "bishop" in the later sense of the holder of an office distinct from and superior to the presbyterate. *Episkopoi* ("bishops") are mentioned (*Sim.*, ix.27) as "given to hospitality," the description of the *episkopos* in 1 Tim **3** 2, where admittedly bishop = presbyter.

VIII. Second Epistle of Clement.—This writing is doubly miscalled: it is neither an ep. nor a composition of Clement. Style, thought, and standpoint differ from those of the accepted Ep., and *HE*, III, 38, suggests that the Clementine authorship was not generally recognized. The recent recovery by Bryennios of the previously lost conclusion proves that the writing is a sermon (ch xix).

1. Nature of Document

Antiquity is indicated by (1) the use, as an authority, of the lost heretical Gospel of the Egyptians, which by the time of the Canon Muratori (175 AD) had ceased to be regarded as Scripture by Catholics; (2) the adoption, without gnostic intention, of phrases which *became* notably associated, after 150 AD with Gnosticism: "God made male and female: the male is Christ, the female, the church" (ch xiv).

2. Date and Authorship

The date usually assigned is 120–50 AD (Lightfoot, Part I, vol II, 201). The author is a gentile presbyter; he had "worshipped stocks and stones." The sermon was probably preached at Corinth, for the preacher describes many arriving by sea for the race-course, without mentioning a port, which would be appropriate in a sermon preached to Corinthians.

3. Contents

No text is given, but the sermon starts from Isa **54** 1, without express quotation; this chapter had probably been read at the service. The discourse, without great literary merit, is earnest and practical. There are exhortations to repentance and good works, to purity, charity, prayer and fasting, with special reference to coming judgment. The standpoint is that of St. James. "Be not troubled [so the sermon concludes] because we see the unrighteous with abundance, and God's servants in straits. Let us have faith, brethren and sisters. Had God recompensed the righteous speedily, we should have had training not in piety but in bargaining; and our uprightness would be a mere semblance, since our pursuit would be not of godliness but of gain."

4. Notabilia

(1) The sermon is the oldest extant in post-NT times, and appears to have been *read* (ch xix) to a congregation. (2) Sayings of Christ not in our Gospels are quoted: (*a*) "The Lord, being asked when His kingdom would come, answered: When the two shall be one [i.e. when harmony shall prevail?], and when the outside shall be as the inside [i.e. when men shall be as they seem?]; and the male with the female, neither male nor female" (interpreted by this preacher ascetically as discountenancing marriage, presumably because "the time is short," but explained mystically by Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.*, iii.13, as indicating the abolition of all distinctions in God's kingdom). Clement assigns the passage to the lost Gospel of the Egyptians. (*b*) "The Lord saith, ye shall be as lambs among wolves. Peter answered: What if the wolves tear the lambs? Jesus said: Let not the lambs fear the wolves: and ye, also, fear not them which kill you, and can do nothing more to you." (3) No episcopate, apparently, in the post-NT sense, existed in the church where this sermon was delivered. Unfaithful men are represented as confessing, "We obeyed not the presbyters when they told us of salvation." Had a bishop in the later sense been head of the community, obedience to his admonitions would surely have been inculcated. (4) The Christology is high; "We ought to think of Christ as of God"; "When we think mean things of Christ, we expect to receive mean things" (ch i).

IX. Apology of Aristides.—Aristides was an Athenian philosopher, who (according to *HE*, IV, 3) presented an Apology to Hadrian, presumably when the emperor was at Athens (125 AD).

1. Recovery and Date

After disappearance in the 17th cent., a fragment in an Armenian version was discovered in 1878, and the entire Apology in Syr was found in 1889. It was then found that almost the whole treatise was imbedded anonymously in a Gr mediaeval romance, *Barlaam and Josaphat*. The Apology in the Syr is inscribed to Antoninus; it may have been addressed to both emperors successively, or the real date may be 137, when they were colleagues in the empire.

2. Contents

The treatise refers to oppression, imprisonment, and other maltreatment endured by Christians, and pleads for their protection against persecution, because of their true and noble creed, and their pure and benevolent lives. The writer compares the Christian doctrine of Godhead with that of barbarians, Greeks, Egyptians, Jews, and dwells on the elevating influence of Christian belief in Jesus Christ and in a future life. He refers to the abstention of Christians from unchastity, dishonesty and other vices; to their abounding charity and brotherliness which are shown particularly to the widow, the orphan, the poor, the stranger, the oppressed, and even their oppressors. All who become Christians, of however low a station, are brethren. This bright picture has, however, its shadows: "If Christians see that one of their number has died in his sins, over him they weep bitterly as over one about to go into punishment." This frank acknowledgment of some black sheep gives point to his general testimony, "Blessed is the race of Christians above all men."

3. Notabilia

(1) A distinct reference to a collection of Christian writings, and esp. of Gospels, designated *the* Gospel, and indicating the existence of a kind of rudimentary NT Canon. (2) Similar indication of a rudimentary Apostles' Creed. Christians are said to believe in God, "the Maker of Heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ who was born of a Heb virgin, who was transfixed by the Jews; he died and was buried; and Christians state that after three days he rose again and ascended into heaven." In this early time the virgin birth was apparently a settled matter—part of the Creed. (3) Aristides describes a familiar custom among poor Christians of fasting two or three days, so as to supply with needful food Christians poorer still (*Comp. Hermas*). (4) The Apology is interesting as the earliest known literary tribute of a philosopher to Christianity, and probably the earliest extant defence of the faith, if the *Ep. to Diognetus* be not ancient. It is notable also as a treatise on Christian evidence drawn not from miraculous credentials, but from the self-evidencing excellence and effect of Christianity. Finally, it is interesting as the earliest detailed record of harvest reaped at Athens from seed sown by St. Paul 80 or 90 years before. Athens appeared at first a barren soil; but by and by this church in a university city took the lead, as this treatise and another lost apology by Quadratus show, in the literary defence of the Christian faith. Quadratus is stated in *HE*, IV, 3, to have presented his Apology to Hadrian, and is described by Jerome as "a disciple of the apostles." In a fragment preserved in *HE*, he attests the survival ("to our own day") of some whom Christ had healed.

X. Justin Martyr.—Born of pagan parents at Flavia Neapolis (Nablous), in Samaria about 100 AD—a seeker for truth, who, after trying Stoic, Peripatetic, Pythagorean and Platonic philosophies, found in Christ and Christianity the satisfaction of philosophic cravings and spiritual needs.

1. Incidents of Life

He became a Christian apostle and apologist, wearing still the philosopher's mantle in token of continued quest after wisdom, but making it now his life-work, not as presbyter, but as itinerating Christian teacher, to impart to pagan, to Jew and also to heretic the truth which he himself had found and prized. After long Christian service, he suffered martyrdom under Aurelius in 166 AD.

2. First Apology

It is addressed to Antoninus and dated 138–48. He approaches the emperor without flattery, and asks judgment after searching inquiry. He answers three charges against Christians: (1) *atheism:* Justin replies that Christians were atheists only as Socrates was; they disbelieved in so-called gods who were wicked demons or humanly fashioned images; but they worshipped the Father of Righteousness; (2) *immorality:* Justin admits the existence of pretended Christians who are evil-doers; but Christianity makes the evil good, the licentious chaste, the covetous generous, the revengeful forgiving; (3) *disloyalty:* this is calumny based on the preaching of Christ's kingdom which is spiritual, not temporal. Christians are taught and are wont to pay tribute promptly and to pray for rulers regularly. Justin then sets forth the credibility and excellence of Christianity, adducing, (1) its pure morality as contrasted with vices condoned by heathens, (2) its noble doctrines—immortality, resurrection, future judgment, incarnation, (3) OT prophecy regarding the Divinity and sufferings of the Christ. His reference to the prediction of a virgin bringing forth Emmanuel (ch xxxiii) shows that in his day the virgin birth was accepted, although Jews understood by virgin (in Isa) merely a young woman, (4) foreshadowings of Christian truth by philosophy, referring esp. to Plato's teaching about the Divine Logos and judgment to come. To refute prevalent calumny Justin describes Sunday service and administration of sacraments in his time. On the Lord's Day Christians assembled for worship; prophetic Scriptures and "memoirs" by apostles and their followers were read; prayers and thanksgivings were offered and an address delivered by the "president"; bread and wine were distributed and sent by deacons to those absent; and an offering for charitable purposes was made. "As many as believe what is taught, and undertake to live accordingly, are, after prayer and fast, baptized" (chs lxv, lxvii).

3. "Second Apology"

This is probably a postscript to the first; Eusebius quotes from both as from one work. After a protest against a recent summary execution of three Christians without proper trial, Justin deals with two popular taunts: (1) "If at death they went to heaven, why did they not commit suicide?": "We do not shrink from death but from opposing God's will." (2) "If God is really on the Christians' side, why does He allow them to be persecuted?": "The world by Divine decree is meanwhile under the dominion of angels who have become demons." Justin here contrasts Christ with Socrates, whom yet he describes as a preacher of the "true but then unknown God" (ch x): "No one put such faith in Socrates as to die for his convictions." Christ hath won the faith, "not only of philosophers, but of simple folk who through faith can despise death." Justin, however, testifies clearly and warmly to the Christian element by anticipation, in the higher teachings and aspirations of heathen philosophy through an implanted seed of the Divine Logos; and he recognizes thus a pre-advent ministry of the Son of God, not only in the sheltered fold of Judaism, but in the broad open of heathendom.

4. Dialogue with Trypho the Jew

This Dialogue indicates the attitude of some cultured Jews of that day to Christianity, and the mode in which their objections to it were met. Trypho argued that Jesus did not fulfil OT prophecy which represented the Messiah as establishing a glorious and everlasting kingdom; whereas Jesus was a humble peasant who died an ignominious death; Justin pleads Isa **53**. Trypho charges Christianity with treason to the theocracy through exalting Jesus to Godhead, thus trenching on the Divine unity, and also through repudiating the perpetual obligation of the Law. Justin, in reply, quotes Genesis, "Let *us* make man," and also Pss **45, 72, 110,** with Isa **7** about Emmanuel. The Mosaic Law was intended to be temporary, and was now superseded by the Law of Christ; moreover, the destruction of Jerus rendered complete fulfilment of the Jewish Law impracticable. The disputants part on friendly terms, "I have been particularly pleased with this conference," says Trypho. "If we could confer oftener we should be much helped in reading the Scriptures." "For my part," replies Justin, "I would have wished to repeat our conference daily; but since I am about to set sail, I bid you give all diligence in this struggle after salvation." Of other works ascribed to Justin, two (*On the Resurrection* and *Appeal to the Greeks*) may or may not be genuine; the others are spurious.

5. Notabilia

(1) Bearing of Justin's quotations from "memoirs" on the *Age of Our Gospels* (see GOSPELS).

(2) Testimony to *harmony of apostolic doctrine.* Justin is a disciple of St. Paul, and a strong anti-Judaist; yet he recognizes thoroughly the Twelve as the true source of Christian teaching, "sent by Christ to teach to all the Word of God" (1 *Ap.*, 39,49; *Dial.*, 42, 109).

(3) From personal knowledge as a traveler, Justin testifies to the *wide diffusion of Christianity:* "No race of men exists among whom prayers are not offered up to the Father through the name of the crucified Jesus (*Dial.*, 117).

(4) *Authorship of Revelation:* "John, one of the apostles, prophesied, by a revelation made to him, that believers would dwell 1,000 years in Jerus" (*Dial.*, 81)—the earliest direct witness to Johannine authorship, by one who had resided at Ephesus.

(5) Belief of the primitive church in *Our Lord's true Divinity:* Writing in the name of Christians as a body, he declares, "Both Him [the Father] and the Son who came forth from Him we adore" (1 *Ap.*, 5). He speaks also of some "who held that Jesus was a mere man" as a small and heretical minority (*Dial.*, 48). He writes elsewhere (1 *Ap.*, 13) of the Son as the object of worship "in the second place"; but this statement, made long before the Arian Controversy necessitated precision of language, does not invalidate his other testimonies.

(6) As to the *Holy Spirit,* Justin refers to baptism as administered in "the name of Father, Son, and Spirit" (1 *Ap.*, 61), implying the Divinity of the Third Person; although elsewhere he appears to subordinate Him to the Son, as the Son to the Father. He is to be "worshipped in the third order" (1 *Ap.*, 13).

(7) *Millenarianism:* "I and others are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead and 1,000 years in Jerus which will be built, adorned and enlarged" (*Dial.*, 80). He admits, however, that many pure and pious Christians think otherwise.

(8) *Future punishment:* On this subject Justin speaks with two voices. In 1 *Ap.*, 8, he writes of "condemned souls suffering eternal punishment, not for a millennial period only." But in *Dial.*, 5, he introduces an old man who was the immediate means of his conversion as saying that "the wicked shall be punished *as long as God shall will them to exist.*"

(9) *Angel-worship:* In 1 *Ap.*, 6, Justin, when refuting the charge of atheism, writes: "We reverence and worship the Father, and the Son, and the host of other good messengers (or angels), and the Prophetic Spirit." The context, however, shows that this cultus does not necessarily amount to what is usually meant by worship, but simply to veneration and homage. The Gr words here, *sébomai* and *proskunéō*, are often used in this lower sense; and the train of thought seems to be this: "You call us atheists; the charge is not true, for we not only believe in one God and Father of all, but in one who is preëminently the Son of God, who was sent by God. We believe further in other heavenly messengers from God, a host of angelic spirits; yea we believe in one who is preëminently God's Spirit, by whom prophets were inspired. All these are the object in different degrees of our veneration and homage." Undoubtedly, however, the statement is at best unguarded and misleading.

(10) *Doctrine of the sacraments:* Justin uses "regenerate" as the synonym of "baptized" (1 *Ap.*, 61), but he identifies the two, not as essentially inseparable, but as uniformly associated. As regards the Lord's Supper, while emphasizing the ideas of commemoration, communion, and thanksgiving, he in one place speaks of the bread and wine being the flesh and blood of the Incarnate Jesus, "from which, by a transmutation, our flesh and blood are nourished" (1 *Ap.*, 66). These words tend to transubstantiation; but, in the absence of any controversy at the time, may be no more than a strongly figurative representation of a spiritual participation.

XI. Epistle to Diognetus.—This short apologetic work is mentioned by no ancient writer, and was unknown until its discovery in 1592 by Henry Stephens in a MS which perished in the Strassburg fire of 1870.

1. Date and Authorship

The MS appears to ascribe it to the author of another work (*To the Greeks*); and this, again, is attributed with some probability on the authority of a Syr document (600–700 AD) to one Ambrosius, "chief among the Greeks," otherwise unknown (see Birks in *DCB*, "Ep. to D."). If genuinely ancient, the ep. probably belongs to the Sub-apostolic Age, for it refers to Christianity as "having only now entered the world, not long ago"; and in ch xi (written, however, by a different hand or at a different time) the author calls himself a "disciple of the apostles." Diognetus was a very common Gr name, so that his identification with the tutor of Marcus Aurelius (130–40 AD) is a mere conjecture. Donaldson (*Chr. Lit.*, II, 142) inclines to the belief that the work was composed by one of the many Greeks who came westward in the 14th cent. and that the author intended merely to write a "good declamation in the old style." The smart but superficial way in which heathenism and Judaism are dealt with is more befitting a mediaeval rhetorical exercise than the serious treatment, by a cultured writer, of prevalent religions.

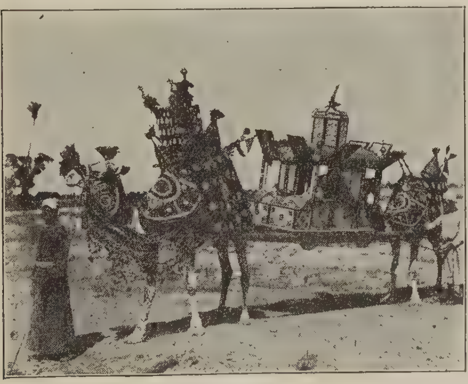
2. Contents

The author, after welcoming the inquiry of Diognetus about Christianity, pours contempt on the pagan worship of gods of wood, stone and metal, without any apparent realization that for cultured heathens of that time such images were not objects, but only symbolic media of worship; and he ridicules Mosaic observances without any recognition of their significance as a Divine educative discipline. But when he proceeds (chs vii-xii) to describe Christianity, the work merits Hefele's designation, *praestantissima Epistola.* Into a world, yea, into human hearts, which had become degenerate and wicked, "God sent no mere servant or angel, but His own Son," and Him, not as a condemning Judge, or fear-inspiring Tyrant, but as a gracious Saviour. To the inquiry, "If Christianity is so precious, why was Christ sent so late?" the author replies: "In order first to bring home to mankind their unworthiness to attain eternal life through their own works" and their incapacity for salvation apart from Him "who is able to save even what it was impossible (formerly) to save." But faith in the Son of God now revealed, would lead to "knowledge of the Father"; knowledge of God to "love of Him who hath first so loved us"; and love of God to "imitation of Him and of His loving-kindness." And wherein consists such imitation? Not in "seeking lordship over those weaker," or in "showing violence toward those below us"; but in "taking on oneself the burden of one's neighbor," even as "God took on Himself the burden of our iniquities, and gave His own Son as a ransom for us." "He who in whatsoever he may be superior is ready to benefit another who is deficient; he who, by distributing to the needy what he has received from God, becomes a god to those who receive his benefits: he is an imitator of God."

Literature.—Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, larger and smaller edd; in Clark's "Ante-Nicene Libary," *Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr*, and *Recently Discovered Additions to Early Christian Literature* (American ed, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*); Eusebius, *HE*, particularly McGiffert's tr with excellent notes; James Donaldson, *Critical History of Christian Literature;* Cruttwell, *Literary History of Early Christianity;* Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature*, tr by Gillett; Harnack, *Geschichte der altchr. Litt.;* Zahn, *Geschichte des NT Kanons; Forschungen zur Gesch. des NT Kanons und der altchr. Litt.;* Robinson, *Texts and Studies, Aristides;* Schaff, *Oldest Christian Manual;* H. D. M. Spence, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles;* Bartlet, art. on "Didache" in *HDB;* Cunningham, *Epistle of St. Barnabas;* arts. in *DCB* (Smith and Wace).

Henry Cowan

LITTER, lit'ẽr (צָב, *çābh*): (1) Used upon backs of camels for easy riding, made of a wooden frame with light mattress and pillows, also a covering above, supported by upright pieces, sometimes having also side awnings for protection from the sun's rays. Mule litters were made with pairs of shafts projecting before and behind, between which the animals were yoked (Isa **66** 20). Litter-wagons (עֶגְלֹת צָב, *'eghlōth çābh*) are mentioned in Nu **7** 3; the horse litter (*φόριον, phórion*) is mentioned in 2 Macc **9** 8; cf **3** 27. (2) מִטָּה, *miṭṭāh*, "palanquin" or "litter of Solomon" (Cant **3** 7; cf ver 9). See Palanquin.



Litter.

LITTLE GENESIS. See Book of Jubilees.

LIVELY, līv'li, **LIVING,** liv'ing (חַי, *ḥay;* **ζάω**, *záō*): "Living," sometimes "lively," is the tr of *ḥay* (often also tr^{d} "life"); it denotes all beings possessed of life (Gen **1** 21.24; **2** 7.19; Ex **21** 35, "live"); we have frequently the phrase, "the land of the living" (as contrasted with *sh^{e}'ōl*, the abode of the dead), e.g. Job **28** 13; Ps **27** 13; **52** 5; Isa **38** 11; the characteristically Bib. expression, "the living God," also frequently occurs (Josh **3** 10; 1 S **17** 26.36; 2 K **19** 4; Ps **84** 2); also frequently in the NT as the tr of *zaō* (Mt **16** 16; **26** 63; Jn **6** 57, "the living Father"; Acts **14** 15); "lively" in Ex **1** 19 (*ḥāyeh*) and Ps **38** 19 denotes fulness of life, vigor; *ḥayyāh*, "a living being," is mostly confined to Ezk, tr^{d} "living creatures" (**1** 5.13.14, etc), also Gen **1** 28; **8** 17, "living thing"; "living" is sometimes applied **fig.** to that which is not actually alive; thus we have the phrase "living waters" (Jer **2** 13; **17** 13; Zec **14** 8, "Living waters shall go out from Jerus") in contrast with stagnant waters—waters that can give *life;* so Jn **4** 10.11 (bubbling up from the spring at bottom of the well); **7** 38; Rev **7** 17 AV; "living bread" (Jn **6** 51); "a new and living way" (He **10** 20), perhaps equivalent to "ever-living" in Christ; "living stones" (1 Pet **2** 4.5) are those made alive in Christ; a "living hope" (a hope full of life), 1 Pet **1** 3; "living" (*zaō*) is sometimes also "manner of life" (Lk **15** 13; Col **2** 20); *diágō*, "to lead or go through," is also so tr^{d} (Tit **3** 3); *bíos* is "means of life," tr^{d} "living" (Mk **12** 44; Lk **8** 43); "living," in this sense, occurs in Apoc as the tr of *zōḗ*, "Defraud not the poor of his living" (Ecclus **4** 1).

RV has "living" for "alive" (Lev **14** 4), for "the lively" (Acts **7** 38), for "quick" (He **4** 12), for "lively" (1 Pet **1** 3; **2** 5), for "conversation" (1 Pet **1** 15; 2 Pet **3** 11); "living creatures" for "beasts" (Rev **4** 6; **5** 6, etc); "every living thing" for "all the substance" (Dt **11** 6); "living things" for "beasts" (Lev **11** 2.47 *bis*); for "living" (Ps **58** 9), "the green" (thorns under the pots), m "Wrath shall take them away while living as with a whirlwind"; for "the book of the living" (Ps **69** 28), "the book of life"; for "[I am] he that liveth" (Rev **1** 18), "the Living one"; for "living fountains of waters" (Rev **7** 17), "fountains of waters of life"; for "trade" (Rev **18** 17), "gain their living," m "work the sea"; for "Son of the living God" (Jn **6** 69), "the Holy One of God" (emended text).

W. L. Walker

LIVER, liv'ẽr (כָּבֵד, *kābhēdh*, derived from a root meaning "to be heavy," being the heaviest of the viscera; LXX **ἧπαρ**, *hḗpar*): The word is usually joined with the Heb *yōthereth* (see Caul) (Ex **29** 13.22; Lev **9** 10.19) as a special portion set aside for the burnt offering.

This represents the large lobe or flap of the liver, λοβὸς τοῦ ἥπατος, *lobós toú hḗpatos* (thus LXX and Jos, *Ant*, III, ix, 2, [228]). Others, however, interpret it as the membrane which covers the upper part of the liver, sometimes called the "lesser omentum." Thus the Vulg: *reticulum iecoris.* It extends from the fissures of the liver to the curve of the stomach. Still others consider it to be the "fatty mass at the opening of the liver, which reaches to the kidneys and becomes visible upon the removal of the lesser omentum or membrane" (Driver and White, *Leviticus*, 65).

As in the scholastic psychology of the Middle Ages, the liver played an important part in the science of Sem peoples. It was the seat of feeling, and thus became synonymous with temper, disposition, character (cf Assyr *kabittu*, "liver," "temper," "character," and Arab. كَبِد, *kabid*, vulgar *kibdi*). Thus Jeremiah expresses his profound grief with the words: "My liver is poured upon the earth, because of the destruction of the daughter of my people" (Lam **2** 11). The liver is also considered one of the most important and vital parts of the body (cf Virgil, *cerebrum, iecur domicilia vitae*). A hurt in it is equivalent to death. So we find the fate of a man enticed by the flattering of a loose woman compared to that of the ox that "goeth to the slaughter . . . . till an arrow strike through his liver; as a bird hasteth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for his life" (Prov **7** 22.23; the rest of the verse is obscure as to its meaning).

In a few passages of the OT, *kābhēdh* ("liver") and *kābhōdh* ("glory") have been confounded, and we are in uncertainty as to the right tr. Several authors, to give but one example, would read *kābhēdh* in Ps **16** 9, for reasons of Heb poetical parallelism: "Therefore my heart is glad and my liver [EV "glory"] rejoiceth." While this is quite possible, it is not easy to decide, as according to Jewish interpretation "my glory" is synonymous with "my soul," which would present as proper a parallelism.

The liver has always played an important rôle in heathen divination, of which we have many examples in old and modern times among the Greeks, Etrurians, Romans and now among African tribes. The prophet Ezekiel gives us a Bib. instance. The king of Babylon, who had been seeking to find out whether he should attack Jerus, inquired by shaking "arrows to and fro, he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver" (Ezk **21** 21 [Heb ver 26]; cf Tob **6** 4 ff; **8** 2). See ASTROLOGY, 3; DIVINATION.

H. L. E. LUERING

LIVING CREATURE, liv′ing krē′ṭūr: (1) (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, *nephesh ḥayyāh*, or נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה, *nephesh ha-ḥayyāh* [*nephesh*, "breath" or "living things"; *ḥayyāh*, "living"; cf Arab. نَفْس, *nefs*, "breath," حَيّ, *ḥaiy*, "living"]): In the account of the creation this term is used of aquatic animals (Gen **1** 21), of mammals (Gen **1** 24) and of any animals whatsoever (Gen **2** 19).

(2) (חַיּוֹת, *ḥayyōth*, pl. of חַיָּה, *ḥayyāh*): The name of the "living creatures" of Ezk **1** 5–25, which had wings and the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle; cf Ezk **10** 1–22. (3) (*ζῷον*, *zōon*, "living thing," "animal"): The four "living creatures" (AV "beasts") of Rev **4** 6, etc, the first like a lion, the second like a calf, the third having a face as of a man, and the fourth like an eagle, having each six wings. See CREATURE, LIVING.

ALFRED ELY DAY

LIZARD, liz′ard: The list of unclean "creeping things" in Lev **11** 29.30 contains eight names, as follows:

1. Names

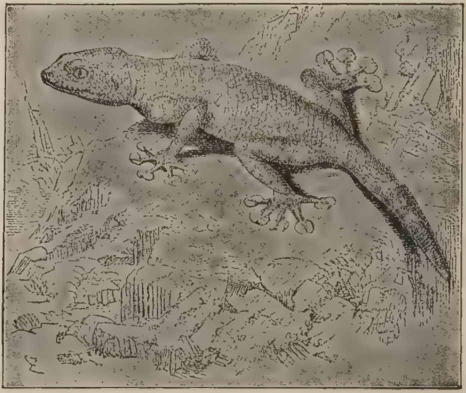
(1) חֹלֶד, *ḥōledh*, EV "weasel" (q.v.); (2) עַכְבָּר, *'akhbār*, EV "mouse" (q.v.); (3) צָב, *çābh*, AV "tortoise," RV "great lizard" (q.v.); (4) אֲנָקָה, *'ănāḳāh*, AV "ferret," RV "gecko" (q.v.); (5) כֹּחַ, *kō^{a}ḥ*, AV "chameleon," RV "land-crocodile" (q.v.); (6) לְטָאָה, *l^{e}ṭā'āh*, EV "lizard"; cf Arab. لَطَأ, *laṭa'*, "to cling to the ground"; (7) חֹמֶט, *ḥōmeṭ*, AV "snail," RV "sand-lizard" (q.v.); (8) תִּנְשֶׁמֶת, *tinshemeth*, AV "mole," RV "chameleon" (q.v.). In Prov **30** 28, we find (9) שְׂמָמִית, *s^{e}māmīth*, AV "spider," RV "lizard."

Since (1), (3), (4), (5), (6) and (7) occur as names of animals only in this passage, and as the philological evidence available is in most cases not very convincing, their determination is difficult and uncertain. RVm to "gecko" (Lev **11** 30) has "Words of uncertain meaning, but probably denoting four kinds of lizards."

2. Lizards of Palestine

Among the many lizards of Pal, the monitor and thorny-tailed lizard are remarkable for their size, and the chameleon for its striking appearance and habits. On etymological grounds, *kō^{a}ḥ*, AV "chameleon," RV "land-crocodile," LXX *chamailéōn*, has been taken to be the monitor; *çābh*, AV "tortoise," RV "great lizard," LXX *krokódeilos chersaíos*, to be the thorny-tailed lizard; and *tinshemeth*, AV "mole," RV "chameleon," LXX *aspálax*, to be the chameleon. On the same grounds, *ḥōledh*, EV "weasel," LXX *galê*, might be the mole-rat. See CHAMELEON; TORTOISE; WEASEL.

The commonest lizard of Pal is the rough-tailed agama, *Agama stellio*, Arab. *ḥirdhaun* or *ḥirdaun*, which is everywhere in evidence, running about on the ground, rocks or walls, frequently lying still basking in the sun, or bobbing its head up and down in the peculiar manner that it has.



Gecko (*Ptyodactylus lobatus*).

The gecko, *Ptyodactylus lobatus*, is common in houses. By means of adhesive disks on the under sides of its toes, it clings with ease to smooth walls which other lizards cannot scale. Although perfectly harmless, it is believed to be poisonous, and is much feared. It is called *abu-brais*, "father of leprosy," either on account of its supposed poisonous qualities or because it has a semi-transparent and sickly appearance, being of a whitish-yellow color with darker spots. It utters a little cry, which may be the reason why RV has "gecko" for *'ănāḳāh*, AV "ferret."

Various species of the genus *Lacerta* and its allies, the true lizards, may always be found searching for insects on trees and walls. They are scaly, like all lizards, but are relatively smooth and are prettily colored, and are the most attractive members of the group which are found in the country. They are called by the Arabs *saḳḳaiyeh* or *shammûseh*.

The skinks include *Scincus officinalis*, and allied species. Arab. *saḳanḳûr* = Gr *σκίγκος*, *skígkos* (*skínkos*). They are smooth, light-colored lizards, and are found in sandy places. They cannot climb, but they run and burrow in the sand with remarkable rapidity. The dried body of *Scincus officinalis* is an important feature of the primitive oriental *materia medica*, and may be found in the shops (*officinae*) of the old-style apothecaries.

S^{e}māmīth (Prov **30** 28, AV "spider," RV "lizard") is one of the "four things which are little . . . . but . . . . exceeding wise." RV reads:

> "The lizard taketh hold with her hands,
> Yet is she in kings' palaces."

3. Identifications

LXX has *καλαβώτης*, *kalabṓtēs*, which according to Liddell and Scott = *ἀσκαλαβώτης*, *askalabṓtēs*, "a spotted lizard." There is no other lizard which fits this passage as does the gecko. If Gesenius is correct in deriving *s^{e}māmīth* from the √ *sāmam* (cf Arab. *samma*, "to poison"), we have another reason for making this identification, in which case we must rule out the rendering of RVm, "Thou canst seize with thy hands."

For none of the names in Lev **11** 29.30 have we as many data for identification as for *sᵉmāmīth*. For *lᵉṭā'āh*, EV "lizard," LXX has χαλαβώτης, *chalabṓtēs*, which is another variant of *askalabṓtēs*. If we follow the LXX, therefore, we should render *leṭa'ah* "gecko." Tristram quotes Bochart as drawing an argument that *lᵉṭā'āh* is "gecko" from the Arab. √ *laṭa'*, "to cling to the ground." This view is at least in accordance with LXX. It is of course untenable if *'ănāḳāh* is "gecko," but (see Ferret) the writer thinks it quite possible that *'ănāḳāh* may mean the shrew or field-mouse, which is also in agreement with LXX. It will not do to follow LXX in all cases, but it is certainly safe to do so in the absence of a clear indication to the contrary.

There seems to be little evidence available for deciding the identity of *ḥōmeṭ*, AV "snail," RV "sand-lizard." LXX has σαῦρα, *saúra*, and Vulg *lacerta*, both words for lizard. Gesenius refers the word to an obsolete √ *ḥāmaṭ*, "to bow down," "to lie upon the ground." Tristram, *NHB*, cites Bochart as referring to a word meaning "sand." Hence perhaps the RV "sand-lizard." If by this is meant the skink, there is no inherent improbability in the identification.

We have thus more or less tentatively assigned various words of the list to the monitor, the thorny-tailed lizard, the chameleon, the gecko and the skink, but we have done nothing with the rough-tailed agama and the *Lacertae*, or true lizards, which are the commonest lizards of Pal, and this fact must be reckoned against the correctness of the assignment. The tr of RV has this to commend it, that it gives two small mammals followed by six lizards, and is therefore to that extent systematic. It is, however, neither guided in all cases by etymological considerations, nor does it follow LXX.

As none of the etymological arguments is very cogent, the writer can see no harm in consistently following LXX, understanding for (1), *galē*, weasel or pole-cat; for (2), *mús*, mouse; for (3), *krokodeilos chersaios*, some large lizard, either the monitor or the thorny-tailed lizard; for (4), *mūgalḗ*, shrew or field-mouse; for (5), *chamaileōn*, chameleon; for (6), *chalabōtēs*, gecko; for (7), *saura*, a *Lacerta* or true lizard; for (8), *aspalax*, mole-rat. On the other hand, if etymological considerations are to be taken into account and LXX abandoned when it conflicts with them we might have (1) *ḥōledh*, mole-rat; (2) *'akhbār*, mouse; (3) *çābh*, thorny-tailed lizard; (4) *'ănāḳāh*, field-mouse; (5) *kōᵃḥ*, monitor; (6) *lᵉṭā'āh*, gecko; (7) *ḥōmeṭ*, skink; (8) *tinshemeth*, chameleon.

Neither of these lists has the systematic arrangement of that of RV, but we must remember that the Bib. writers were not zoölogists, as is seen in the inclusion of the bat among birds (Lev **11** 19; Dt **14** 18), and of the hare and coney among ruminants (Lev **11** 5.6; Dt **14** 7).

Alfred Ely Day

LOAF, lōf. See Bread.

LO-AMMI, lō-am'ī (לֹא־עַמִּי, *lō'-'ammī*, "not my people"): The 2d son and 3d child of Gomer bath-Diblaim, wife of the prophet Hosea (Hos **1** 9). An earlier child, a daughter, had been named Lo-ruhamah (לֹא־רֻחָמָה, *lō'-ruḥāmāh*, "uncompassionated"). The names, like those given by Isaiah to his children, are symbolic, and set forth Hosea's conviction that Israel has, through sin, forfeited Jeh's compassion, and can no longer claim His protection. Of the bearers of these names nothing further is known; but their symbolism is alluded to in Hos **2** 1.23. This latter passage is quoted by Paul (Rom **9** 25 f). See Hosea; Jezreel.

John A. Lees

LOCKS, loks ([1] צִיצִת, *çīçīth*, [2] פֶּרַע, *pera'*, [3] מַחְלָפָה, *maḥlāphāh*, [4] קְוֻצָּה, *ḳᵉwūççāh*): See in general the article on Hair. (1) The first word, *çīçīth*, means really a tassel, such as is worn by the Jews on the four corners of the prayer-shawl or *ṭallith* and on the *'arba' kanᵉphōth* (Dt **22** 12), trᵈ in the NT by κράσπεδον, *kráspedon* (Mt **9** 20; **14** 36; **23** 5; Mk **6** 56; Lk **8** 44). Once it is applied to a forelock of hair. The prophet Ezekiel, describing his sensations which accompanied his vision of Jerus, says: "He put forth the form of a hand, and took me by a lock of my head; and the Spirit lifted me up between earth and heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerus" (Ezk **8** 3). (2) The word *pera'* signifies the unshorn and disheveled locks of the Nazirite (Nu **6** 5) or of the priests, the sons of Zadok (Ezk **44** 20). (3) The Book of Jgs employs the word *maḥlāphāh* when speaking of the "seven locks" of Samson (Jgs **16** 13.19), which really represent the plaited (etymologically, "interwoven") strands of hair still worn in our days by youthful Bedouin warriors. (4) *Kᵉwūççāh* (Cant **5** 2.11) means the luxuriant hair of the Heb youth, who was careful of his exterior. It is called bushy (RVm "curling") and black as a raven. AV trˢ also the word *çammāh* with "locks" (Cant **4** 1; **6** 7; Isa **47** 2), but RV has corrected this into "veil," leaving the word "locks" in Cant **4** 1 m.

H. L. E. Luering

LOCUST, lō'kust: The tr of a large number of Heb and Gr words:

1. Names

(1) אַרְבֶּה, *'arbeh*, from √ רָבָה, *rābhāh*, "to increase" (cf Arab. رَبَا, *raba'*, "to increase"). (2) סָלְעָם, *sāl'ām*, from obsolete √ סַלְעַם, *ṣal'am*, "to swallow down," "to consume." (3) חַרְגֹּל, *ḥargōl* (cf Arab. حَرْجَل, *ḥarjal*, "to run to the right or left," حَرْجَلَة, *ḥarjalat*, "a company of horses" or "a swarm of locusts," حَرْجَوَان, *ḥarjawân*, a kind of locust). (4) חָגָב, *ḥāghābh* (cf Arab. حَجَب, *ḥajab*, "to hide," "to cover"). (5) גָּזָם, *gāzām* (cf Arab. جَزَم, *jazam*, "to cut off"). (6) יֶלֶק, *yeleḳ*, from √ לָקַק, *lāḳaḳ*, "to lick" (cf Arab. لَقْلَق, *laḳlaḳ*, "to dart out the tongue" [used of a serpent]). (7) חָסִיל, *ḥāṣīl*, from √ חָסַל, *ḥāṣal*, "to devour" (cf Arab. حَوْصَل, *ḥauṣal*, "crop" [of a bird]). (8) גּוֹב, *gōbh*, from obsolete √ גָּבָה, *gābhāh* (cf Arab. جَابِي, *jâbî*, "locust," from √ جَبَاء, *jaba'*, "to come out of a hole"). (9) גֵּב, *gēbh*, from same √. (10) צְלָצַל, *çᵉlāçal*, from √ צָלַל, *çālal* (onomatopoetic), "to tinkle," "to ring" (cf Arab. صَلّ, *ṣall*, "to give a ringing sound" [used of a horse's bit]; cf also Arab. طَنّ, *ṭann*, used of the sound of a drum or piece of metal, also of the humming of flies). (11) ἀκρίς, *akrís* (gen. ἀκρίδος, *akrídos;* dim. ἀκρίδιον, *akrídion*, whence *Acridium*, a genus of locusts).

2. Identifications

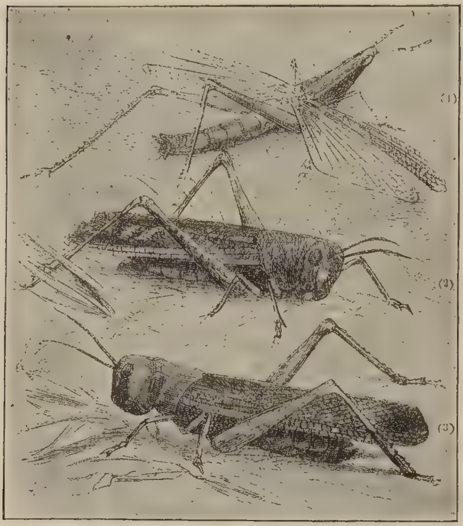
(1), (2), (3) and (4) constitute the list of clean insects in Lev **11** 21 f, characterized as "winged creeping things that go upon all fours, which have legs above their feet, wherewith to leap upon the earth." This manifestly refers to jumping insects of the order *Orthoptera*, such as locusts, grasshoppers and crickets, and is in contrast to the unclean "winged creeping things that go upon all fours," which may be taken to denote running *Orthoptera*, such as cockroaches, mole-crickets and ear-wigs, as well as insects of other orders.

'Arbeh (1) is uniformly trᵈ "locust" in RV. AV has usually "locust," but "grasshopper" in Jgs **6** 5; **7** 12; Job **39** 20; Jer **46** 23. LXX has usually ἀκρίς, *akrís*, "locust"; but has βροῦχος, *broúchos*, "wingless locust," in Lev **11** 22; 1 K **8** 37 (*akris* in the ‖ passage, 2 Ch **6** 28); Nah **3** 15; and ἀττέλεβος, *attélebos*, "wingless locust," in Nah

3 17. *'Arbeh* occurs (Ex **10** 4–19) in the account of the plague of locusts; in the phrase "as locusts for multitude" (Jgs **6** 5; **7** 12); "more than the locusts . . . . innumerable" (Jer **46** 23);

"The locusts have no king,
Yet go they forth all of them by bands" (Prov **30** 27).

'Arbeh is referred to as a plague in Dt **28** 38; 1 K **8** 37; 2 Ch **6** 28; Ps **78** 46; in Joel and in Nah. These references, together with the fact that it is the most used word, occurring 24 t, warrant us in assuming it to be one of the swarming species, i.e. *Pachtylus migratorius* or *Schistocerca peregrina*, which from time to time devastate large regions in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean.



Locust: (1) *Tryxalis;* (2) *Acridium peregrinum;* (3) *Oedipoda migratoria.*

Ṣālʽām (2), EV "bald locust," occurs only in Lev **11** 22. According to Tristram, *NBH*, the name "bald locust" was given because it is said in the Talm to have a smooth head. It has been thought to be one of the genus *Tryxalis* (*T. unguiculata* or *T. nasuta*), in which the head is greatly elongated.

Ḥargōl (3), AV "beetle," RV "cricket," being one of the leaping insects, cannot be a beetle. It might be a cricket, but comparison with the Arab. (see *supra*) favors a locust of some sort. The word occurs only in Lev **11** 22. See Beetle.

Ḥāghābh (4) is one of the clean leaping insects of Lev **11** 22 (EV "grasshopper"). The word occurs in four other places, nowhere coupled with the name of another insect. In the report of the spies (Nu **13** 33), we have the expression, "We were in our own sight as grasshoppers"; in Eccl **12** 5, "The grasshopper shall be a burden"; in Isa **40** 22, "It is he that sitteth above the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers." These three passages distinctly favor the rendering "grasshopper" of EV. In the remaining passage (2 Ch **7** 13), ". . . . if I command the locust [EV] to devour the land," the migratory locust seems to be referred to. Doubtless this as well as other words was loosely used. In Eng. there is no sharp distinction between the words "grasshopper" and "locust."

The migratory locusts belong to the family *Acridiidae*, distinguished by short, thick antennae, and by having the organs of hearing at the base of the abdomen. The insects of the family *Locustidae* are commonly called "grasshoppers," but the same name is applied to those *Acridiidae* which are not found in swarms. The *Locustidae* have long, thin antennae, organs of hearing on the tibiae of the front legs, and the females have long ovipositors. It may be noted that the insect known in America as the seventeen-year locust, which occasionally does extensive damage to trees by laying its eggs in the twigs, is a totally different insect, being a *Cicada* of the order *Rhynchota*. Species of *Cicada* are found in Pal, but are not considered harmful.

The Book of Joel is largely occupied with the description of a plague of locusts. Commentators differ as to whether it should be interpreted literally or allegorically (see Joel). Four names *'arbeh* (1), *gāzām* (5), *yeleḳ* (6) and *ḥāṣīl* (7), are found in Joel **1** 4 and again in **2** 25.

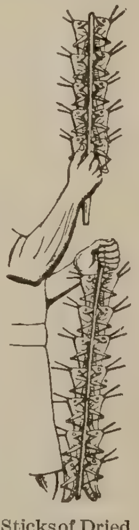
For the etymology of these names, see 1 above. *Gāzām* (Am **4** 9; Joel **1** 4; **2** 25) is in RV uniformly tr^d "palmer-worm" (LXX κάμπη, *kámpē*, "caterpillar"). *Ḥāsīl* in RV (1 K **8** 37; 2 Ch **6** 28; Ps **78** 46; Isa **33** 4; Joel **1** 4; **2** 25) is uniformly tr^d "caterpillar." LXX has indifferently *brouchos*, "wingless locust," and ἐρυσίβη, *erusíbē*, "rust" (of wheat). *Yeleḳ* (Ps **105** 34; Jer **51** 14.27; Joel **1** 4*b*; **2** 25; Nah **3** 15*b*.16) is everywhere "canker-worm" in RV, except in Ps **105** 34, where ARV has "grasshopper." AV has "caterpillar" in Ps and Jer and "canker-worm" in Joel and Nah. LXX has indifferently *akris* and *brouchos*. "Palmer-worm" and "canker-worm" are both Old Eng. terms for caterpillars, which are strictly the larvae of lepidopterous insects, i.e. butterflies and moths.

While these four words occur in Joel **1** 4 and **2** 25, a consideration of the book as a whole does not show that the ravages of four different insect pests are referred to, but rather a single one, and that the locust. These words may therefore be regarded as different names of the locust, referring to different stages of development of the insect. It is true that the words do not occur in quite the same order in **1** 4 and in **2** 25, but while the former verse indicates a definite succession, the latter does not. If, therefore, all four words refer to the locust, "palmer-worm," "canker-worm," "caterpillar" and the LXX *erusibē*, "rust," are obviously inappropriate.

Gōbh (8) is found in the difficult passage (Am **7** 1), ". . . . He formed locusts [AV "grasshoppers," AVm "green worms," LXX *akris*] in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth"; and (Nah **3** 17) in ". . . . thy marshals [are] as the swarms of grasshoppers [Heb *gōbh gōbhay;* AV "great grasshoppers"], which encamp in the hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are." The related *gēbh* (9) occurs but once, in Isa **33** 4, also a disputed passage, "And your spoil shall be gathered as the caterpillar [*ḥāṣīl*] gathereth: as locusts [*gēbhīm*] leap shall men leap upon it." It is impossible to determine what species is meant, but some kind of locust or grasshopper fits any of these passages.

In Dt **28** 42, "All thy trees and the fruit of thy ground shall the locust [EV] possess," we have (10) *ç^{e}lāçal* (LXX *erusibē*). The same word is tr^d in 2 S **6** 5 and Ps **150** 5 *bis* "cymbals," in Job **41** 7 "fish-spears," and in Isa **18** 1 "rustling." As stated in 1, above, it is an onomatopoetic word, and in Dt **28** 42 may well refer to the noise of the wings of a flight of locusts.

In the NT we have (11) *akris*, "locust," the food of John the Baptist (Mt **3** 4; Mk **1** 6); the same word is used fig. in Rev **9** 3.7; and also in Apoc (Jth **2** 20; Wisd **16** 9; and see 2 Esd **4** 24).



Sticks of Dried Locusts on the Sculptures from Kouyunjik (Brit. Mus.).

The swarms of locusts are composed of countless individuals. The statements sometimes made that they darken the sky must not be taken too literally.

3. Habits

They do not produce darkness, but their effect may be like that of a thick cloud. Their movements are largely determined by the wind, and while fields that are in their path may be laid waste, others at one side may not be affected. It is possible by vigorous waving to keep a given tract clear of them, but usually enough men cannot be found to protect the fields from their ravages.

Large birds have been known to pass through a flight of locusts with open mouths, filling their crops with the insects. Tristram, *NHB*, relates how he saw the fishes in the Jordan enjoying a similar feast, as the locusts fell into the stream. The female locust, by means of the ovipositor at the end of her abdomen, digs a hole in the ground, and deposits in it a mass of eggs, which are cemented together with a glandular secretion. An effective way of dealing with the locusts is to gather and destroy these egg-masses, and it is customary for the local governments to offer a substantial reward for a measure of eggs. The young before they can fly are frequently swept into pits or ditches dug for the purpose and are burned.

The young are of the same general shape as the adult insects, differing in being small, black and wingless. The three distinct stages in the metamorphosis of butterflies and others of the higher insects are not to be distinguished in locusts. They molt about six times, emerging from each molt larger than before. At first there are no wings. After several molts, small and useless wings are found, but it is only after the last molt that the insects are able to fly. In the early molts the tiny black nymphs are found in patches on the ground, hopping out of the way when disturbed. Later they run, until they are able to fly.

In all stages they are destructive to vegetation. Some remarkable pictures of their ravages are found in Joel **1** 6.7, "For a nation is come up upon my land, strong, and without number; his teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the jaw-teeth of a lioness. He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig-tree: he hath made it clean bare, and cast it away; the branches thereof are made white" (see also **2** 2–9.20).

4. Figurative

Locusts are instruments of the wrath of God (Ex **10** 4–19; Dt **28** 38.42; 2 Ch **7** 13; Ps **78** 46; **105** 34; Nah **3** 15–17; Wisd **16** 9; Rev **9** 3); they typify an invading army (Jer **51** 14.27); they are compared with horses (Joel **2** 4; Rev **9** 7); in Job **39** 20, Jeh says of the horse: "Hast thou made him to leap as a locust?" AV "Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper?" Locusts are among the "four things which are little upon the earth, but . . . . are exceeding wise" (Prov **30** 27). Like the stars and sands of the sea, locusts are a type of that which cannot be numbered (Jgs **6** 5; **7** 12; Jer **46** 23; Jth **2** 20). Grasshoppers are a symbol of insignificance (Nu **13** 33; Eccl **12** 5; Isa **40** 22; 2 Esd **4** 24).

5. Locusts as Food

The Arabs prepare for food the thorax of the locust, which contains the great wing muscles. They pull off the head, which as it comes away brings with it a mass of the viscera, and they remove the abdomen (or "tail"), the legs and the wings. The thoraxes, if not at once eaten, are dried and put away as a store of food for a lean season. The idea of feeding upon locusts when prepared in this way should not be so repellent as the thought of eating the whole insect. In the light of this it is not incredible that the food of John the Baptist should have been "locusts and wild honey" (Mt **3** 4). See Insects.

Alfred Ely Day

1. Scriptural Notices

LOD, LYDDA (לוֹד, *lōdh;* **Λύδδα**, *Lúdda*): Ono and Lod and the towns thereof are said to have been built by Shemed, a Benjamite (1 Ch **8** 12). The children of Lod, Hadid and Ono, to the number of 725, returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr **2** 33; Neh **7** 37 [721]). The town lay in the Shephelah, perhaps in *gē hā-ḥărāshīm*, "the valley of craftsmen" (Neh **11** 35). In the NT it appears as Lydda. Here the apostle Peter visited the saints and healed the palsied Aeneas (Acts **9** 32). Hence he was summoned by messengers from Joppa on the death of Dorcas.

2. History from Maccabean Times

The three governments of Aphaerema, Lydda and Ramathaim were added to Judaea from the country of Samaria by King Demetrius II (1 Macc **11** 34). Lydda presided over one of the toparchies under Jerus, into which Judaea was divided (*BJ*, III, iii, 5). After the death of Julius Caesar the inhabitants of Lydda and certain other towns, having failed to pay the contributions Cassius demanded, were by him sold into slavery. They were freed by Antony (*Ant*, XIV, xi, 2; xii, 2). Lydda suffered severely under Cestius Gallus (*BJ*, II, xix, 1). Along with Jamnia it surrendered to Vespasian (*BJ*, IV, viii, 1). After the fall of Jerus it was noted as a seat of rabbinical learning. The classical name of the city was Diospolis. In the 4th cent. it was connected with the trade in purple. It became the seat of a bishopric, and the bishop of Lydda was present at the Council of Nicaea. At Lydda, in 415 AD, took place the trial of Pelagius for heresy.

Under the Moslems it became capital of the province of *Filastīn*, but later it was superseded by *er-Ramleh*, founded by Khalif Suleiman, whither its inhabitants were removed (*Ya'kūbī*, c 891 AD). Mukaddasi (c 985) says that in Lydda "there is a great mosque in which are wont to assemble large numbers of people from the capital [*er-Ramleh*] and from the villages around. In Lydda, too, is that wonderful church [of St. George] at the gate of which Christ will slay the antichrist" (quoted by Guy le Strange, *Pal under the Moslems*, 493). It was rebuilt by the Crusaders; but was destroyed by Saladin after the battle of *Ḥaṭṭīn*, 1191 AD. It was again restored; but in 1271 it was sacked by the Mongols, and from this blow it has never recovered.

3. Identification and Description

The ancient Lod or Lydda is represented by the modern village of *Ludd*, on the road to Jerus, about 11 miles S.E. of *Yāfā*. It is a station on the Jaffa-Jerus Railway. It occupies a picturesque hollow in the plain of Sharon, and is surrounded by gardens and orchards, the beauty of which intensifies by contrast the squalor of the village. It was the reputed birthplace of St. George, and here he is said to have been buried. The one ruin of importance in the place is that of the church which perpetuates his name.

The town stood on the great caravan road between Babylon and Egypt, near its intersection with that from Joppa to Jerus and the East. Its position on these great arteries of commerce meant trade for the inhabitants. "The manufacture and repair of such requisites for the journey as sacks, saddles and strappings would create the skilled labor in cloth, leather, wood and metal that made the neighborhood once the valley of craftsmen" (Mackie, *HDB*, s.v.). Like many other once prosperous cities on these and similar caravan routes, Lydda suffered from diversion of traffic to the sea; and it may be that for none of them is any great revival now possible.

W. Ewing

LODDEUS, lod-ē'us (**Λοδδεύς**, *Loddeús;* Swete reads *Laadaíos* with *Doldaíos* as variant in A; AV **Daddeus, Saddeus**): The captain, who was in the place of the treasury. Ezra sent to him for men who "might execute the priests' office" (1 Esd **8** 46); called "Iddo" in Ezr **8** 17.

LO-DEBAR, lō'dḗ-bär, lṓ-dē'bär (לֹו דְבָר, *lō dhᵉbhār*): A place in Gilead where dwelt Machir, son of Ammiel, who sheltered Mephibosheth, son of Saul, after that monarch's death (2 S **9** 4), until he was sent for by David. This same Machir met David with supplies when he fled to Gilead from Absalom (**17** 27 f). Possibly it is the same place as Lidebir in Josh **13** 26 (RVm). No certain identification is possible; but Schumacher (*Northern 'Ajlūn*, 101) found a site with the name *Ibdar* about 6½ miles E. of *Umm Ḳeis*, N. of the great aqueduct, which may possibly represent the ancient city. Lidebir, at least, seems to be placed on the northern boundary of Gilead. The modern village stands on the southern shoulder of *Wādy Samar*. There is a good spring to the E., a little lower down, while ancient remains are found in the neighborhood. W. Ewing

LODGE, loj (לִין, *līn;* **κατασκηνόω**, *kataskēnóō*, etc): To stay or dwell, temporarily, as for the night (Gen **32** 13.21; Nu **22** 8; Josh **2** 1 AV; **4** 3; Lk **13** 19; Mt **21** 17, *aulízomai*), or permanently (Ruth **1** 16). In Isa **1** 8, "a lodge [*m^elūnāh*] in a garden of cucumbers," the meaning is "hut," "cottage." "Evil thoughts" are said to "lodge" in the wicked (Jer **4** 14).

LOFT: In 1 K **17** 23, changed in RV to "chamber."

LOFTILY, lof'ti-li, **LOFTINESS**, lof'ti-nes, **LOFTY:** The first form is only in Ps **73** 8, where it means "haughtily," as if from on high. The second is found only in Jer **48** 29, where the loftiness of Moab also means his haughtiness, his groundless self-conceit.

Lofty likewise means "haughty," "lifted up" (cf Ps **131** 1; Isa **2** 11; Prov **30** 13). In Isa **26** 5 it refers to a self-secure and boastful city. In **57** 15 it is used in a good sense of God who really is high and supreme. Isaiah uses the word more than all the other sacred writers put together.

LOG, log, lōg (לֹג, *lōgh*, "deepened," "hollowed out" [Lev **14** 10–24]): The smallest liquid or dry measure of the Hebrews, equal to about 1 pint. See Weights and Measures.

1. The Word "Logia" and Its History

LOGIA, log'i-a, **THE** (**Λόγια**, *Lógia*): The word *lógion*, which is a dimin. of *lógos*, was regularly used of Divine utterances. There are examples in the classics, the LXX, the writings of Josephus and Philo and in four passages in the NT (Acts **7** 38; Rom **3** 2; He **5** 12; 1 Pet **4** 11) where it is uniformly rendered both in AV and RV "oracles." It is not, therefore, surprising that early Christian writers, who thought of Christ as Divine, applied this term to His sayings also. We find this use, according to the usual interpretation, in the title of the lost work of Papias as preserved by Eusebius, *Logíōn kuriakōn exēgēsis*, "Exposition of the Lord's Logia" (*HE*, III, 39), in that writer's obscure reference to a Heb or Aram. writing by the apostle Matthew (ib), and in Polycarp's Ep. (§7), "the logia of the Lord." The modern use of the word is twofold: (*a*) as the name of the document referred to by Papias which may or may not be the Q of recent inquirers; (*b*) as the name of recently discovered sayings ascribed to Jesus. For the former cf Gospels. The latter is the theme of this article.

2. The Discovery of the Logia

About 9½ miles from the railway station of *Beni Mazar*, 121 miles from Cairo, a place now called *Behnesa* marks the site of an ancient city named by the Greeks Oxyrhynchus, from the name of a sacred fish, the modern binni, which had long been known as a great Christian center in early times and was therefore selected by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt for exploration in behalf of the Egyp Exploration Fund. They began work on the ruins of the town, January 11, 1897, and on the following day discovered a papyrus leaf inscribed with a number of sayings introduced by the formula *légei Iēsoús*, "saith Jesus," some of which were at once seen to be quite new. When excavation was resumed in February, 1903, a second fragment was discovered, which must have belonged to the same or a similar collection, as the formula "saith Jesus" is employed in exactly the same way, and the sayings exhibit the same mixed character. The first of these two fragments was named by the discoverers *logia*, but the short preface to the second fragment suggests that the word used in the original title may have been *logoi*, which is found in Acts **20** 35 as the title perhaps of a collection of sayings of Jesus used by the apostle Paul. It is convenient, however, to retain *logia*, at any rate for the present. Other remains of early Christian texts have been found on the same site (cf Agrapha) but none of precisely the same character.

3. Description of the Texts

The first fragment, found and published in 1897, afterward referred to as A, is a leaf from a papyrus book measuring in its present state 5¾ ×3¾ inches and having 42 lines on the two pages. As it is broken at the bottom it is impossible, in the absence of another leaf, to ascertain or even conjecture how much has been lost. At the top right-hand corner of one page are the letters *iôta*, *álpha*, used as numerals, that is 11, and it has been suggested that this, with other characteristics, marks the page as the first of the two. The uncial writing is assigned to the 3d cent., perhaps to the early part of it. The text is fairly complete except at the end of the third logion, for the five following lines, and at the bottom. The second fragment, henceforth referred to as B, found in 1903 and published in 1904, has also 42 lines, or rather parts of lines, but on only one page or column, the Christian text being written on the back of a roll the recto of which contained a survey list. The characters of this, too, are uncial, and the date, like that of A, seems to be also the 3d cent., but perhaps a little later. B is unfortunately very defective, the bit of papyrus being broken vertically throughout, so that several letters are lost at the end of each line, and also horizontally for parts of several lines at the bottom.

Seven of these sayings, or logia, inclusive of the preface of B, have or contain canonical parallels, namely:

4. Logia with Canonical Parallels

(1) A1, which coincides with the usual text of Lk **6** 42; (2) A5*a* (according to the *editio princeps*, 6*a*), which comes very close to Lk **4** 24; (3) A6 (or 7), a variant of Mt **5** 14; (4) the saying contained in the preface of B which resembles Jn **8** 52; (5) B2, ll. 7 f, "The kingdom of heaven is within you," which reminds us of Lk **17** 21; (6) B3, ll. 4 f, "Many that are first shall be last; and the last first," which corresponds to Mk **10** 31; cf Mt **19** 30; Lk **13** 30; (7) B4, ll. 2–5, "That which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee: for there is nothing hidden that shall not be made manifest," which is like Mk **4** 22 (cf Mt **10** 26; Lk **12** 2). These parallels or partial parallels—for some of them exhibit interesting variations—are, with one exception, of synoptic character.

The other seven or eight logia, although not without possible echoes of the canonical Gospels in thought and diction, are all non-canonical and with one exception new.

5. New Sayings

Three of them, namely B2 and 3 (apart from the canonical sayings given above) and 5, may be set aside as too uncertain to be of any value. What is preserved of the first ("Who are they that draw you [MS, us] to the kingdom?" etc) is indeed very tempting, but the restoration of the lost matter is too precarious for any suggestion to be more than an ingenious conjecture. This is seen by comparing the restoration of this logion by the discoverers, Dr. Swete and Dr. C. Taylor, with that proposed by Deissmann (*Licht vom Osten*[1], 329). While the Eng. scholars take *hélkō* in the sense of "draw," the German takes it in the sense which it has in the NT, "drag," with the result of utter divergence as to the meaning and even the subject of the logion. The logia which remain are undeniably of great interest, although the significance of at least one is exceedingly obscure. The number of the sayings is not certain. Dr. Taylor has shown that in A2*f* "and" may couple two distinct utterances brought together by the compiler. If this suggestion is adopted, and if the words after A3 in the *editio princeps* are regarded as belonging to it and not as the remains of a separate logion, we get the following eight sayings:

(1) "Except ye fast to the world [or "from the world"], ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God" (A2*a*); (2) "Except ye keep the sabbath

[Taylor "sabbatize the sabbath"], ye shall not see the Father" (A2*b*); (3) "I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them" (A3*a*); (4) "My soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and see not their wretchedness and their poverty" (the last clause restored by conjecture) (A3*b*); (5) "Wherever there are two they are not without God, and where there is one alone I say I am with him [after Blass]. Raise the stone and [there] thou shalt find me: cleave the wood [Taylor, "the tree"] and there am I" (A4); (6) "A physician does not work cures on them that know him" (A5*b*); (7) "Thou hearest with one ear but the other thou hast closed" (largely conjectural but almost certain) (A6); (8) "[There is nothing] buried which shall not be raised" (or "known") (B4, l. 5).

6. Origin and Character of the Logia

Attempts have been made to trace the collection represented by these fragments (assuming that they belong to the same work) to some lost gospel—the Gospel according to the Egyptians (Harnack, Van Manen), the Gospel of the Ebionites or the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles (Zahn), or the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Batiffol), but without decisive result. That there is a connection of some kind with the last-mentioned apocryphal work is evident from the fact that B1 ("Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . . cease until he find Him; and having found Him, let him be amazed; and being amazed he shall reign, and reigning shall rest") is ascribed by Clement of Alexandria to this writing, but that cannot have been the only source. It was probably one of a number drawn on by the compiler. The latter, so far as B is concerned, represents the sayings as spoken by Jesus to ". . . . and Thomas." In whatever way the gap is supplied—whether by "Philip," or "Judas" or "the other disciples"—one of the Twelve known as Thomas is clearly referred to as the medium or one of the media of transmission. It is possible that the short preface in which this statement is made belongs not to the whole collection but to a part of it. The whole work may, as Swete suggests (*Expos T*, XV, 494), have been entitled "Words of Jesus to the Twelve," and this may have been the portion addressed to Thomas. The other fragment, A, might belong to a section associated with the name of another apostle. In any case the Logia must have formed part of a collection of considerable extent, as we know of material for 24 pages or columns of about 21 or 22 lines each. So far as can be judged the writing was not a gospel in the ordinary sense of that term, but a collection of sayings perhaps bearing considerable resemblance as to the form to the Logia of Matthew mentioned by Papias.

The remains of B5, however, show that a saying might be prefaced with introductory matter. Perhaps a short narrative was sometimes appended. The relation to the canonical Gospels cannot be determined with present evidence. The sayings preserved generally exhibit the synoptic type, perhaps more specifically the Lukan type, but Johannine echoes, that is, possible traces of the thought and diction represented in the Fourth Gospel, are not absent (cf A, logia 2*f*, and preface to B). It seems not improbable that the compiler had our four Gospels before him, but nothing can be proved. There is no distinct sign of heretical influence. The much-debated saying about the wood and the stone (A4*b*) undoubtedly lends itself to pantheistic teaching, but can be otherwise understood.

Under these circumstances the date of the compilation cannot at present be fixed except in a very general way. If our papyri which represent two copies were written, as the discoverers think, in the 3d cent., that fact and the indubitably archaic character of the sayings make it all but certain that the text as arranged is not later than the 2d cent. To what part of the cent. it is to be assigned is at present undiscoverable. Sanday inclines to about 120 AD, the finders suggest about 140 AD as the *terminus ad quem*, Zahn dates 160–70 AD, and Dr. Taylor 150–200 AD. Further research may solve these problems, but, with the resources now available, all that can be said is that we have in the Logia of Oxyrhynchus a few glimpses of an early collection of sayings ascribed to Jesus which circulated in Egypt in the 3d cent. of great interest and possibly of considerable value, but of completely unknown origin.

Literature.—Of the extensive literature which has gathered round the Logia—as many as fifty publications relating to A only in the first few months—only a few can be mentioned here. A was first published in 1897 as a pamphlet and afterward as No. 1 of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Valuable articles by Cross and Harnack appeared in *Expos*, ser. V, vol VI, 257 ff, 321 ff, 401 ff, an important lecture by Swete in *Expos T*, VIII, 544 ff, 568, and a very useful pamphlet by Sanday and Lock in the same year. B appeared in 1904 in pamphlet form and as No. 654 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, with a fuller comm. Dr. C. Taylor's pamphlets on A and B issued respectively in 1899 and 1905, and Swete's lecture on B, *Expos T*, XV, 488 ff, are of exceptional significance for the study of the subject. Cf also Griffinhoofe, *The Unwritten Sayings of Christ* (A only), 55–67; Klostermann, *Kleine Texte*, Nos. 8, pp. 11 f and 11, pp. 17 ff; Resch, *Agrapha*^{2}, 68–73, 353 f; *HDB*, art. "Agrapha," extra vol; also arts. on "Unwritten Sayings" in *HDB*, 1909, and *DCG*.

William Taylor Smith

LOGOS, log′os (**λόγος**, *lógos*):

I. Greek Speculation
  1. Heraclitus
  2. Anaxagoras
  3. Plato
  4. Aristotle
  5. Stoics
II. Hebrew Anticipation of Doctrine
  1. Word as Revelation of God
  2. Suggestions of Personal Distinctions in Deity
  3. Theophanies
  4. Wisdom
  5. Targums
III. Alexandrian Synthesis
  Philo
IV. Christian Realization
  1. Pauline Doctrine
  2. Doctrine in Hebrews
  3. Doctrine in Fourth Gospel
    (1) Content of Doctrine
      (*a*) Relation of Logos to God
      (*b*) Relation of Logos to World
    (2) Origin of Terminology
      (*a*) Hebrew Source
      (*b*) Hellenic Source
      (*c*) Contrast between Philo and John
V. Patristic Development
Literature

The doctrine of the Logos has exerted a decisive and far-reaching influence upon speculative and Christian thought. The word has a long history, and the evolution of the idea it embodies is really the unfolding of man's conception of God. To comprehend the relation of the Deity to the world has been the aim of all religious philosophy. While widely divergent views as to the Divine manifestation have been conceived, from the dawn of Western speculation, the Gr word *logos* has been employed with a certain degree of uniformity by a series of thinkers to express and define the nature and mode of God's revelation.

Logos signifies in classical Gr both "reason" and "word." Though in Bib. Gr the term is mostly employed in the sense of "word," we cannot properly dissociate the two significations. Every word implies a thought. It is impossible to imagine a time when God was without thought. Hence thought must be eternal as the Deity. The tr "thought" is probably the best equivalent for the Gr term, since it denotes, on the one hand, the faculty of reason, or the thought inwardly conceived in the mind; and, on the other hand, the thought outwardly expressed through the vehicle of language. The two ideas, thought and speech, are indubitably blended in the term *logos;* and in every employment of the word, in philosophy and Scripture, both notions of thought and its outward expression are intimately connected.

In this art. it will be our aim to trace the evolution of the doctrine from its earliest appearance in Gr philosophy through its Heb and Alexandrian phases till it attained its richest expression in the writings of the NT, and esp. in the Fourth Gospel.

The doctrine may be said to have two stages: a Hellenistic and a Heb; or, more correctly, a pre-Christian and a Christian. The theory of Philo and of the Alexandrian thinkers generally may be regarded as the connecting link between the Gr and the Christian forms of the doctrine. The Gr or pre-Christian speculation on the subject is marked by the names of Heraclitus, Plato and the Stoics. Philo paves the way for the Christian doctrine of Paul, Hebrews and the Johannine Gospel.

I. Greek Speculation.—The earliest speculations of the Greeks were occupied with the world of Nature, and the first attempts at philosophy take the shape of a search for some unitary principle to explain the diversity of the universe.

1. Heraclitus

Heraclitus was practically the first who sought to account for the order which existed in a world of change by a law or ruling principle. This profoundest of Gr philosophers saw everything in a condition of flux. Everything is forever passing into something else and has an existence only in relation to this process. We cannot say things are: they come into being and pass away. To account for this state of perpetual *becoming,* Heraclitus was led to seek out a new and primary element from which all things take their rise. This substance he conceived to be, not water or air as previous thinkers had conjectured, but something more subtle, mysterious and potent—fire. This restless, all-consuming and yet all-transforming activity—now darting upward as a flame, now sinking to an ember and now vanishing as smoke—is for him at once the symbol and essence of life. But it is no arbitrary or lawless element. If there is flux everywhere, all change must take place according to "measure." Reality is an "attunement" of opposites, a tension or harmony of conflicting elements. Heraclitus saw all the mutations of being governed by a rational and unalterable law. This law he calls sometimes "Justice," sometimes "Harmony"; more frequently "Logos" or "Reason," and in two passages at least, "God." Fire, Logos, God are fundamentally the same. It is the eternal energy of the universe pervading all its substance and preserving in unity and harmony the perpetual drift and evolution of phenomenal existence. Though Heraclitus sometimes calls this rational principle God, it is not probable that he attached to it any definite idea of consciousness. The Logos is not above the world or even prior to it. It is *in* it, its inner pervasive energy sustaining, relating and harmonizing its endless variety.

2. Anaxagoras

Little was done by the immediate successors of Heraclitus to develop the doctrine of the Logos, and as the distinction between mind and matter became more defined, the term *nous* superseded that of Logos as the rational force of the world. Anaxagoras was the first thinker who introduced the idea of a supreme *intellectual* principle which, while independent of the world, governed it. His conception of the *nous* or "mind" is, however, vague and confused, hardly distinguishable from corporeal matter. By the artificial introduction of a power acting externally upon the world, a dualism, which continued throughout Gr philosophy, was created. At the same time it is to the merit of Anaxagoras that he was the first to perceive some kind of distinction between mind and matter and to suggest a teleological explanation of the universe.

3. Plato

In Plato the idea of a regulative principle reappears. But though the word is frequently used, it is *nous* and not Logos which determines his conception of the relation of God and the world. The special doctrine of the Logos does not find definite expression, except perhaps in the *Timaeus,* where the word is employed as descriptive of the Divine force from which the world has arisen. But if the word does not frequently occur in the dialogues, there is not wanting a basis upon which a Logos-doctrine might be framed; and the conception of archetypal ideas affords a philosophical expression of the relation of God and the world. The idea of a dominating principle of reason was lifted to a higher plane by the distinction which Plato made between the world of sense and the world of thought, to the latter of which God belonged. According to Plato, true reality or absolute being consisted of the "Ideas" which he conceived as thoughts residing in the Divine mind before the creation of the world. To these abstract concepts was ascribed the character of supersensible realities of which in some way the concrete visible things of the world were copies or images. Compared with the "Ideas," the world of things was a world of shadows. This was the aspect of the Platonic doctrine of ideas which, as we shall see, Philo afterward seized upon, because it best fitted in with his general conception of the transcendence of God and His relation to the visible world. Three features of Plato's view ought to be remembered as having a special significance for our subject: (1) While God is regarded by Plato as the intelligent power by which the world is formed, matter itself is conceived by him as in some sense eternal and partly intractable. (2) While in the *Philebus* Plato employs the expression, "the regal principle of intelligence in the nature of God" (*νοῦς βασιλικὸς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς φύσει, noús basilikós en tḗ toú Diós phúsei*), it is doubtful if reason was endowed with personality or was anything more than an attribute of the Divine mind. (3) The ideas are merely models or archetypes after which creation is fashioned.

4. Aristotle

The doctrine of the Logos cannot be said to occupy a distinctive place in the teaching of Aristotle, though the word does occur in a variety of senses (e.g. *ὀρθὸς λόγος, orthós lógos,* "right insight," the faculty by which the will is trained to proper action). Aristotle sought to solve the fundamental problem of Gr philosophy as to how behind the changing multiplicity of appearances an abiding Being is to be thought by means of the concept of *development.* Plato had regarded the "ideas" as the causes of phenomena—causes different from the objects themselves. Aristotle endeavored to overcome the duality of Plato by representing reality as the essence which contains within itself potentially the phenomena, and unfolds into the particular manifestations of the sensible world. This conception has exerted a powerful influence upon subsequent thought, and particularly upon the monotheistic view of the world. At the same time in working it out, the ultimate "prime-mover" of Aristotle was not materially different from the idea of "the Good" of Plato. And inasmuch as God was conceived as pure thought existing apart from the world in eternal blessedness, Aristotle did not succeed in resolving the duality of God and the universe which exercised the Gr mind.

5. Stoics

It is to the Stoics we must look for the first systematic exposition of the doctrine of the Logos. It is the key to their interpretation of life, both in the realms of Nature and of duty. Interested more in ethical than physical problems, they were compelled to seek a general metaphysical basis for a rational moral life. Some unitary idea must be found which will overcome the duality between God and the world and remove the opposition between the sensuous and supersensuous which Plato and Aristotle had failed to reconcile. For this end the Logos-doctrine of Heraclitus seemed to present itself as the most satisfactory solution of the problem. The fundamental thought of the Stoics consequently is that the entire universe forms a single living connected whole and that all particulars are the determinate forms assumed by the primitive power which they conceived as never-resting, all-pervading fire. This eternal activity or Divine world-power which contains within itself the conditions and processes of all things, they call Logos or God. More particularly as the productive power, the Deity is named the *λόγος σπερματικός, lógos spermatikós,* the Seminal Logos or generative principle of the world. This vital energy not only pervades the universe, but unfolds itself into innumerable *logoi spermatikoi* or formative forces which energize the manifold phenomena of Nature and life. This subordination of all particulars to the Logos not only constitutes the rational order of the universe but supplies a norm of duty for the regulation of the activities of life. Hence in the moral sphere "to live according to Nature" is the all-determining law of conduct.

II. Hebrew Anticipation of Doctrine.—So far we have traced the development of the Logos-doctrine in Gr philosophy. We have now to note a parallel movement in Heb thought. Though strictly speaking it is incorrect to separate the inner Reason from the outer expression in the term Logos, still in the Hellenistic usage the doctrine was substantially a doctrine of Reason, while in Jewish lit. it was more esp. the outward expression or word that was emphasized.

1. Word as Revelation of God

The sources of this conception are to be found in the OT and in the post-canonical literature. The God who is made known in Scripture is regarded as one who actively reveals Himself. He is exhibited therefore as making His will known in and by His spoken utterances. The "Word of God" is presented as the creative principle (Gen **1** 3; Ps **33** 6); as instrument of judgment (Hos **6** 5); as agent of healing (Ps **107** 20); and generally as possessor of personal qualities (Isa **55** 2; Ps **147** 15). Revelation is frequently called the "Word of the Lord," signifying the spoken as distinct from the written word.

2. Suggestions of Personal Distinctions in Deity

In particular, we may note certain adumbrations of distinction of persons within the Being of God. It is contended that the phrase "Let us make" in Gen points to a plurality of persons in the Godhead. This indefinite language of Gen is more fully explained by the priestly ritual in Nu (**6** 23–26) and in the Psalter. In Jer, Ezr and the vision of Isa (**6** 2–8) the same idea of Divine plurality is implied, showing that the OT presents a doctrine of God far removed from the sterile monotheism of the Koran (cf Liddon, *Divinity of Our Lord*, and König).

3. Theophanies

Passing from these indefinite intimations of personal distinction in the inner life of God, we may mention first that series of remarkable apparitions commonly known as the theophanies of the OT. These representations are described as the "Angel of Jeh" or of "the Covenant"; or as the "Angel of his presence." This angelic appearance is sometimes *identified* with Jeh (Gen **16** 11.13; **32** 29–31; Ex **3** 2; **13** 21), sometimes *distinguished* from Him (Gen **22** 15; **24** 7; **28** 12); sometimes presented in *both aspects* (Ex **3** 6; Zec **1** 11). We find God revealing Himself in this way to Abraham, Sarah, Lot, Hagar, Jacob, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Manoah. Who was this angel? The earliest Fathers reply with general unanimity that He was the "Word" or "Son of God." But while the earlier church teachers distinguished between the "Angel of the Lord" and the Father, the Arians sought to widen the distinction into a difference of natures, since an invisible Being must be higher than one cognizable by the senses. Augustine insists upon the Scriptural truth of the invisibility of God as God, the Son not less than the Father. He will not presume, however, to say which of the Divine persons manifested Himself in this or that instance; and his general doctrine, in which he has been followed by most of the later teachers of the church, is that the theophanies were not direct appearances of a Person of the Godhead, but self-manifestations of God through a created being.

4. Wisdom

A further development of the conception of a personal medium of revelation is discernible in the description of Wisdom as given in some of the later books of the OT. The wisdom of Jewish Scripture is more than a human endowment or even an attribute of God, and may be said to attain almost to a personal reflex of the Deity, reminding us of the archetypal ideas of Plato. In Job, wisdom is represented as existent in God and as communicated in its highest form to man. It is the eternal thought in which the Divine Architect ever beholds His future creation (Job **28** 23–27). If in Job wisdom is revealed only as underlying the laws of the universe and not as wholly personal, in the Book of Prov it is coeternal with Jeh and assists Him in creation (Prov **8** 22–31). It may be doubtful whether this is the language of a real person or only of a poetic personification. But something more than a personified idea may be inferred from the contents of the sapiential books outside the Canon. Sir represents Wisdom as existing from all eternity with God. In Bar and still more in Wisd the *Sophia* is distinctly personal—"the very image of the goodness of God." In this pseudo-Solomonic book, supposed to be the work of an Alexandrian writer before Philo, the influence of Gr thought is traceable. The writer speaks of God's Word (*mē'mᵉrā'*) as His agent in creation and judgment.

5. Targums

Finally in the Tgs, which were popular interpretations or paraphrases of the OT Scripture, there was a tendency to avoid anthropomorphic terms or such expressions as involved a too internal conception of God's nature and manifestation. Here the three doctrines of the Word, the Angel, and Wisdom are introduced as mediating factors between God and the world. In particular the chasm between the Divine and human is bridged over by the use of such terms as *mē'mᵉrā'* ("word") and *shᵉkhīnāh* ("glory"). The *mē'mᵉrā'* proceeds from God, and is His messenger in Nature and history. But it is significant that though the use of this expression implied the felt need of a Mediator, the Word does not seem to have been actually identified with the Messiah.

III. Alexandrian Synthesis.—We have seen that according to Gr thought the Logos was conceived as a rational principle or impersonal energy by means of which the world was fashioned and ordered, while according to Heb thought the Logos was regarded rather as a mediating agent or personal organ of the Divine Being. The Hellenistic doctrine, in other words, was chiefly a doctrine of the Logos as Reason; the Jewish, a doctrine of the Logos as Word.

Philo

In the philosophy of Alexandria, of which Philo was an illustrious exponent, the two phases were combined, and Hellenistic speculation was united with Heb tradition for the purpose of showing that the OT taught the true philosophy and embodied all that was highest in Gr reflection. In Philo the two streams meet and flow henceforth in a common bed. The all-pervading Energy of Heraclitus, the archetypal Ideas of Plato, the purposive Reason of Aristotle, the immanent Order of the Stoics are taken up and fused with the Jewish conception of Jeh who, while transcending all finite existences, is revealed through His intermediatory Word. As the result of this Philonic synthesis, an entirely new idea of God is formulated. While Philo admits the eternity of matter, he rejects the Gr view that the world is eternal, since it denies the creative activity and providence of God. At the same time he separates Divine energy from its manifestations in the world, and is therefore compelled to connect the one with the other by the interposition of subordinate Powers. These Divine forces are the embodiment of the ἰδέαι, *idéai*, of Plato and the ἄγγελοι, *ággeloi*, of the OT. The double meaning of Logos—thought and speech—is made use of by Philo to explain the relation subsisting between the ideal world existing only in the mind of God and the sensible universe which is its visible embodiment. He distinguishes, therefore, between the Logos inherent in God (λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, *lógos endiáthetos*), corresponding to reason in man, and the Logos which emanates from God (λόγος προφορικός, *lógos prophorikós*), corresponding to the spoken Word as the revelation of thought. Though in His inner essence God is incomprehensible by any but Himself, He has created the intelligible cosmos by His self-activity. The Word is therefore in Philo the *rational order manifested in the visible world*.

Some special features of the Philonic Logos may be noted: (1) It is distinguished from God as the *instrument* from the Cause. (2) As instrument by which God makes the world, it is in its nature *intermediate* between God and man. (3) As the expressed thought of God and the rational principle of the visible world, the Logos is "the *Eldest* or *Firstborn Son of God.*" It is the "bond" (δεσμός, *desmós*) holding together all things (*De Mundi*, i.592), the law which determines the order of the universe and guides the destinies of men and nations (ib). Sometimes Philo calls it the "Man of God": or the "Heavenly man," the immortal father of all noble men; sometimes he calls it "the Second God," "the Image of God." (4) From this it follows that the Logos must be the *Mediator* between God and man, the "Intercessor" (ἱκέτης, *hikétēs*) or "High Priest," who is the ambassador from heaven and interprets God to man. Philo almost exhausts the vocabulary of Heb metaphor in describing the

Logos. It is "manna," "bread from heaven," "the living stream," the "sword" of Paradise, the guiding "cloud," the "rock" in the wilderness.

These various expressions, closely resembling the NT descriptions of Christ, lead us to ask: Is Philo's Logos a personal being or a pure abstraction? Philo himself seems to waver in his answer, and the Greek and the Jew in him are hopelessly at issue. That he personifies the Logos is implied in the figures he uses; but to maintain its personality would have been inconsistent with Philo's whole view of God and the world. His Jewish faith inclines him to speak of the Logos as personal, while his Gr culture disposes him to an impersonal interpretation. Confronted with this alternative, the Alexandrian wavers in indecision. After all has been said, his Logos really resolves itself into a group of Divine ideas, and is conceived, not as a distinct person, but as the *thought of God* which is expressed in the rational order of the visible universe.

In the speculations of Philo, whose thought is so frequently couched in Bib. language, we have the gropings of a sincere mind after a truth which was disclosed in its fulness only by the revelation of Pentecost. In Philo, Gr philosophy, as has been said, "stood almost at the door of the Christian church." But if the Alexandrian thinker could not create the Christian doctrine, he unconsciously prepared the soil for its acceptance. In this sense his Logos-doctrine has a real value in the evolution of Christian thought. Philo was not, indeed, the master of the apostles, but even if he did nothing more than call forth their antagonism, he helped indirectly to determine the doctrine of Christendom.

IV. Christian Realization.—We pass now to consider the import of the term in the NT. Here it signifies usually "utterance," "speech" or "narrative." In reference to God it is used sometimes for a special utterance, or for revelation in general, and even for the medium of revelation—Holy Scripture. In the prologue of the Fourth Gospel it is identified with the personal Christ; and it is this employment of the term in the light of its past history which creates the interest of the problem of the NT doctrine.

1. Pauline Doctrine

The author of the Fourth Gospel is not, however, the first NT writer who represents Jesus as the Logos. Though Paul does not actually use the word in this connection, he has anticipated the Johannine conception. Christ is represented by St. Paul as before His advent living a life with God in heaven (Gal **4** 4; Rom **10** 6). He is conceived as one in whose image earthly beings, and esp. men, were made (1 Cor **11** 7; **15** 45–49); and even as participating in the creation (1 Cor **8** 6). In virtue of His distinct being He is called God's "own Son" (Rom **8** 32).

Whether Paul was actually conversant with the writings of Philo is disputed (cf Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*), but already when he wrote to the Colossians and Ephesians the influence of Alexandrian speculation was being felt in the church. Incipient Gnosticism, which was an attempt to correlate Christianity with the order of the universe as a whole, was current. Most noticeable are the pointed allusions to gnostic watchwords in Eph **3** 19 ("fulness of God") and in Col **2** 3 ("Christ, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden"), where Paul shows that everything sought for in the doctrine of the Pleroma is really given in Christ. The chief object of these epp. is to assert the unique dignity and absolute power of the Person of Christ. He is not merely one of the Aeons which make up the Pleroma, as gnostic teachers affirm, but a real and personal Being in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwells. He is not merely an inferior workman creating glory for a higher Master. He creates for Himself. He is the *end* as well as the source of all created things (Col **1** 15–20). Though throughout this ep. the word "Logos" is never introduced, it is plain that the εἰκών, *eikōn*, of Paul is equivalent in rank and function to the Logos of John. Each exists prior to creation, each is equal to God, shares His life and coöperates in His work.

2. Doctrine in Hebrews

In the Ep. to the He we have an equally explicit, if not fuller, declaration of the eternal Deity of Christ. Whatever may be said of Paul there can be little doubt that the author of He was familiar with the Philonic writings. Who this writer was we do not know; but his Philonism suggests that he may have been an Alexandrian Jew, possibly even a disciple of Philo. In language seemingly adapted from that source ("Son of God," "Firstborn," "above angels," "Image of God," "Agent in Creation," "Mediator," "Great High Priest," "Melchizedek") the author of He speaks of Christ as a reflection of the majesty and imprint of the nature of God, just as in a seal the impression resembles the stamp. The dignity of His title indicates His essential rank. He is expressly addressed as God; and the expression "the effulgence of his glory" (RV ἀπαύγασμα, *apaúgasma*) implies that He is one with God (He **1** 3). By Him the worlds have been made, and all things are upheld by the fiat of His word (ver 3). In the name He bears, in the honors ascribed to Him, in His superiority to angels, in His relationship as Creator both to heaven and earth (ver 10), we recognize (in language which in the letter of it strongly reminds us of Philo, yet in its spirit is so different) the description of one who though clothed with human nature is no mere subordinate being, but the possessor of all Divine prerogatives and the sharer of the very nature of God Himself.

3. Doctrine in the Fourth Gospel

In the Fourth Gospel the teaching of Paul and the author of He finds its completest expression. "The letter to the He stands in a sense half-way between Pauline and Johannine teaching" (Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, V, 11). It is, however, too much to say that these three writers represent the successive stages of a single line of development. While all agree in emphasizing the fact of Christ's Divine personality and eternal being, Paul represents rather the religious interest, the Ep. to the He the philosophical. In the Johannine Christology the two elements are united.

In discussing the Johannine doctrine of the Logos we shall speak first of its *content* and secondly of its *terminology*.

(1) *Content of doctrine.*—The evangelist uses "Logos" 6 t as a designation of the Divine preëxistent person of Christ (Jn **1** 1.14; 1 Jn **1** 1; Rev **19** 13), but he never puts it into the mouth of Christ. The idea which John sought to convey by this term was not essentially different from the conception of Christ as presented by Paul. But the use of the word gave a precision and emphasis to the being of Christ which the writer must have felt was esp. needed by the class of readers for whom his Gospel was intended. The Logos with whom the Fourth Gospel starts is a *Person*. Readers of the Synoptics had long been familiar with the term "Word of God" as equivalent to the Gospel; but the essential purport of John's Word is Jesus Himself, His Person. We have here an essential change of meaning. The two applications are indeed connected; but the conception of the perfect revelation of God in the Gospel passes into

that of the perfect revelation of the Divine nature in general (cf Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, V, ii, 320).

In the prologue (which, however, must not be regarded as independent of, or having no integral connection with, the rest of the book) there is stated: (*a*) the relation of the Logos *to God;* and (*b*) the relation of the Logos *to the world.*

(*a*) Relation of Logos to God: Here the author makes three distinct affirmations: (i) "In the beginning was the Word." The evangelist carries back his history of Our Lord to a point prior to all temporal things. Nothing is said of the origin of the world. As in Gen **1** 1, so here there is only implied that the Logos was existent when the world began to be. When as yet nothing was, the Logos was. Though the eternal preëxistence of the Word is not actually stated, it is implied. (ii) "The Word was with God." Here His personal existence is more specifically defined. He stands distinct from, yet in eternal fellowship with, God. The preposition *prós* (*bei,* Luther) expresses beyond the fact of coexistence that of perpetual intercommunion. John would guard against the idea of mere self-contemplation on the one hand, and entire independence on the other. It is union, not fusion. (iii) "The Word was God." He is not merely related eternally, but actually identical in essence with God. The notion of inferiority is emphatically excluded and the true Deity of the Word affirmed. In these three propositions we ascend from His eternal existence to His distinct personality and thence to His substantial Godhead. All that God is the Logos is. Identity, difference, communion are the three phases of the Divine relationship.

(*b*) Relation of Logos to the world: The Logos is *word* as well as *thought,* and therefore there is suggested the further idea of *communicativeness.* Of this self-communication the evangelist mentions two phases—creation and revelation. The Word unveils Himself through the mediation of objects of sense and also manifests Himself directly. Hence in this section of the prologue (vs 3–5) a threefold division also occurs. (i) He is the *Creator* of the visible universe. "All things were made through him"—a phrase which describes the Logos as the organ of the entire creative activity of God and excludes the idea favored by Plato and Philo that God was only the architect who molded into cosmos previously existing matter. The term ἐγένετο, *egéneto* ("becomes," *werden*), implies the successive evolution of the world, a statement not inconsistent with the modern theory of development. (ii) The Logos is also the *source* of the *intellectual, moral* and *spiritual life* of man. "In him was life; and the life was the light of men." He is the light as well as the life—the fountain of all the manifold forms of being and thought in and by whom all created things subsist, and from whom all derive illumination (cf 1 Jn **1** 1–3; also Col **1** 17). But inasmuch as the higher phases of intelligent life involve freedom, the Divine Light, though perfect and undiminished in itself, was not comprehended by a world which chose darkness rather than light (vs 5.11). (iii) The climax of Divine revelation is expressed in the statement, "The Word became flesh," which implies on the one hand the reality of Christ's humanity, and, on the other, the voluntariness of His incarnation, but excludes the notion that in becoming man the Logos ceased to be God. Though clothed in flesh, the Logos continues to be the self-manifesting God, and retains, even in human form, the character of the Eternal One. In this third phase is embodied the highest manifestation of the Godhead. In physical creation the *power* of God is revealed. In the bestowal of light to mankind His *wisdom* is chiefly manifested. But in the third esp. is His *love* unveiled. All the perfections of the Deity are focused and made visible in Christ—the "glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth" (Jn **1** 14).

Thus the Word reveals the Divine essence. The incarnation makes the *life,* the *light* and the *love* which are eternally present in God manifest to men. As they meet in God, so they meet in Christ. This is the glory which the disciples beheld; the truth to which the Baptist bore witness (ver 7); the fulness whereof His apostles received (ver 16); the entire body of grace and truth by which the Word gives to men the power to become the sons of God.

There is implied throughout that the *Word is the Son.* Each of these expressions taken separately have led and may lead to error. But combined they correct possible misuse. On the one hand, their union protects us from considering the Logos as a mere abstract impersonal quality; and, on the other, saves us from imparting to the Son a lower state or more recent origin than the Father. Each term supplements and protects the other. Taken together they present Christ before His incarnation as at once personally distinct from, yet equal with, the Father—as the eternal life which was with God and was manifested to us.

(2) *Origin of terminology.*—We have now to ask whence the author of the Fourth Gospel derived the phraseology employed to set forth his Christology. It will be well, however, to distinguish between the source of the *doctrine* itself and the source of the *language.* For it is possible that Alexandrian philosophy might have suggested the linguistic medium, while the doctrine itself had another origin. Writers like Reuss, Keim, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, Schmiedel, etc, who contend for the Alexandrian derivation of the prologue, are apt to overlook two considerations regarding the Johannine doctrine: (1) There is no essential difference between the teaching of John and that of the other apostolic writers; and even when the word "Logos" is not used, as in Paul's case, the view of Christ's person is virtually that which we find in the Fourth Gospel. (2) The writer himself affirms that his knowledge of Christ was not borrowed from others, but was derived from personal fellowship with Jesus Himself. "We beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten." This is John's summary and witness upon which he proceeds to base the vivid memories of Jesus which follow. The Johannine doctrine is not to be regarded merely as a philosophical account of the nature of God and His creation of the world, but rather as the statement of a belief which already existed in the Christian church and which received fresh testimony and assurance from the evangelist's own personal experience.

But the question may still be asked: Even if it was no novel doctrine which John declared, what led him to adopt the language of the Logos, a word which had not been employed in this connection by previous Christian writers, but which was prevalent in the philosophical vocabulary of the age? It would be inconceivable that the apostle lighted upon this word by chance or that he selected it without any previous knowledge of its history and value. It may be assumed that when he speaks of the "Word" in relation to God and the world, he employs a mode of speech which was already familiar to those for whom he wrote and of whose general import he himself was well aware.

The truth that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ was borne in upon St. John. The problem which confronted him was how he could make that truth real to his contemporaries. This he sought to do by using the language of the highest religious thought of his day.

We have seen that the term "Logos" had undergone a twofold and to some extent parallel evolution. On the one hand, it had a Heb and, on the other, a Hellenic history. In which direction are we to look for the immediate source of the Johannine terminology?

(*a*) Hebrew source: As a Palestinian Jew familiar with current Jewish ideas and forms of devout expression, it would be natural for him to adopt a word, or its Gr equivalent, which played so important a part in shaping and expressing the religious beliefs of the OT people. Many scholars consider that we have here the probable source of Johannine language. In the OT, and particularly in the Targums or Jewish paraphrases, the "Word" is constantly spoken of as the efficient instrument of Divine action; and the "Word of God" had come to be used in a personal way as almost identical with God Himself. In Rev **19** 13, we have obviously an adoption of this Heb use of the phrase. Throughout the Gospel there is evinced a decided familiarity and sympathy with the OT teaching, and some expressions would seem to indicate the evangelist's desire to show that Jesus is the fulfilment of Jewish expectation (e.g. **1** 14.29.31; **2** 19; **3** 14; **6** 32.48–50), and the living embodiment of Israelitish truth (**1** 16; **8** 12; **11** 25; **14** 6). But as against this it has been pointed out by Weizsäcker (*Apostolisches Zeitalter*) that the Word of God is not conceived in the OT as an independent Being, still less as equivalent for the Messiah, and that the rabbinical doctrine which identifies the *memra* with God is of much later date.

At the same time the Heb cast of thought of the Johannine Gospel and its affinities with Jewish rather than Hellenic modes of expression can hardly be gainsaid. Though John's knowledge of and sympathy with Palestinian religion may not actually account for his use of the term "Logos," it may have largely colored and directed his special application of it. For, as Neander observes, that name may have been put forward at Ephesus in order to lead those Jews, who were busying themselves with speculations on the Logos as the center of all theophanies, to recognize in Christ the Supreme Revelation of God and the fulfilment of their Messianic hopes.

(*b*) Hellenic source: Other writers trace the Johannine ideas and terms to Hellenic philosophy and particularly to Alexandrian influence as represented in Philo. No one can compare the Fourth Gospel with the writings of Philo without noting a remarkable similarity in diction, esp. in the use of the word "Logos." It would be hazardous, however, on this ground alone to impute conscious borrowing to the evangelist. It is more probable that both the Alexandrian thinker and the NT writer were subject to common influences of thought and expression. Hellenism largely colors the views and diction of the early church. St. Paul takes over many words from Gr philosophy. "There is not a single NT writing," says Harnack (*Dogmen-Geschichte*, I, 47, n.), "which does not betray the influence of the mode of thought and general culture which resulted from the Hellenizing of the East." But, while that is true, it must not be forgotten, as Harnack himself points out, "that while the writers of the NT breathe an atmosphere created by Gr culture, the religious ideas in which they live and move come to them from the OT."

It is hardly probable that St. John was directly acquainted with the writings of Philo. But it is more than likely that he was cognizant of the general tenor of his teaching and may have discovered in the language which had floated over from Alexandria to Ephesus a suitable vehicle for the utterance of his own beliefs, esp. welcome and intelligible to those who were familiar with Alexandrian modes of thought.

But whatever superficial resemblances there may be between Philo and St. John (and they are not few or vague), it must be at once evident that the whole spirit and view of life is fundamentally different. So far from the apostle being a disciple of the Alexandrian or a borrower of his ideas, it would be more correct to say that there is clearly a conscious rejection of the Philonic conception, and that the Logos of John is a deliberate protest against what he must have regarded as the inadequate and misleading philosophy of Greece.

(*c*) Contrast between Philo and John: The *contrast* between the two writers is much more striking than the resemblance. The distinction is not due merely to the acceptance by the Christian writer of Jesus as the Word, but extends to the whole conception of God and His relation to the world which has made Christianity a new power among men. The Logos of Philo is metaphysical, that of John, religious. Philo moves entirely in the region of abstract thought, his idea of God is pure being; John's thought is concrete and active, moving in a region of life and history. Philo's Logos is intermediate, the instrument which God employs in fashioning the world; John's Logos is not subsidiary but is Himself God, and as such is not a mere instrument, but the prime Agent in creation. According to Philo the Deity is conceived as an architect who forms the world out of already existent matter. According to John the Logos is absolute Creator of all that is, the Source of all being, life and intelligence. In Philo the Logos hovers between personality and impersonality, and if it is sometimes personified it can hardly be said to have the value of an actual person; in John the personality of the Logos is affirmed from the first and it is of the very essence of his doctrine, the ground of His entire creative energy. The idea of an incarnation is alien to the thought of Philo and impossible in his scheme of the universe; the "Word that has become flesh" is the pivot and crown of Johannine teaching. Philo affirms the absolute incomprehensibility of God; but it is the prime object of the evangelist to declare that God is revealed in Christ and that the Logos is the unveiling through the flesh of man of the self-manifesting Deity. Notwithstanding the personal epithets employed by Philo, his Logos remains a pure abstraction or attribute of God, and it is never brought into relation with human history. John's Logos, on the other hand, is instinct with life and energy from the beginning, and it is the very heart of his Gospel to declare as the very center of life and history the great historical event of the incarnation which is to recreate the world and reunite God and man.

From whatever point of view we compare them, we find that Philo and St. John, while using the same language, give an entirely different value to it. The essential purport of the Johannine Logos is Jesus Christ. The adoption of the term involves its complete transformation. It is baptized with a new spirit and henceforth stands for a new conception. From whatsoever source it was originally derived—from Heb tradition or Hellenic speculation—on Christian soil it is a new product. It is neither Gr nor Jewish, it is Christian. The philosophical abstraction has become a religious conception. Hellenism and Hebrewism have been taken up and fused into a higher unity, and Christ as the embodiment of the Logos has become the creative power and the world-wide possession of mankind.

The most probable view is that Philo and John found the same term current in Jewish and gentile circles and used it to set forth their respective ideas; Philo, following his predilections for Gr philosophy, to give a Hellenic complexion to his theory of the relation of Divine Reason to the universe; John, true to his Heb instincts, seeing in the Logos the climax of that revelation of God to man of which the earlier Jewish theophanies were but partial expressions.

There is nothing improbable in the surmise that the teaching of Philo gave a fresh impulse to the study of the Logos as Divine Reason which was already shadowed forth in the Bib. doctrine of Wisdom (Westcott). Nor need we take offence that such an important idea should have come to the Bib. author from an extra-Bib. writer (cf Schmiedel, *Johannine Writings*), remembering only that the author of the Johannine Gospel was no mechanical borrower, but an entirely independent and original thinker who gave to the Logos and the ideas associated with it a wholly new worth and interpretation. Thus, as has been said, the treasures of Greece were made contributory to the full unfolding of the Gospel.

V. Patristic Development.—The Johannine Logos became the fruitful source of much speculation in gnostic circles and among the early Fathers regarding the nature of Christ. The positive truth presented by the Fourth Gospel was once more broken up, and the various elements of which it was the synthesis became the seeds of a number of partial and one-sided theories respecting the relation of the Father and the Son. The influence of Gr ideas, which had already begun in the Apostolic Age, became more pronounced and largely shaped the current of ante-Nicene theology (see Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*).

Gnosticism in particular was an attempt to reconcile Christianity with philosophy; but in gnostic systems the term "Logos" is only sparingly employed. According to Basilides the "Logos" was an emanation from the *nous* as personified Wisdom, which again was directly derived from the Father. Valentinus, in whose teaching Gnosticism culminated, taught that Wisdom was the last of a series of Aeons which emanated from the Primal Being, and the Logos was an emanation of the first two principles which issued from God—Reason, Faith. Justin Martyr, the first of the sub-apostolic Fathers, sought to unite the Scriptural idea of the Logos as Word with the Hellenic idea of Reason. According to him God produced in His own nature a rational power which was His agent in creation and took the form in history of the Divine Man. Christ is the organ of all revelations, and as the *λόγος σπερματικός*, *lógos spermatikós*, He sows the seeds of virtue and truth among the heathen. All that is true and beautiful in the pagan world is to be traced to the activity of the Logos before His incarnation. Tatian and Theophilus taught essentially the same doctrine; though in Tatian there is a marked leaning toward Gnosticism, and consequently a tendency to separate the ideal from the historical Christ. Athenagoras, who ascribes to the Logos the creation of all things, regarding it in the double sense of the Reason of God and the creative energy of the world, has a firm grasp of the Bib. doctrine, which was still more clearly expressed by Irenaeus, who held that the Son was the essential Word, eternally begotten of the Father and at once the interpreter of God and the Creator of the world.

The Alexandrian school was shaped by the threefold influence of Plato, Philo and the Johannine Gospel. Clement of Alexandria views the Son as the Logos of the Father, the Fountain of all intelligence, the Revealer of the Divine Being and the Creator and Illuminator of mankind. He repudiates the idea of the inferiority of the Son, and regards the Logos not as the spoken but as the creative word. Origen seeks to reconcile the two ideas of the eternity and the subordination of the Logos, and is in this sense a mediator between the Arian and more orthodox parties and was appealed to by both. According to him the Son is equal in *substance* with the Father, but there is a difference in *essence*. While the Father is "*the* God" (*ὁ θεός*, *ho theós*) and "God Himself" (*αὐτόθεος*, *autótheos*), the Logos is "a second God" (*δεύτερος θεός*, *deúteros theós*). In the Nicene Age, under the shaping influence of the powerful mind of Athanasius, and, to a lesser degree, of Basil and the two Gregories, the Logos-doctrine attained its final form in the triumphant statement of the Nicene Creed which declared the essential unity, but, at the same time, the personal distinction of the Father and Son. The Council of Nicaea practically gathered up the divergent views of the past and established the teaching of the Fourth Gospel as the doctrine of the church.

LITERATURE.—(1) On Gr Logos: Schleiermacher, *Herakleitos der Dunkle;* Histories of Philosophy, Zeller, Ueberweg, Ritter; Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der Gr Phil.* (1872); Aall, *Gesch. d. Logosidee in d. Gr Phil.* (1896). (2) On Jewish doctrine: Oehler, *OT Theol.* (1873); Schürer, *Lehrbuch d. NT Zeitgesch;* Schultz, *OT Theol.* (3) On Alexandrian doctrine: Gfrörer, *Philo u. die alex. Theosophie* (1831); Dähne, *Gesch. Darstell. der jüd.-alex. Religions-Philosophie* (1843); Keferstein, *Philos Lehre von den göttlichen Mittelwesen* (1846); Dorner, *Entwicklungsgesch. der Lehre v. d. Person Christi;* Siegfried, *Philo v. Alex.* (1875); Drummond, *Philo Judaeus* (1888); Réville, *La doctrine du Logos;* Huber, *Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter;* Grossmann, *Questiones Philoneae* (1841); Watson, *Philos. Basis of Religion* (1907). (4) On Johannine Gospel: Relative comms. of Meyer, Godet, Westcott, Luthardt, E. Scott (1907); Liddon, *Divinity of Our Lord* ("Bampton Lectures," 1866); Watkins, *Modern Criticism on the Fourth Gospel* ("Bampton Lectures," 1890); Gloag, *Intro to Johannine Writings* (1891); Stevens, *Johannine Theol.* (1894); Drummond, *Gospel of St. John;* Bertling, *Der Johan. Logos* (1907); Schmiedel, *The Johannine Writings* (1908); Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, V, ii; Beyschlag and Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT;* Drummond, *Via, Veritas, Vita* (1894); Hatch, *Gr Ideas and Usages, Their Influence upon the Christian Church* (Hibbert Lectures, 1888). (5) Patristic period: Harnack, *Dogmen-Gesch.;* Baur, *Kirchen-Gesch.;* Dorner, *System d. chr. Glaubenslehre;* Loofs, *Leitfaden für seine Vorlesungen über Dogmengeschichte;* Atzbergen, *Die Logoslehre d. heiligen Athanasius* (1880).

ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER

LOINS, loinz (חָלָץ, *ḥālāç*, Aram. חֲרַץ, *ḥăraç*, מֹתֶן, *mōthen*, כֶּסֶל, *keṣel*, יָרֵךְ, *yārēkh;* **ὀσφύς**, *osphús*): This variety of Heb synonyms seems to be used rather promiscuously for the loins, though there is no little difference in the secondary meanings of these words. They represent various modes of expressing the loins as the seat of strength and vigor (Job **40** 16, Heb *mōthen*, here used of Behemoth), the center of procreative power, the portion of the body which is girded about, and is considered as specially needful of covering, even under primitive conditions of life (Job **31** 20), and where painful disease most effectually unfits a man for work and warfare.

Jacob receives the Divine promise that "kings shall come out of [his] loins" (*ḥālāç*, Gen **35** 11), and we read of 66 souls "that came out of his loins" (*yārēkh*) which went into Egypt (**46** 26). The Ep. to the He speaks of the Levites as having come out of the loins of Abraham (He **7** 5).

As the seat of strength (cf LEG; THIGH), the loins are girded with belts of leather (2 K **1** 8; Mt **3** 4), or cloth, often beautifully embroidered (Ex **28** 39), or of costly material (**39** 29; Jer **13** 1f). Girded loins are a sign of readiness for service or endeavor (Ex **12** 11; 1 K **18** 46; 2 K **4** 29; Job **38** 3; Prov **31** 17; Lk **12** 35; 1 Pet **1** 13). Of God it is said that "he looseth the bond of kings, and bindeth their loins with a girdle," i.e. strengthens them (Job **12** 18). On the loins the sword is worn (2 S **20** 8). It is a sign of mourning to gird the loins with sackcloth (1 K **20** 32; Isa **32** 11; Jer **48** 37; Am **8** 10; see also the First Papyrus of Elephantine, l. 20). A man whose strength is in his attachment to truth, in other words is faithful, is spoken of as having his loins girt about with truth (Eph **6** 14). Thus the Messiah is described: "Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins" (Isa **11** 5). One of the most primitive modes of clothing consisted of a fleece tied around the loins (Job **31** 20).

The condition of unfitness for service is described in that the loins (*keṣel*) are filled with a burning (Ps **38** 7, AV "loathsome disease"), or that "a sore burden" is laid upon the "loins" (*mōthen*, **66** 11). Thus the loins are made "continually to shake" (**69** 23), "the joints of [the] loins" (*ḥăraç*) are loosed (Dnl **5** 6), the "loins are filled with anguish" (Isa **21** 3). It is very likely that originally a disabling lumbago or the painful affections of the gall or the bladder (*calculus*, etc) are meant, but very soon the expression becomes merely metaphorical to express personal helplessness, esp. that which can but rely upon assistance and help from God.

H. L. E. LUERING

LOIS, lō′is (**Λωΐς,** *Lōís* [2 Tim **1** 5]): The grandmother of Timothy, and evidently the mother of Eunice, Timothy's mother. The family lived at Lystra (Acts **16** 1). It was on the occasion of Paul's first missionary journey (Acts **14**) that Eunice and Timothy were converted to Christ, and it was, in all likelihood, on the same occasion that Lois also became a Christian. Paul speaks of the unfeigned faith that there was in Timothy, and he adds that this faith dwelt at the first in "thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice." This is the only passage where Lois is mentioned; but by comparing 2 Tim **1** 5 with 2 Tim **3** 15 (AV), where Paul refers to Timothy's having "from a child known the holy scriptures," it would appear that Lois was associated with Eunice, both in a reverent faith in God and in the careful instruction in the OT which was given to Timothy. See EUNICE; TIMOTHY.

JOHN RUTHERFURD

LONGEVITY, lon-jev′i-ti: In the part of Gen ascribed to P, the names and genealogies of the patriarchs are given (Gen **5**, **11**). In the three VSS which are our chief sources, MT, LXX and Sam, the age-numbers given for these patriarchs are hopelessly at variance. It is in accord with what we find in the earliest legend of most races that in these chapters a great length of life is ascribed to these; thus Berosus attributes to the first 10 kings of Babylonia a span of 430,000 years, and Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 129) says that in the Silver Age childhood lasted 100 years, during which a boy was reared and grew up beside his mother. On the other hand the evidence of prehistoric archaeology shows that the rate of development of the individual in the early Stone Age differed very little from that of humanity at the present day. It is possible that, in the case of the Heb record, the names of certain pre-Abrahamic patriarchs were derived from an ancient tradition, and that in the desire to fill up the chronology of the period before the call of Abraham, these names were inserted and the time which was supposed to have elapsed was divided among them, on the basis of some such hypothesis as that which is said to have existed among the Jews, that the Messiah should come 4,000 years after Adam.

We know from the archaeological evidence that the antiquity of primitive man extends to a date very much farther back than 4,000 years. Indeed, we can prove that before 4000 BC there were settled nationalities both in the valley of the Nile and that of the Euphrates, and that among these the duration of individual life was much the same as at the present day. The first three dynasties in Egypt, starting at or about 4400 BC, consisted of 25 consecutive kings, the average length of whose several reigns was about 30 years. The biographic sketches of Bib. persons other than those in Gen showed that their longevity did not exceed that of our contemporaries. Eli was at 98 blind and feeble. David at 70 was bedridden and frail. Manasseh, the king of Judah whose reign was longest, died at 67; Uzziah at 68. The statement in Ps **90** 10 attributed to Moses is a correct estimate of what has been the expectation of life at all time.

At the present day among Palestinian fellahin very old men are uncommon. I have never seen anyone among them who could prove that he was 80 years of age; the rate of infant mortality is appallingly high. Maturity is earlier, and signs of senility appear among them sooner than among the same class in Great Britain.

Alex. Macalister

LONGSUFFERING, long-suf′ẽr-ing (אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, *'erekh 'appayim*; **μακροθυμία,** *makrothumía*): The words *'erekh 'appayim*, tr^{d} longsuffering, mean lit. "long of nose" (or "breathing"), and, as anger was indicated by rapid, violent breathing through the nostrils, "long of anger," or "slow to wrath." The adj. is applied to God (Ex **34** 6 AV, in the name of Jeh as proclaimed to Moses; Nu **14** 18 AV; Ps **86** 15 AV; RV "slow to anger," which is also the tr in other places; AV and RV Neh **9** 17; Ps **103** 8; **145** 8; Prov **15** 18; **16** 32; Joel **2** 13; Jon **4** 2; Nah **1** 3); it is associated with "great kindness" and "plenteous in mercy." The subst. occurs in Jer **15** 15: "Take me not away in thy longsuffering." In Eccl **7** 8, we have *'erekh rū^{a}ḥ*, AV and RV "patient in spirit."

The word in the NT rendered "longsuffering," *makrothumia* (once *makrothuméō*, "to be longsuffering"), which is the rendering of *'erekh 'appayim* in the LXX, is lit. "long of mind or soul" (regarded as the seat of the emotions), opposed to shortness of mind or soul, irascibility, impatience, intolerance. It is attributed to God (Rom **2** 4; **9** 22; 2 Pet **3** 9), of His bearing long with sinners and slowness to execute judgment on them. It is, therefore, one of "the fruits of the Spirit" in man (Gal **5** 22) which Christians are frequently exhorted to cherish and show one toward the other (Eph **4** 2; Col **1** 11; **3** 12, etc); it belongs, Paul says, to the love, without which all else is nothing: "Love suffereth long [*makrothumeí*], and is kind" (1 Cor **13** 4). The vb. *makrothumeō* is sometimes tr^{d} by "patience" (Mt **18** 26.29, "Have patience with me"). Lk **18** 7 has been variously rendered; AV has "And shall not God avenge his own elect . . . . though he bear long with them"; RV "and yet he is longsuffering over them," ARVm "and is he slow to punish on their behalf?" Weymouth (*NT in Modern Speech*) has "although he seems slow in taking action on their behalf," which most probably gives the sense of the passage; in Jas **5** 7.8 the vb. occurs thrice, AV "be patient," "hath long patience"; RV also tr^{s} by "patient"; this, however, as in Mt **18** 26.29, seems to lose the full force of the Gr word. According to Trench (*Synonyms of the NT*, 189), the difference between *hupomonḗ* ("patience") and *makrothumia* is that the latter word expresses patience in respect to persons, and the former in respect to things; hence *hupomonē* is never ascribed to God; where He is called "the God of patience," it is as He *gives* it to His servants and saints. But in Jas **5** 7 it is used with reference to things, and in Col **1** 11 it is associated with patience (cf He **6** 12.15), suggesting patient endurance of trials and sufferings. In Col **1** 11 it is also associated with "joy," indicating that it is not a mere submissiveness, but a joyful acceptance of the will of God, whatever it may be. In Wisd **15** 1; Ecclus **5** 4, we have "longsuffering" (*makróthumos*) ascribed to God; also in Ecclus **2** 11, RV "mercy."

W. L. Walker

LOOK, lo͝ok: (1) The uses of the simple vb. in EV are nearly all good modern Eng. In Isa **5** 2, however, "He looked that it should bring forth grapes"—"look" is used in the sense of "expect." Cf AV of Sir **20** 14; Acts **28** 6, "They looked when he should have swollen" (RV "They expected that he would have swollen"). In 1 Macc **4** 54, AV has inserted "look" (omitted in RV) as a simple interjection, without a corresponding word in the Gr. (2) "Look upon" means "fix one's attention on," and is often so used in EV without further significance (Eccl **2** 11; Lk **22** 56, etc); but in 2 Ch **24** 22 AV and RV, "Jeh look upon it" means "remember." However, continual attention given to an object usually denotes that pleasure is found in it, and from this fact such uses as those of Prov **23** 31, "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red," are derived. In particular, God's "looking upon" a person becomes a synonym for "showing favor unto," as in Dt **26** 7 AV; Ps **84** 9 AV and RV; **119** 132 AV; Lk **1** 48 RV only, etc (RV usually re-words in such passages). On the other hand, "look on" may be weakened, as in such phrases as "fair to look upon" (Gen **12** 11, etc), where it means only "fair to the sight." Or, as in modern Eng., "look on" may describe the attitude of the passive spectator, even when applied to God. So Ps **35** 17, "Lord, how long wilt thou look on?" (3) "Look to" usually means "pay attention to," as in Prov **14** 15; Jer **39** 12; 2 Jn ver 8, etc, and RV occasionally uses this phrase in place of AV's "look upon" (Phil **2** 4). The reverse change is made in AV's 1 S **16** 12, "goodly to look to"; Ezk **23** 15, "all of them princes to look to," but in the latter verse a more drastic revision was needed, for the meaning is "all of them in appearance as princes." "Look out" may mean "search for" (Gen **41** 33; Acts **6** 3), but may also be used lit. (Gen **26** 8, etc). AV's "looking after those things" in Lk **21** 26 has been changed by RV into "expectation of the things." "Look one another in the face" in 2 K **14** 8.11 means "meet in battle."

Burton Scott Easton

LOOKING-GLASS, lo͝ok′ing-glas (Ex **38** 8 AV, m "brasen glasses"). See Glass; Mirror.

LOOM, lo͞om. See Weaving.

LOOP, lo͞op (in pl. לֻלָאֹת, *lulā'ōth* [Ex **26** 4 f. 10 f; **36** 11 f.17]): A ring or fold made of blue thread to fasten into the corresponding golden clasps, or taches upon the curtains of the tabernacle, joining them in sets, or pairs. See Tabernacle.

LORD, lôrd, **THE LORD:** This Eng. word in our Bible represents one Aram., 3 Gr and 9 Heb words, two of them in two forms. It thus expresses all grades of dignity, honor, and majesty. It is not always possible to be sure of the sense in which the term is to be taken. In Gen **18** 3; **19** 18, the translators waver between interpreting of the Divine Person and a finite angel (cf marginal readings). It represents the most sacred Heb name for God, as their covenant God, *Yāh*, *Yahweh*, and the more usual designation of Deity, *'Ădhōnāy*, *'Ādhōn*, a term which they adopted to avoid pronouncing the most holy designation. They had placed on Lev **24** 16 an interpretation that aroused such a dread that they seldom dared use the name at all. When two of the words usually tr^{d} "Lord," both referring to God, occur together, AV renders "Lord God," and ARV "Lord Jehovah." ARV has adopted the rule of using the covenant name transliterated, instead of the term "Lord," in which AV adopts the rule of the Hebrews to avoid the holy name.

The Aram. designation, *Mārē'*, occurs only in Dnl (e.g. **2** 47; **5** 23), and the same word refers to a man (**4** 24).

Of the Gr words, *Kúrios* is freely used of both the Deity and men. *Despótēs*, of men in classic usage, occurs only of God, including the ascended Jesus, and is employed only 5 t. *Megistánes* (pl.) is found once, of men (Mk **6** 21). *Rabboní* (Heb in Gr letters) is applied only to the Christ, and is simply transliterated in RV, but rendered "Lord" in AV (cf Mk **10** 51).

Our Eng. VSS distinguish the 3 main uses of the term thus: (1) "Lord" represents the Heb *Yahweh*, LXX *Kurios*, except where *'Ădhōnāy* or *'Ādhōn* is combined with *Yahweh* (="Lord God"); ARV has in these examples employed the name as it is found in the Heb, simply transliterated. (2) "Lord" corresponds to *'Ădhōnāy*, *'Ādhōn*, *Mārē'*, also Gr *Kurios* (see [1]), and *Despotēs*, for which ARV has always "Master" in either the text or the margin. (3) "Lord" ("lord") translates all the remaining 8 Heb words and the Gr words except *Despotēs*. It is thus seen that *Kurios* corresponds to all three forms of writing the Eng. term. See Jehovah.

William Owen Carver

LORD OF HOSTS: A name or title of God frequently used in the OT, always tr^{d} "Jeh of Hosts" (יְהוָֹה צְבָאוֹת, *Y^{e}hōwāh ç^{e}bhā'ōth*) in ARV, since *Y^{e}hōwāh*, never *'Ădhōnāy*, is used in this phrase. Evidently the meaning of the title is that all created agencies and forces are under the leadership or dominion of Jeh, who made and maintains them (Gen **2** 1; Isa **45** 12). It is used to express Jeh's great power. See God, Names of, III, 8.

1. Linguistic

LORD'S DAY (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, *hē kuriakḗ hēméra*): Formerly it was supposed that the adj. *kuriakos* (tr^{d} "the Lord's") was a purely Christian word, but recent discoveries have proved that it was in fairly common use in the Rom Empire before Christian influence had been felt. In secular use it signified "imperial," "belonging to the lord"—the emperor—and so its adoption by Christianity in the sense "belonging to the Lord"—to Christ—was perfectly easy. Indeed, there is reason to suppose that in the days of Domitian, when the issue had been sharply defined as "Who is Lord? Caesar or Christ?" the use of the adj. by the church was a part of the protest against Caesar-worship (see Lord). And it is even possible that the full phrase, "the Lord's day," was coined as a contrast to the phrase, "the Augustean day" (*ἡ σεβαστὴ ἡμέρα*, *hē sebastḗ hēméra*), a term that seems to have been used in some parts of the Empire to denote days esp. dedicated in honor of Caesar-worship.

2. Post-Apostolic

"Lord's day" in the NT occurs only in Rev **1** 10, but in the post-apostolic literature we have the following references: Ignatius, *Ad Mag.*, ix.1, "No longer keeping the Sabbath but living according to the Lord's day, on which also our Light arose"; *Ev. Pet.*, ver 35, "The Lord's day began to dawn" (cf Mt **28** 1); ver 50, "early on the Lord's day" (cf Lk **24** 1); Barn **15** 9, "We keep the eighth day with gladness," on which Jesus arose from the dead." I.e. Sunday, as the day of Christ's resurrection, was kept as a Christian feast and called "the Lord's day," a title fixed so definitely as to be introduced by the author of *Ev. Pet.* into phrases from the canonical Gospels. Its appropriateness in Rev **1** 10 is obvious, as St. John received his vision of the exalted Lord when all Christians had their minds directed toward His entrance into glory through the resurrection.

3. In the NT

This "first day of the week" appears again in Acts **20** 7 as the day on which the worship of the "breaking of bread" took place, and the impression given by the context is that St. Paul and his companions prolonged their visit to Troas so as to join in the service. Again, 1 Cor **16** 2 contains the command, "Upon the first day of the week let each one of you lay by him in store," where the force of the form of the imperative used (the present for repeated action) would be better represented in Eng. by "lay by on the successive Sundays." Worship is here not explicitly mentioned (the Gr of "by him" is the usual phrase for "at home"), but that the appropriateness of the day for Christian acts involves an appropriateness for Christian worship is not to be doubted. Indeed, since the seven-day week was unknown to Gr thought, some regular observance of a hebdomadal cycle must have been settled at Corinth before St. Paul could write his command. Finally, the phrase, "first day in the week" is found elsewhere in the NT only in Mt **28** 1; Mk **16** 2; Lk **24** 1; Jn **20** 1.19. The word in all passages for "first" is poor Gr (*μία*, *mía*, "one," for *πρώτη*, *prōtē*, a Hebraism), and the coincidence of the form of the phrase in Acts **20** 7 and 1 Cor **16** 2 with the form used by all four evangelists for the Resurrection Day is certainly not accidental; it was the fixed Christian base, just as "Lord's day" was to the writer of *Ev. Pet.*

4. Origin

The hebdomadal observance of Sunday points back of Corinth to Jewish-Christian soil, but it is impossible to say when the custom first began. Not, apparently, in the earliest days, for Acts **2** 46 represents the special worship as *daily*. But this could not have continued very long, for waning of the first enthusiasm, necessity of pursuing ordinary avocations, and increasing numbers of converts must soon have made general daily gatherings impracticable. A choice of a special day must have become necessary, and this day would, of course, have been Sunday. Doubtless, however, certain individuals and communities continued the daily gatherings to a much later date, and the appearance of Sunday as the one distinctive day for worship was almost certainly gradual.

5. Sunday and the Sabbath

Sunday, however, was sharply distinguished from the Sabbath. One was the day on which worship was offered in a specifically Christian form, the other was a day of ritual rest to be observed by all who were subject to the Law of Moses through circumcision (Gal **5** 3; cf Acts **21** 20). Uncircumcised Gentiles, however, were free from any obligation of Sabbath observance, and it is quite certain that in apostolic times no renewal of any Sabbath rules or transfer of them to Sunday was made for gentile converts. No observance of a particular "day of rest" is contained among the "necessary things" of Acts **15** 28.29, nor is any such precept found among all the varied moral directions given in the whole epistolary literature. Quite on the contrary, the observance of a given day as a matter of Divine obligation is denounced by St. Paul as a forsaking of Christ (Gal **4** 10), and Sabbath-keeping is condemned explicitly in Col **2** 16. As a matter of individual devotion, to be sure, a man might do as he pleased (Rom **14** 5.6), but no general rule as necessary for salvation could be compatible with the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. Evidently, then, the fact that the Christian worship was held on Sunday did not sanctify Sunday any more than (say) a regular Wednesday service among us sanctifies Wednesday, noting esp. that the apostolic service was held in the evening. For it was felt that Christian enthusiasm would raise *every* day to the highest religious plane, the decay of that enthusiasm through the long delay of the Parousia not being contemplated.

6. Later History

The delay occurred, however, and for human beings in the ordinary routine of life there are necessary, not only set periods of worship, but set periods of relaxation from routine to make worship profitable. And the Christian fundamental doctrine of mercy demands that Christianity, where she has the power, shall give to men relief from the drain of continuous toil.

The formulation of general rules to carry these principles into effect, however, belongs to a period outside NT times, and so does not come within the scope of this Encyclopaedia. It is enough to say that the ecclesiastical rules for Sunday were felt to be quite distinct from the laws for Sabbath observance, and that Alcuin (733 ?–804) is the first to hold that the church had transferred the Sabbath rules as a whole to Sunday. This principle is still maintained in Roman Catholic theology, but at the Reformation was rejected uncompromisingly by both Lutherans (*Augsb. Conf.*, II, 7) and Calvinists (*Helvet. Conf.*, XXIV, 1–2) in favor of a literally apostolic freedom (Calvin even proposed to adopt Thursday in place of Sunday). The appearance of the opposite extreme of a genuinely "legalistic" Sabbatarianism in the thoroughly Evangelical Scotch and English Puritanism is an anomaly that is explained by reaction from the extreme laxity of the surroundings.

7. Practical

Sunday was fixed as the day for Christian worship by general apostolic practice, and the academic possibility of an alteration hardly seems worth discussing. If a *literal* apostolicity is to be insisted upon, however, the "breaking of bread" must be made part of the Sunday service. Rest from labor for the sake of worship, public and private, is intensely desirable, since the regaining of the general apostolic enthusiasm seems unattainable, but the NT leaves us quite free as to details. Rest from labor to secure physical and mental renewal rests on a still different basis, and the working out of details involves a knowledge of sociological and industrial conditions, as well as a knowledge of religious principles. It is the task of the pastor to combine the various principles and to apply them to the particular conditions of his people in their locality, in accordance with the rules that his own church has indubitably the right to lay down—very special attention being given, however, to the highly important matter of the peculiar problem offered by children. In all cases the general principles underlying the rules should be made clear, so that they will not appear as arbitrary legalism, and it is probably best not to use the term "Sabbath" for Sunday. Under certain conditions great freedom may be desirable, and such is certainly not inconsistent with our liberty in Christ. But experience, and not least of all the experience of the first churches of the Reformation, has abundantly shown that much general laxness in Sunday rules invariably results disastrously. See further, Ethics of Jesus, I, 3, (1).

Literature.—For the linguistic matters, Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1910, 361–66. Hessey's *Sunday* (ed 1880) ("Bampton Lectures," 1860) contains a good summary of the history of the problems. Zöckler's "Sonntagsfeier," *PRE*, ed 3, XVIII, 1906, 521–29 is the best general survey. In *Sch-Herz* this article ("Sunday") is harmed by abbreviation, but an exhaustive bibliography is added.

Burton Scott Easton

LORD'S PRAYER, THE (Mt **6** 9–13; Lk **11** 2–4): Prayer occupied an important place in the life and the teachings of Jesus. He was emphatically a man of prayer, praying frequently in private and in public, and occasionally spending whole nights in communion with His heavenly Father. He often spoke to His disciples on the subject of prayer, cautioning them against ostentation, or urging perseverance, faith and large expectation, and He gave them a model of devotion in the Lord's prayer.

1. Twofold Form

This prayer is given by the evangelists in two different forms and in two entirely different connections. In Mt's account the prayer is given as a part of the Sermon on the Mount and in connection with a criticism of the ostentation usual in the prayers of the hypocrites and the heathen. Lk introduces the prayer after the Galilean ministry and represents it as given in response to a request from one of His disciples, "Lord teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples." It gives us, however, no note of time or place, and it is quite possible that the incident which it records took place much earlier. The later form is much shorter than that of Mt and the common parts differ materially in language.

In view of the differences, the reader instinctively inquires whether the prayer was given on two different occasions in these different connections, or the evangelists have presented the same incident in forms derived from different sources, or modified the common source to suit their immediate purposes.

If the prayer was given only on one occasion, there is little doubt that Lk preserves the true historical circumstances, though not necessarily the accurate point of time or place, or the exact form of language. Such a request made at the close of the prayer of Jesus would be natural, and the incident bears every mark of reality. On the other hand, it would be reasonable to assume that the author of Mt's source, remembering the incident, incorporated the prayer in the Sermon on the Mount as an illustration of the injunctions concerning prayer.

There are many reasons for regarding the Sermon as a collection of sayings spoken on different occasions and summarized for convenience in teaching and memorizing. There is, however, no proof that the prayer was given but once by Jesus. We need not suppose that His disciples were always the same, and we know that He gave instruction in prayer on various occasions. He may have given the model prayer on one occasion spontaneously and at another time on the request of a disciple. It is probable that the two evangelists, using the same or different sources, presented the prayer in such connection as best suited the plan of their narratives. In any case, it is rather remarkable that the prayer is not quoted or directly mentioned anywhere else in the NT.

2. Arrangement

In addition to the opening salutation, "Our Father who art in heaven," the Lord's Prayer consists of six petitions. These are arranged in three equal parts. In the first part, the thought is directed toward God and His great purposes. In the second part, the attention is directed to our condition and wants. The two sets of petitions are closely related, and a line of progress runs through the whole prayer. The petitions of the first part are inseparable, as each includes the one which follows. As the hallowing of God's name requires the coming of His kingdom, so the kingdom comes through the doing of His will. Again, the first part calls for the second, for if His will is to be done by us, we must have sustenance, forgiveness and deliverance from evil. If we seek first the glory of God, the end requires our good. While we hallow His name we are sanctified in Him. The doxology of Mt and our rituals is not found in the leading MSS and is generally regarded as an ancient liturgical addition. For this reason it is omitted by RV.

3. Sources

The sources of the two accounts cannot be known with certainty. It is hardly correct to say that one account is more original than the other. The original was spoken in Aram., while both of the reports are certainly based on Gr sources. The general agreement in language, esp. in the use of the unique term ἐπιούσιος, *epioúsios*, shows that they are not independent tr^s of the Aram. original.

4. Special Expressions

Three expressions of the prayer deserve special notice. The words, "Our Father," are new in the Bible and in the world. When God is called Father in the OT, He is regarded as Father of the nation, not of the individual. Even in the moving prayer of Isa **63** 16 (AV), "Doubtless thou art our father," the connection makes clear that the reference is to God in the capacity of Creator. The thought of God as the Father of the individual is first reached in the Apoc: "O Lord, Father and Master of my life" (Sir **23** 1; cf Wisd **2** 16; **14** 3). Here also the notion is veiled in the thought of God as Creator. It was left for Jesus the Son to give us the privilege of calling God "Our Father."

Of the adj. *epiousion*, "daily" or "needful," neither the origin nor the exact meaning is or is likely to be known. Whether it is qualitative or temporal depends on its derivation from ἐπεῖναι, *epeínai*, or ἐπιέναι, *epiénai*. Our translators usually follow the latter, translating "daily." ARV gives "needful" as a marginal rendering.

The phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, *apó toú ponērоú*, is equally ambiguous. Since the adj. may be either masc. or neut., it is impossible to decide whether "from the evil one" or "from the evil" was intended. The probability is in favor of the masc. The Oriental naturally thought of evil in the concrete, just as we think of it in the abstract. For this reason the Authorized rendering "from evil" is more real to us. The evil deprecated is moral, not physical.

5. Purpose

The Lord's Prayer was given as a lesson in prayer. As such this simple model surpasses all precepts about prayer. It suggests to the child of God the proper objects of prayer. It supplies suitable forms of language and illustrates the simple and direct manner in which we may trustingly address our heavenly Father. It embraces the elements of all spiritual desire summed up in a few choice sentences. For those who are not able to bring their struggling desires to birth in articulate language it provides an instructive form. To the mature disciple it ever unfolds with richer depths of meaning. Though we learn these words at our mother's knee, we need a lifetime to fill them with meaning and all eternity to realize their answer.

LITERATURE.—The lit. of this subject is very extensive. For brief treatment the student will consult the relative sections in the comms. on the Gospels of Mt and Lk and in the Lives of Christ and the arts. on the Lord's Prayer in the several Bible dicts. A collection of patristic comment is given by G. Tillmann in his *Das Gebet nach der Lehre der Heiligen dargestellt*, 2 vols, Freiburg, 1876. The original comments may be found in any of the standard collections of the Church Fathers.

Among historical studies may be mentioned, F. H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, Cambridge, 1891, and G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, I, Leipzig, 1898, ET, Edinburgh, 1902.

Among the numerous interpretative treatments, the following are some of the more important: N. Hall, *The Lord's Prayer*, Edinburgh, 1889; H. J. Van Dyke, *The Lord's Prayer*, New York, 1891; J. Ruskin, *Letters to the Clergy on the Lord's Prayer and the Church*, late ed, New York, 1896; E. Wordsworth, *Thoughts on the Lord's Prayer*, New York, 1898; C. W. Stubbs, *Social Teachings of the Lord's Prayer*, London, 1900; A. B. Bruce, *The Training of the Twelve*, ch vi, 4th ed, New York, 1905; L. T. Chamberlain, *The True Doctrine of Prayer*, New York, 1906; F. M. Williams, *Spiritual Instructions on the Lord's Prayer*, New York, 1907.

RUSSELL BENJAMIN MILLER

LORD'S SUPPER (EUCHARIST, ū'ka-rist):

GENERAL

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LITERATURE

I. Definition.—*Eucharist.*—The distinctive rite of Christian worship, instituted by Our Lord Jesus Christ upon the eve of His atoning death, being a religious partaking of bread and wine, which, having been presented before God the Father in thankful memorial of Christ's inexhaustible sacrifice, have become (through the sacramental blessing) the communion of the body and blood of Christ (cf Jn **6** 54; Acts **2** 42; **20** 7.11; Rom **15** 16; 1 Cor **10** 16; **11** 23–26).

II. The NT Sources.—The NT sources of our knowledge of the institution of the Eucharist are fourfold, a brief account thereof being found in each of the Synoptic Gospels and in St. Paul's First Ep. to the Cor (Mt **26** 26–29; Mk **14** 22–25; Lk **22** 14–20; 1 Cor **11** 23–26; cf **10** 16.17).

1. Textual Considerations

The text of these narratives has been found to need little amendment, save the dropping of a word or two, from each account, that had crept in through the tendency of copyists, consciously or unconsciously, to assimilate the details of parallel passages. The genuineness of Lk **22** 19*b*.20 is absolutely beyond question. Their omission in whole or part, and the alterations in the order of two or three verses in the whole section (vs 14–20), characteristic of a very small number of MSS, are due to confusion in the minds of a few scribes and translators, between the paschal cup (ver 17) and the eucharistic cup (ver 20), and to their well-meant, but mistaken, attempt to improve upon the text before them.

2. Narratives Compared

The briefest account of the institution of the Eucharist is found in Mk **14** 22–24. In it the Eucharist is not sharply distinguished from its setting, the paschal meal: "And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many." This represents a tradition settled within 20 years of the event described.

Mt **26** 26–28 gives a few touches by way of revision, apparently from one then present. He adds the exhortation "eat" at the giving of the bread, and puts the personal command, "Drink ye all of it," in place of the mere statement, "and they all drank of it." He adds also of the blood that, as "poured out for many," it is "unto remission of sins."

The Pauline account, 1 Cor **11** 23–26 (the earliest written down, c 55 AD), was called forth in rebuke of the scandalous profanation of the Eucharist at Corinth. It gives us another tradition independent of, and supplementary to, that of Mk–Mt. It claims the authority of the Saviour as its source, and had been already made known to the Corinthians in the apostle's oral teaching. The time of the institution is mentioned as the night of the betrayal. We note of the bread, "This is my body, which is for you," of the cup, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood," and the redoubled command, "This do in remembrance of me."

The narrative given in Lk **22** 14–20 is the latest (c 80 AD) of our NT records. St. Luke had taken pains to follow up everything to its source, and had reëdited the oral tradition in the light of his historical researches (1 2.3), and thus his account is of the highest value. Writing for a wider circle of readers, he carefully separates and distinguishes the Eucharist from the paschal meal which preceded it, and puts the statement of Christ about not drinking "from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come," in its proper place as referring to the paschal cup (cf Mt **26** 29; Mk **14** 25; and Lk **22** 15–18). In describing the actual institution of the Eucharist, he gives us an almost verbal identity with the account given by St. Paul (1 Cor **11** 23–25).

3. Other Pauline Data

We should note the statement appended by St. Paul to his account of the Institution, wherein he emphasizes the memorial aspect and evidential value of the witness the eucharistic observance would give throughout the ages of the Christian dispensation (ver 26). We should also note the fact upon which the apostle bases his rebuke to the profane Corinthians, namely, the real, though undefined, identity of the bread and wine of the Eucharist with the body and blood of Christ (vs 27–29); an identity established through the blessing pronounced upon them, so that the bread and cup have come to be the "communion of the body of Christ" and the "communion of the blood of Christ," respectively (**10** 15–17). To receive the Eucharist, and also to partake of sacrifices offered to idols, is utterly incompatible with Christian loyalty. To receive the Eucharist after a gluttonous, winebibbing *agapē*, not recognizing the consecrated elements to be what the Lord Christ called them, is, likewise, a defiance of God. Both acts alike provoke the judgment of God's righteous anger (vs 21.22; **11** 21.22.27–29).

III. Preparation for the Eucharist.—The institution of the Eucharist had been prepared for by

1. The Miracles

Christ through the object-lesson of the feeding of the five thousand (Mt **14** 13–21; Mk **6** 35–44; Lk **9** 12–17; Jn **6** 4–13), which was followed up by the discourse about Himself as the Bread of Life, and about eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood as the nourishment of eternal life. This again was clinched by the second object-lesson of the feeding of the four thousand afterward (Mt **15** 32–39; Mk **8** 1–9). The Lord Christ's thanksgiving, and His blessing of the loaves and fishes—acts not elsewhere recorded of Him, except at the institution of the Eucharist, and at the self-revealing meal at Emmaus (Lk **24** 30)—deeply impressed those present, as indicating the source whence came His power to satisfy the hunger of the multitude (cf Mt **14** 19; **15** 36; Mk **6** 41; **8** 6.7; Lk **9** 16; Jn **6** 11.23).

2. The Discourse

In the discourse at Capernaum (Jn **6** 26–58) Christ led the thought of His hearers from earthly to heavenly food, from food that perished to the true bread from heaven. He declared Himself to be the living bread, and, further, that it is through eating His flesh and drinking His blood that they shall possess true life in themselves, and be raised by Him at the last day. The difficulties raised by this discourse Christ did not solve at the time. His ascension would but add to them. He asked of His disciples acceptance of His words in faith. Under the administration of the Spirit would these things be realized (vs 60–69). The institution of the Eucharist, later, gave the clue to these otherwise "hard" words. Today the Eucharist remains as the explanation of this discourse. A hardy mountaineer, e.g. who had read Jn **6** many times, could form no notion of its purport. When first privileged to be present at the eucharistic service of the Book of Common Prayer, the meaning of feeding upon Christ's flesh and blood forthwith became apparent to him (see *The Spirit of Missions*, July, 1911, 572–73).

IV. Historical Setting of the Eucharist.—We should note the setting in which the institution of the Eucharist was placed. Though

1. Acts and Words of Christ

the Fourth Gospel does not record this, it gives us many otherwise unknown data of the words of Christ spoken upon the eve of His death, in which historically the institution of the Eucharist was set. The symbolic washing of the feet of the disciples (Jn **13** 3–10), the "new" commandment (ver 34), Christ as the means of access to the Father (**14** 6), love for Christ to be shown by keeping His commandments (vs 15.21.23.24), the sending of the Paraclete Spirit (vs 16.17.26; **15** 26; **16** 13.14), the intimate fellowship of Christ and His disciples, shown in the metaphor of the vine and its branches (**15** 1–9.13–16)—all these throw their illumination upon the commandment, "This do in remembrance of me" (Lk **22** 19; 1 Cor **11** 24.25). The efficacy of prayer 'in Christ's name' (Jn **16** 23.24.26–28) after His final withdrawal from the midst of His disciples, and His great prayer of self-oblation and intercession for His church throughout time (Jn **17**, esp. 9–26) must not be forgotten in considering, "This is my body which is given for you" (Lk **22** 19), and, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many unto remission of sins" (Mt **26** 28).

2. Sacrificial Language

The sacrificial connotation of many of the words used in the narratives of institution should be noted: e.g. "body," "blood," "covenant," "given," "poured out," "for you," "for many" "unto remission of sins," "memorial" (cf Ex **24** 6–8; Lev **2** 2.9.16; **4** 5–7.16–18.34; **17** 11.14; **24** 7; Nu **10** 10; He **9** 11–28; **10** 4–10.19.20). The very elements of bread and wine also suggested the idea of sacrifice to those accustomed to their use in the older system of worship (cf Ex **29** 38–42; Nu **15** 4–10; **28** and **29** *passim*).

3. Jewish System

The general background, moreover, out of which the institution of the Eucharist stands forth, is the sacrificial system of the older dispensation. The chosen people of God, as a priestly race, a holy nation (Ex **19** 5.6; Dt **7** 6), worshipped God with a sequence of offerings, Divinely molded and inspired, which set forth the sovereign majesty and overlordship of God, His holiness, and the awe and penitence due from those who would draw nigh unto Him, and their desire for communion with Him.

The more immediate background of the Eucharist is the Passover, and that without prejudice as to whether the Lord Christ ate the paschal meal with His disciples before He instituted the Eucharist, as seems most probable (cf Lk **22** 7–18), or whether He died upon the day of its observance (see art. "Preparation," *DCG*, II, 409).

4. The Paschal Background

The Passover was at once a covenant-recalling and a covenant-renewing sacrifice, and the Eucharist, as corresponding to it, was instituted at the time of its yearly observance, and of the immolation of the true paschal lamb, of whose death it interpreted the value and significance (Ex **12** 3–28; cf **13** 3–10; Dt **16** 1–8; 1 Cor **5** 7; Jn **6** 51; **10** 10.11.15.17.18; **15** 13; **17** 19).

V. Sequence of the Institution.—Let us put before ourselves clearly the sequence of the Lord Christ's acts and words at the institution of the Eucharist ere we proceed to examine the church's mode of celebrating this ordinance.

At the close of the paschal Supper, (1) the Lord Christ "took" the bread and cup, respectively, for use in His new rite; (2) He "gave thanks" over them, constituting them a thank offering to God; (3) He "blessed" them to their new and higher potency; (4) He "gave" them to the apostles (the breaking being a requisite preliminary to distribution of the bread); (5) He bade them "Take, eat," and "Drink ye all of it," respectively; (6) He declared, of the bread, "This is my body given for you," cf the cup, "This is my blood of the covenant," or, "This is the new covenant in my blood which is poured out for you," "unto remission of sins"; (7) He adds the reiterated command, "This do for my memorial."

It is obvious that we are bidden to follow out the same series of acts, and statements, as those of Christ Himself. We should take bread and wine, set them apart by rendering thanks to God over them, presenting them to Him as symbols of Christ's body and blood, once for all "given" and "poured out" for us; bless them by asking God's blessing upon them (cf Gen **14** 19; Nu **6** 23–27; Mk **8** 7; Lk **2** 34; **9** 16; **24** 50); and receive and give them as the body and blood of Christ; for, "the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor **10** 16). It is obvious that we shall not forget, in this connection, the distinction between the natural body of Christ which He took of the Blessed Virgin, and the bread which He held in His hand, and blessed and made to function as His body for our participation and inherence in Him thereby—His sacramental body. The church with her many members united to the Head, and thus to each other, is also called His body mystical (1 Cor **10** 17; **12** 27; Eph **1** 22.23; Col **1** 24).

VI. The Church's Observance of the Eucharist.—

1. Heavenly Background

We should remember the priestly character of the church of Christ, whose sacrifices are made under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit (1 Pet **2** 5.9; Rev **1** 6; cf Acts **1** 2.8); and also the eternal priesthood in the heavens of our risen, ascended and ever-living Lord Christ. He laid down His life in order to take it again (Jn **10** 17), and now in the perfection of His glorified human nature, by His very presence in heaven, He is forever the propitiation inexhaustible for our sins (He **2** 17—**3** 3; **4** 14—**5** 10; **7** 1—**8** 7; **9** 11–28; **10** 1–25; cf 1 Jn **2** 1.2). As the Lamb slain once for all but alive for evermore, the Lord Christ is the focus of the worship of angels and the redeemed (Rev **1** 17.18; **5** 6–14; **7** 9.10), and the Christian disciple has the privilege of feeding upon that eternal Priest and Victim (He **13** 10; 1 Cor **10** 16).

2. Day of Celebration

The celebration of the Eucharist was characteristic of the pentecostal church (Acts **2** 42), esp. upon the Lord's Day (**20** 7). Its observance was preceded by the *agapē* (1 Cor **11** 20.34) on the eve (for the circumstances of the institution were closely imitated, and the day was reckoned as beginning at sunset after the Jewish fashion), and thus the Eucharist proper came late into the night, or toward morning (Acts **20** 11).

It should be noted that the name, "Lord's Supper," belongs to the *agapē* rather than to the Eucharist; its popular use is a misnomer of mediaeval and Reformation times.

3. Names of the Eucharist

The name "Eucharist" is derived from the *eucharistēsas* ("gave thanks") of the institution and was the most widely used term in primitive times, as applied to the whole service, to the consecration of the bread and wine or to the consecrated elements themselves (cf 1 Cor **14** 16).

The term "breaking of bread" (Acts **2** 42; **20** 7.11) had little vogue after NT times.

"Communion" obviously is derived from 1 Cor **10** 16.

In connection with the early and frequent use of the word "oblation" (*prosphorá*) and its cognates, we should note St. Paul's description of his ministry in terms that suggest the rationale of the prayer of consecration, or eucharistic prayer, as we know it in the earliest liturgical tradition: "that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be made acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit" (Rom **15** 16).

VII. Post-apostolic Church.—

1. Holy Spirit's Guidance

The same Spirit who guided the church in the determination of the Canon of the NT Scriptures, the same Spirit who guided the church in the working out of her explicit formulation of the Christian doctrine of the Godhead, and of the Christ—that self-same Spirit guided the church in the formation and fashioning of her great eucharistic prayer into its norm in the same 4th cent. The historic churches of the East, by their faithful adherence to this norm, have been almost undisturbed by the dissensions and disputes of Western Christendom touching the Eucharist.

2. The Early Fathers

The glimpses given us in the earlier Fathers of the Eucharist are in entire accord with the more articulate expression of the church's corporate eucharistic worship, which we find in the liturgical documents and writings of the Nicene era.

(1) The Ignatian Epp. show us the Eucharist as the focus of the church's life and order, the source of unity and fellowship. The Eucharist consecrated by the prayer of the bishop and church is the Bread of God, the Flesh and Blood of Christ, the communication of love incorruptible and life eternal (cf *Ephesians*, 5.13.20; *Trallians*, 7.8; *Romans*, 7; *Philadelphians*, 4; *Smyrnaeans*, 7.8; *Magnesians*, 7).

(2) Justin Martyr tells us that the Eucharist was celebrated on the Lord's Day, the day associated with creation and with Christ's resurrection. To the celebrant were brought bread and wine mixed with water, who then put up to God, over them, solemn thanksgiving for His lovingkindness in the gifts of food and health and for the redemption wrought by Christ. The oblations of bread and wine are presented to God in memorial of Christ's passion, and become Christ's body and blood through prayer. The Eucharist is a spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving commemorative of Christ's death; and the consecrated elements the communion of Christ's body and blood, by reason of the sacramental character bestowed upon them by the invocation of the Divine blessing (cf 1 *Apol.*, 13.65, 66, 67; *Dial. with Trypho*, 41.70, 117).

(3) Irenaeus, also, emphasizes the fact that Christ taught His disciples to offer the new oblation of the New Covenant, to present in thank offering the first-fruits of God's creatures—bread and wine—the pure sacrifice prophesied before by Malachi. The Eucharist consecrated by the church, through the invocation of God's blessing, is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, just as He pronounced the elements to be at the institution (cf *Against Heresies*, i.13.2; iv.17.5; 18.1–6; 33.2; v.22.3).

(4) Cyprian, too, gives evidence of the same eucharistic belief, and alludes very plainly to the "Lift up your hearts," to the great thanksgiving, and to the prayer of consecration. This last included the rehearsal of what Christ did and said

at the institution, the commemoration of His passion, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit (cf *Ep. to Caecilius*, §§1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 14, 17; *Ep. to Epictetus*, §§ 2, 4; *On the Unity of the Church*, I, 17; *On the Lord's Prayer*, §31; *Firmilian to Cyprian*, §§10, 17).

1. The Eucharistic Prayer

VIII. Liturgical Tradition.—When we proceed to examine the early liturgical remains we find the articulate expression of the church's sacrifice following along these lines. After an introductory summons to the worshippers to "lift up their hearts," the great eucharistic prayer goes on to pour forth sublime praises to God for all the blessings of creation, and for the fruits of the earth; aligning the praises of the church with the worship of the heavenly host around the throne of God. The love of God in bringing about the redemption of fallen man through the incarnation, and through the self-oblation of His only Son upon the cross is then recalled in deep thankfulness. The institution of the Eucharist in the night of the betrayal is next related, and then, taking up, and fufilling the command of Christ ('Do this for my memorial') therein recited, most solemn memorial is made before God, with the antitypical elements, of the death and of the victorious resurrection and ascension of the Lord Christ. Then, as still further carrying out this act of obedience, most humble prayer is made to the Eternal Father for the hallowing of the oblations, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, to be the body and blood of Christ, and to be to those who partake of them, for the imparting of remission of sins, and the bestowal of life eternal. To this great act of praise and prayer the solemn "Amen" of the assembled congregation assents, and thereafter the sacramental gifts are received by the faithful present, with another "Amen" from each recipient to whom they are administered.

The great eucharistic prayer, as outlined, was the first part of the liturgy to crystallize into written form, and of its component parts the invocation of the Divine blessing upon the elements was probably the first to be written down.

2. Its Unifying Significance

Around the simplicity and the depth of such a truly apostolic norm of eucharistic worship, alone, can be gathered into one the now dispersed and divided followers of the Christ, for therein subsist in perfect harmony the Godward and the manward aspects of the memorial He commanded us to make as complementary, not contradictory; and the identity of the consecrated bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ is manifested to be in the realm of their spiritual function and potency.

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Henry Riley Gummey

Historical

1. Original Institution
2. The Elements
3. The Eucharist in the Apostolic Church
4. The Eucharist in the Post-apostolic Church
5. Rome and the Eucharist
6. Luther and the Eucharist
7. Zwingli and the Eucharist
8. Calvin and the Eucharist

This name of the Lord's Supper is derived from *eucharistía*, the prayer of consecration, and this in turn points back to Mt **26** 27, "And he took a cup, and gave thanks" (*eucharistḗsas*). The most common name is "Lord's Supper" (*deípnon kuríou* [1 Cor **11** 20]). It is also called "Lord's table" (*trápeza kuríou* [**10** 21 AV]); while the cup is called "the cup of blessing" (*potḗrion tḗs eulogías* [ver 16]) and "the cup of the Lord" (*potḗrion kuríou* [ver 21]). The word *koinōnía* points both to the bread and the cup, whence our common term "communion." In post-apostolic days it became known as *leitourgía*, a sacred ministration, whence our word "liturgy." It was also named *thusía*, a sacrifice, and *mustḗrion*, from its mystic character and perhaps from the fact that it was celebrated only in the closed circle of believers. The Roman Catholic church calls it *missa* or "mass," from the words *congregatio missa est*, whereby in post-apostolic times the first part of worship, called the *missa cathechumenorum*, was closed, and whereby the second part of worship was ushered in, known as the *missa fidelium*, the sacramental part of worship, only destined for believers.

1. Original Institution

The origin of the Eucharist is described in Mt **26**; Mk **14**, and Lk **22**. Paul introduces his simple and comprehensive recital of the origin of the institution—the earliest written record of it—with the words: "For I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you" (1 Cor **11** 23). A comparison between the Gospels and Ex **12** indicates a considerable modification of the original Passover ritual in the days of Jesus (see Smith's *DB*, art. "Lord's Supper"). The composite Gospel-picture of the institution of the Eucharist shows us the Saviour in the deep consciousness of the catastrophe about to overwhelm Him, surrounded by treason on the part of Judas and a strange and total lack of appreciation of the true situation on the part of the other disciples. He had greatly 'desired to eat this passover with them before he suffered' (Lk **22** 15), and yet they are wholly unresponsive, the chief question apparently in their minds being the old contention of rank and preeminence. Whether or not Judas was present at the eating of the Supper is a moot point, which we will not discuss here. Neither will we touch the question whether or not this Passover-meal was the true Jewish festive meal or an anticipation of it, called *pascha* only, in allusion to the great feast, which had brought the hundreds of thousands of Jews to Jerus (cf Mt **26**; Mk **14** with Jn **12** 1; **13** 1.2. 29; **18** 28; **19** 14.31).

Both Mt and Mk leave the exact place of the institution of the Supper in the festive meal indefinite, "as they were eating" (Mt **26** 26; Mk **14** 22); the words of Lk, "after supper" (**22** 20), may be a hint in regard to this matter (see Jn **13** 1; 1 Cor **11** 25). But the custom of the early church of celebrating the Eucharist after the *agapē* or "love feast" appears to be strong evidence that the original institution was separate from the paschal festival and followed it. The entire subject of the Eucharist has been called in question by the radical German critics, who point to the absence of the whole matter in Jn and to the omission of the words, "Do this in remembrance of me," in Mt and Mk. Its occurrence in Lk is ascribed to Paul's influence over him and to his familiarity with the story of the institution as described by the apostle. But this position is utterly untenable in the light of the unquestioned fact that the Lord's Supper as a fixed part of worship was firmly established from the earliest days of the Christian church. The doctrine of Christ's vicarious suffering is nowhere so clearly enunciated as in the words of the institution of the Supper, "This is my body which is given for you" (Lk **22** 19); "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many unto remission of sins" (Mt **26** 28). Small wonder that those who have utterly done away with the doctrine of the vicarious atonement or of substitution should attack the historicity of the Eucharist and should seek by all means to wipe it from the record.

Jesus bids His followers to observe the new institution "in remembrance of" Him. As Dr. Bavinck says, "The Lord's Supper is instituted by Christ as a permanent benefit to His church; it is a blessing added to all other blessings to signify and to seal them" (*Geref. Dogm.*, IV, 310).

2. The Elements

As to the elements used in the original institution of the Supper, they were bread and wine. The bread of course was the unleavened bread of the Passover, during which feast every trace of leaven was removed (Ex **12** 19). The Eastern church, perhaps influenced by the bitter Ebionite spirit of the Judaizers, later adopted the use of common bread (*koinós ártos*); the Western church used unleavened bread. Protestantism left the matter among the *adiaphora*.

As regards the wine, the matter has been in dispute from the beginning (see Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Bib. Lit.*). The early church always used mixed wine, wine and water, following the Jewish custom. Whether the wine used at the institution of the Lord's Supper was fermented or unfermented wine, must of course be determined by the Jewish Passover-customs prevailing at that time. The matter is in dispute and is not easily settled.

Modern Jews quite generally use raisin-wine, made by steeping raisins over night in water and expressing the juice the next day for use at the Passover-meal. The ancient Jews, we are told, used for this purpose a thick boiled wine, mixed with water (Mish, *Terūmōth*, xi). Whether *oínos*, the word used in the NT, stands literally, as the name indicates, for fermented wine, or figuratively for the mixed drinks, well known to ancient and modern Jews, is a debatable matter. As late as the 16th cent. the Nestorian Christians celebrated communion with raisin-wine, and the same is said of the Indian Christians ("St. Thomas Christians"). The word "new," used by Christ in Mt **26** 29, is believed by some to indicate the character of the wine used by Christ at the institution of the Eucharist, viz. the juice of grapes fresh pressed out (see Clem. Alex., *Paed.*, xi). On the other hand the third Council of Braga explicitly forbade this practice as heretical. It is evident that the whole subject is shrouded in much mystery. Some ancient sects substituted an entirely different element, water and milk, for instance, being used (Epiph., *Haer.*, xlix; Aug., *Haer.*, xxviii). Such customs were utterly condemned by the Council of Braga (675 AD). In general, however, the Christian church, almost from the beginning, seems to have used fermented red wine, either mixed or pure, in the administration of the Eucharist, in order to maintain the correspondence between the symbol and the thing symbolized.

3. The Eucharist in the Apostolic Church

Originally the apostolic church celebrated communion at every meeting for worship. They continued stedfastly in the apostle's teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers (Acts **2** 42.46). Very soon, however, if we may judge from the Acts and the Pauline Epp., its administration was confined to the meeting on the first day of the week. The *agapē* always preceded communion, and at some part of the service the believers, the sexes after the plan of the synagogue being separated, would salute each other with the "holy kiss" (*phílēma hágion*) (1 Cor **16** 20; 2 Cor **13** 12). But the introduction of the sacrament, with all its accessories, had evidently occasioned grave abuses at Corinth (1 Cor **11** 34). Paul corrects these in unmistakable language. Thus we received our first written record of the institution of the Supper. In Corinth it seems to have been restricted from the beginning to the first day of the week (Acts **20** 7; 1 Cor **16** 2). By a slow transition the *deipnon* was transferred from the midnight hour to the morning. At least we find that Paul kept it after midnight at Troas (Acts **20** 11). It would appear as if the apostle had also partaken of the Lord's Supper, together with his Christian companions, on board the ship, toward the close of his fateful trip on the Adriatic (Acts **27** 35).

4. The Eucharist in the Post-apostolic Church

In the post-apostolic church the Eucharist continued to be celebrated every Lord's day. But it separated itself from the preaching of the Word and from prayers, as in the previous period. It was invested with a mystic meaning, something too holy for the common eye, and thus the *missa catechumenorum*, the open church-meeting, was separated from the *missa fidelium*, the gathering of believers only, in which the Eucharist was celebrated. Bread, wine, oil, milk, honey, all the ingredients for the *agapē*, from which the elements for the Supper were selected, were furnished by the free-will offerings of the believers. These were solemnly set apart by the officiating bishop with a consecrating prayer, *eucharistia*, and thus the sacrament obtained the name "Eucharist." The gifts themselves were called *prosphorai*, "oblations," or *thusiai*, "sacrifices." The sacrificial conception of the Supper was thus gradually created (Ign., *Phil.*, iv; *Smyrna*, vii, viii; Justin, *Apol.*, i.66; *Dial.*, xii.70; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, iv.18.5). The Eucharist once being conceived as a sacrifice, the conception of the officiating bishop as a *priest* became logically inevitable. The Apos Const, xliii (4) gives us a fair idea of the worship of the church, toward the close of the 3d cent. Even at that early day a well-developed ritual had replaced the simplicity of the worship of the apostolic days. In the African and Eastern churches, baptized children were allowed to partake of communion, through the fear engendered by Jn **6** 53. The regenerative conception of baptism largely influenced this custom. The remnants of the consecrated elements were brought by the deacons to the sick and to imprisoned believers. We have not the space in a brief article like this to enter fully into the development of the doctrinal conception of the Supper as found in the Fathers. Suffice it to say that the symbolical and spiritual concept of the Eucharist, usually defined as the "dynamic" view of the Supper, was advocated by such men as Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzen and others. On the other hand Cyril, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom and John Damascenus developed the "realistic" theory of the Eucharist, and this view again divided itself into the "diophysitic" theory, later called "consubstantiation," and the "monophysitic" theory, later known as "transubstantiation." Augustinus, the great Lat Father, knew nothing of the theory of transubstantiation. He taught that communion carries a blessing only for believers, while to the unbelieving it is a curse, and that the true eating of the body of Christ consists in believing (*Serm. Ad Infantes*, *De Civ.*, x.6; xxii.10; *Tract. 25 in Joann.*). Paschasius Radbert (d. 865 AD) was the first fully to formulate the realistic view as the doctrine of the Romish church, and although the dynamic view triumphed for a while, the condemnation of Berengarius of Tours (d. 1088 AD) proved that by the middle of the 11th cent. the realistic view of the Supper had become the generally accepted doctrine of the Eucharist.

5. Rome and the Eucharist

The Romish church couches its doctrine of the Eucharist in the word "transubstantiation," which means the conversion of the substance of the elements used in the Eucharist. The word was first used by Hildebert of Tours (d. 1134 AD) in a sermon. The doctrine of the Supper was finally fixed, together with the new term, by Pope Innocent III, at the Lateran Council 1215 AD. It was decided that the body and blood of Christ are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood of Christ, by the Divine power. This has been the Romish doctrine of the Supper ever since. The bread and wine are changed into the veritable body and blood of Christ, by the words of the institution. By the institution of the Supper, Christ made His disciples priests, wherefore the Eucharist may be administered only by an ordained priest. In the miracle of the sacrament, the "accidents" of the elements—bread and wine—remain, but they are no longer inherent in a subject, the substance in which they inhered being replaced by another. This new substance is the body and blood of Christ, which is hidden from observation under the appearance of the elements. The whole Christ is present in each of these elements, hence it is not necessary to commune under both forms (*sub utraque*). In the Romish conception of the Supper communion with Christ is a secondary idea. The main idea is that of the transubstantiation itself, for the Supper is more a sacrifice than a sacrament; thus the mass becomes a sin offering. While it feeds faith, keeps us from mortal sin, wards off temporal punishment, unites believers, it also has a potency for those who are not present, and even for the dead in purgatory. Thus the mass became the very heart and center of the entire Romish cultus (*Conf. Trid.*, XIII, 21, 22; *Cat. Rom.*, CXII, c. 4; Bellarm, *De Sacr. Euch.*, I, iv; Moehler, *Symb.*, § 34).

6. Luther and the Eucharist

The Reformers rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, the sacrificial conception of the Eucharist, the adoration of the "host," the withholding of the cup, the efficiency of the Eucharist in behalf of the dead, the entire Romish conception of the sacrament of the Supper. The original position of Luther, that the elements in the Supper were signs and seals of the remission of sins, was soon replaced by the doctrine of "consubstantiation." The bitter controversy with Carlstadt, and esp. the failure of the Marburg Conference, drove Luther forever into the camp of the realists. As early as 1524 he had outlined his doctrine against Carlstadt. He placed himself squarely on the realistic conception of the words of the institution, and held that "the body of Christ in accordance with the will and omnipotence of God and its own ubiquity is really and substantially present *in, with* and *under* the Supper, even as His Divine nature is in the human as warmth is in the iron. Wherefore the Supper is physically partaken of by those who are unworthy, albeit to their own destruction" (Bavinck, *Geref. Dogm.*, IV, 318). This doctrine has been fully developed by the Lutheran divines, and is till this day the view of the Lutheran church.

7. Zwingli and the Eucharist

Zwingli essentially sided with Carlstadt in his controversy with Luther, whom he thereby greatly embittered. He interpreted the words of the institution—"this is"—as signifying "this stands for," "this signifies." This view was fully set forth in a letter to Matthew Alber at Reutlingen in 1524 and was given its final form in his dogmatic tract, *Com. de vera et falsa rel.* (1525), where he characterizes Luther's doctrine as "an opinion not only rustic but even impious and frivolous." The breach was widened by the Marburg Conference of 1529. Reduced to its last analysis, the eucharistic concept of Zwingli is that of a symbolical memorial of the suffering and death of Christ, although Zwingli does not deny that Christ is present to the eye of faith. On the contrary, He is enjoyed through the word and through faith, i.e. in a spiritual way. In the Supper we confess our faith, we express what that faith means to us, and we do it in memory of Christ's death (*Oper.*, ii.1, 426; iii.239, 326, 459; iv.51, 68). The Zwinglian view has been consciously or unconsciously adopted by a very large portion of the Protestant church.

8. Calvin and the Eucharist

Calvin's position on the doctrine of the Eucharist tends rather to the Lutheran than to the Zwinglian view. With Zwingli the sacrament is little more than a sign, with Calvin it is both a sign and a seal. The reality of communion with Christ and the benefits of His death, received by a living faith—all this is common to the Lutheran and the Calvinistic views. The Lord's Supper is far more than a mere memorial service, it is a marvelous means of grace as well. Calvin sides with Zwingli in denying all physical, local or substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist. But he differs from him in making the eucharistic act far more than a confession of faith, and he lays far greater stress than Zwingli on the meaning of its true participation. With Luther he holds that Christ is truly present in the Supper, and he lays stress esp. on the mystic union of the believer with Christ. In the Supper both the benefits of Christ's death and His glorious person are touched. But Christ does not descend in the Supper to the believer, but the latter *ascends* to Him in heaven. The central thought of the Calvinistic conception of the Supper is this, that the communicant, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, comes in spiritual contact with the entire person of Christ and that he is thus fed unto life eternal. Every close student of Calvin's works will have to admit that his ideas on the subject are somewhat involved and confusing. This is due no doubt to the mediating position he occupied between Luther and Zwingli. But his position as a whole is quite plain. All his followers agree in holding that (1) Christ is only *spiritually* present in the Supper; (2) that the participation in the benefits of the Supper must therefore be spiritual, although it is real, and (3) that only true communicants, by a living faith, can communicate therein, and that this participation in the atoning death of the Saviour is sealed to us by the use of the ordained signs of the sacrament. HENRY E. DOSKER

LUTHERAN INTERPRETATION

I. THE TERM
  1. The Derivation and Meaning
  2. Synonyms
II. THE ORDINANCE
  1. Source and Norm of the Doctrine of the Eucharist
  2. Interpretation of the Eucharistic Texts
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1. The Derivation and Meaning

I. The Term.—"Eucharist" is the anglicized form of the Gr noun *eucharistía*, which signifies "gratitude," "thanks," or "praise offering." The noun is derived from the vb. *eucharistéō*, which, with the vb. *eulogéō* of kindred meaning in Mt **26** 26.27; Mk **14** 22.23, is used to describe the action of the Lord in blessing the bread and wine at the institution of the Lord's Supper (Lk **22** 19; 1 Cor **11** 23). When used absolutely, as in these places, it signifies "the offering up of praise that is prompted by nothing else than God Himself and His revealed glory" (Cremer). The blessing of the physical elements was part of the sacramental action at subsequent celebrations of the ordinance (1 Cor **10** 16), and thus *eucharistia* soon (2d cent.) came to mean the blessed elements and the entire ordinance in which these were administered.

Other Scriptural terms for the same ordinance are "Communion" (from *koinōnía*, in the twofold sense indicated in 1 Cor **10** 16.17), "Lord's Supper" (*kuriakón deípnon* [1 Cor **11** 20]), "Lord's Table" (*trápeza*

2. Synonyms

kuríou [1 Cor **10** 21]), "Breaking of Bread" (*klásis toú ártou* [Acts **2** 42]). The lit. of the church developed a great many terms which emphasize one or the other feature of the ordinance. Luther, in his Small Catechism, adopts the name "Sacrament of the Altar," because it is administered at the altar. The Lutheran Confessions occasionally employ the term "mass," however, in the original meaning which the early church, not in that which the Roman church, connects with the term ("mass" derived either from *missa*, "things sent," because the materials for communion were sent to the place of celebration, or from *missio*, "a sending [away]," because worshippers who were not members, or minors, were dismissed from the service before the celebration of the Eucharist began; but see McClintock and Strong, *Cyclop. of Bib., Theol., and Eccles. Lit.*, V, 863).

II. The Ordinance.—The "seats of doctrine," i.e. the Scripture texts which must be employed for determining every essential part of the teaching of Scripture regarding the second sacrament of the Christian church, are the words of institution recorded in Mt **26** 26–28; Mk **14** 22–24; Lk **22** 19.20; 1 Cor **11** 23–25.

1. Source and Norm of the Doctrine of the Eucharist

Valuable statements, chiefly concerning the proper use of the sacrament, are found in 1 Cor **10** 15 ff; **11** 20 ff. That these texts are controverted is no reason why a doctrine should not be established from them. No doctrine of the Christian religion could be established, if every text of Scripture had to be withdrawn from the argument, so soon as it had become controverted. Jn **6** 32–59 does not treat of this ordinance, because (1) the ordinance must be dated from the night of the betrayal, which was considerably after the Lord's discourse at Capernaum; (2) because this passage speaks of "eating the flesh," not the body, of the Son of man, and of drinking "his blood," in such a manner that a person's eternal salvation is made to depend upon this eating and drinking. If this passage were eucharistic, infants, children, persons in durance among pagans, or temporarily deprived of the ministration of the Christian church, hence, unable to commune, could not be saved.

2. Interpretation of the Eucharistic Texts

The exposition of the genuine eucharistic texts of Scripture is governed by the common law of Bible exegesis, viz. that every word and statement of Scripture must be understood in its proper and native sense, unless a plain and urgent reason compels the adoption of a figurative interpretation. The writers who have recorded the institution of the sacrament have given no hint that they wish to be understood figuratively. The solemn occasion—the Eucharist being the expression of the last will or testament of the Lord—forbids the use of figurative language (Gal **3** 15). The fact that a statement of Scripture transcends our natural powers of comprehension does not justify us in giving it a figurative meaning. If this rationalistic principle were to be applied in explaining Scripture, we could not retain a single revealed doctrine. Besides, those who have adopted a figurative interpretation are not agreed where to locate the figure in the words of institution. Some claim that the word *toúto*, others that *estí*, others that *tó sômá mou* contain a figure, while still others would take the institutional words in their proper sense, but understand the entire ordinance figuratively.

3. Doctrinal Contents of the Eucharistic Passages

The eucharistic passages contain: (1) a statement fixing the time and occasion of the institution. It was "in the night in which he was betrayed," immediately before the beginning of the *passio magna* of Christ, and in connection with the celebration of the Jewish Passover (Mt **26** 17 ff). The ordinance which Christ instituted was to take the place of the ancient Passover (1 Cor **5** 7, which text Luther aptly renders: "We, too, have a passover, which is Christ crucified for us"). Jewish custom at the time of Christ seems to have allowed some latitude as regards the time for eating the paschal lamb. Thus the difference between John (**18** 28; **19** 42) and the synoptists is overcome. Our Lord was deeply stirred with thoughts of love and affection for His disciples at the time of the institution (**13** 1).

(2) An authoritative declaration of Christ, the God-man, fixing the constituent parts of the sacrament, and the essential features of the sacramental act (*speciem actus*). This declaration names:

(*a*) The elements of the sacrament, which are of two kinds: bread and wine (*materia terrena*), and the body and blood of the Lord (*materia coelestis*) (see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, iv.34.363, quoted in *Form. Conc. Sol. Decl.*, Art. VII, no. 14, 649). There is no law laid down as regards the quality, form, or quantity of the bread (leavened or unleavened, round or oblong, in large loaves, cakes, or in wafer form ready for immediate distribution). Likewise the color and quality of the wine is left undefined. The expression *génnēma tês ampélou*, "fruit of the vine" (Mt **26** 29), sanctions the use of any substance that has grown on the vine, has been pressed from grapes, and has the characteristics of the substance known as wine. That the wine used by the Lord at that season of the year and in accordance with Jewish custom was fermented wine, there can be no doubt (Hodge, *Systematic Theol.*, III, 616). The use of unfermented wine is apt to introduce an element of uncertainty into the sacrament. The heavenly elements are defined thus: "My body, which is given for you," "my blood, which is shed for many." These terms signify the real, substantial, natural body of Christ, and His real, natural blood (Luther: "the *true* body and blood of our Lord"). Both the earthly and the heavenly elements are really present at the same time in every eucharistic act. To deny either the presence of real bread and wine at any stage during the eucharistic act, as the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation does (against 1 Cor **11** 26.28), or the real presence of the true body and blood of Christ, as reformed teaching does, is not doing justice to Scripture.

(*b*) The relation of the elements to one another: In offering the physical elements to the disciples the Lord employs the *locutio exhibitiva*, common to every language of men: He names that which is not seen while giving that which is seen. ("Here are your spices," says the grocer delivering the package containing them.) The *locutio exhibitiva*, except when used by a jester or dishonest person, always states a fact. The bread in the Eucharist *is* the body of Christ, the wine, likewise, *is* the blood of Christ. The relation is expressed in 1 Cor **10** 16.17 by *koinōnia*, "communion." This term is not the same as *metochḗ*, "participation," which would refer to the communicants (Plummer, *HDB*, III, 149). *Koinōnia* declares a communion of the bread with the body, of the wine with the blood, of Christ. It is impossible to define the mode and manner of this communion of the earthly with the heavenly elements. Such terms as "consubstantiation," "impanation," "invination," are faulty attempts to define the undefinable. All we can assert is, that in a manner incomprehensible to us the body and blood of the Lord are in a sacramental union with the eucharistic bread and wine.

(*c*) The action required, viz. "take, eat"; "take, drink." These words refer to the distribution and reception of the sacramental elements. These are essential, the mode is not, unless one wishes to emphasize, e.g. by the breaking of the bread, the merely symbolical meaning of the entire ordinance. Accordingly, it is also immaterial whether the administrant place the elements into the hands of the communicant, who then conveys them to his mouth, or whether the administrant conveys the elements directly to the mouth of the communicant. The acts of distributing and receiving, however, extend to the entire sacramental substance, i.e. not the bread, or the wine, alone are distributed and received, but "in, with, and under the bread" the body, "in, with, and under the wine" the blood, of Christ. The eating and drinking in the Eucharist is of a peculiar kind. It differs from mere natural eating and drinking of common food, and from spiritual eating and drinking, which is a figurative expression signifying the believing appropriation of the Saviour's atoning work, and which can never be "for judgment." In natural eating and drinking there would be only bread and wine, not the body and blood of the Lord; in spiritual eating and drinking there would be only the merits of the Redeemer, not bread and wine. In sacramental eating and drinking both the bread and the body, the wine and the blood, of Christ, are sacramentally received, the earthly elements in a natural, the heavenly in a supernatural, undefinable manner, both, however, orally, and both by every communicant. For, according to 1 Cor **11** 29, also the unworthy communicant receives the Lord's body, and that for his judgment, "not discerning" it (AV).

(*d*) The end and aim of the ordinance: The Lord says: "This do in remembrance of me." Paul says: "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come." These words make the Eucharist an efficient means for strengthening the spiritual union of the disciples with the Lord until His second coming. They are a call for faith on the part of the communicants, and restrict admission to communion to the believing followers of the Lord. Worthy communicants are those who understand the meaning of Christ's sacrifice and hope for His return in glory. (Luther: "The sacrament is instituted for us Christians.") The duty of self-exploration enjoined upon communicants further emphasizes the purpose of this ordinance. Self-exploration embraces knowledge and acknowledgment of our sinful state, confidence in the ever-present forgiveness of God for Christ's sake, and a sincere purpose to forsake sin and grow in holiness. Accordingly, non-believers, morally irresponsible persons, and persons who lead offensive lives which they will not amend, cannot be admitted to communion (Mt **7** 6). In 1 Cor **10** 17 Paul names another purpose: the strengthening of the bonds of brotherly love and fellowship by means of communion. Hence, unity of faith and active Christian charity are required in those who are to commune together (Mt **5** 23.24), and "close communion," not "open, or promiscuous communion" is in accord with the teaching of Scripture. In the absence of any fixed rule as to the frequency of a Christian's communing, the above reasons suffice to induce him to commune frequently ("as *often* as").

(3) An authoritative statement of Christ concerning the continued use of the sacrament (*exercitium actus*): "This do." This means (*a*) that the action of Christ is to be repeated, i.e., bread and wine should be blessed, distributed and received. The blessing is called the consecration and consists in the reciting of a prayer and the words of the institution. Consecration has no magical effects, it does not produce the sacramental union. On the other hand, it is not a mere meaningless ceremony, but a solemn declaration that in accordance with the will of the Lord, bread and wine are now being separated from their common use, to be devoted to the use which the Lord commanded. It is also a prayer to the Lord to be present in the sacrament; (*b*) that whenever disciples do as their Lord did, He will connect His body and blood with the earthly substances as He did at the first communion; (*c*) that besides the blessing of the elements, only the giving, or distribution, and the taking, or reception, of the sacramental elements are proper and essential parts of a sacramental action. A true sacramental action is complete only where these three acts concur: consecration, distribution, reception, and outside of these acts nothing that may be done with the elements possesses the nature of a sacrament or a sacramental action. Offering the consecrated wafer for adoration is no part of the sacrament, but is a form of idolatry (artolatry), because there is no sacramental union except in the act of distributing and receiving the consecrated elements. The withdrawal of the cup from the lay communicants is an unwarranted mutilation of the sacrament (Mt **26** 27; Mk **14** 23). But the grossest perversion of the sacrament, and a standing reproach to the completeness of the atoning sacrifice of the Lord is the offering up of the consecrated elements as an unbloody sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead, which is being done in the Rom mass (He **10** 14.18).

III. Difficulties.—"How can these things be?" This question might be raised against every doc-

1. Question of Possibility

trine of Scripture. The union of the natures in the God-man, the imputation of His merit to the believer, the quickening power of the word of Divine grace, the resurrection of the dead, etc, can all be subjected to the same questioning.

"Has faith no place in this sacrament?" Faith does not create, nor help to create the sacrament, neither the administrant's nor the communicant's faith. The sacrament is fully constituted in all its parts by the institutional act of the Lord and by

2. Place of Faith

His command to continue the observance of it. Man's faith cannot make, man's unbelief cannot unmake, an ordinance of God. But faith is necessary in order that a communicant may receive the blessings offered in the Eucharist, and testify to his believing relation to the Lord and to his Christian fellowship with the brethren. The sacrament bestows no blessing *ex opere operato*, i.e. by the mere mechanical performance of the physical act.

"Are the words of the institution part of the sacred text?" Up to the age of Paulus, they were

3. The Words of the Institution

universally regarded so, and the critical labors of Briggs, P. Gardner, Grafe, Immer, Jülicher, etc, which can readily be explained by the theological position of these men, lack unity of result and are offset by the labors of Scrivener, Schultzen, R. A. Hoffman, Blass, Beyschlag, etc. Christianity as yet sees no reason for discarding the words of the institution and for discontinuing the Eucharist as a Divine ordinance.

W. H. T. DAU

ACCORDING TO THE BELIEF AND PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN (DUNKERS)

I. THE LAST SUPPER WAS NOT THE JEWISH PASSOVER
  1. Date
  2. Doctrinal
  3. Tradition
II. THE PERPETUATION OF THE LAST SUPPER
III. PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN
IV. THE MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LOVE FEAST
LITERATURE

The interest of this denomination in the Lord's Supper as related to the Passover consists in two points: (1) that the "Lord's Supper" was not the Jewish Passover, but was eaten the evening before the Jewish feast; and (2) that this "Last Supper" was intended to be perpetuated. This is perpetuated by the Church of the Brethren under the name of "Love Feast" (see AGAPE).

I. The Last Supper Was Not the Jewish Passover.—John gives five distinct intimations of the date:

1. Date

(1)) "Now before the feast of the passover" (Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχαι, *Pró dé tḗs heortḗs toú páscha;* Jn **13** 1). This shows that the washing of the disciples' feet, and the discourses at the Last Supper were before the Passover.

(2) "Buy what things we have need of for the feast" (ἀγόρασον ὧν χρείαν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, *agórason hṓn chreían échomen eis tḗn heortḗn;* **13** 29). This shows that the Supper (δεῖπνον, *deípnon*) was not the Passover feast (ἑορτήν, *heortḗn*).

(3) "They lead Jesus therefore from Caiaphas into the Praetorium; and it was early; and they themselves entered not into the Praetorium, that they might not be defiled, but might eat the passover" (ἵνα φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα, *hína phágōsin tó páscha;* Jn **18** 28). This was after the Supper, early on the day of crucifixion, before the Passover.

(4) "Now it was the Preparation of the passover: it was about the sixth hour" (ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, *ḗn dé paraskeuḗ toú páscha;* Jn **19** 14). This again shows conclusively that the Passover was not yet eaten. Jesus is before Pilate; it is the day of the crucifixion, and after the Last Supper.

(5) "The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remain on the cross upon the sabbath (for the day of that sabbath was a high day)," ver 31, etc. Here we have again a reference to the Preparation (παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, *paraskeuḗ toú páscha*), and also to the Sabbath which, in this case was a "high day" (ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου, *ḗn gár megálē hē hēméra ekeínou toú sabbátou*). This shows that the Passover was eaten on Friday evening after sunset on the 15th of Nisan at the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath. Whenever the Passover fell upon the Sabbath, that Sabbath was a "high day."

Christ is our Passover: died at the time the Passover lamb was slain, hence after the Last Supper. (1) Christ died at the time the Passover

2. Doctrinal

lamb was slain on Friday afternoon, the 14th of Nisan, and thus became Our Passover (1 Cor **5** 7), "For our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ." (2) Jesus, the "Lamb of God" (Jn **1** 29) corresponds to the Passover lamb (Ex **12** 3). "Without blemish" (Ex **12** 5) = Jesus, "who did no sin" (1 Pet **2** 22–24). The blood of a lamb sprinkled upon houses (Ex **12** 7.13) corresponds to salvation by the blood of Jesus (1 Jn **1** 7–9). (3) Jesus arose the third day and became "the first-fruits of them that are asleep" (1 Cor **15** 4.20.23). The resurrection was on the first day of the week. The sheaf, or first-fruits, was gathered on the 16th of Nisan. Therefore Jesus must have died on Friday the 14th of Nisan, when the Passover lamb was slain; hence after the Last Supper.

3. Tradition

All the early traditions, both Jewish and Christian, agree that Jesus was crucified on the day of Preparation of the Passover, and they distinguish between the Passover and the Last Supper which was eaten the evening before the Jewish feast.

II. The Perpetuation of the Last Supper.—(1) Since the Last Supper was a new institution, there is no more reason for perpetuating one part than another. It is a unit, and each event of that night has its meaning and place. (2) Jesus commanded the disciples to perpetuate feet-washing (see Washing of Feet) (Jn **13** 14.15.17), and likewise He commanded the Eucharist to be perpetuated as a memorial of Him (1 Cor **11** 24.25). Why not the Agape? (3) The Agape was perpetuated by the apostles and disciples. They certainly understood Jesus to mean that the entire services of the Last Supper should be perpetuated, else they would not have done so.

III. Practice of the Church of the Brethren (Dunkers).—The "Love Feast" commemorates Jesus' Last Supper with His disciples. These Love Feasts are held once or twice each year, always in the evening, by each local church or congregation. Preparatory services on "self-examination" (1 Cor **11** 28) precede the ordinances. The church pews are converted into tables. The Supper (*δεῖπνον, deípnon*) is made ready beforehand by the deacons and deaconesses. The devotional exercises aim to accomplish special consecration, confession, and reconciliation. Before the eating of the Supper, Jn **13** 1–17 is read and explained, whereupon the brethren proceed to wash one another's feet, and the sisters likewise by themselves. All tarry one for another (1 Cor **11** 33) until they are ready for the Supper. The officiating elder then calls upon someone to offer prayer for the meal, which is then eaten together. Another prayer of thanksgiving is offered at the close of the meal. After the meal, the officiating elder calls upon one to read the story of Christ's sufferings (Isa **53**, or Jn **19**). After a short explanation of the meaning of the symbol, the communicants rise while the officiating elder gives thanks for the bread. He then turns to his brother at his right and breaks a piece of the unleavened bread for him with the words, "My beloved brother, the bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ" (see 1 Cor **10** 16). The brethren then break the bread one to the other, with these words. Likewise the sisters in the same manner. Again the congregation rises while the officiating elder gives thanks for the cup, which is then passed by one to the other with the words "Beloved brother [or sister], the cup of the NT is the communion of the blood of Christ" (1 Cor **10** 16). This is followed by prayers of praise and thanksgiving, then a hymn (Mt **26** 30) and a benediction.

IV. The Meaning and Significance of the Love Feast.—All these ordinances or symbols signify some fundamental virtue in the Christian life. We are commanded to follow our Master who is the Way and the Truth. But these symbols have a *real significance*, apart from merely "following" or "obeying" the Lord's command. (1) Feet-washing symbolized humility and service, and also the partial cleansing which all Christians need. (2) The Agape signifies the bread-and-water covenant of brotherhood and peace. It is not only the symbol of true Christian fellowship, but is productive of such fellowship. It is also symbolic of the "Marriage Supper of the Lamb," which is supremely a symbol of joy. (3) the Eucharist: (*a*) The broken bread represents the "body of Christ" (1 Cor **10** 16) "which is broken for you" (1 Cor **11** 24 AV); hence the symbol of sacrifice. It is a memorial of Christ's sufferings, and a consecration to suffer with Him. It means also feeding on Christ, whose flesh we must eat (Jn **6** 35.51.53.54). (*b*) The cup represents the blood of Christ (1 Cor **10** 16; Jn **6** 53.54). It is the blood covenant that symbolizes the unity of man with God (Jn **17** 21). Jesus is the vine, we are the branches (Jn **15**). The same mind, spirit, life and love which are in God and Christ are to be in us.

Literature.—C. F. Yoder, *God's Means of Grace*; R. H. Miller, *Doctrine of Brethren Defended*; D. W. Kurtz, *Outline of the Fundamental Doctrines* (all of Elgin, Illinois, U.S.A.).

Daniel Webster Kurtz

LORDS OF THE PHILISTINES (סֶרֶן, *ṣeren*, same as Heb word for "axle," probably a native designation): These "lords" (Josh **13** 3; Jgs **3** 3; **16** 5, etc; 1 S **5** 8.11, etc), elsewhere called "princes" (*sar*, 1 S **18** 30; **29** 3.4.9), were the petty rulers or kings of the 5 Phili cities, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, Gath. See Philistines.

LO-RUHAMAH, lō-rōō-hā′ma, lō-rōō-hä′ma. See Lo-ammi.

LOSS: חָטָא, *ḥāṭā'*, "to suffer as one erring, or as a sinner" (Gen **31** 39, where Jacob assures Laban that he [Jacob] suffered the loss of all animals of the flock torn by beasts); שְׁכוֹל, *shᵉkhōl*, "bereavement" (Isa **47** 8 f, where the prophet foretells the humiliation of proud Babylon who shall suffer the loss of her children, and widowhood); שִׁכֻּלִים, *shikkulīm*, "bereavement" (Isa **49** 20, trᵈ "bereavement" in RV, where the prophet promises to the desolate Zion enlargement). In the NT the tr of three Gr words: *ἀποβολή, apobolḗ*, "casting away" (Acts **27** 22, where Paul assures the crew and passengers that there shall be no "loss" of life from the storm); *ζημία, zēmía*, "loss" (Acts **27** 21, referring to the harm sustained in the storm; Phil **3** 7 f, where Paul counts all his natural privileges and attainments as forfeited for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ); *ζημιόω, zēmióō*, "to suffer loss" (1 Cor **3** 15, where Paul says the man whose works are burned shall suffer "loss"; Phil **3** 8, same context as above). Charles B. Williams

LOT, lot:

I. Personality.—The man who bore the name Lot (לוֹט, *lōṭ*; **Λώτ**, *Lôt*) is mentioned for the first time in Gen **11** 27, at the beginning of that section of Gen which is entitled "the generations of Terah." After Terah's 3 sons are named, it is added that the third of these, Haran, begat Lot.

The reason for thus singling out but one of the grandsons of Terah appears in the next verse, where we are told that "Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees." For that period in the life of this family, therefore, which begins with the migration from Ur, L. represents his father's branch of the family (ver 31). It is hardly probable that the relation between Abraham and L. would have been what it was, had not Haran died; but be this as it may, we read this introduction of L. into the genealogy of Terah as an anticipation of the story to which it furnishes an introduction, and in which L. is destined to play an important part.

The sections of that story in which L. appears are: in ch **11**, the migration from Ur to Haran; in ch **12**, Abraham's wanderings; in ch **13**, the separation of Abraham and L.; in ch **14**, the campaign of the eastern kings against Sodom and Abraham's recovery of the captives; and in ch **19**, the destruction of Sodom.

In Gen **14** 14.16 L. is termed the "brother" of Abraham; but that this does not represent a variant tradition is proved by reference to ver 12 of the same chapter (ascribed to "an independent source") and to **13** 8 (ascribed to J; cf **11** 28 J).

II. Career.—L.'s life, as the scanty references to him permit us to reconstruct it, falls into four periods.

1. First Period

Of the first period—that previous to the migration from Haran—we know nothing save L.'s birth in Ur, the death of his father there, the marriage of his sister Milcah to his uncle Nahor (of another sister, Iscah, we learn only the name), and the journey to Haran in company with Terah, Abraham and Sarah. The fact that Sarah's childlessness and Haran's death are the only two circumstances related of the family history, may serve to explain why L. went with Abraham instead of staying with Nahor. A childless uncle and a fatherless nephew may well have remained together with the idea that, even if there was no formal adoption, the nephew might become his uncle's heir. Certainly, the promise of a numberless seed, so often repeated to the patriarchs, comes first to Abraham immediately after L. has separated from him (see Gen **13** 6–18).

2. Second Period

In the second period of L.'s life, we find him the companion of Abraham on his journeys from Mesopotamia to Canaan, through Canaan to Egypt, and back again to the neighborhood of Beth-el. His position is subordinate, for his uncle is head of the family, and oriental custom is uniform and rigorous in the matter of family rule. Hence the use of the singular number throughout the narrative. What Abraham did, his whole "clan" did. Yet L.'s position was as nearly independent as these patriarchal conditions admit. When the story reaches the point where it is necessary to mention this fact, the narrator explains, first, the generosity with which Abraham treated his nephew, in permitting him to have "flocks, and herds, and tents" of his own, a quasi-independent economy, and second, that disproportion between their collective possessions and the land's resources which made separation inevitable. Up to this point the only mention of L. during this period of wandering is contained in **13** 1, in the words "and Lot with him." And even here the words are useless (because stating a fact perfectly presumable here as elsewhere), except as they prepare the reader for the story of the separation that is immediately to follow.

3. Third Period

That story introduces the third period of Lot's career, that of his residence in the *Kikkār* (RV "Plain," RVm "Circle") and in Sodom. To the fundamental cause of separation, as above stated, the author adds the two circumstances which contributed to produce the result, namely, first, the strife that arose between Abraham's herdsmen and L.'s herdsmen, and, second, the presence in the same country of others—the Canaanites and Perizzites—thus reminding his readers that it was no vacant land, through which they might spread themselves absolutely at will and so counteract the operation of the principal cause and the contributory cause already set forth.

With a magnanimity that must have seemed even greater to minds accustomed to patriarchal authority than it seems to us, and that was in fact much more remarkable than it would be here and now, Abraham offers to his nephew the choice of the land—from the nomad's point of view. In the "we are brethren" (ver 8), the whole force of the scene is crystallized. L., who believes himself to have chosen the better part, is thereupon traced in his nomadic progress as far as Sodom, and the reader leaves him for a time face to face with a city whose men "were wicked and sinners against Jeh exceedingly," while the narrative moves on with Abraham through that fresh scene of revelation which presented to this man of magnanimity a Divine deed to all the land, and to this man, now left without an heir from among his own kindred (cf **15** 2.3), a Divine pledge of innumerable offspring.

L. returns for a moment to our view as the mainspring of Abraham's motions in the campaign of ch **14**. We are expressly told that it was "when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive," that he "led forth his trained men . . . . and pursued." On the one hand we hear that L. now "dwelt in Sodom," having abandoned the life in tents that he had led since Mesopotamian days, and on the other hand we find in him a foil to the energetic, decisive and successful figure of his uncle—for L. plays a sorry rôle, bracketed always with "the women and the goods."

This period of his life ends with the annihilation of his chosen home, his wealth, his companions, and all that was his save two daughters, who, it would seem, might better have perished with the rest. Ch **19**, coming immediately after the intercession of Abraham for Sodom that poignantly impresses on the reader's mind the wickedness of L.'s environment, exhibits to us the man himself in his surroundings, as they have affected him through wellnigh a score of years (cf **12** 4; **17** 1). What we see is a man who means well (courtesy, ver 1; hospitality, vs 2.3.6–8; natural shame, ver 7; loyalty, ver 14; and gratitude, ver 19), but who is hopelessly bound up with the moral life of the city through his family connections—alliances that have pulled him down rather than elevated others (vs 9.14.26.31–35). The language of 2 Pet **2** 7.8 reminds us that L. was, even at this time of his life, a "righteous" man. Viewed as a part of his environment (the writer has been speaking of Sodom, ver 6), L. was certainly entitled to be called a "righteous" man, and the term fits the implications of Gen **18** 23–32. Moreover, Gen **19** itself shows L. "vexed . . . . with their lawless deeds" and "sore distressed by the lascivious life of the wicked" (cf vs 3.7.8.14). Yet the contrast with Abraham is always present in the reader's mind, so that the most lasting impressions are made by L.'s selfishness, worldliness, vacillation and cowardice, not to mention the moral effect made by the closing scene of his life (vs 30–38).

4. Fourth Period

The fourth period of L.'s career is of uncertain duration. Upon the destruction of Sodom he dwelt at first in Zoar, the "little" city, spared as a convenient refuge for him and his; but at some time unspecified, he "went up out of Zoar," for "he feared to dwell in Zoar"—why, we cannot say. This fear was greater than even the evidently great fear he entertained of dwelling in "the mountain" (ver 19). In this mountain-country of rocks and caves (Driver in *HDB*, art. "Lot," cites Buckingham, *Travels in Syria*, 61–63, 87, as authority for the statement that people still live in caves in this region), L. and his two remaining daughters dwell; and the biography of this companion of "the friend of God" ends in a scene of incest, which supplies the logical epilogue to a drama of progressive moral deterioration. This bestial cave-man of Gen **19** is the "brother" of Abraham, but he has reached this goal because his path had led down from Beth-el to Sodom.

The origin of the two neighboring and kindred nations, Moab and Ammon, is by the Heb tradition traced thus to Lot and his daughters.

III. Place in Later Literature.—In the Bible, L. finds mention only as the father of Moab and Ammon (Dt **2** 9.19; Ps **83** 8), and in the passage in 2 Pet already noticed; and, besides these places, in Lk **17** 28–32. Here L. represents the central figure in the destruction of Sodom, as Noah in the flood in the preceding context (cf the association of these two characters in 2 Pet and the Koran). His deliverance is mentioned, the haste and narrowness of that escape is implied, and his wife's fate is recalled. In Jewish and Mohammedan lore (including many passages in the Koran itself), L. is a personage of importance, about whom details are told which fancy has added to the sober traditions of old Israel. But particularly for Mohammed there was point of attachment in L.'s career, offered in Gen **19** 7.14. Like Mohammed to the men of wicked Mecca, L. becomes a preacher of righteousness and a messenger of judgment to the men of wicked Sodom. He is one of the line of apostles, sent to reveal God's will and purpose to his contemporaries.

IV. Critical Theories about the Figure of Lot.—The common view of those who deny the historical reality of L. is that this name simply stands for the ethnic group, Moab and Ammon. Wellhausen, e.g., expressly calls "Lot" a national name (*Volksname*). As to what is told of him in Gen he remarks: "Were it not for the remarkable depression in which the Dead Sea lies, Sodom and Gomorrah would not have perished; were it not for the little flat tongue of land that reaches out into the swamp from the S.E., Lot would have fled at once to the mountains of his sons, Moab and Ammon, and not have made the détour by Zoar, which merely serves the purpose of explaining why this corner is excepted from 'the overthrow,' to the territory of which it really belongs" (*Prolegomena* ^{6}, 323). Meyer confesses that nothing can be made of L., because "any characteristic feature that might furnish a point of attachment is entirely lacking." The first of the families of the Horites of Seir was named Lotan (Gen **36** 20.22), and this writer believes it "probable that this name is derived from Lot; but that Lot was ever a tribal name (*Stammname*) follows neither from this fact (rather the contrary) nor from the designation of Moab and the *benē 'Ammōn* as 'Sons of Lot'" (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 311; cf 261, 339). If "Horite" was understood as "cave-dweller," the story in Gen **19** 30 might be adduced in support of this combination. But the most recent line of reasoning concerning these patriarchal figures makes their names "neither Divine names nor tribal names, whether in actual use or regarded as such, but rather simple personal names like Tom, Dick and Harry. . . . . Typical names they became . . . . so that . . . . Israel's story-tellers would connect the name of L. with the overthrow of the cities" (Gressmann, art. in *ZATW*, 1910). These names were chosen just because "they were very common at the time when the narratives were stamped into types"; later they became unfashionable, but the story-tellers held fast to the old names. "One sees from this at once into how ancient a time the proper names Abraham and Lot must reach, and understands therefore the more easily how they could be changed into tribal ancestors." It does not require the cautions, uttered by writers of this way of thinking, against regarding their views as a return to the old historical view of the patriarchs, to remind us that, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, the present trend of thought among the most radical critics of the Genesis-traditions is much more favorable to that conservative historical view than were the opinions which they have overthrown. So that it may justly be asserted, as Gressmann writes: "Confidence in tradition is in any case on the rise."

Lot's Wife: This woman, unknown by name, figures in the narrative of Lot that relates his escape from Sodom. She is mentioned in Gen **19** only in vs 15–17, where she is commanded to flee from the doomed city with her husband and daughters, and is laid hold upon by the angelic visitors in their effort to hasten the slow departure; and in ver 26, where she alone of the four fugitives disobeys the warning, looks back, and becomes a "pillar of salt." This disobedience, with the moral state it implied and the judgment it entailed, is held up as an example by Christ in Lk **17** 32. In the Scriptures this is all that is said of a person and event that furnished the basis for a great deal of speculation. Jos (*Ant*, I, xi, 4) adds to the statement derived from Gen, "She was changed into a pillar of salt," the words, "for I visited it, and it still remains even now" (see also Wisd **10** 7).

Among Christian writers contemporary with and subsequent to Jos, as well as among the Jews themselves and other Orientals, the same assertion is found, and down to recent times travelers have reported the persistence of such a "pillar of salt," either on the testimony of natives or as eyewitnesses. The question of the origin and nature of these "pillars" is a part of the larger question of Sodom and its neighborhood (see SALT; SIDDIM; SLIME); for that no one particular "pillar" has persisted through the centuries may be regarded as certain; nor if it had, would the identification of Lot's wife with it and with it alone be ascertainable. This is just an early, persistent and notable case of that "identification" of Bib. sites which prevails all over the Holy Land. It is to be classed with the myth- and legend-building turn of mind in simple peoples, which has e.g. embroidered upon this OT account of the destruction of Sodom such marvelous details and embellishments.

The principal thing to observe is the vagueness and the simplicity of the story in Gen. For it does not necessarily imply the "metamorphosis" popularly attributed to it, in the strict sense of that word. And it lacks, even in a narrative like this, where the temptation would be greatest, all indications of that "popular archaeology" or curiosity, which, according to some critics, is alleged to have furnished the original motive for the invention of the patriarchal narratives. "She became a pillar of salt," and "Remember Lot's wife": this is the extent of the Bib. allusions. All the rest is comment, or legend, or guess, or "science." See CITIES OF THE PLAIN.

J. OSCAR BOYD

LOTAN, lō'tan (לוֹטָן, *lōṭān*): Son of Seir, a chief (AV "duke") of Edom (Gen **36** 20.22.29; 1 Ch **1** 38 f).

LOTHASUBUS, loth-a-sū'bus (**Λωθάσουβος**, *Lōthásoubos*): One of those who stood by Ezra at the reading of the law (1 Esd **9** 44); called "Hashum" in Neh **8** 4.

LOTS. See DIVINATION.

LOTS, FEAST OF. See PURIM.

LOTUS, lō'tus, **TREES** (צֶאֱלִים, *çe'ĕlīm;* AV **shady trees**): The trees under which *b^{e}hēmōth* (the "hippopotamus") rests; "He lieth under the lotus-trees," "The lotus-trees cover him with their shade" (Job **40** 21.22). The Arab. equivalent is the *dōm* tree, *Zizyphus lotus*, a species of jujube tree (N.O. *Rhamneae*); it has many spines and small globular fruit a little bigger than a pea. It is common in the Jordan valley. This plant has nothing to do with the Egyp lotus. See LILY.

LOVE, luv (אָהֵב, *'āhēbh*, אַהֲבָה, *'ahăbhāh*, noun; **φιλέω**, *philéō*, **ἀγαπάω**, *agapáō*, vb.; **ἀγάπη**, *agápē*, noun): Love to both God and man is fundamental to true religion, whether as expressed in the OT or the NT. Jesus Himself declared that all the law and the prophets hang upon love (Mt **22** 40; Mk **12** 28–34). Paul, in his matchless ode on love (1 Cor **13**), makes it the greatest of the graces of the Christian life—greater than speaking with tongues, or the gift of prophecy, or the possession of a faith of superior excellence; for without love all these gifts and graces, desirable and useful as they are in themselves, are as nothing, certainly of no permanent value in the sight of God. Not that either Jesus or Paul underestimates the faith from which all the graces proceed, for this grace is recognized as fundamental in all God's dealings with man and man's dealings with God (Jn **6** 28 f; He **11** 6); but both alike count that faith as but idle and worthless belief that does not manifest itself in love to both God and man. As love is the highest expression of God and His relation to mankind, so it must be the highest expression of man's relation to his Maker and to his fellow-man.

I. Definition.—While the Heb and Gr words for "love" have various shades and intensities of meaning, they may be summed up in some such definition as this: Love, whether used of God or man, is an earnest and anxious desire for, and an active and beneficent interest in, the well-being of the one loved. Different degrees and manifestations of this affection are recognized in the Scriptures according to the circumstances and relations of life, e.g. the expression of love as between husband and wife, parent and child, brethren according to the flesh, and according to grace; between friend and enemy, and, finally, between God and man. It must not be overlooked, however, that the fundamental idea of love as expressed in the definition of it is never absent in any one of these relations of life, even though the manifestation thereof may differ according to the circumstances and relations. Christ's interview with the apostle Peter on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias (Jn **21** 15–18) sets before us in a most beautiful way the different shades of meaning as found in the NT words φιλέω, *philéō*, and ἀγαπάω, *agapáō*. In the question of Christ, "Lovest thou me more than these?" the Gr vb. ἀγαπᾷς, *agapás*, denotes the highest, most perfect kind of love (Lat *diligere*), implying a clear determination of will and judgment, and belonging particularly to the sphere of Divine revelation. In his answer Peter substitutes the word φιλῶ, *philô*, which means the natural human affection, with its strong feeling, or sentiment, and is never used in Scripture language to designate man's love to God. While the answer of Peter, then, claims only an inferior kind of love, as compared to the one contained in Christ's question, he nevertheless is confident of possessing at least such love for his Lord.

II. The Love of God.—First in the consideration of the subject of "love" comes the love of God—He who is love, and from whom all love is derived. The love of God is that part of His nature—indeed His whole nature, for "God is love"—which leads Him to express Himself in terms of endearment toward His creatures, and actively to manifest that interest and affection in acts of loving care and self-sacrifice in behalf of the objects of His love. God is "love" (1 Jn **4** 8.16) just as truly as He is "light" (**1** 5), "truth" (**1** 6), and "spirit" (Jn **4** 24). Spirit and light are expressions of His essential nature; love is the expression of His personality corresponding to His nature. God not merely loves, but *is* love; it is His very nature, and He imparts this nature to be the sphere in which His children dwell, for "he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him" (1 Jn **4** 16). Christianity is the only religion that sets forth the Supreme Being as Love. In heathen religions He is set forth as an angry being and in constant need of appeasing.

1. Objects of God's Love

The object of God's love is first and foremost *His own Son, Jesus Christ* (Mt **3** 17; **17** 5; Lk **20** 13; Jn **17** 24). The Son shares the love of the Father in a unique sense; He is "my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth" (Isa **42** 1). There exists an eternal affection between the Son and the Father—the Son is the original and eternal object of the Father's love (Jn **17** 24). If God's love is eternal it must have an eternal object, hence Christ is an eternal being.

God loves *the believer in His Son* with a special love. Those who are united by faith and love to Jesus Christ are, in a different sense from those who are not thus united, the special objects of God's love. Said Jesus, thou "lovedst them, even as thou lovedst me" (Jn **17** 23). Christ is referring to the fact that, just as the disciples had received the same treatment from the world that He had received, so they had received of the Father the same love that He Himself had received. They were not on the outskirts of God's love, but in the very center of it. "For the father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me" (Jn **16** 27). Here *philéō* is used for love, indicating the fatherly affection of God for the believer in Christ, His Son. This is love in a more intense form than that spoken of for the world (Jn **3** 16).

God loves *the world* (Jn **3** 16; cf 1 Tim **2** 4; 2 Pet **3** 9). This is a wonderful truth when we realize what a world this is—a world of sin and corruption. This was a startling truth for Nicodemus to learn, who conceived of God as loving only the Jewish nation. To him, in his narrow exclusiveism, the announcement of the fact that God loved the whole world of men was startling. God loves the world of sinners lost and ruined by the fall. Yet it is this world, "weak," "ungodly," "without strength," "sinners" (Rom **5** 6–8), "dead in trespasses and sins" (Eph **2** 1 AV), and unrighteous, that God so loved that He gave His only begotten Son in order to redeem it. The genesis of man's salvation lies in the love and mercy of God (Eph **2** 4 f). But love is more than mercy or compassion; it is active and identifies itself with its object. The love of the heavenly Father over the return of His wandering children is beautifully set forth in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk **15**). Nor should the fact be overlooked that God loves not only the whole world, but each individual in it; it is a special as well as a general love (Jn **3** 16, "whosoever"; Gal **2** 20, "loved me, and gave himself up for me").

2. Manifestations of God's Love

God's love is manifested by providing for the physical, mental, moral and spiritual needs of His people (Isa **48** 14.20.21; **62** 9–12; **63** 3.12). In these Scriptures God is seen manifesting His power in behalf of His people in the time of their wilderness journeying and their captivity. He led them, fed and clothed them, guided them and protected them from all their enemies. His love was again shown in feeling with His people, their sorrows and afflictions (Isa **63** 9); He suffered in their affliction, their interests were His; He was not their adversary but their friend, even though it might have seemed to them as if He either had brought on them their suffering or did not care about it. Nor did He ever forget them for a moment during all their trials. They thought He did; they said, "God hath forgotten us," "He hath forgotten to be gracious"; but no; a mother might forget her child that she should not have compassion on it, but God would never forget His people. How could He? Had He not graven them upon the palms of His hands (Isa **49** 15 f)? Rather than His love being absent in the chastisement of His people, the chastisement itself was often a proof of the presence of the Divine love, "for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth" (He **12** 6–11). Loving reproof and chastisement are necessary ofttimes for growth in holiness and righteousness. Our redemption from sin is to be attributed to God's wondrous love; "Thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the pit of corruption; for thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back" (Isa **38** 17; cf Ps **50** 21; **90** 8). Eph **2** 4 f sets forth in a wonderful way how our entire salvation springs forth from the mercy and love of God; "But God, being rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through our trespasses, made us alive together with Christ," etc. It is because of the love of the Father that we are granted a place in the heavenly kingdom (Eph **2** 6–8). But the supreme manifestation of the love of God, as set forth in the Scripture, is that expressed in the gift of His only-begotten Son to die for the sins of the world (Jn **3** 16; Rom **5** 6–8; 1 Jn **4** 9 f), and through whom the sinful and sinning but repentant sons of men are taken into the family of God, and receive the adoption of sons (1 Jn **3** 1 f; Gal **4** 4–6). From this wonderful love of God in Christ Jesus nothing in heaven or earth or hell, created or uncreated or to be created, shall be able to separate us (Rom **8** 37 f).

1. Source of Man's Love

III. The Love of Man.—Whatever love there is in man, whether it be toward God or toward his fellow-man, has its source in God—"Love is of God; and every one that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love" (1 Jn **4** 7 f); "We love, because he first loved us" (1 Jn **4** 19). Trench, in speaking of *agapē*, says it is a word born within the bosom of revealed religion. Heathen writers do not use it at all, their nearest approach to it being *philanthropia* or *philadelphia*—the love between those of the same blood. Love in the heart of man is the offspring of the love of God. Only the regenerated heart can truly love as God loves; to this higher form of love the unregenerate can lay no claim (1 Jn **4** 7.19.21; **2** 7–11; **3** 10; **4** 11 f). The regenerate man is able to see his fellow-man as God sees him, value him as God values him, not so much because of what he is by reason of his sin and unloveliness, but because of what, through Christ, he may become; he sees man's intrinsic worth and possibility in Christ (2 Cor **5** 14–17). This love is also created in the heart of man by the Holy Ghost (Rom **5** 5), and is a fruit of the Spirit (Gal **5** 22). It is also stimulated by the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, who, more than anyone else, manifested to the world the spirit and nature of true love (Jn **13** 34; **15** 12; Gal **2** 20; Eph **5** 25–27; 1 Jn **4** 9 f).

2. Objects of Man's Love

God must be the first and supreme object of man's love; He must be loved with all the heart, mind, soul and strength (Mt **22** 37 f; Mk **12** 29–34). In this last passage the exhortation to supreme love to God is connected with the doctrine of the unity of God (Dt **6** 4 f)—inasmuch as the Divine Being is one and indivisible, so must our love to Him be undivided. Our love to God is shown in the keeping of His commandments (Ex **20** 6; 1 Jn **5** 3; 2 Jn ver 6). Love is here set forth as more than a mere affection or sentiment; it is something that manifests itself, not only in obedience to known Divine commands, but also in a protecting and defence of them, and a seeking to know more and more of the will of God in order to express love for God in further obedience (cf Dt **10** 12). Those who love God will hate evil and all forms of worldliness, as expressed in the avoidance of the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life (Ps **97** 10; 1 Jn **2** 15–17). Whatever there may be in his surroundings that would draw the soul away from God and righteousness, that the child of God will avoid. Christ, being God, also claims the first place in our affections. He is to be chosen before father or mother, parent or child, brother or sister, or friend (Mt **10** 35–38; Lk **14** 26). The word "hate" in these passages does not mean to hate in the sense in which we use the word today. It is used in the sense in which Jacob is said to have "hated" Leah (Gen **29** 31), that is, he loved her less than Rachel; "He loved also Rachel more than Leah" (ver 30). To love Christ supremely is the test of true discipleship (Lk **14** 26), and is an unfailing mark of the elect (1 Pet **1** 8). We prove that we are really God's children by thus loving His Son (Jn **8** 42). Absence of such love means, finally, eternal separation (1 Cor **16** 22).

Man must love his fellow-man also. Love for the brotherhood is a natural consequence of the love of the fatherhood; for "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother" (1 Jn **3** 10). For a man to say "I love God" and yet hate his fellow-man is to brand himself as "a liar" (**4** 20); "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen" (ver 20); he that loveth God will love his brother also (ver 21). The degree in which we are to love our fellow-man is "as thyself" (Mt **22** 39), according to the strict observance of the law. Christ set before His followers a much higher example than that, however. According to the teaching of Jesus we are to supersede this standard: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another" (Jn **13** 34). The exhibition of love of this character toward our fellow-man is the badge of true discipleship. It may be called the sum total of our duty toward our fellow-man, for "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: love therefore is the fulfilment of the law"; "for he that loveth his neighbor hath fulfilled the law" (Rom **13** 8.10). The qualities which should characterize the love which we are to manifest toward our fellow-men are beautifully set forth in 1 Cor **13**. It is patient and without envy; it is not proud or self-elated, neither does it behave discourteously; it does not cherish evil, but keeps good account of the good; it rejoices not at the downfall of an enemy or competitor, but gladly hails his success; it is hopeful, trustful and forbearing—for such there is no law, for they need none; they have fulfilled the law.

Nor should it be overlooked that Our Lord commanded His children to love their enemies, those who spoke evil of them, and despitefully used them (Mt **5** 43–48). They were not to render evil for evil, but, contrariwise, blessing. The love of the disciple of Christ must manifest itself in supplying the necessities, not of our friends only (1 Jn **3** 16–18), but also of our enemies (Rom **12** 20 f).

Our love should be "without hypocrisy" (Rom **12** 9); there should be no pretence about it; it should not be a thing of mere word or tongue, but a real experience manifesting itself in deed and truth (1 Jn **3** 18). True love will find its expression in service to man: "Through love be servants one to another" (Gal **5** 13). What more wonderful illustration can be found of ministering love than that set forth by Our Lord in the ministry of foot-washing as found in Jn **13**? Love bears the infirmities of the weak, does not please itself, but seeks the welfare of others (Rom **15** 1–3; Phil **2** 21; Gal **6** 2; 1 Cor **10** 24); it surrenders things which may be innocent in themselves but which nevertheless may become a stumbling-block to others (Rom **14** 15.21); it gladly forgives injuries (Eph **4** 32), and gives the place of honor to another (Rom **12** 10). What, then, is more vital than to possess such love? It is the fulfilment of the royal law (Jas **2** 8), and is to be put above everything else (Col **3** 14); it is the binder that holds all the other graces of the Christian life in place (Col **3** 14); by the possession of such love we know that we have passed from death unto life (1 Jn **3** 14), and it is the supreme test of our abiding in God and God in us (1 Jn **4** 12.16).

William Evans

LOVE, BROTHERLY. See Brotherly Love.

LOVE-FEAST, luv′fēst. See Agape.

LOVELY, luv′li (אָהַב, *'āhabh,* אָהֵב, *'āhēbh;* **προσφιλής,** *prosphilḗs*): "Lovely" occurs only 4 t. In 2 S **1** 23 it is the tr of *'āhēbh,* "to be loved" ("Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant [AVm "sweet"] in their lives"), where it seems to mean "loving" or "lovable." Two other words are so tr^{d} in the OT: *maḥmādh,* "desire," a "desirable thing" (Cant **5** 16, "He is altogether lovely," that is, "lovable," "to be desired," lit. "all of him lovableness," or "desirableness"); *'ăghābhīm* "loves," or "charms" (Ezk **33** 32, "Thou art unto them as a very lovely song," AVm "a song of loves," RVm "a love-song"; in ver 31 the same word is tr^{d} "much love," AVm "They make loves or jests"); in Phil **4** 8 we have *prosphilēs,* "very lovely," or "lovable," "whatsoever things are lovely."

W. L. Walker

LOVER, luv′ẽr (אֹהֵב, *'ōhēbh,* אָהֵב, *'āhēbh*): In the OT *'ōhēbh,* from *'āhēbh,* "to love," is sometimes "lover" in the sense of "friend," in the older Eng. sense of the word (1 K **5** 1, "Hiram was ever a lover of David"; Ps **38** 11; **88** 18; Lam **1** 2); more frequently it has the meaning of "lover" in the special sense, sometimes in the evil sense of the word (Jer **22** 20.22; **30** 14; Ezk **16** 33.36 f, etc; Hos **2** 5.7.10, etc); *'āghabh,* "to love" (Jer **4** 30), *rē^{a}'*, "companion" (Jer **3** 1), and *'ăhābhīm,* "loves" (Hos **8** 9), are also tr^{d} "lovers" in this sense.

In the NT the simple word "lover" does not occur, but we have various compound words, *philótheos* "lover of God" (2 Tim **3** 4); *philágathos,* "lover of good," and *philóxenos,* "lover of hospitality" (Tit **1** 8); *phílautos,* "lover of self" (2 Tim **3** 2); *philḗdonos,* "lover of pleasure" (2 Tim **3** 4).

In RV we have, for "a lover of hospitality" (Tit **1** 8), "given to"; for "covetous" (Lk **16** 14; 2 Tim **3** 2), "lovers of money"; for "not covetous" (1 Tim **3** 3), "no lover of money"; for "despisers of them that are good" (2 Tim **3** 3), "no lovers of good."

W. L. Walker

LOVES, luvz (Ps **45** 1, title). See Psalms.

LOVINGKINDNESS, luv-ing-kind′nes (חֶסֶד, *ḥeṣedh*): "Lovingkindness" in AV always represents this word (30 t), but of *ḥeṣedh* there are many other renderings, e.g. "mercy" (frequently), "kindness" (38), "goodness" (12). The word is derived from *ḥāṣadh,* meaning, perhaps, "to bend or bow oneself," "to incline oneself"; hence "to be gracious or merciful." ERV has not many changes, but in ARV "lovingkindness" is invariably employed when *ḥeṣedh* is used of God, and, as a rule, "kindness" when it is used of man, as in Gen **21** 23; Jgs **1** 24 (AV "mercy," RV "deal kindly"); Ruth **3** 10; 2 Ch **32** 32; **35** 26 (AV "goodness," m "Heb kindness," RV "good deeds"); Job **6** 14, etc. Of the uses of the word as on man's part toward God, the only occurrences are: Jer **2** 2, "I remember for thee the *kindness* of thy youth, the love of thine espousals," etc; Hos **6** 4.6, "Your goodness [RVm "or kindness"] is as a morning cloud," "I desire goodness [AV "mercy," RVm "kindness"], and not sacrifice," which last passage may denote kindness as toward man.

When used of God *ḥeṣedh* denotes, in general, "the Divine Love condescending to His creatures, more esp. to sinners, in unmerited kindness" (Delitzsch). It is frequently associated with forgiveness, and is practically equivalent to "mercy" or "mercifulness" (Ex **20** 6), "showing lovingkindness [ERV "mercy"] unto thousands of them that love me"; **34** 6 f, "slow to anger, and abundant in lovingkindness [ERV "plenteous in mercy"]"; [ver 7] "keeping lovingkindness [ERV "mercy"] for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin" (cf Nu **14** 18); Mic **7** 18, "He retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in lovingkindness" (ERV "mercy"). This quality in Jeh was one by which He sought to bind His people to Himself. It is greatly magnified in the OT, highly extolled and gloried in, in many of the psalms (Ps **136** has the constant refrain, "For his lovingkindness endureth forever"). In Dt **7** 12 it is associated with the covenant, and in 2 S **7** 15 with the covenant with David (cf Isa **55** 3, etc). It was something that could always be relied on.

Being such an essential and distinctive quality of God, the prophets taught that it should also characterize His people. It is part of the Divine requirement in Mic **6** 8, "to love kindness" (cf Zec **7** 9, "Show kindness and compassion every man to his brother"). The want of it in the nation was a cause of Jeh's controversy with them, e.g. Hos **4** 1, "There is no truth, nor goodness [*ḥeṣedh*] [AV and ERV "mercy"], nor knowledge of God in the land"; **12** 6, "Therefore turn thou to thy God: keep kindness [AV and ERV "mercy"] and justice, and wait for thy God continually." Cheyne (*EB*) regards *ḥeṣedh* as denoting paternal affection on God's part, answered by filial and loyal affection and brotherly love on man's part (*philadelphía* in the NT).

The word "lovingkindness" does not occur in the NT, but as its equivalents we have such terms as "mercy" "goodness," "kindness," "brotherly love" (see special articles).

W. L. Walker

LOW COUNTRY. See Shephelah.

LOWLAND, lō′land (שְׁפֵלָה, *sh^{e}phēlāh;* cf Arab. سُفَالَة, *sufâlat,* "the lowest part"): The western part of Pal, including the maritime plain and the foothills. There has been an attempt to restrict the term to the foothills, at least as far as the more ancient documents are concerned, but there can be little doubt that the maritime plain should be included. RV has "lowland" throughout for *sh^{e}phēlāh,* while AV has "low country" (2 Ch **26** 10; **28** 18), "low plains" (1 Ch **27** 28; 2 Ch **9** 27), "plain" (Jer **17** 26; Ob ver 19; Zec **7** 7), "vale" or "valley" (Dt **1** 7; Josh **9** 1; **10** 40). See Country; Shephelah.

Alfred Ely Day

LOZON, lō′zon (**Λοζών,** *Lozôn*): Head of a family of Solomon's servants (1 Esd **5** 33); called "Darkon" in Ezr **2** 56; Neh **7** 58.

LUBIM, lū′bim (לוּבִים, *lūbhīm*): A people mentioned in the OT (2 Ch **12** 3; **16** 8; Dnl **11** 43; Nah **3** 9). In all these cases the word is tr^{d} in AV "Libyans"; in RV only in Dnl **11** 43. The people so named had their seat in North Africa, W. of Egypt (cf Acts **2** 10, "the parts of Libya about Cyrene"). See Libya. On three different occasions the Libyans invaded Egypt, and at length, in the 10th cent. BC, succeeded in founding an Egyp dynasty under Shishak (q.v.).

LUCAS, lū′kas, lo͞o′kas. In Philem ver 24 AV, for "Luke" (RV).

LUCIFER, lū′si-fẽr, lo͞o′si-fẽr: The morning star, an epithet of the planet Venus. See Astrology, 11.

LUCIUS, lū′shi-us, lū′shus (**Λούκιος,** *Loúkios,* **Λεύκιος,** *Leúkios*): A Rom consul who is said (1 Macc **15** 16 ff) to have written a letter to Ptolemy

Euergetes securing to Simon the high priest and to the Jews the protection of Rome. As the praenomen only of the consul is given, there has been much discussion as to the person intended. The weight of probability has been assigned to Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who was one of the consuls in 139–138 BC, the fact of his praenomen being Cneius and not Lucius being explained by an error in transcription and the fragmentary character of the documents. The authority of the Romans not being as yet thoroughly established in Asia, they were naturally anxious to form alliances with the kings of Egypt and with the Jews to keep Syria in check. The imperfections that are generally admitted in the transcription of the Rom letter are not such as in any serious degree to invalidate the authority of the narrative in 1 Macc.

J. Hutchison

LUCIUS (**Λούκιος**, *Loúkios*): This name is mentioned twice:

(1) In the church at Antioch which sent out Barnabas and Saul as its missionaries were several prophets and teachers, among whom was Lucius of Cyrene (Acts **13** 1). He was probably one of those "men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also" (Acts **11** 20). It has been suggested that he is the same as St. Luke, but this is merely conjecture.

(2) "Lucius and Jason and Sosipater, my kinsmen" were among those who joined St. Paul in saluting the Christians in Rome (Rom **16** 21). By "kinsmen" St. Paul means "Jews" (cf Rom **9** 3; **16** 11.21). This Lucius may have been the same person as (1), but, as we have no more information about either, we cannot determine this.

S. F. Hunter

LUCRE, lū′kẽr, lo͞o′kẽr (בֶּצַע, *beçaʿ*; **κέρδος**, *kérdos*): Lit. "gain" (1 S **8** 3; Tit **1** 7), hence in the NT always qualified by "filthy" (1 Tim **3** 8, "not greedy of filthy lucre" [*αἰσχροκερδής*, *aischrokerdḗs*]; so Tit **1** 7). The advb. is found in 1 Pet **5** 2 (see also Tit **1** 11). In 1 Tim **3** 3, RV changes AV to "no lover of money" (*ἀφιλάργυρος*, *aphilárguros*).

1. Two Different Nationalities

LUD, lud, **LUDIM**, lū′dim, lo͞od′im (לוּד, *lūdh*, לוּדִים, *lūdhīm*, לוּדִיִּים, *lūdhīyīm*, "Ludites"; **Λούδ**, *Loúd*, **Λουδιείμ**, *Loudieím;* Tg Onk: לוּדָאֵי, *lūdhā'ē*): In Gen **10** 13 Ludim appears as the firstborn of Mizraim (Egypt), and in **10** 22 Lud is the fourth son of Shem. We have therefore to do with two different nationalities bearing the same name, and not always easy to distinguish. 1 Ch **1** 11.17 simply repeat the statements of Gen **10** 13.22. In Isa **66** 19 Lud is mentioned with Tarshish and Pul (generally regarded as a mistake for Phut), Tubal, Javan, and the isles. Accepting this emendation, the passage agrees with Jer **46** 9, where the Ludim are spoken of with Kush and Phut as the allies of Egypt; and also with Ezk **27** 10, where Lud is referred to with Persia and Put as soldiers of Tyre. Lud, again, is mentioned with Ethiopia (Cush), Put, all the mingled people, Cab, and the children of the land which is in league (or, m "the land of the covenant"), which were all to fall by the sword (Ezk **30** 5).

2. The Semitic Lud

Coming to the Semitic Lud, it is to be noted that the Assyrians called Lydia *Lu(d)du*, and that the mythical ancestor of the Lydians, according to Herodotus (i.7), was Lydos, and their first king, Agros, was descended from Ninos and Belos, i.e. Assyria and Babylonia. The apparently Assyr colony in Cappadocia about 2000 BC, who used the Bab script, may be regarded as supporting this statement, and that there were other colonies of the same nationality in the neighborhood is implied by the fact that Assyro-Bab was one of the official languages of the Hittite state whose capital was Ḫattu or Boghaz-keui. On the other hand when Gyges sent an embassy to Aššur-banî-âpli of Assyria, *Lu(d)du* is described as a country whose name had never before been heard, and whose language was unknown. As, however, the earlier kings of Assyria certainly warred in that district, this statement has to be taken with caution. Perhaps the name had changed in the interval, owing to an immigration similar to that which brought the Hittites into Asia Minor, and caused a change in the language at the same time.

3. Not Recognizable as Semitic Later

Naturally Lydia was not recognizable as Sem in classical times. The existence of Lud in the neighborhood of Egypt as well as in Asia Minor finds parallels in the Syrian Muṣri of the Assyr inscriptions by the side of the Muṣur which stood for Egypt, and still more in the Cappadocian Cush (*Kûsu*) of certain Assyr letters relating to horses, by the side of the Cush (*Kûsu* likewise) which stands for Ethiopia.

4. Egyptian Lud Not Recognizable

Everything points, therefore, to the Sem Lud and Ludim being Lydia, and the identification may be regarded as satisfactory. It is altogether otherwise with the Egyp Lud and Ludim, however, about which little can be said at present. The reference to a city which seems to be Puṭu-yāwan in an inscription mentioning the 37th year of Nebuchadrezzar, and apparently referring to an expedition against Amasis, though it may stand for "Grecian Phut," has very little bearing upon the position of the Egyp Lud, esp. as the text in which it occurs is very mutilated. One thing is certain, however: the Hebrews regarded this Lud and Ludim as being Hamitic, and not Semitic.

T. G. Pinches

LUHITH, lū′hith, lo͞o′hith, **ASCENT OF** (מַעֲלֵה הַלּוּחִית, *maʿălēh ha-lūḥīth*): A place named in Isa **15** 5; Jer **48** 5. It is clearly identical with the way, or descent, of Horonaim. *Onom* places Luhith between Areopolis and Zoar. Some way is intended by which fugitives from the Arabah could reach the uplands of the Moabite plateau. Guthe thinks it may be the road which leads from the district of the ancient Zoar on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea to the uplands through *Wādy Bene Ḥammād.* Along this track ran also a Rom road. If Horonaim were the higher of the two places, this might account for the way being called the "descent" of Horonaim as going down from that place, and the "ascent" of Luhith as going up thence. Neither place can as yet be identified with certainty.

W. Ewing

1. Name

LUKE, lo͞ok, lūk, **THE EVANGELIST**: The name Luke (*Λουκᾶς*, *Loukás*) is apparently an abbreviation for *Λουκανός*, *Loukanós*. Old Lat MSS frequently have the words Cata Lucanum as the title of the Third Gospel. (But the form *Λούκιος*, *Loúkios*, is also found in inscriptions synonymous with *Λουκᾶς*; cf Ramsay, *Expos*, December, 1912.)

It was a common fashion in the *koínē* to abbreviate proper names, as it is today, for that matter (cf *Amphias* from *Amphiatos*, *Antipas* from *Antipatros*, *Apollos* from *Apollonias*, *Demas* from *Demetrios*, *Zenas* from *Zenodoros*, etc; and see Jannaris, *Historical Gr Grammar*, § 287).

Paul alone names Luke (Col **4** 14; 2 Tim **4** 11; Philem ver 24). He does not mention his own name in the Gospel or in the Acts. Cf the silence of the Fourth Gospel concerning the name of the

2. Mentioned Three Times by Name

apostle John. There was no particular occasion to mention Luke's name in the Gospel, except as the author, if he had so wished. The late legend that Luke was one of the Seventy sent out by Jesus (Epiphanius, *Haer.*, ii.51, 11) is pure conjecture, as is the story that Luke was one of the Greeks who came to Philip for an introduction to Jesus (Jn **12** 20 f), or the companion of Cleopas in the walk to Emmaus (Lk **24** 13). The clear implication of Lk **1** 2 is that Luke himself was not an eyewitness of the ministry of Jesus.

3. A Gentile

In Col **4** 14 Luke is distinguished by Paul from those "of the circumcision" (Aristarchus, Mark, Jesus Justus). Epaphras, Luke, Demas form the gentile group. He was believed by the early Christian writers to have come directly from heathendom to Christianity. He may or may not have been a Jewish proselyte. His first appearance with Paul at Troas (cf the "we"-sections, Acts **16** 10–12) is in harmony with this idea. The classic introduction to the Gospel (**1** 1–4) shows that he was a man of culture (cf Apollos and Paul). He was a man of the schools, and his Greek has a literary flavor only approached in the NT by Paul's writings and by the Ep. to the He.

4. Home

His home is very uncertain. The text of D (Codex Bezae) and several Latin authorities have a "we-"passage in Acts **11** 27. If this reading, the so-called B text of Blass, is the original, then Luke was at Antioch and may have been present at the great event recorded in Acts **13** 1 f. But it is possible that the Western text is an interpolation. At any rate, it is not likely that Luke is the same person as Lucius of Acts **13** 1. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 389 f) thinks that Eusebius (*HE*, III, iv, 6) does not mean to say that Luke was a native of Antioch, but only that he had Antiochian family connections. Jerome calls him *Lucas medicus Antiochensis.* He certainly shows an interest in Antioch (cf Acts **11** 19–27; **13** 1; **14** 26; **15** 22.23.30.35; **18** 22). Antioch, of course, played a great part in the early work of Paul. Other stories make Luke live in Alexandria and Achaia and narrate that he died in Achaia or Bithynia. But we know that he lived in Philippi for a considerable period. He first meets Paul at Troas just before the vision of the Man from Macedonia (Acts **16** 10–12), and a conversation with Paul about the work in Macedonia may well have been the human occasion of that vision and call. Luke remains in Philippi when Paul and Silas leave (Acts **16** 40, "They . . . . departed"). He is here when Paul comes back on his 3d tour bound for Jerus (Acts **20** 3–5). He shows also a natural pride in the claims of Philippi to the primacy in the province as against Amphipolis and Thessalonica (Acts **16** 12, "the first of the district"). On the whole, then, we may consider Philippi as the home of Luke, though he was probably a man who had traveled a great deal, and may have been with Paul in Galatia before coming to Troas. He may have ministered to Paul in his sickness there (Gal **4** 14). His later years were spent chiefly with Paul away from Philippi (cf Acts **20** 3–28.31, on the way to Jerus, at Caesarea, the voyage to Rome and in Rome).

5. Physician

Paul (Col **4** 14) expressly calls him "the beloved physician." He was Paul's medical adviser, and doubtless prolonged his life and rescued him from many a serious illness. He was a medical missionary, and probably kept up his general practice of medicine in connection with his work in Rome (cf Zahn, *Intro*, III, 1). He probably practised medicine in Malta (Acts **28** 9 f). He naturally shows his fondness for medical terms in his books (cf Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke;* Harnack, *NT Studies: Luke the Physician*, 175–98). Harnack adds some examples to those given by Hobart, who has overdone the matter in reality. See, further, Acts of the Apostles.

6. Brother of Titus

It is possible, even probable (see Souter's article in *DCG*), that in 2 Cor **8** 18 "the brother" is equivalent to "the brother" of Titus just mentioned, that is, "his brother." If so, we should know that Paul came into contact with Luke at Philippi on his way to Corinth during his 2d tour (cf also 2 Cor **12** 18). It would thus be explained why in Acts the name of Titus does not occur, since he is the brother of Luke the author of the book.

7. Connection with Paul

If the reading of D in Acts **11** 27 f is correct, Luke met Paul at Antioch before the 1st missionary tour. Otherwise it may not have been till Troas on the 2d tour. But he is the more or less constant companion of Paul from Philippi on the return to Jerus on the 3d tour till the 2 years in Rome at the close of the Acts. He was apparently not with Paul when Phil (**2** 20) was written, though, as we have seen, he was with Paul in Rome when he wrote Col and Philem. He was Paul's sole companion for a while during the 2d Rom imprisonment (2 Tim **4** 11). His devotion to Paul in this time of peril is beautiful.

8. Author of Both Gospel and Acts

For the proof of the Lukan authorship of the Acts see Acts of the Apostles. For the discussion of the Lukan authorship of the Gospel with his name, see Luke, Gospel of. Our interest in him is largely due to this fact and to his relations with Paul. The Christian world owes him a great debt for his literary productions in the interest of the gospel.

9. Legends

One legend regarding Luke is that he was a painter. Plummer (*Comm. on Luke*, xxi f) thinks that the legend is older than is sometimes supposed and that it has a strong element of truth. It is true that he has drawn vivid scenes with his pen. The early artists were esp. fond of painting scenes from the Gospel of Lk. The allegorical figure of the ox or calf in Ezk **1** and Rev **4** has been applied to Luke's Gospel.

Literature.—Bible dicts., comms., lives of Paul, intros. See also Harnack, "Lukas, der Arzt, der Verfasser" (1906); *NT Studies: Luke the Physician* (1907); Ramsay, *Luke the Physician* (1908); Selwyn, *St. Luke the Prophet* (1901); Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke* (1882); Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem? A Study in the Credibility of St. Luke* (1898); Maclachlan, *St. John, Evangelist and Historian* (1912).

A. T. Robertson

LUKE, THE GOSPEL OF:

1. Text
2. Canonicity
3. Authorship
4. Sources
5. Credibility
6. Characteristics
7. Date
8. Analysis

Literature

1. Text

The five primary uncials (ℵ, A, B, C, D) are the chief witnesses for the text of Luke's Gospel. This group is reinforced by L, Δ and the Freer (Detroit) MS; R, T, X and Ξ are also valuable in fragments. The other uncials are of secondary value. The Lat, Egyp and Syr VSS are also of great importance. There are 4 Lat VSS (African, European, Italian, Vulg), 3 Egyp (Memphitic, Sahidic, Bohairic), 5 Syr (Curetonian, Sinaitic, Peshitto, Harclean, Palestinian or Jerusalem). Many of the cursive (minuscule) MSS are also of considerable worth, as are some of the quotations from the Fathers.

Blass, *Philology of the Gospels* (1898), has advanced the theory of two recensions of this Gospel (a longer and a shorter), such as he holds to be true of Acts. In the case of Acts, the theory has won some acceptance (see Acts of the Apostles), but that is not true of the Gospel to any extent. The Western text of the Gospel is the shorter text, while in Acts it is the longer text. In both instances Blass holds that the shorter text was issued after the longer and original text. His idea is that Luke himself revised and issued the shorter text. In itself this is, of course, possible, since the books are both addressed to an individual, Theophilus. The other edition may have been meant for others. WH explain the omission in the Western text of the Gospel as "Western non-interpolations," and often hold them to be the true text. As samples one may note Lk **10** 41; **12** 19; **24** 36.40.42, where the Western text is the shorter text. This is not always true, however, for in **6** 2ff D has the famous passage about the man working on the Sabbath, which the other documents do not give. In Lk **3** 22, D has the reading of Ps **2** 7 ("Thou art my Son; this day I have begotten thee") for the usual text. Zahn (*Intro*, III, 38) accepts this as the true text. There is no doubt of the interest and value of the Western readings in Lk, but it cannot be said that Blass has carried his point here. The peculiar mutilation of the Gospel by Marcion has an interest of its own.

2. Canonicity

Plummer (*Comm. on Lk*, lxxx) says: "In the second half of the 2d cent. this Gospel is recognized as authentic and authoritative; and it is impossible to show that it had not been thus recognized at a very much earlier date." On the other hand, Schmiedel (*EB*) says: "This 'tradition,' however, cannot be traced farther back than toward the end of the 2d cent. (Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria and the Muratorian Fragment); there is no sound basis for the contention of Zahn (II, 175) that the existence of the tradition can also be found as early as in Marcion, because that writer, from his aversion to the Third Gospel (which nevertheless was the only one he admitted into his collection—with alterations it is true) omitted the expression of honor applied to Luke in Col **4** 14." Here the two views are well stated. Schmiedel shows dogmatic bias and prejudice against Lk. Jülicher, however, frankly admits (*Intro*, 330) that "the ancients were universally agreed that the writer was that Luke, disciple of Paul, who is mentioned in Philem ver 24; 2 Tim **4** 11, and called 'the physician' in Col **4** 14; presumably a native of Antioch." This statement bears more directly on the question of authorship than of canonicity, but it is a good retort to the rather cavalier tone of Schmiedel, who is reluctant to admit the facts. The recognition of the Third Gospel in the Muratorian Canon (170 AD) is a fact of much significance. It was used in Tatian's *Diatessaron* (c 170 AD) as one of the four recognized Gospels (cf Hemphill, *Diatessaron of Tatian*, 3 ff). The fact that Marcion (140 AD) mutilated this Gospel to suit his theology and thus used it is even more significant (cf Sanday, *Gospels in the 2d Cent.*, App.). Other heretics like the Valentinians (cf Lightfoot, *Bib. Essays*, 5–7) made use of it, and Heracleon (cf Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iv.9) wrote a comm. on it. Irenaeus (end of 2d cent.) makes frequent quotations from this Gospel. He argues that there could be only "four" Gospels because of the four points of the compass—an absurd argument, to be sure, but a powerful testimony to the general acceptance of this Gospel along with the other three. It is needless to appeal to the presence of the Third Gospel in the Curetonian Syr, the Sinaitic Syr, the African Lat—VSS that date to the 2d cent., not to mention the probability of the early date of the Memphitic (Coptic) VSS. Examples of the early use of this Gospel occur in various writings of the 2d cent., as in Justin Martyr (150 AD), the Test. XII P (c 140 AD), Celsus (c AD 160), the Gospel of Peter (2d cent.), the Ep. of the Church of Lyons and Vienne (177 AD), probably also *Did.* (2d cent.), Clement of Alexandria (190–202 AD), Tertullian (190–220 AD). It is doubtful about Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp; and the Ep. of Barnabas seems to make no use of the Third Gospel. But Clement of Rome, Ignatius and Polycarp quote Acts. But surely the general use and acceptance of the Third Gospel in the early 2d cent. is beyond reasonable doubt. It is not easy to decide when the actual use began, because we have so little data from the 1st cent. (cf Plummer, *Comm.*, lxxiii).

The fact that the author was not an apostle affected the order of the book in some lists. Most MSS and VSS have the common order of today, but the Western order (Mt, Jn, Lk, Mk) is given by D, many Old Lat MSS, the Gothic VS, the Apos Const. The object was probably to place the books by apostles together and first. The Old Lat k has Lk second (Jn, Lk, Mk, Mt), while the Curetonian Syr has Lk last of the four. The cursives 90 and 399 also have Lk second.

3. Authorship

The first writers who definitely name Luke as the author of the Third Gospel belong to the end of the 2d cent. They are the Canon of Muratori (possibly by Hippolytus), Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria. We have already seen that Jülicher (*Intro*, 330) admits that the ancients universally agreed that Luke wrote the Third Gospel. In the early part of the 2d cent. the writers did not, as a rule, give the names of the authors of the Gospels quoted by them. It is not fair, therefore, to use their silence on this point as proof either of their ignorance of the author or of denial of Luke's authorship. Jülicher, for instance, says (*Intro*, 330): "There is no tradition worthy of the name concerning Luke, whom Papias did not mention, or at any rate did not know." But we owe to Eusebius all the fragments that we have preserved from the writings of Papias. Our ignorance of Papias can hardly be charged up to him. Plummer (*Comm.*, xii) says that nothing in Bib. criticism is more certain than the fact that Luke wrote the Third Gospel. On the other hand, Jülicher (*Intro*, 331) is not willing to let it go as easily as that. He demands appeal to Acts, and there (ib, 447) he denies the Lukan authorship save as to the "we" sections. J. Weiss (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments; das Lukas Evang.*, 1906, 378) admits that but for Acts no sufficient reason would exist for denying the authorship of the Third Gospel to Luke, the disciple of Paul. A Pauline point of view in this Gospel is admitted generally. Many modern critics take it for granted that the Lukan authorship of Acts is disproved, and hence that of the Gospel likewise falls by the way. So argue Baur, Clemen, De Wette, Hausrath, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Pfleiderer, Schürer, Spitta, von Soden, J. Weiss, Weizsäcker, Zeller. Men like Blass, Credner, Harnack, Hawkins, Hobart, Klostermann, Plummer, Ramsay, Renan, Vogel, Zahn, stand by the tradition of Lukan authorship, but Harnack is almost irritated (*Luke the Physician*, 1907, 6), since "the indefensibility of the tradition is regarded as being so clearly established that nowadays it is thought scarcely worth while to reprove this indefensibility, or even to notice the arguments of conservative opponents." Harnack proceeds to make a plea for a hearing. Jacobus (*Standard Bible Dict.*) admits that "Acts tells us nothing more of the author than does the Gospel." That is true so far as express mention is concerned, but not so far as natural implication goes. It is true that the place to begin the discussion of the Lukan authorship of the Gospel is Acts. For detailed discussion of the proof that Luke wrote Acts, see Acts of the Apostles. It is there shown that the line of argument which has convinced Harnack, the leader of the liberal criticism of Germany, ought to convince any open-minded critic. It means a good deal when Harnack (*Luke the Physician*, 14) says: "I subscribe to the words of Zahn (*Einl*, II, 427): 'Hobart has proved for everyone who can at all appreciate proof that the author of the Lukan work was a man practised in the scientific language of Gr medicine —in short, a *Gr physician*.'" It is here assumed that the line of argument pursued in the art. on Acts of the Apostles is conclusive. If so, little remains to be done in the way of special proof for the Gospel. The author of Acts specifically refers (Acts **1** 1) to a former treatise which was likewise addressed to Theophilus. This we find to be the case with the Gospel passing under the name of Luke (**1** 4). The critics who admit the Lukan authorship of Acts and deny the Lukan authorship of the Gospel are hardly worth considering.

It is, therefore, largely a work of supererogation to give at length the proof from internal grounds that Luke wrote the Gospel, after being convinced about Acts. Still it may be worth while to sketch in outline the line of argument, even though it is very simple. Plummer (*Comm.*, x–xvii) argues three propositions: "(1) The author of the Third Gospel is the author of the Acts. (2) The author of Acts was a companion of Paul. (3) This companion was St. Luke." Harnack (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1909) has argued with great minuteness and skill the theory that the same linguistic peculiarities occur in all portions of Acts, including the "we-"sections. He accepts the facts set forth by Hawkins (*Horae Synopticae*) and adds others. He agrees, therefore, that the author of Acts was a companion of Paul. Harnack is convinced by the exhaustive labors of Hobart (*Medical Language of St. Luke*) that this author was a physician, as we know Luke to have been (Col **4** 14). He shows this to be true of the author of Acts by the use of "us" in Acts **28** 10, showing that the author of Acts received honors along with Paul, probably because he practised medicine and treated many (cf Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, 15 f). These medical terms occur in the Gospel of Lk also, and the same general linguistic style is found in both the Gospel and Acts. Hawkins has made a careful study of likenesses and variations in style in these two books (cf *Horae Synopticae*, 15–25, 174–89). The argument is as conclusive as such a line of proof can be expected to be. For further discussion see Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, 1908, 1–68; Zahn, *Intro*, III, 160 ff. There are no phenomena in the Gospel hostile to this position save the Sem character of chs **1** and **2** (barring the classical introduction **1** 1–4). Luke, though a Gentile, has in these chapters the most Sem narrative in the NT. But the explanation is obvious. He is here using Sem material (either oral or written), and has with true artistic skill preserved the tone of the original. To a certain extent the same thing is true of the opening chapters of Acts.

4. Sources

The synoptic problem (see Gospels, Synoptic) remains the most difficult one in the realm of NT criticism. But the Gospel of Lk yields on the whole more satisfactory results than is yet true of Mt.

(1) *Unity.*—If the Lukan authorship of the book is accepted, there remains no serious doubt concerning the unity and integrity of the Gospel. The abridgment of Luke's Gospel used by Marcion does not discredit those portions of the Gospel omitted by him. They are omitted for doctrinal reasons (cf Sanday, *Gospels in the 2d Cent.*, ch viii). His readings are of interest from the viewpoint of textual criticism, as are the quotations of other early writers, but his edition does not seriously challenge the value of Luke's work.

(2) *Luke's method.*—Luke has announced his methods of work in a most classic introduction (**1** 1–4). Here we catch a glimpse of the author's personality. That is not possible in Mk nor in Mt, and only indirectly in passing shadows in the Fourth Gospel. But here the author frankly takes the reader into his confidence and discloses his standpoint and qualifications for the great task. He writes as a contemporary about the recent past, always the most difficult history to interpret and often the most interesting. He speaks of "those matters which have been fulfilled among us," in our time. He does not himself claim to have been an eyewitness of "those matters." As we know already, Luke was a Gentile and apparently never saw Jesus in the flesh. He occupies thus a position outside of the great events which he is to record. He does not disguise his intense interest in the narrative, but he claims the historical spirit. He wishes to assure Theophilus of "the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed." He claims to have investigated "the course of all things accurately from the first," just as the true historian would. He thus implies that some of the attempts made had been fragmentary at any rate, and to that extent inaccurate. He has also produced an "orderly" narrative by which Theophilus may gain a just conception of the historical progress of the events connected with the life of Jesus of Nazareth. The fact that "many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters" does not deter Luke from his task. The rather he is stirred thereby ("It seemed good to me also") to give his interpretation of the life and work of Jesus as the result of his researches. He stands not farther away than one generation from the death of Jesus. He has the keen interest natural to a cultured follower of Jesus in the origin of what had become a great world-movement. He is able to get at the facts because he has had intercourse with eyewitnesses of Jesus and His work, "even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." Luke had abundant opportunity during the two years at Caesarea with Paul (Acts **24–26**) to make careful and extended investigations. Many of the personal followers of Jesus were still living (1 Cor **15** 6). It was a golden opportunity for Luke's purpose. He had also the written narratives which others ("many") had already drawn up. We are, then, to expect in Luke's Gospel a book closely akin to Acts in style and plan, with the historian's love of accuracy and order, with the author's own contribution in the assimilation and use of this oral and written material. One would not expect in such a writer slavish copying, but intelligent blending of the material into an artistic whole.

(3) *The Aramaic infancy narrative.*—The very first section in this Gospel (**1** 5—**2** 52) illustrates Luke's fidelity in the use of his material. Wellhausen drops these two chapters from his edition of Luke's Gospel as not worthy of consideration. That is conjectural criticism run mad and is not to be justified by the example of Marcion, who begins with ch **4**. Wright (*Gospel acc. to St. Luke in Gr*, 1900, viii f; s.v. "Luke's Gospel," *DCG*) holds that this section was the last to be added to the Gospel though he holds that it comes from Luke. It may be said in passing that Wright is a stout advocate for the oral source for all of Luke's Gospel. He still holds out against the "two-document" or any document theory. However, he claims rightly that Luke's information for these two chapters was private. This material did not form part of the current oral Gospel. In Mt the narrative of the birth of Jesus is given from the standpoint of Joseph, and Mary is kept in the background, according to Eastern feeling (Wright). But in Lk the story is told from Mary's point of view. Luke may, indeed, have seen Mary herself in the years 57–59 AD (or 58–60). He could easily have seen some of Mary's intimate friends who knew the real facts in the case. The facts were expressly said to have been kept in Mary's heart. She would tell only to sympathetic ears (cf Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 74 f). It is not possible to discredit Luke's narrative of the Virgin Birth on a priori grounds (cf Orr, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 1907; Sweet, *Birth*

and Infancy of Jesus Christ, 1906). The curious Sem flavor of this narrative argues strongly for its genuineness, since Luke was a Greek. We do not know whether Luke knew Aram. or not. That was possible, since he spent these 2 years in Pal. We do not know whether this information came to him in written form (note esp. the hymns of Mary and of Zacharias) or in oral tradition. But it is hardly possible to credit a Greek with the invention of these birth-narratives and poems which ring so true to the soil and the Heb life. Immediately after Luke's statement about historical research comes the narrative of the birth of Jesus. It is the first illustration of his work on his sources.

(4) *Luke's relation to Mark's Gospel.*—Luke knew Mark in Rome (Col **4** 10.14; Philem ver 24). He may have met him in Pal also. Had he seen Mark's Gospel when he wrote his own? Was it one of the "many" narratives that came under Luke's eye? Wright (cf *DCG*) denies that Luke had our Mk. He admits that he may have had an *Urmarkus* or proto-Mk which he heard in oral form, but not the present (written) Gospel of Mk. He thinks that this can best be accounted for by the fact that out of 223 sections in Mk there are 54 not in Lk. But most modern critics have come to the conclusion that both Matthew and Luke had Mk before them as well as other sources. Matthew, if he used Mk, in the early chapters, followed a topical arrangement of his material, combining Mk with the other source or sources. But Luke has followed the order of Mk very closely in this part and indeed throughout. Luke has a special problem in **9** 51—**19** 27, but the broad general outline follows that of Mk. But it cannot be said that Luke made a slavish use of Mk, if he had this Gospel before him. He gives his own touch to each incident and selects what best suits his purpose. It is not possible for us to tell always that motive, but it is idle to suppose that Luke blindly recorded every incident found in every document or every story that came to his ears. He implies in his introduction that he has made a selection out of the great mass of material and has woven it into a coherent and progressive narrative. We may admit with Harnack (*New Testament Studies: Sayings of Jesus*, xiii) that the Markan problem "has been treated with scientific thoroughness" and that Luke had Mk as one of his sources. The parallel between Lk and Mk in the narrative portion is easily seen in any Harmony of the Gospels, like Broadus or Stevens and Burton.

(5) *Q* (*Quelle*) *or the Logia.*—It is a matter of more uncertainty when we come to the mass of material common to Mt and Lk, but absent from Mk. This is usually found in the discourses of Jesus. The more generally accepted theory today is that both Matthew and Luke made use of Mk and also this collection of Logia called Q for short (Ger. *Quelle*, "source"). But, while this theory may be adopted as a working hypothesis, it cannot be claimed that it is an established fact. Zahn (cf *Intro*) stoutly stands up for the real authorship of the First Gospel of Matthew. Rev. Arthur Carr ("Further Notes on the Synoptic Problem," *Expos*, January, 1911, 543–553) argues strongly for the early date and Matthaean authorship of the First Gospel. He says on the whole subject: "The synoptic problem which has of late engaged the speculation of some of our keenest and most laborious students is still unsolved." He even doubts the priority of Mark's Gospel. Wellhausen (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 73–89) advocates the priority of Mark to Q. But Harnack balances the problem of "Q and St. Mark" (*Sayings of Jesus*, 193–233) and decides in favor of Q. In any case, it is to be noted that the result of critical research into the value of Q is to put it quite on a par with Mk. Harnack is quite impressed with the originality and vivid reality of the matter in Q. The material present in Q cannot be gauged so accurately as that in Mk, since we have the Gospel of Mk in our hands. Where both Mt and Lk give material not found in Mk, it is concluded that this is drawn from Q. But it cannot be shown that Matthew may not have used Q at some points and Lk at still others independently. Besides Q may have contained material not preserved either in Mt or Lk. A careful and detailed comparison of the material common to both Mt and Lk and absent from Mk may be found in Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 107–13; Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, 127–82; Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, 66; Robertson, "Matthew" in *Bible for Home and School*, 14–19. But, if it is true that Luke made use of Q as of Mk, he was no mere copyist. No solution of the synoptic problem can ever be obtained on the idea that the Gospels are mere reproductions of previous documents. There was freedom in the use of all the material, both oral and written, and the writer gave his own interpretation to the result. It was often a restatement in the author's own language, not formal quotation. Wright (*DCG*) calls this editorial element "editorial notes"; that is, of course, often true when the author makes comments on the matters presented, but "ancient authors took immense pains to reduce the rude chronicles which they used, into literary form" (ib). The point of all this is that a great deal of criticism of the Gospels is attempting the impossible, for many of the variations cannot possibly be traced to any "source." Wright (ib) puts it tersely again: "And if in St. John's Gospel it is more and more recognized that the mind of the evangelist cast the utterances of Our Lord into the peculiar form which they there hold, the same process of redaction may be observed in St. Luke, who comes nearest of the synoptists to the methods of St. John." As a matter of fact, this is as it should be expected. The frank recognition of this point of view marks progress in synoptic criticism.

(6) *Other sources.*—There is a large block of material in Lk (**9** 51—**18** 14) which is given by him alone. There are various sayings like some reported by Matthew (or Mark) in other connections. Some of the incidents are similar to some given elsewhere by Matthew and Mark. There are various theories concerning this position of Lk. Some critics hold that Luke has here put a mass of material which he had left over, so to speak, and which he did not know where to locate, without any notion of order. Against this theory is the express statement of Luke that he wrote an orderly narrative (**1** 3 f). One is disposed to credit Luke's own interpretation unless the facts oppose it. It is common for traveling preachers, as was Jesus, to have similar experiences in different parts of the country and to repeat their favorite sayings. So teachers repeat many of their sayings each year to different classes. Indeed, it is just in this section of Lk that the best parts of his Gospel are found (the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the Pharisee and the Publican, etc). "The more we consider this collection, the more we are entranced with it. It is the very cream of the Gospel, and yet (strange to say) it is peculiar to Luke" (Wright, *DCG*). Wright calls this "a Pauline collection," not because Paul is responsible for the material, but because the chapters breathe the cosmopolitan spirit of Paul. That is true, but Jesus loved the whole world. This side of the teaching of Jesus may have appealed to Luke powerfully because of its reflection in Paul. Matthew's Gospel was more narrowly Jewish in its outlook, and

Mark's had fewer of the sayings of Christ. But it is to be noted that this special material in Lk extends more or less all through the Gospel. Burton (*Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem*, 49) calls this special material in Lk **9** 51—**18** 14 "the Peraean document." We do not know, of course, anything of the actual source of this material. Whether Luke has here followed one or more documents, he has, as elsewhere, given his own stamp to the whole, while preserving in a marvelous way the spirit of Jesus. (For the possible parallel between this section of Lk and Jn see Robertson's "Notes" to Broadus, *Harmony of the Gospels*, 249–52.) For the earlier material in Lk not found elsewhere (**3** 7–15.17.18; **4** 2*b*–13 [14.15].16–30; **5** 1–11; **6** 21–49; **7** 1—**8** 3) Burton suggests "the Galilean document" as the source. Wright, on the other hand, proposes "anonymous fragments" as the source of Luke's material not in the infancy narrative, nor in Mk, nor in Q, nor in the "Pauline" or Peraean document. At any rate, it is certain that Luke's own words of explanation should warn us against drawing too narrow a line around the "sources" used by him. His "many" may well have included a dozen sources, or even more. But it may be said, in a word, that all that criticism has been able to learn on the subject has confirmed the statement of Luke himself concerning his method of research and his use of the material.

5. Credibility

More fault has been found with Luke as a historian in Acts than in the Gospel. Harnack (*Acts of the Apostles*) is not disposed to give Luke full credit as a reliable historian. But Ramsay (*Luke the Physician*, 5) champions the reliability of Luke (cf also *St. Paul the Traveller; The Church in the Roman Empire*) against the skepticism of Harnack, which is growing less, since in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (July 7, 1906, S. 4) he speaks well of Luke's ability to secure correct information. So in *Luke the Physician* (121–45) Harnack urges that the possible "instances of incredibility have been much exaggerated by critics." He adds about Acts **5** 36: "It is also possible that there is a mistake in Jos" (cf Chase, *Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles;* see also ACTS OF THE APOSTLES).

But the Gospel is not free from attack. The chief matter in the Gospel of Lk which is challenged on historical grounds, apart from the birth-narratives, which some critics treat as legendary, is the census in Lk **2** 1 ff. Critics, who in general have accepted Luke's veracity, have sometimes admitted that here he fell into error and confused the census under Quirinius in 6–7 AD when Quirinius came, after the banishment of Archelaus, to take a census and to collect taxes, much to the indignation of the Jews (cf Acts **5** 37; Jos, *Ant*, XVIII, i). It was not known that Quirinius had been governor of Syria before this time, nor was there any other knowledge of a census under Augustus. The case against Luke seemed strong. But Ramsay (*Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 227 ff) shows that the inscription at Tibur, as agreed by Mommsen and like authorities, shows that Quirinius "twice governed Syria as *legatus* of the divine Augustus." He was consul in 12 BC, so that the first mission was after that date. Ramsay shows also from the papyri that the 14-year cycle was used for the Rom census (many census papers are known from 20 AD on). He argues that the first one was instituted by Augustus in 8 BC. Herod, as a vassal king, would naturally be allowed to conduct it in the Jewish fashion, not the Rom, and it was probably delayed several years in the provinces. Thus once more Luke is vindicated in a remarkable way (see CHRONOLOGY OF NT, I, 1, [2]).

The Acts of the Apostles has come out of the critical ordeal in a wonderful manner, so that Luke's credit as a historical writer is now very high among those qualified to know the facts. He has been tested and found correct on so many points that the presumption is in his favor where he cannot as yet be verified. Moffatt (*Intro to the Lit. of the NT*, 265) finds Luke "more graphic than historical."

6. Characteristics

He was the most versatile of the Gospel writers. He was a Greek, a Christian, a physician, a man of travel, a man of world-outlook, sympathetic, cultured, poetic, spiritual, artistic, high-minded. His Prologue is the most classic piece of Gr in the NT, but the rest of ch **1** and all of ch **2** are the most Sem in tone. The breadth of his literary equipment is thereby shown. He not only uses many medical terms common to technical circles, but he has the physician's interest in the sick and afflicted, as shown in the large number of miracles of healing narrated. His interest in the poor is not due to Ebionitic prejudice against the rich, but to human compassion for the distressed. His emphasis on the human side of the work of Jesus is not due to Ebionitic denial of the Divinity of Jesus, but to his keen appreciation of the richness of the human life of the Son of God. His rich and varied vocabulary reveals a man who read and mingled with the best life of his time. He wrote his books in the vernacular, but the elevated vernacular of an educated man touched with a distinct literary flavor. His poetic temperament is shown in the preservation of the beautiful hymns of the nativity and in the wonderful parables of Jesus in chs **10, 15–18**. They are reported with rare grace and skill. Luke is fond of showing Christ's sympathy with women and children, and he has more to say about prayer than the authors of the other Gospels. His interest in individuals is shown by the dedication of both his books to Theophilus. His cosmopolitan sympathies are natural in view of his training and inheritance, but part of it is doubtless due to his association with the apostle Paul. He comes to the interpretation of Jesus from a world-standpoint and does not have to overcome the Pharisaic limitations incident to one reared in Pal. It is a matter of rejoicing that we have this book, called by Renan the most beautiful book in the world, as a cultured Greek's interpretation of the origin of Christianity. He thus stands outside of the pale of Judaism and can see more clearly the world-relations and world-destiny of the new movement. With Luke, Jesus is distinctly the world's Saviour. The accent on sin is human sin, not specifically Jewish sin. John in his Gospel came in his old age to look back upon the events in Judaea from a non-Jewish standpoint. But he rose to the essentially spiritual and eternal apprehension of Christ, rather than extended his vision, as Luke did, to the cosmopolitan mission and message of Jesus, though this did not escape John. The Gospel of Lk thus has points of affinity with Paul, John and the author of He in style and general standpoint. But while Luke's own style is manifest throughout, it is not obtrusive. He hides himself behind the wonderful portrait of Jesus which he has here drawn in undying colors.

7. Date

The extreme position of Baur and Zeller may be dismissed at once. There is no reason for dating the Gospel of Lk in the 2d cent. on the ground that he used Marcion's Gospel, since it is now admitted all round that Marcion made use of Lk. The supposed use of Jos by Luke (see ACTS OF THE APOSTLES for discussion and refutation) leads a goodly number of radical scholars (Hilgenfeld, Holsten, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Krenkel, Weizsäcker, Wernle) to date the book at the end of the 1st cent. This is still extreme, as Harnack had already shown in his *Chronologie der altchristl. Litt.*, I, 1897, 246–50. Any use of Jos by Luke is highly improbable (see Plummer on Lk, xxix). The Gospel was certainly written before Acts (Acts **1** 1) and while Paul was alive, if 1 Tim **5** 18 be taken as a quotation from Lk **10** 7, which is by no means certain, however. But it is true that the most natural way to interpret the sudden close of Acts, after 2 years in Rome (Acts **28** 31), is the fact that Luke finished the book at that time (Maclean, 1-vol *HDB*). Moffatt (*Historical NT*, 273) calls this early date "reactionary" and "extravagant." But it is supported by Alford, Blass, Ebrard, Farrar, Gloag, Godet, Grau, Guericke, Hahn, Headlam, Hitzig, Hofmann, Hug, Keil, Lange, Lumby, Marshall, Nösgen, Oosterzee, Resch, Riehm, Schaff, Schanz, Thiersch, Tholuck, Wieseler, and Harnack himself is now ready to join this goodly company. He warns critics against too hasty a closing of the chronological question (*Acts of the Apostles*, 291), and admits that Acts was written "perhaps so early as the beginning of the 7th decade of the 1st cent." [ib, 297], "the Acts (and therefore also the Gospel)." In the *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (1911, 124) Harnack says: "It seems now to be established beyond question that both books of this great historical order were written while St. Paul was still alive." There is an intermediate date about 80 AD, assigned by Adeney, Bartlett, Plummer, Sanday, Weiss, Wright, on the ground that the investigations mentioned in Lk **1** 1–4 describe the use of narratives which could have been written only after a long period of reflection. But that is not a valid objection. There is no sound critical reason why the Gospel of Mk, Q, the infancy narratives, and all the other sources alluded to by this preface could not have been in circulation in Pal by 55 AD. Indeed, Allen writes in *Expos T* (July, 1910): "I see no reason why such an original [Mark's Gospel in Aram.] should not have appeared before the year 50 AD." The other objection to the early date comes out of Lk **21** 20, "Jerus compassed with armies" as compared with "the abomination of desolation" in Mk **13** 14. The change is so specific that it is held by some critics to be due to the fact that Luke is writing after the destruction of Jerus. But it is just as likely (Maclean) that Luke has here interpreted the Hebraism of Mk for his gentile readers. Besides, as Plummer (p. xxxi) shows, Luke in **21** 5–36 does not record the fact that Jerus was destroyed, nor does he change Christ's "flee to the mountains" to "Pella in North Peraea," whither the Christians actually fled. Besides, the fact that Acts shows no acquaintance with Paul's Epp. is best explained on the assumption of the early date. The question is thus practically settled in favor of the early date. The place of the writing is not known. The early date naturally falls in with Caesarea (Blass, Michaelis, Thiersch), but there is little to guide one.

8. Analysis

(1) Prologue, **1** 1–4.
(2) Infancy and childhood of John and Jesus, **1** 5—**2** 52.
(3) Beginning of Christ's Ministry, **3** 1—**4** 13.
(4) Galilean Campaign, **4** 14—**9** 6.
(5) Retirement from Galilee, **9** 7–50.
(6) Later Judaean and Peraean Ministry, **9** 51—**19** 28.
(7) Close of the Public Ministry in Jerusalem, **19** 29—**21** 37.
(8) The Dreadful End, chs **21–23**.
(9) Resurrection of Christ, ch **24**.

LITERATURE.—See extended list of books at close of art. on ACTS OF THE APOSTLES; the extensive list of Comms. Plummer's *Comm. on Lk* can also be consulted. After Plummer the best comms. on Luke's Gospel are Bruce, *Expositor's Gr Test.;* Weiss's *Meyer Krit.-exeget. Komm.;* Godet; Holtzmann, *Hand-Comm.* Of the many Intros to the NT, Zahn's is the ablest and most exhaustive (conservative) and Jülicher's is the fairest of the radical school. The best of the briefer ones is Gregory's *Canon and Text* (1907). Special treatises deserving mention here are Blass, *Philology of the Gospels* (1898); *Ev. secundum Lukam* (1897); Wellhausen, *Das Ev. Lukae* (1904); Sense, *Origin of the Third Gospel* (1901); Friedrich, *Das Lukasevangelium und die Apostelgeschichte, Werke desselben Verfassers* (1890); Harnack, *Luke the Physician* (1907), and *Sayings of Jesus* (1908); *The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (1911); Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae* (2d ed, 1909); Hervey, *Authenticity of Luke* (1892); Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke* (1882); Litzinger, *Die Entstehung des Lukasevangelium und der Apostelgeschichte* (1883); Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* (1898) and *Luke the Physician* (1908); Resch, *Das Kindheit-Evangelium nach Lukas und Matthäus;* Selwyn, *St. Luke the Prophet* (1901); Vogel, *Zur Characteristik des Lukas nach Sprache und Stil* (1897); Weiss, *Quellen des Lukasevangelium* (1907); Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels* and his *Gospel acc. to St. Luke in Gr* (1900).

A. T. ROBERTSON

LUNATIC(K), lū′na-tik:

1. Incorrect Translation

I. Epilepsy.—The Eng. word "lunatic," which in popular speech signifies a sufferer from any mental derangement, whether periodic or chronic, other than congenital idiocy, appears in AV as a tr of the Gr word σεληνιάζομαι, *selēniázomai,* in the two passages where it occurs. In RV the word has very properly been displaced by the strictly accurate term "epileptic." This change is justified not only by the extra-Bib. usage (see Liddell and Scott, s.v.), but clearly enough by Mt **17** 15 (cf **4** 24), where epilepsy is circumstantially described.

2. Original Meaning

The original meaning of the term *selēniazomai,* "moon-struck," is connected with the popular belief, widespread and of strange persistency, that the moon, in certain of its phases, is injurious to human beings, esp. in the case of diseases of a periodic or remittent character. There are no data by which to determine whether, in the NT times, this particular word represented a living and active belief or had passed into the state of usage in which the original metaphor disappears, and the word simply indicates the fact signified without reference to the idea embodied in the etymology. We still use the word "lunatic" to signify a person mentally diseased, although we have long since ceased to believe in the moon's influence in such cases.

II. Madness.—The Bible designates "madness," or alienation of mind, by various terms, all of which seem to be onomatopoetic. These various words seem to be derived from the strange and fierce or mournful cries uttered by the unfortunate victims of this dread malady. In Dt **28** 34 the word "maddened" is מְשֻׁגָּע, *m^eshuggā‘*, part. of שָׁגַע, *shāgha‘* (cf also 1 S **21** 15). With this corresponds the word μαίνομαι, *maínomai,* in the NT. In 1 S **21** 13 (Heb 14) the word is a form of the vb. הָלַל, *hālal,* which is also a derivative from the sound indicated.

In certain cases, though by no means uniformly, madness is ascribed to demon-possession (Lk **8** 26 f). One is struck by the fact that mental derangement occupies a very small place in Scripture.

LOUIS MATTHEWS SWEET

LURK, lûrk, **LURKING-PLACE**, lûrk′ing-plās: "To lurk" means "to lie in wait," usually with intent to do harm (see Ps **17** 12; Prov **1** 11.18).

Lurking-place, a place of hiding, usually for the purpose of murder. See 1 S **23** 23; Ps **10** 8.

LUST (5 Heb and 5 Gr words are so rendered, viz.: [1] נֶפֶשׁ, *nephesh,* [2] שְׁרִירוּת, *sh^erīrūth,* [3] תַּאֲוָה, *ta'ăwāh,* [4] חָמַד, *ḥāmadh,* [5] אָוָה, *'āwāh;* [1] **ἐπιθυμία,** *epithumía,* [2] **ἡδονή,** *hēdonḗ,* [3] **ἐπιποθέω,** *epipothéō,* [4] **ὄρεξις,** *órexis,* [5] **πάθος,** *páthos*): The word both as vb. and as subst. has a good and a bad meaning. It probably meant at first a strong desire, a craving, abnormal appetite, not only for physical but for spiritual satisfaction. It has come, however, to be confined in its use almost entirely to the bad sense. Some old tr^s are not accepted now, the word being used in connections which at present seem almost irreverent. Shades of meaning are learned from an examination of the Heb and Gr originals.

1. The OT Use

The subst. and vbs. are: (1) *Nephesh*, in Ex **15** 9 and Ps **78** 18 tr^d "desire"; "My desire shall be satisfied"; "by asking food according to their desire." A strong but not sensual sense. (2) *Sh^{e}rīrūth*, meaning "obstinacy," evil imagination. Jeh said (Ps **81** 12), "I let them go after the stubbornness of their heart," a wilful self-satisfaction. (3) *Ta'ăwāh*, "a delight," "a longing satisfaction," and so it came to mean "sinful pleasure." Tr^d in Ps **78** 30, "that which they desired," intensely longed for, referring to Jeh's provision of food in the wilderness. Also in Nu **11** 4 concerning "flesh to eat," it is said the multitude "lusted exceedingly," i.e. "craved eagerly." (4) *Ḥāmadh*, the vb. meaning "to delight in," "greatly belove," "covet," probably for evil purposes. The young man is warned against the evil woman (Prov **6** 25): "Lust not after her beauty." Here the bad sense is evident, for in the same connection are used such expressions as "harlot," "adulteress," "evil woman." (5) *'Āwāh*, meaning "greatly to desire," long after, with undue emphasis, with evil spirit though not perhaps with impure thought. In Nu **11** 34 reference is made to a place called *ḳibhrōth ha-ta'ăwāh*, "the graves of lust," where "they buried the people that lusted." Ps **106** 14 also refers to the Israelites who "lusted exceedingly." Tr^d in Dt **12** 15.21 "desire of thy soul"; **12** 20; **14** 26, "thy soul desireth." These Dt passages evidently mean lust only in the good sense.

2. The NT Use

As in the OT, so in the NT we find both meanings of the word. (1) *Epithumia* is used most frequently, and means a longing for the unlawful, hence concupiscence, desire, lust. The following references hold the idea, not only of sinful desire known as "fleshly," "worldly," as opposed to "spiritual," "heavenly," "the will of man" as opposed to "the will of God," but also the sensual desire connected with adultery, fornication; vb. in Mt **5** 28; Mk **4** 19; Jn **8** 44; Rom **1** 24; 1 Cor **10** 6; Gal **5** 16.17.24; Tit **2** 12; 1 Pet **1** 14; 1 Jn **2** 16 f; Jude vs 16.18; Rev **18** 14. (2) *Hēdonē*, delight in sensuality, hence wicked pleasures; tr^d in Jas **4** 1.3 "pleasures": "Your pleasures that war in your members"; "Ye ask amiss, that ye may spend it in your pleasures" (AV "lusts"). (3) *Epipotheō* means to crave intensely the wrong possession; tr^d in Jas **4** 5 "long [AV "lusteth"] unto envying." (4) *Orexis*, used in Rom **1** 27, from context evidently meaning "lust" in the worst sense; tr^d "lust." (5) *Pathos*, meaning "passion," inordinate affection, with the idea in it of suffering; tr^d in 1 Thess **4** 5 "passion of lust."

WILLIAM EDWARD RAFFETY

LUTE, lūt (נֶבֶל, *nebhel;* thus RV; AV **viol** [Isa **5** 12]): *Nebhel* is rendered elsewhere by "psaltery" or "viol." The lute was originally an Arab. instrument. It resembled a guitar, though with a longer and more slender neck. The name is derived from Arab. *al'ood*, with *a* of art. elided; hence Italian *liuto;* Fr. *luth*. See MUSIC.

LUZ (לוּז, *lūz*): The Heb word means "almond tree" or "almond wood" (*OHL*, s.v.). It may also mean "bone," particularly a bone of the spine, and might be applied to a rocky height supposed to resemble a backbone (Lagarde, *Uebersicht.*, 157 f). Winckler explains it by Aram. *laudh*, "asylum," which might be suitably applied to a sanctuary (*Geschichte Israels*). Cheyne (*EB*, s.v.) would derive it by corruption from חֲלֻצָה, *ḥăluçāh*, "strong [city]."

(1) This was the ancient name of Bethel (Gen **28** 19; Jgs **1** 23; cf Gen **35** 6; **48** 3; Josh **16** 2; **18** 13). It has been thought that Josh **16** 2 contradicts this, and that the two places were distinct. Referring to Gen **28** 19, we find that the name Bethel was given to "the place," *ha-māḳōm*, i.e. "the sanctuary," probably "the place" (ver 11, Heb) associated with the sacrifice of Abraham (**12** 8), which lay to the E. of Bethel. The name of the city as distinguished from "the place" was Luz. As the fame of the sanctuary grew, we may suppose, its name overshadowed, and finally superseded, that of the neighboring town. The memory of the ancient nomenclature persisting among the people sufficiently explains the allusions in the passages cited.

(2) A Bethelite, the man who betrayed the city into the hands of the children of Joseph, went into the land of the Hittites, and there founded a city which he called Luz, after the ancient name of his native place (Jgs **1** 26). No satisfactory identification has been suggested.

W. EWING

LYCAONIA, lik-a-ō'ni-a, lī-ka-ō'ni-a (**Λυκαονία**, *Lukaonía* [Acts **14** 6], **Λυκαονιστί**, *Lukaonistí*, [Acts **14** 11, "in the speech of Lycaonia"]; Lycaonia is meant, according to the South Galatian view, by the expression *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, *tēn Galatikēn chōran*, in Acts **18** 23, and the incidents in Acts **16** 1–4 belong to L.): Was a country in the central and southern part of Asia Minor whose boundaries and extent varied at different periods. In the time of Paul, it was bounded on the N. by Galatia proper (but lay in the Rom province Galatia), on the E. by Cappadocia, on the S. by Cilicia Tracheia, and on the W. by Pisidia and Phrygia. The boundary of Phrygia and L. passed between Iconium and Lystra (see ICONIUM). L. consists of a level plain, waterless and treeless, rising at its southern fringe for some distance into the foothills of Taurus, and broken on its eastern side by the volcanic mass of Kara-Dagh and by many smaller hills. Strabo informs us that King Amyntas of Galatia fed many flocks of sheep on the Lycaonian plain. Much of the northern portion of L. has been proved by recent discovery to have belonged to the Rom emperors, who inherited the crown lands of Amyntas.

In Acts **14** 6 L. is summed up as consisting of the cities of Lystra and Derbe and the district (including many villages) lying around them. This description refers to a particular division of L., which alone is mentioned in the Bible. In the time of Paul, L. consisted of two parts, a western and an eastern. The western part was a "region" or subdivision of the Rom province Galatia; the eastern was called Lycaonia Antiochiana, after Antiochus of Commagene under whom it had been placed in 37 AD. This non-Rom portion was traversed by Paul; but nothing is recorded of his journey through it (see DERBE). It included the important city of Laranda; and when L. is described as consisting of the cities of Lystra and Derbe and the surrounding district, the writer is clearly thinking only of the western portion of L., which lay in, and formed a "region" of, the province Galatia. This is the tract of country which is meant in Acts **18** 23, where it is called the "region" of Galatia, and placed side by side with Phrygia, another region of Galatia. The province Galatia was divided into districts technically known as "regions," and Rom L. is called the "region of Galatia" in implied contrast with Antiochian L., which lay outside the Rom province. Of the language of L. (see LYSTRA) nothing survives except some personal and place-names, which are discussed in Kretschmar's *Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*.

LITERATURE.—Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. on Galatians* (Intro); Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition* (inscriptions).

W. M. CALDER

LYCIA, lish′i-a (**Λυκία**, *Lukía*): An ancient country forming the southeast portion of Asia Minor. The surface of Lycia is exceedingly rugged, and its lofty mountains rise almost directly from the sea. Over them several trade routes or passes lead from the coast to the interior. Down the mountain sides rush many small rivers, of which the Xanthus is the chief. The history of L., like that of the neighboring countries, forms a part of the history of Asia Minor. Successively it was in the possession of the Persians, of Alexander the Great, of the Seleucid kings and of the Ptolemies. In 188 BC it fell into the hands of the Romans, who gave it to the island of Rhodes; 20 years later, because of its loyalty to Rome, it became free and independent (1 Macc **15** 23). In 53 AD, during the reign of the emperor Claudius, it became a Rom province, and in 74 AD it was united with Pamphylia to form a double province over which a Rom governor presided.

At different times during the history of L., there were about 100 places which issued coins of their own. Pliny speaks of 70 cities which had existed there, but in his age there were but 36. Of these, Patara, Myra and Phaselis are of interest to Bible students. From the coast city of Patara, according to Acts **21** 1 f, Paul took ship for Phoenicia. It was a place celebrated not only as a trading-center, and a port of entry to the interior, but as the seat of the oracle of Apollo, and the birthplace of St. Nicholas. Myra, though over 2 miles from the coast, possessed a harbor, and was also a trading-center. Here, according to Acts **27** 5–38, Paul found a corn ship from Alexandria. For some time Myra was the capital of the Rom province; to Christendom it is esp. known as the home of St. Nicholas, who was its bishop and the patron saint of the sailors along the coast. Phaselis, on the border of Pamphylia, was also the home of the bishop.

L. was a stopping-place, rather than the scene of the active work of Paul, and therefore it figures little in the earliest history of Christianity. For a long time the people strongly opposed the introduction of a strange religion, and in 312 AD they even petitioned the Rom emperor Maximin against it. A portion of the petition has been discovered at Arykander. E. J. BANKS

LYDDA, lid′a. See LOD.

LYDIA, lid′i-a (**Λυδία**, *Ludía*): An important country in the western part of Asia Minor bounded on the N. by Mysia, on the E. by Phrygia, on the S. by Caria, and on the W. by the Aegean Sea. Its surface is rugged, but along the valleys between its mountain ranges ran some of the most important highways from the coast cities to the distant interior. Of its many rivers the chief are the Cayster, the Lower Hermus, the Cogamos, the Caicus and, during a part of its course, the Maeander.

Lydia was an exceedingly ancient and powerful kingdom whose history is composed chiefly of that of its individual cities. In 546 BC it fell into the hands of the Persians, and in 334 BC it became a part of Alexander's empire. After the death of Alexander its possession was claimed by the kings both of Pergamos and of Seleucia, but in 190 BC it became the undisputed possession of the former (1 Macc **8** 8). With the death of Attalus III, 133 BC, it was transferred by the will of that king to Rome, and L., which then became but a name, formed, along with Caria, Mysia and Phrygia, a part of the Rom province of Asia (see ASIA). Chief among its cities were Smyrna and Ephesus, two of the most important in Asia Minor, and Smyrna is still the largest and wealthiest city of that part of Turkey. At Ephesus, the seat of the goddess Diana, Paul remained longer than elsewhere in Asia, and there his most important missionary work was done (Acts **19**). Hence L. figures prominently in the early history of the church; it became Christianized during the residence of the apostle at Ephesus, or soon afterward (see also LUD).
E. J. BANKS

LYDIA, lid′i-a (**Λυδία**, *Ludía*): The fem. of Lydian, a native of Lydia, a large country on the W. of Asia Minor, and the name of St. Paul's first convert in Europe. This name was a popular one for women (cf Horace *Odes* i.8; iii.9; vi.20), but Ramsay thinks she "was familiarly known in the town by the ethnic that showed her origin" (*HDB*, s.v. "Lydia"; cf *St. Paul the Traveller*, 214). It has always been and is still a common custom in the Orient to refer to one living in a foreign land by employing the adj. which designates the nationality. Renan thinks it means "the Lydian"; Thyatira is a city of Lydia. Lydia was (1) living in Philippi, (2) of the city of Thyatira, (3) a seller of the purple-dyed garments from her native town, (4) and "one that worshipped God." Her occupation shows her to have been a woman of some capital. The phrase which describes her religion (*sebomĕnē tón Theón*) is the usual designation for a proselyte. She was in the habit of frequenting a place of prayer by a riverside, a situation convenient for the necessary ablutions required by the Jewish worship, and there Paul and his companions met her. After she had been listening to St. Paul (Gr impf.), the Lord opened her heart to give heed to his teaching ("To open is the part of God, to pay attention that of the woman," Chrysostom). Her baptism and that of her household followed. To prove her sincerity she besought the missionaries to accept the hospitality of her home. Her house probably became the center for the church in Philippi (Acts **16** 14.15.40). L. is not mentioned in St. Paul's letter to the Philippians, but, if Ramsay be correct, she may have been Euodias or Syntyche (Phil **4** 2). S. F. HUNTER

LYDIAN, lid′i-an. See LYDIA.

LYE, lī. See NITRE.

LYING, lī′ing. See LIE.

LYSANIAS, lī-sā′ni-as (**Λυσανίας**, *Lusanías*): Mentioned in Lk **3** 1 as tetrarch of Abilene in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, and thus fixing the date of the preaching of John the Baptist in the wilderness at about 26 or 28 AD. A Lysanias is mentioned by Jos as having ruled over Chalcis and Abilene, and as having been slain by Mark Antony at the instigation of Cleopatra. As this happened about 36 BC, Luke has been charged with inaccuracy. Inscriptions, however, corroborate the view that the L. of Luke was probably a descendant of the L. mentioned by Jos (cf Schürer, *HJP*, div I, vol II, App. 1, p. 338). C. M. KERR

LYSIAS, lis′i-as (**Λυσίας**, *Lusías*):

(1) "A noble man, and one of the blood royal" whom Antiochus Epiphanes (c 166 BC) left with the government of Southern Syria and the guardianship of his son, while he went in person into Persia to collect the revenues which were not coming in satisfactorily (1 Macc **3** 32; 2 Macc **10** 11). According to Jos (*Ant*, XII, vii, 2), the instructions of Lysias were "to conquer Judaea, enslave its inhabitants, utterly destroy Jerus and abolish the whole nation." L., accordingly, armed against Judas Maccabaeus a large force under Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, Nicanor and Gorgias. Of this force

Judas defeated the two divisions under Nicanor and Gorgias near Emmaus (166 BC), and in the following year L. himself at Bethsura (1 Macc **4**), after which he proceeded to the purification of the temple. In the narration of these campaigns there are considerable differences between the writers of 1 Macc and 2 Macc which scholars have not found easy to explain. Antiochus died at Babylon on his Pers expedition (164 BC), and L. assumed the office of regent during the minority of his son, who was yet a child (1 Macc **6** 17). He collected another army at Antioch, and after the recapture of Bethsura was besieging Jerus when he learned of the approach of Philip to whom Antiochus, on his deathbed, had intrusted the guardianship of the prince (1 Macc **6** 15; 2 Macc **13**). He defeated Philip in 163 BC and was supported at Rome, but in the following year he fell with his ward Antiochus into the hands of Demetrius I (Soter), who put both of them to death (1 Macc **7** 1–23).

(2) See CLAUDIUS LYSIAS (Acts **23** 26).

J. HUTCHISON

LYSIMACHUS, lī-sim′a-kus (**Λυσίμαχος**, *Lusímachos*):

(1) The son of Ptolemy, of Jerus, is named (Ad Est **11** 1) as the interpreter (translator of the Rest of Esther into Gr). See ESTHER, THE REST OF.

(2) Brother of Menelaus, a Gr name said by Jos (*Ant*, XII, v, 1) to have been assumed by Onias, the high priest in the hellenizing days of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the Jewish name Jesus was changed to Jason. When Menelaus was summoned to Antioch (2 Macc **4** 29) on a charge of malversation, he left L. as his deputy in the priesthood at Jerus. L. robbed the temple and caused an insurrection in which he met his death beside the treasury (2 Macc **4** 42). The name of L. does not appear in the narrative of these events given by Jos.

J. HUTCHISON

LYSTRA, lis′tra: The forms **Λύστραν**, *Lústran*, and **Λύστροις**, *Lústrois*, occur. Such variation in the gender of Anatolian city-names is common (see Harnack, *Apostelgeschichte*, 86; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 128). Lystra was visited by Paul 4 t (Acts **14** 6.21; **16** 1; **18** 23—the last according to the "South Galatian" theory), and is mentioned in 2 Tim **3** 10 f as one of the places where Paul suffered persecution. Timothy resided in L. (Acts **16** 1).

1. Character and Site

L. owed its importance, and the attention which Paul paid to it, to the fact that it had been made a Rom *colonia* by Augustus (see ANTIOCH), and was therefore, in the time of Paul, a center of education and enlightenment. Nothing is known of its earlier, and little of its later, history. The site of L. was placed by Leake (1820) at a hill near *Khatyn Serai*, 18 miles S.S.W. from Iconium; this identification was proved correct by an inscription found by Sterrett in 1885. The boundary between Phrygia and Lycaonia passed between Iconium and L. (Acts **14** 6) (see ICONIUM).

The population of L. consisted of the local aristocracy of Rom soldiers who formed the garrison of the *colonia*, of Greeks and Jews (Acts **16** 1.3), and of native Lycaonians (Acts **14** 11).

2. Worship of Paul and Barnabas

After Paul had healed a life-long cripple at L., the native population (the "multitude" of Acts **14** 11) regarded him and Barnabas as pagan gods come down to them in the likeness of men, and called Barnabas "Zeus" and Paul "Hermes." Commentators on this incident usually point out that the same pair of divinities appeared to Baucis and Philemon in Ovid's well-known story, which he locates in the neighboring Phrygia. The accuracy in detail of this part of the narrative in Acts has been strikingly confirmed by recent epigraphic discovery. Two inscriptions found in the neighborhood of L. in 1909 run as follows: (1) "Kakkan and Maramoas and Iman Licinius priests of Zeus"; (2) "Toues Macrinus also called Abascantus and Batasis son of Bretasis having made in accordance with a vow at their own expense [a statue of] Hermes Most Great along with a sun-dial dedicated it to Zeus the sun-god."

Now it is evident from the narrative in Acts that the people who were prepared to worship Paul and Barnabas as gods were not Greeks or Romans, but native Lycaonians. This is conclusively brought out by the use of the phrase "in the speech of Lycaonia" (Acts **14** 11). The language in ordinary use among the educated classes in Central Anatolian cities under the Rom Empire was Gr; in some of those cities, and esp. of course, in Rom colonies, Lat also was understood, and it was used at this period in official documents. But the Anatolian element in the population of those cities continued for a long time to use the native language (e.g. Phrygian was in use at Iconium till the 3d cent. of our era; see ICONIUM). In the story in Acts, a fast distinction is implied, and in fact existed, between the ideas and practices of the Greeks and the Rom colonists and those of the natives. This distinction would naturally maintain itself most vigorously in so conservative an institution as religious ritual and legend. We should therefore expect to find that the association between Zeus and Hermes indicated in Acts belonged to the religious system of the native population, rather than to that of the educated society of the colony. And this is precisely the character of the cult illustrated in our two inscriptions. It is essentially a native cult, under a thin Gr disguise. The names in those inscriptions can only have been the names of natives; the Zeus and Hermes of Acts and of our inscriptions were a graecized version of the Father-god and Son-god of the native Anatolian system. The college of priests which appears in inscription no. 1 (supporting the Bezan variant "priests" for "priest" in Acts **14** 13) was a regular Anatolian institution. The miracle performed by Paul, and his companionship with Barnabas would naturally suggest to the natives who used the "speech of Lycaonia" a pair of gods commonly associated by them in a local cult. The two gods whose names rose to their lips are now known to have been associated by the dedication of a statue of one in a temple, of the other in the neighborhood of L.

LITERATURE.—Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 407 ff. On the new inscriptions, see Calder, *Expos*, 1910, 1 ff, 148 ff; id, *Classical Review*, 1910, 67 ff. Inscriptions of Lystra are published in Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, and in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, 1904 (Cronin).

W. M. CALDER

M

MAACAH, MAACHAH, mā′a-ka (מַעֲכָה, *ma-ʽăkhāh*):

(1) B, **Μοχά,** *Mochá*, A, **Μωχά,** *Mōchá*, daughter of Nahor, borne to him by Reumah (Gen **22** 24).

(2) B, **Μααχά,** *Maachá*, A, **Μααχάθ,** *Maacháth*, the one wife of David who was of royal rank, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, who became the mother of Absalom (2 S **3** 3; 1 Ch **3** 2).

(3) **Μααχά,** *Maachá*, father of Achish, king of Gath (1 K **2** 39). He is probably referred to as "Maoch" in 1 S **27** 2.

(4) The daughter of Absalom, the favorite wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijah (1 K **15** 2; 2 Ch **11** 20, etc). Evidently "daughter" must here be understood as "granddaughter," according to a common oriental usage. Tamar was the only daughter of Absalom. If Tamar married Uriel of Gibeah (2 Ch **13** 2), then Maacah was her daughter. In that case the name **Micaiah** in this passage would be either a copyist's error or a variant of Maacah. She must have been a woman of strong personality. Unfortunately her influence was cast upon the side of idolatry. She maintained her position in the palace, however, till the reign of her grandson Asa. Possibly she acted as regent during his minority. Ultimately she was degraded by him for an act of peculiar infamy (1 K **15** 13; 2 Ch **15** 16).

(5) Concubine of Caleb, son of Hezron (1 Ch **2** 48).

(6) Sister of Huppim and Shuppim the Benjamites, who became the wife of Machir the Manassite, the "father" of Gilead (1 Ch **7** 12.15 f).

(7) Wife of Jeiel, the "father" of Gibeon, an ancestress of King Saul (1 Ch **8** 29; **9** 35).

(8) Father of Hanan, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch **11** 43).

(9) Father of Shephatiah, ruler of the Simeonites under David (1 Ch **27** 16). W. Ewing

MAACAH, mā′a-ka (מַעֲכָה, *maʽăkhāh;* B, **Μωχâ,** *Mōchá*, A, **Μααχά,** *Maachá*): A small Syrian kingdom adjoining that of Geshur on the western border of Bashan, the inhabitants of which are called Maachathites (RV "Maacathites"), whose territory was taken by Jair (Dt **3** 14; Josh **12** 5). The border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites and all Mt. Hermon were given to the half-tribe of Manasseh (Josh **13** 11). The inhabitants of these kingdoms, however, were not driven out by Israel (ver 13), and at a later day the children of Ammon hired mercenaries from Maacah for their encounter with David. The armies met near Medeba when the "Syrians" from Maacah found themselves opposed to Joab. That famous captain completely routed them (2 S **10** 6 ff, LXX "Amalek"). In 1 Ch **19** 6 it is called Aram-maacah, Syria-maachah (AV); and in 1 Ch **2** 23 "Aram" appears instead of "Maacah."

It evidently lay between Geshur on the S. and Hermon on the N., being probably bounded by Jordan on the W., although no certain indication of boundaries is now possible. They would thus be hemmed in by Israel, which accounts for 'Geshur and Maacath dwell in the midst of Israel" (Josh **13** 13). It is possible that Abel-beth-maacah may have been a colony founded by men from Maacah. W. Ewing

MAACATHITES, må-ak′a-thīts (הַמַּעֲכָתִי, *ha-maʽăkhāthī;* B, **ὁ Μαχατεί,** *ho Machateí*, A, **Μαχαθί,** *Machathí*): Mentioned in Scripture are Ahasbai (2 S **23** 34), Jaazaniah (2 K **25** 23), Naham (1 Ch **4** 19) and Jezaniah (Jer **40** 8). See preceding article.

MAADAI, mā-a-dā′ī, mā′a-dī (מַעֲדַי, *maʽădhay*): Son of Bani; one of those who married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 34).

MAADIAH, mā-a-dī′a (מַעַדְיָה, *maʽadhyāh*, "whose ornament is Jah"): A priest who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh **12** 5). The name also occurs in the form "Moadiah" (Neh **12** 17).

MAAI, må-ā′ī, mā′ī (מָעַי, *māʽay*): An Asaphite musician who took part in the ceremony of the dedication of the walls (Neh **12** 36).

MAALEH-ACRABBIM, mā′a-la-a-krab′im, må-al′a-. See Akrabbim.

MAANI, mā′a-nī (**Μααví,** *Maaní*):

(1) AV "Meani" (1 Esd **5** 31), corresponding to "Meunim" in Ezr **2** 50; Neh **7** 52.

(2) RV "Baani," head of a family, many of whom had married foreign wives (1 Esd **9** 34; called "Bani" in Ezr **10** 34).

MAARATH, mā′a-rath (מַעֲרָת, *maʽărāth*): A city in the hill country of Judah, mentioned between Gedor and Beth-anoth (Josh **15** 59). The small village of *Beit Ummar* upon the watershed, a little to the W. of the carriage road to Hebron and about a mile from *Kh. Jedûr* (Gedor), is a probable site. There are many rock tombs to its E. The village mosque is dedicated to *Nebi Matta*, i.e. St. Matthew. See *PEF*, III, 305, Sh XXI.

MAAREH-GEBA, mā′a-re-gē′ba, -gā′ba (מַעֲרֵה גֶּבַע, *maʽărēh gebhaʽ;* B, **Μαρααγάβε,** *Maraagábe*, A, **δυσμῶν τῆς Γαβαά,** *dusmôn tês Gabaá*): The place where the men of Israel lay in ambush, from which they broke forth upon the children of Benjamin (Jgs **20** 33). AV renders "the meadows of Gibeah," RVm "the meadow of Geba [or Gibeah]." LXX A affords a clue to the correct reading. It is not a place-name. The text must be emended to read *mimma-ʽărābh lᵉgebhaʽ*, "to the W. of Geba." Pesh suggests a reading *mimmᵉ-ʽārath gebhaʽ*, "from the cave of Geba." This, however, there is nothing to warrant. W. Ewing

MAASAI, mā′a-sī, må-as′ī (מַעְשַׂי, *maʽsay;* AV **Maasiai**): A priest, son of Abdid (1 Ch **9** 12).

MAASEAS, mā-a-sē′as (**Μαασαῖος,** *Maasaíos;* AV **Maasias**): Grandfather of Baruch (Bar **1** 1); called Mahseiah in Jer **32** 12; **51** 59.

MAASEIAH, mā-a-sē′ya, mā-a-sī′a (מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ, *maʽăsēyāhū*, "Jeh's work"; **Μαασσαιά,** *Maassaiá*, and *Massaías* in LXX): A name common in exilic and late monarchic times (Gray, *HPN*).

(1) A Levite musician named in connection with David's bringing up of the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch **15** 18.20).

(2) A Levite captain who aided Jehoiada at the coronation of Joash (2 Ch **23** 1).

(3) An officer of Uzziah (2 Ch **26** 11).

(4) Ahaz' son, slain by the Ephraimite, Zichri (2 Ch **28** 7).

(5) A governor of Jerus under Josiah (2 Ch **34** 8).

(6) (7) (8) (9) The name of 4 men, 3 of them priests, who had married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 18.21.22.30).

(10) Father of Azariah, one of the builders of the wall (Neh **3** 23).

(11) One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand during the reading of the Law (Neh **8** 4).

(12) One of the expounders of the Law (Neh **8** 7).

(13) One of those who took part in sealing the covenant (Neh **10** 25).

(14) A Judahite inhabitant of Jerus (Neh **11** 5), who in 1 Ch **9** 5 is called Asaiah.

(15) A Benjamite (Neh **11** 7).

(16) (17) Name of two priests (Neh **12** 41 f).

(18) A priest in Zedekiah's reign, father of a certain Zephaniah who interviewed the prophet Jeremiah (Jer **21** 1; **29** 25; **37** 3).

(19) Father of the false prophet Zedekiah (Jer **29** 21).

(20) A keeper of the threshold in the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer **35** 4).

(21) **Baaseiah** (q.v.), a Kohathite name (1 Ch **6** 40), is probably a textual error for Maaseiah.

(22) AV for **Mahseiah,** an ancestor of Baruch (Jer **32** 12). JOHN A. LEES

MAASIAI, må-as'i-ī. See MAASAI.

MAASMAS, må-as'mas, mā'as-mas (**Μαασμάς,** *Maasmás;* Swete reads *Maasmán;* AV **Masman,** 1 Esd **8** 43): Corresponds to "Shemaiah" in Ezr **8** 16.

MAATH, mā'ath (**Μαάθ,** *Maáth*): An ancestor of Jesus in St. Luke's genealogy in the 12th generation before Joseph, the husband of Mary (Lk **3** 26).

MAAZ, mā'az (מַעַץ, *ma'aç*): A descendant of Judah (1 Ch **2** 27).

MAAZIAH, mā-a-zī'a (מַעַזְיָהוּ, *ma'azyāhū*):

(1) The priest to whom fell the lot for the 24th course (1 Ch **24** 18).

(2) One of those who took part in sealing the covenant (Neh **10** 8).

MABDAI, mab'då-ī. See MAMDAI.

MABNABEDAI, mab-nab'ē-dī. See MACHNADEBAI.

MACALON, mak'a-lon (**οἱ ἐκ Μακαλῶν,** *hoi ek Makalōn;* 1 Esd **5** 21): This corresponds to "the men of Michmas" in Ezr **2** 27. The mistake has probably arisen through reading M in Gr uncials for ΛΛ.

MACCABAEUS, mak-a-bē'us (**Μακκαβαῖος,** *Makkabaíos*), **MACCABEES,** mak'a-bēz (**οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι,** *hoi Makkabaíoi*):

- I. PALESTINE UNDER KINGS OF SYRIA
  - 1. Rivalry of Syria and Egypt
  - 2. Palestine Seized by Antiochus the Great
  - 3. Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes
- II. PALESTINE UNDER THE MACCABEES
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- LITERATURE

The name Maccabaeus was first applied to Judas, one of the sons of Mattathias generally called in Eng. the Maccabees, a celebrated family who defended Jewish rights and customs in the 2d cent. BC (1 Macc **2** 1–3). The word has been variously derived (e.g. as the initial letters of *Mī Khāmōkhā, Bā-'ēlīm Yahweh!* "Who is like unto thee among the mighty, O Jeh?"), but it is probably best associated with *maḳḳābhāh,* "hammer," and as applied to Judas may be compared with the *malleus Scotorum* and *malleus haereticorum* of the Middle Ages (see next article). To understand the work of the Maccabees, it is necessary to take note of the relation in which the Jews and Pal stood at the time to the immediately neighboring nations.

1. Rivalry of Syria and Egypt

I. Palestine under Kings of Syria.—On the division of Alexander's empire at his death in the year 323 BC, Pal became a sort of buffer state between Egypt under the Ptolemies on the S., and Syria, under the house of Seleucus, the last survivor of Alexander's generals, on the N. The kings of Syria, as the Seleucid kings are generally called, though their dominion extended practically from the Mediterranean Sea to India, had not all the same name, like the Ptolemies of Egypt, though most of them were called either Seleucus or Antiochus. For a hundred years after the death of Alexander, the struggle went on as to which of the two powers was to govern Pal, until in the year 223 came the northern prince under whom Pal was destined to fall to the Seleucids for good.

2. Palestine Seized by Antiochus the Great

This was Antiochus III, commonly known as Antiochus the Great. He waged two campaigns against Egypt for the possession of Pal, finally gaining the upper hand in the year 198 BC by his victory at Panium, so called from its proximity to a sanctuary of the god Pan, a spot close to the sources of the Jordan and still called Banias. The Jews helped Antiochus to gain the victory and, according to Jos, his rule was accepted by the Jews with good will. It is with him and his successors that the Jews have now to deal. Antiochus, it should be noticed, came in contact with the Romans after their conquest of Macedonia in 197, and was defeated by Scipio Asiaticus at Magnesia in 190. He came under heavy tribute which he found it difficult to pay, and met his end in 187, while plundering a Gr temple in order to secure its contents. His son and successor Seleucus IV was murdered by his prime minister Heliodorus in 176–175 BC, who reaped no benefit from his crime.

3. Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes

The brother of the murdered king succeeded to the throne as Antiochus IV, generally known as Antiochus Epiphanes ("the Illustrious"), a typical eastern ruler of considerable practical ability, but whose early training while a hostage at Rome had made him an adept in dissimulation. Educated in the fashionable Hellenism of the day, he made it his aim during his reign (175–164 BC) to enforce it upon his empire, a policy which brought him into conflict with the Jews. Even before his reign many Jews had yielded to the attraction of Gr thought and custom, and the accession of a ruler like Antiochus Epiphanes greatly increased the drift in that direction, as will be found described in the article dealing with the period between the Old and the New Testaments (see BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS). Pious Jews meanwhile, men faithful to the Jewish tradition, Chăsīdīm (see HASIDAEANS), as they were called, resisted this tendency, and in the end were driven to armed resistance against the severe oppression practised by Antiochus in advancing his Hellenizing views. See ASMONEANS.

1. Mattathias

II. Palestine under the Maccabees.—Mattathias, a priest of the first 24 courses and therefore of the noblest who dwelt at Modin, a city of Judah, was the first to strike a blow. With his own hand he slew a Jew at Modin who was willing to offer the idolatrous sacrifices ordered by the king, and also Apelles, the leader of the king's messengers (1 Macc **2** 15–28). He fled with his sons to the mountains (168 BC), where he organized a successful resistance; but being of advanced age and unfit for the fatigue of active service, he died in 166 BC and was buried "in the sepulchres of his fathers" at Modin (1 Macc **2** 70; Jos, *Ant*, XII, vi, 3). He apparently named as his successor his 3d son, Judas, though it was with real insight that on his deathbed he recommended the four brothers to take Simon as their counsellor (1 Macc **2** 65).

2. Judas

Judas, commonly called Judas Maccabaeus—often called in 2 Macc "Judas the Maccabee"—held strongly the opinions of his father and proved at least a very capable leader in guerilla warfare. He defeated several of the generals of Antiochus—Apollonius at Beth-horon, part of the army of Lysias at Emmaus (166 BC), and Lysias himself at Bethsura the following year. He took possession of Jerus, except the "Tower," where he was subsequently besieged and hard pressed by Lysias and the young king Antiochus Eupator in 163 BC; but quarrels among the Syrian generals secured relief and liberty of religion to the Jews which, however, proved of short duration. The Hellenizing Jews, with Alcimus (q.v.) at their head, secured the favor of the king, who sent Nicanor against Judas. The victory over Nicanor first at Capharsalama and later (161 BC) at Adasa near Beth-horon, in which engagement Nicanor was slain, was the greatest of Judas' successes and practically secured the independence of the Jews. The attempt of Judas to negotiate an alliance with the Romans, who had now serious interests in these regions, caused much dissatisfaction among his followers; and their defection at Elasa (161 BC), during the invasion under Bacchides, which was undertaken before the answer of the Rom Senate arrived, was the cause of the defeat and death of Judas in battle. His body was buried "in the sepulchres of his fathers" at Modin. There is no proof that Judas held the office of high priest like his father Mattathias. (An interesting and not altogether favorable estimate of Judas and of the spiritual import of the revolt will be found in *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, 97–99, by E. R. Bevan, London, 1904.)

3. Jonathan

Jonathan (called Apphus, "the wary"), the youngest of the sons of Mattathias, succeeded Judas, whose defeat and death had left the patriotic party in a deplorable condition from which it was rescued by the skill and ability of Jonathan, aided largely by the rivalries among the competitors for the Syrian throne. It was in reality from these rivalries that resulted the 65 years (129–64 BC) of the completely independent rule of the Hasmonean dynasty (see Asmoneans) that elapsed between the Gr supremacy of the Syrian kings and the Rom supremacy established by Pompey. The first step toward the recovery of the patriots was the permission granted them by Demetrius I to return to Judaea in 158 BC—the year in which Bacchides ended an unsuccessful campaign against Jonathan and in fact accepted the terms of the latter. After his departure, Jonathan "judged the people at Michmash" (1 Macc **9** 73). Jonathan was even authorized to reënter Jerus and to maintain a military force, only the "Tower" the *'Akra*, as it was called in Gr, being held by a Syrian garrison. See further under Asmoneans; Lacedaemonians; Tryphon.

4. Simon

Simon, surnamed Thassi ("the zealous"?) was now the only surviving member of the original Maccabean family, and he readily took up the inheritance. Tryphon murdered the boy-king Antiochus Dionysus and seized the throne of Seleucus, although having no connection with the Seleucid family. Simon accordingly broke entirely with Tryphon after making successful overtures to Demetrius, who granted the fullest immunity from all the dues that had marked the Seleucid supremacy. Even the golden crown, which had to be paid on the investiture of a new high priest, was now remitted. On the 23d of Ijjar (May), 141, the patriots entered even the *'Akra* "with praise and palm branches, and with harps, and with cymbals and with viols, and with hymns, and with songs" (1 Macc **13** 51). Simon was declared in a Jewish assembly to be high priest and chief of the people "for ever, until there should arise a prophet worthy of credence" (1 Macc **14** 41), a limitation that was felt to be necessary on account of the departure of the people from the Divine appointment of the high priests of the old line and one that practically perpetuated the high-priesthood in the family of Simon. Even a new era was started, of which the high-priesthood of Simon was to be year 1, and this was really the foundation of the Hasmonean dynasty (see Asmoneans).

5. John Hyrcanus

John Hyrcanus, one of the sons of Simon, escaped from the plot laid by Ptolemy, and succeeded his father, both as prince and high priest. See Asmoneans. He was succeeded (104 BC) by his son Aristobulus I who took the final step of assuming the title of king.

6. John and Eleazar

Two members of the first generation of the Maccabean family still remain to be mentioned: (1) John, the eldest, surnamed Gaddis (AV "Caddis"), probably meaning "my fortune," was murdered by a marauding tribe, the sons of Jambri (q.v.), near Medeba, on the E. of the Jordan, when engaged upon the convoy of some property of the Maccabees to the friendly country of the Nabataeans (1 Macc **9** 35–42). (2) Eleazar, surnamed Avaran, met his death (161 BC) in the early stage of the Syrian war, shortly before the death of Judas. In the battle of Bethzacharias (163 BC), in which the Jews for the first time met elephants in war, he stabbed from below the elephant on which he supposed the young king was riding. He killed the elephant but he was himself crushed to death by its fall (1 Macc **6** 43–46). For the further history of the Hasmonean dynasty, see Asmoneans; Maccabees, Books of.

Literature.—There is a copious literature on the Maccabees, a family to which history shows few, if any, parallels of such united devotion to a sacred cause. The main authorities are of course the Maccabean Books of the Apocrypha; but special reference may be made to the chapters of Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, dealing with the subject, and to E. R. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, 1904, or to the 2d vol of *House of Seleucus* by the same author, 1902.

J. Hutchison

MACCABEES, mak'a-bēz, BOOKS OF:

I. 1 Maccabees
  1. Name
  2. Canonicity
  3. Contents
  4. Historicity
  5. Author's Standpoint and Aim
  6. Date
  7. Sources
  8. Original Language
  9. Text and Versions
Literature
II. 2 Maccabees
  1. Name
  2. Canonicity
  3. Contents
  4. Sources
  5. Historicity
  6. Teaching of the Book
  7. Author
  8. Date
  9. Original Language
  10. Text and Versions
Literature
III. 3 Maccabees
  1. Name
  2. Canonicity
  3. Contents
  4. Historicity
  5. Aim and Teaching
  6. Authorship and Date
  7. Original Language
  8. Text and Versions
Literature
IV. 4 Maccabees
  1. Name
  2. Canonicity
  3. Contents
  4. Teaching
  5. Authorship and Date
  6. Original Language
  7. Text and Versions
Literature
V. 5 Maccabees
  1. Name
  2. Canonicity
  3. Contents
  4. Historicity
  5. Original Language
  6. Aim and Teaching
  7. Authorship and Date
  8. Text and Versions
Literature

I. 1 Maccabees.—The Heb title has perished with the original Heb text. Rabbinical writers call

1. Name

the Books of Macc סִפְרֵי הַחַשְׁמוֹנִים, *ṣiphᵉrē ha-ḥashmōnīm*, "The Book of the Hasmoneans" (see Asmoneans). Origen gives to Book I (the only one he seemed to know of) the name Σαρβὴθ Σαβαναιέλ, *Sarbēth Sabanaiél*, evidently a Heb or Aram. name of very uncertain meaning, but which Dalman (*Aram. Gram.*, § 6) explains as a corruption of Aram. words = "The

Book of the House of the Hasmoneans" (cf the rabbinical name given above). In the Gr MSS N, AV (Cod. Venetus), the 4 books go under the designation Μακκαβαίων, *Makkabaíōn*, Α Β Γ Δ, βίβλος, *bíblos*, being understood. In the Vulg the 1st and 2d books are alone found, and appear under the name *Machabaeorum liber primus, secundus*. The spelling *Machabaeorum* reproduces probably the pronunciation current in Jerome's day.

The name "Maccabee" belongs strictly only to Judas, who in 2 Macc is usually called "the Maccabee" (ὁ Μακκαβαῖος, *ho Makkabaíos*). But the epithet came to be applied to the whole family and their descendants. The word means probably "extinguisher" (of persecution) (מַכְבִּי, *makhbī*, from *kābhāh*, "to be extinguished"; so Niese; Jos, *Ant*, XII, vi, 1 f; S. J. Curtis, *The Name Maccabee*). The more usual explanation, "hammerer" (מַקָּבִי, *maḳḳābhay*), is untenable, as the noun from which it is derived (מַקֶּבֶת, *maḳḳebheth*) (Jgs **4** 21) denotes a smith's hammer.

2. Canonicity

Since the Vulg includes only the first 2 books of Macc, these are the only books pronounced canonical by the Council of Trent and included in recognized Protestant VSS of the Apoc (see APOCRYPHA). That 1 Macc was used largely in the early Christian church is proved by the numerous references made to it and quotations from it in the writings of Tertullian (d. 220), Clement of Alexandria (d. 220), Hippolytus (d. 235), Origen (d. 254), etc. The last named states that 1 Macc is uncanonical, and it is excluded from the lists of canonical writings given by Athanasius (d. 373), Cyril of Jerus (d. 386), and Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390). Indeed, none of the books of the Macc was recognized as canonical until the Council of Trent (1553) gave this rank to the first 2 books, and Protestants continue in their confessions to exclude the whole of the Apoc from the Bible proper, though Luther maintained that 1 Macc was more worthy of a place in the Canon than many books now included in it.

3. Contents

1 Macc gives first of all a brief view of the reign of Alexander the Great and the partition of his kingdom among his successors. Having thus explained the origin of the Seleucid Dynasty, the author proceeds to give a history of the Jews from the accession of Antiochus IV, king of Syria (175 BC), to the death of Simon (135 BC). The events of these 40 years are simply but graphically related and almost entirely in the order of their occurrence. The contents of 1 Macc and 2 Macc **4–15** are in the main parallel, dealing with the same incidents; but the simple narrative character of 1 Macc, in contrast to the didactic and highly religious as well as supernatural coloring of 2 Macc, can easily be seen in these corresponding parts. The victories due to heroism in 1 Macc are commonly ascribed to miraculous intervention on the part of God in 2 Macc (see 1 Macc **4** 1 f; cf 2 Macc **8** 23 f). 2 Macc is more given to exaggerations. The army of Judas at Bethsura consists of 10,000 according to 1 Macc **4** 29, but of 80,000 according to 2 Macc **11** 2. The following is a brief analysis of 1 Macc:

(1) **1** 1–10: An account of the rise of the Seleucid Dynasty.

(2) **1** 11—**16** 24: History of the Jews from 175 to 135 BC.

(*a*) **1** 11–64: Introductory. Some Jews inclined to adopt Gr customs (religious, etc); Antiochus' aim to conquer Egypt and to suppress the Jewish religion as a source of Jewish disloyalty. Desecration of the Jewish temple: martyrdom of many faithful Jews.

(*b*) **2** 1–70: The revolt of Mattathias.

(*c*) **3** 1—**9** 22: Leadership of Judas Maccabaeus after his father's death. Brilliant victories over the Syrians. Purification of the temple. Death of Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) and accession of Antiochus V (Eupator) (164 BC). Demetrius I became king of Syria, and Alcimus Jewish high priest (162 BC). Treaty between Jews and Romans. Defeat of Jews at Eleasa and death of Judas Maccabaeus (161 BC).

(*d*) **9** 23—**12** 53: Leadership of Jonathan, 5th son of Mattathias, elected to succeed his brother Judas. He becomes high priest. Political independence of Judaea secured.

(*e*) **13** 31—**16** 24: Peaceful and prosperous rule of Simon, brother of Jonathan; accession of his son John Hyrcanus (135 BC).

4. Historicity

That the author of 1 Macc aims at giving a correct narrative, and that on the whole his account is correct, is the opinion of practically all scholars. The simple, straightforward way in which he writes inspires confidence, and there can be no doubt that we have here a first-class authority for the period covered (175–135 BC). It is the earliest Jewish history which dates events in reference to a definite era, this era being that of the Seleucids, 312 BC, the year of the founding of that dynasty. The aid received from God is frequently recognized in the book (**2** 51 ff; **3** 18; **4** 10 f; **9** 46; **16** 3), yet it is mainly through personal valor that the Jews conquer, not, as in 2 Macc (see III, 3 below), through miraculous Divine interpositions. Ordinary, secondary causes are almost the only ones taken into account, so that the record may be relied upon as on the whole trustworthy. Yet the writer shows the defects which belong to his age and environment, or what from the standpoint of literal history must be counted defects, though, as in the case of 2 Macc (cf Ch), a writer may have other aims than to record bare objective facts. In **1** 1–9 the author errs through ignorance of the real facts as regards Alexander's partition of his kingdom; and other misstatements of fact due to the same cause occur in **10** 1 ff (Alexander [Balas], son of Antiochus Epiphanes) and in **13** 31 ff (time of assassination of Antiochus VI by Tryphon). In **6** 37 it is said there were 32 men upon each elephant, perhaps a misreading of the original "2 or 3," although the Indian elephant corps of today carry more.

We know nothing of a Pers village Elymais (**6** 1). The number of Jewish warriors that fought and the number slain are understated, while there are evident exaggerations of the number of soldiers who fought against them and of those of them who were left dead on the field (see **4** 15; **7** 46; **11** 45–51, etc).

But in this book, prayers, speeches and official records abound as they do in Ezra, Nehemiah (see *Century Bible*, "Ezr," "Neh," "Est," 12 ff), and many modern Protestant writers doubt or deny the authenticity of a part of those, though that is not necessarily to question their genuineness as part of the original narrative.

As regards the prayers (**3** 50–54; **4** 30–33) and speeches (**2** 7–13; **2** 50–68; **4** 6–11, etc), there is no valid reason for doubting that they give at least the substance of what was originally said or written, though ancient historians like Thucydides and Livy think it quite right to edit the speeches of their characters, abbreviating, expanding or altering. Besides, it is to be remembered that the art of stenography is a modern one; even Dr. Johnson, in default of verbatim reports, had to a large extent to make the speeches which he ostensibly reported.

There is, however, in the book a large number of official documents, and it is in regard to the authenticity of these that modern criticism has expressed greatest doubt. They are the following:

(1) Letter of the Jews in Gilead to Judas (**5** 10–13).

(2) Treaty of alliance between the Romans and Jews; copy written on brass tablets sent to Judas (**8** 22–32).

(3) Letter from King Alexander Balas to Jonathan (**10** 18–20).

(4) Letter from King Demetrius I to Jonathan (**10** 25–45).

(5) Letter from King Demetrius II to Jonathan (**11** 30–37), together with letter to Lasthenes (**11** 31–37).

(6) Letter from the young prince Antiochus to Jonathan, making the latter high priest (**11** 57).

(7) Letter from Jonathan to the Spartans, asking for an alliance (**12** 5–18).

(8) Earlier letter of the Spartan king Arius to the high priest Onias (**12** 20–23).

(9) Letter from King Demetrius II to Simon (**13** 36–40).

(10) Letter from the Spartans to Simon (**14** 20–24).

(11) A decree of the Jews recognizing the services of Simon and his brothers (**14** 27–45).

(12) Letters from Antiochus VII (Sidetes) to Simon (**15** 2–9).

(13) Message from the Rom consul Lucius to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, asking protection for the Jews (**15** 16–21). A copy was sent to Simon (**15** 24).

Formerly the authenticity of these state documents was accepted without doubt, as they are still by Romanist commentators (Welte, Scholz, etc). At most they are but translations of translations, for the originals would be written in Gr and Lat, from which the author would translate into Heb. The Gr of our book is a tr from the Heb (see II, 8 below).

Rawlinson (*Speaker's Apoc*, II, 329) says these documents "have a general air of authenticity." Most modern scholars reject the letters purporting to emanate from the Romans (nos. 2 and 13 above) and from the Spartans (nos. 8, 10 above), together with Jonathan's message to the latter (no. 7, above), on the ground that they contain some historical inaccuracies and imply others. How could one consul issue official mandates in the name of the Rom republic (see no. 13, above)? In no. 8 above, it is the king of the Spartans who writes on behalf of his people to Onias the high priest; but it is the *ephoroi* or rulers who write for the Spartans to Simon. Why the difference? Moreover, in **12** 21 the Spartans and Jews are said to be kinsmen (lit. brothers), both alike being descendants of Abraham; so also **14** 20. This is admittedly contrary to fact. For a careful examination of these official documents and their objective value, see Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen des AT*, 27–30. Though, however, these documents and some others can be proved incorrect as they stand, they do seem to imply actual negotiations of the kind described; i.e. the Jews must have had communications with the Romans and Spartans, the Jews of Gilead must have sent a missive to Judas (no. 1), Alexander Balas did no doubt write to Jonathan, etc, though the author of 1 Macc puts the matter in his own way, coloring it by his own patriotic and religious prejudices.

5. Author's Standpoint and Aim

Though the name of the author is unknown, the book itself supplies conclusive evidence that he belonged to the Sadducee party, the party favored by the Hasmoneans. The aim of the writer is evidently historical and patriotic, yet his attitude toward religious questions is clearly indicated, both directly and indirectly.

(1) Nowhere in the book is the Divine Being mentioned under any name except Heaven (**3** 18 f. 50.60; **4** 10.55; **12** 15, etc), a designation common in rabbinical Heb (Talm, etc). As early as 300 BC the sacred name "Yahwe" was discarded in favor of "Adonai" (Lord) for superstitious reasons. But in 1 Macc no strictly Divine name meets us at all. This would seem to suggest the idea of a certain aloofness of God, such as characterized the theology of the Sadducee party. Contrast with this the mystic closeness of God realized and expressed by the psalmists and prophets of the OT.

(2) The author is a religious patriot, believing that his people have been Divinely chosen and that the cause of Israel is the cause of God.

(3) He is also a strict legalist, believing it the duty of every Jew to keep the Law and to preserve its institutions (**1** 11.15.43.49.54.60.62 f; **2** 20 ff. 27.42.48.50; **3** 21, etc), and deprecating attempts to compel Jews to desecrate the Sabbath and feast days (**1** 45), to eat unclean food (**1** 63) and to sacrifice to idols (**1** 43). Yet the comparatively lax attitude toward the Sabbath implied in **2** 41 ff, involving the principle of Christ's words, "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath" (Mk **2** 27), agrees with the Sadducee position against that of the Pharisees.

(4) The book teaches that the age of inspiration is past, and that the sacred books already written are the only source of comfort in sorrow and of encouragement under difficulties (**12** 9).

(5) The legitimacy of the high-priesthood of Simon is not once questioned, though it is condemned by both the Deuteronomic law (D), which restricts the priesthood to the tribe of Levi, and by the priestly law (P), which requires in addition that a priest must be of the family of Aaron. This laxity agrees well with the general tenets of the Sadducees.

(6) The book contains no trace of the Messianic hope, though it was entertained at the time in other circles (the Pharisees; see MESSIAH, II, 2; PROPHECY); **2** 57 is no exception, for it implies no more than a belief that there would be a restoration of the Davidic Dynasty. Perhaps it is implied that that expectation was realized in the Hasmoneans.

(7) There is no reference in the book to the doctrine of a resurrection from the dead or to that of the immortality of the soul, though we know that both these beliefs were commonly held by Jews of the time (see Dnl **12** 3; En **1** 9; **22** 11–14; **9** 1. 5 ff; 2 Macc **7** 9.11.14.29). We know that the Pharisee party believed in a resurrection (see Acts **23** 6). The Maccabean heroes fought their battles and faced death without fear, not because, like Moslems, they looked to the rewards of another life, but because they believed in the rightness of their cause and coveted the good name won by their fathers by acts of similar courage and devotion.

This outline of the doctrines taught or implied in the book makes it extremely likely that the author was a member of the Sadducee party.

6. Date

1 Macc must have been written before the Rom conquest under Pompey, since the writer speaks of the Romans as allies and even friends (**8** 1.12; **12** 1; **14** 40); i.e. the composition of the book must have been completed (unless we except chs **14–16**; see below) before 63 BC, when Pompey conquered Jerus, and Judaea became a Rom province. We thus get 63 BC as a *terminus ad quem.* Moreover, the historical narrative is brought down to the death of Simon (**16** 16), i.e. to 135 BC. We have thus an undoubted *terminus a quo* in 135 BC. The book belongs for certain to the period between 135 and 63 BC. But **16** 18–24 implies that John Hyrcanus (d. 105 BC) had for some time acted as successor to Simon, and Reuss, Ewald, Fritzsche, Grimm, Schürer, Kautzsch, etc, are probably right in concluding from **16** 23 f that John was dead when the book was completed, for we have in this verse the usual formula recording the close of a royal career (see 1 K **11** 41; 2 K **10** 34, etc), and the writer makes it sufficiently understood that all his acts were already "entered in the public annals of the kingdom" (Ewald, *History of Israel*, V, 463, n.), so that repetition was unnecessary. But Bertheau, Keil, Wellhausen and Torrey draw the contrary conclusion, arguing that John had but begun his rule, so that at the time of writing there was practically nothing to record of the doings subsequent to 135, when John succeeded Simon (see *EB*, III, 2860 [Toy]). In **13** 30 we read that the monument erected in 143 BC by Simon in memory of his father and brothers was standing at the time when this book was written, words implying the lapse of say 30 years at least. This gives a *terminus a quo* of 113 BC. Moreover, the panegyric on Simon (d. 135 BC) and his peaceful rule in **14** 4–15 leaves the impression that he had been long in his grave. We cannot be far wrong in assigning a date for the book in the early part of the last cent. BC, say 80 BC.

Destinon (*Die Quellen des Flavius Jos*, I, 1882, 80 ff), followed by Wellhausen (*IJG*, 1894, 222 f), maintained that Jos (d. c 95), who followed 1 Macc up to the end of ch **13**, could not have seen chs **14–16** (or from **14** 16?), or he would not have given so meager an account of the high-priesthood of Simon (see *Ant*, XIII, vi, 7), which the author of 1 Macc describes so fully in those chapters. But Jos must have used these chapters or he could not have written of Simon even as fully as he does.

7. Sources

If, as Torrey (*EB*, III, 2862) holds, we have in 1 Macc "the account of one who had witnessed the whole Maccabean struggle from its beginning," the book having been completed soon after the middle of the 2d cent. BC, it may then be assumed that the writer depended upon no other sources than his own. But even in this case one is compelled, contrary to Torrey (l.c.), to assume that written sources of his own were used, or the descriptions would not have been so full and the dating so exact. If, however, we follow the evidence and bring down the date of the book to about 80 BC (see I, 6), it must be supposed that the author had access to written sources. It may legitimately be inferred from **9** 22 and **16** 23 and from the habit of earlier times (see *Century Bible*, "Ezr," etc, **11** ff) that official records were kept in the archives of the temple, or elsewhere. These might have contained the state documents referred to in I, 4, some or all, and reports of speeches and prayers, etc. It must be admitted that, unlike the compilers of the historical books of the OT (S, K, Ch, etc), the author of 1 Macc does not definitely name his written sources. The writer might well be supposed to have kept a kind of diary of his own in which the events of his own early life were recorded. Oral tradition, much more retentive of songs, speeches and the like in ancient than in modern times, must have been a very important source.

8. Original Language

We have the testimony of Origen (see I, 1) and Jerome (*Prolog. Galeatus*) that the book existed in Heb in their day. But it is doubtful whether the words of Origen imply a Heb or an Aram. original, and though Jerome does speak of the book as Heb (*hebraicus*), it has to be remembered that in later times the Gr adj. denoting Heb (*ἑβραϊστί, hebraïstí*) and perhaps the corresponding Lat one (*hebraicus*) denoted often Palestinian Aram. (see Jgs **5** 2; **19** 13.17; and Kautzsch, *Grammatik des bib. Aram.*, 19).

Hebraisms (or Aramaisms?) abound throughout the book. In the following examples Hebraisms are literally rendered in Gr, though in the latter language they are unidiomatic and often unintelligible: "two years of days" = two full years (**1** 29, etc); "month and month" = every month (**1** 58); "a man [or each one] his neighbor" = each . . . . the other (**2** 40; **3** 43); "sons of the fortress" = occupants of the fortress (**4** 2); "against our face" = before us (**4** 10); "men of power" = warriors (**5** 32); "of them" = some of them (**6** 2; cf **7** 33, "of the priests" = some of the priests); "the right hand wing" = the southern wing (**9** 1); "yesterday and the third day" = hitherto (**9** 44). The above are strictly Hebraisms and not for the most part Aramaisms. The implied use of the "*waw*-consecutive" in **3** 1.41; **8** 1; **9** 1, and often, points also to a Heb, not to an Aram. origin. "Heaven" as a substitute for "God," so common in this book (see I, 5), is perhaps as much an Aramaism as a Hebraism (see Tg Jerus Nu **25** 19). Many of the proper names in the book are obviously but transliterations from the Heb; thus Φυλιστιείν, *Phulistiein* (**3** 24); cf Sir **46** 18; **47** 7; see the names in **11** 34; and Schürer, *GJV*⁴, I, 233.

9. Text and Versions

The original Heb text of 1 Macc (see I, 8) must have been lost at a very early time, since we have no evidence of its use by any early writer. J. D. Michaelis held that Jos used it, but this idea has been abandoned in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. The Heb text of the first half of 1 Macc, edited by A. Schweizer and taken by him to be a part of the original text, is in reality a tr from the Lat made in the 11th cent. of our era (so Nöldeke, etc).

(1) *Greek.*—The Gr text from which the other VSS are nearly all made is given in all edd of the LXX. It occurs in the uncials א (Fritzsche, X), A (Fritzsche, III), and V (8th or 9th cent.), not in B; and in a large number of cursives. Swete (*OT in Gr*) gives the text of A with the variations of א and V. Though the Gr text has so many Hebraisms, it is an exceedingly good rendering, full of spirit and on the whole more idiomatic than the rest of the LXX.

(2) *Latin.*—There are two Lat recensions of the book: (*a*) that found in the Vulg, which agrees almost entirely with the Old Lat VS. It is in the main a literal rendering of the Gr. (*b*) Sabatier (*Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, II) published in 1743 a Lat VS of chs **1–13** found in but one MS (Sangermanensis). Though it is evidently made from the Gr it differs at many points from the Vulg. It is probably older than the Old Lat and therefore than the Vulg.

(3) *Syriac.*—There are also two varying texts in this language. (*a*) The best known is that printed in the Paris Polyglot (vol IX), copied with some changes into the London Polyglot (vol IV; for readings see vol V). Lagarde (*Lib. Vet. Test. Apoc. Syr.*, 1861) has edited this VS, correcting and appending readings. (*b*) A text differing in many respects from (*a*) is given by Ceriani in his Cod. Ambros. of the Pesh (1876–83), though this also is made from the Gr. For a careful collection of both the above Syr texts by G. Schmidt, see *ZATW*, 1897, 1–47, 233–62.

LITERATURE.—See literature cited in the foregoing material. For texts and comms. on the Apoc, see APOCRYPHA. The following comms. deserve special mention: Grimm, *Kurz. exeg. Handbuch*, etc, to which the comms. by Keil (1 and 2 Macc) and Bissel (Lange) owe very much; Kautzsch, *Die Apoc des AT*; W. Fairweather and J. S. Black, *Cambridge Bible*, "1 Macc," and Oesterley in the Oxford Apoc edited by R. H. Charles (1913). Of the dict. arts. those in *EB* (Torrey) and *HDB* (Fairweather) are excellent. See also E. Montet, *Essai sur les origines des saducéens et des pharisiens*, 1885; Wibrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der mak. Erhebung*, 1875, 69–76; B. Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, 1900. For a very full bibliography see Schürer, *GJV*⁴, III, 198 ff, and his art. "Apocrypha" in *RE*³, and in *Sch-Herz*.

1. Name

II. 2 Maccabees.—See I, above. The earliest extant mention of the book as 2 Macc is in Euseb., *Praep. Evang.*, VIII, 9. Jerome also (*Prol. Galeatus*) calls it by this name.

2. Canonicity

In the early church 2 Macc was much less valued and therefore less read than 1 Macc. Augustine was the only church Father to claim for it canonical rank and even he, in a controversy with the Donatists who quoted 2 Macc, replied that this book had never been received into the Canon. Since they formed an integral part of the Vulg, 1 and 2 Macc were both recognized by the Council of Trent as belonging to the Romanist Canon.

3. Contents

(1) **1**—**2** 18: Two letters from the Jews of Jerus to their brethren in Egypt, urging them to keep the Feast of Dedication and in a general way to observe the Law given them by God through Moses. Both letters appear designed to win for the Jerus temple the love and devotion which the Jews of Egypt were in danger of lavishing upon the Leontopolis temple in Egypt. These letters have no connection with the rest of the book or with each other, and both are undoubted forgeries. There can be no doubt that 2 Macc was first of all composed, and that subsequently either the author or a later hand prefixed these letters on account of their affinity in thought to the book as it first existed. See further on these letters II, 4 and 9.

(2) **2** 19–32: Introduction to what follows. The author or epitomizer claims that his history (ch **3** to end of the book) is an epitome in one book of a larger work in 5 books by Jason of Cyrene. But see II, 4, below.

(3) **3** 1—**15** 39 (end of book): History of the rise and progress of the Maccabean wars from 176 BC, to the closing year of the reign of Seleucus IV Philopator, to the defeat and death of Nicanor in 161 BC, a period of 15 years. The record in 2 Macc begins one year earlier than that of 1 Macc, but as the latter reaches down to

135 BC (and probably below 105 BC; see I, 5), 1 Macc covers a period of at least 40 years, while 2 Macc gives the history of but 15 years (176–161 BC). The history of this period is thus treated: (*a*) **3** 1—**4** 6: Traitorous conduct of the Benjamite Simon in regard to the temple treasures and the high priest; futile attempt of Heliodorus, prime minister of Seleucus IV, to rob the temple (see I, 3, [11] above); (*b*) **4** 7—**7** 42 ‖ 1 Macc **1** 10–64, with significant variations and additions. Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 BC); the Hellenizing of some Jews; persecution of the faithful; martyrdom of Eleazar and the 7 brethren and their mother (this last not in 1 Macc); (*c*) chs **8–15** (end) ‖ 1 Macc **3–7**, with significant divergences in details. Rise and development of the Maccabean revolt (see I, 3, above). In the closing verses (**15** 38 ff) the writer begs that his composition may be received with consideration.

The record of events in 2 Macc ends with the brilliant victory of Judas over Nicanor, followed by the death of the latter; but it is strange that the history of the main hero of the book should be dropped in the middle. Perhaps this abrupt ending is due to the writer's aim to commend to the Jews of Egypt the two new festivals, both connected with the Jerus temple: (*a*) *Ḥanukkah* (Festival of Dedication) (**1** 9.18; **2** 16; **10** 8); (*b*) Nicanor Day (**15** 36), to commemorate the defeat and death of Nicanor. To end the book with the account of the institution of the latter gives it greater prominence.

In its present form 2 Macc is based ostensibly on two kinds of written sources.

4. Sources

(1) In **2** 19–32 the writer of **3** 1 to the end, which constitutes the book proper, says that his own work is but an epitome, clearly, artistically and attractively set out, of a larger history by one Jason of Cyrene. Most commentators understand this statement literally, and endeavor to distinguish between the parts due to Jason and those due to the epitomizer. Some think they see endings of the 5 books reflected in the summaries at **3** 40; **7** 42; **10** 9; **13** 26; **15** 37. But W. H. Kosters gives cogent reasons for concluding that the reference to Jason is but a literary device to secure for his own composition the respect accorded in ancient, as in a lesser degree in modern, times to tradition. The so-called "epitomizer" is in that case alone responsible for the history he gives. The present writer has no hesitation in accepting these conclusions. We read nowhere else of a historian called "Jason," or of such a large history as his must have been if it extended to 5 books dealing with the events of 15 years, though such a man and so great a work could hardly have escaped notice. Hitzig (*Gesch. des Volkes Israels*, II, 415) held that Jason or his supposed epitomizer made use of 1 Macc, altering, adding and subtracting to suit his purpose. But the different order of the events and the contradictions in statements of facts in the 2 books, as well as the omission from 2 Macc of important items found in 1 Macc, make Hitzig's supposition quite untenable. A careful examination of 2 Macc has led Grimm, Schürer, Zöckler, Wibrich, Cornill, Torrey and others to the conclusion that the author depended wholly upon oral tradition. This gives the best clue to the anachronisms, inconsistencies and loose phrasing which characterize the book. According to 1 Macc **4** 26–33, the first campaign of Lysias into Judaea took place in 165 BC, the year before the death of Antiochus IV; but 2 Macc **11** tells us that it occurred in 163 BC, i.e. subsequent to the death of Antiochus IV. Moreover, in the latter passage this 1st expedition of Lysias is connected with the grant of freedom to the Jews, which is really an incident of the 2d expedition, and in **13** 1–24 is rightly mentioned in the account of the 2d expedition. The writer of 2 Macc, relying upon memory, evidently mixes up the stories of two different expeditions. Similarly the invasions of neighboring tribes under Judas, which are represented in 1 Macc **5** 1–68 as taking place in quick succession, belong, according to 2 Macc **8** 30; **10** 15–38; **12** 2–45, to separate dates and different sets of circumstances. The statements in 2 Macc are obscure and confused, those in 1 Macc **5** clear and straightforward. Though in 2 Macc **10** 37 we read of the death of Timotheus, yet in **12** 2 ff he appears as a leader in other campaigns. There again the writer's memory plays him false as he recalls various accounts of the same events. It was Mattathias who gathered together the Jews and organized them for resistance against Syria, if we follow 1 Macc **2** 1–70; but 2 Macc **8** 1–7 ascribes this rôle to his son Judas. The purification of the temple took place 3 years subsequent to its profanation, according to 1 Macc **1** 54; **4** 52, but only 2 years, according to 2 Macc **10** 3.

(2) The two letters sent from Palestinian to Egyp Jews (**1** 1—**2** 18) form no integral part of the original 2 Macc. They are clearly forgeries, and abound in inaccuracies and inconsistencies. The second letter, much the longer, gives an account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which is irreconcilable with that in **9** 1–28 and also with that in 1 Macc **6** 1–16. Nehemiah is said in **1** 18 to have rebuilt the temple and altar, a work accomplished by Zerubbabel nearly a cent. earlier (Ezr **3** 3; **6** 15). Nehemiah's work was to repair the gates and walls (Neh **3** 1–32; **6** 1; **7** 1; Sir **49** 13). The writer of this letter says (2 Macc **2** 3–5) that at the time of the exile, Jeremiah concealed in a cave on Mt. Pisgah the tabernacle, the ark of the covenant and the altar of incense, a statement which no one accepts as correct or even plausible. That the author of the rest of the book is not the composer of the letters is proved by the difference of style and the contradictions in subject-matter. But that he himself prefixed them is made probable by the connecting particle in the Gr (δέ), though some (Bertholdt, Grimm, Paulus, Kosters) think rather plausibly that the letters were added by a later hand, the connection in the Gr being also introduced by him and not by the author of the rest of the book. It has been maintained that we have but one letter in **1** 1—**2** 18, and on the other hand that there are three. But the division into two is quite natural and is almost universally accepted.

5. Historicity

2 Macc belongs to the class of lit. called by the Germans *Tendenz-Schriften*, i.e. writings originating in the desire to teach some doctrine or to correct some supposed error. 1 Macc gives us a history of the Maccabean wars as such, taking so little notice of the part played by God that the Divine Being is not so much as mentioned, except under the impersonal form Heaven (cf "Heaven helps those who help themselves"). Nor has 1 Macc a word to say about a life beyond the grave. In short, 1 Macc is written from the standpoint of the Sadducees, to which party the reigning dynasty (the Hasmonean) belonged. The writer of 2 Macc is evidently a Pharisee and his aim is not historical but doctrinal; i.e. the book is a historical romance with a purpose, that purpose being to make prominent the outstanding tenets of the Pharisees (see II, 6). Two extreme opinions have been defended as to the historical value of 2 Macc: (1) That 2 Macc is a strictly historical work, is more trustworthy than 1 Macc and is to be followed when the two books differ; so the bulk of Roman Catholics and also Niese and Schlatter. The supernaturalism of the book is to Romanists a recommendation. (2) That 2 Macc has virtually no historical value, since it was written for other than historical ends; so Wibrich, Kosters and Kamphausen. But the bulk of Protestant critics of recent times occupy a position midway between these two opposite opinions, viz. that 1 Macc is much more accurate than 2 Macc and is to be preferred when the 2 books of Macc differ or contradict each other; so Grimm,

Reuss, Schürer, Kamphausen. On the other hand, when 2 Macc contains historical matter absent from 1 Macc it is to be accepted as correct unless opposed by intrinsic improbability or direct contrary evidence. In chs **3**–**5** we have details concerning the Maccabean revolt not found in 1 Macc, and in treatment of episodes or incidents with which 1 Macc deals it is often fuller and more specific, as in **10** 14–23; **12** 7–9 (cf 1 Macc **5** 1–5; **12** 17–25); **10** 24–38 (cf 1 Macc **5** 29–44); **12** 32–45 (cf 1 Macc **5** 65.68.63 f). On the other hand, the account of the celestial appearances in **3** 24 ff; **11** 8, etc, and the description in **6** 18 ff of the martyrdom of Eleazar the scribe and of the 7 brethren and their mother, carry on their face the marks of their legendary and unhistorical character. The edifying remarks scattered throughout the book, many of them pragmatic and reminding one of the Book of Dnl, confirm the impression otherwise suggested, that the author's aim was didactic and not historical. The book as it stands is a real authority for the ideas prevalent in the writer's circle at the time of its composition.

6. Teaching of the Book

In general it may be said that the doctrines taught in 2 Macc are those of the Pharisees of the day. Several scholars consider 2 Macc the answer of Pharisaism to the Sadduceeism of 1 Macc (see Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Saducäer;* cf Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, 219 ff). But there is evidence enough (see II, 4) that the author of 2 Macc had not seen 1 Macc. Yet it is equally clear that 2 Macc does give prominence to the distinctive tenets of Pharisaism, and it was probably written on that account.

(1) The strictest observance of the law is enforced. The violation of the sanctity of the Sabbath countenanced under special circumstances in 1 Macc (**2** 39–48) is absolutely forbidden in 2 Macc (**6** 6.11; **8** 26 f; **12** 38); cf the words of the Pharisees to Petronius when the latter proposed to have a statue of the emperor Caius erected in the temple: "We will die rather than transgress the law" (Jos, *Ant*, XVIII, viii, 3).

(2) The Pharisaic party took but little interest in political affairs, and supported the Hasmoneans only because and in so far as they fought for the right to observe their religious rites. When, however, they compromised with Hellenism, the Pharisees turned against them and their allies the Sadducees. In this book we miss the unstinted praise accorded the Hasmonean leaders in 1 Macc, and it is silent as to the genealogy of the Hasmoneans, the death of Judas Maccabaeus and the family grave at Modin.

(3) The book reveals thus early the antagonism between the Pharisees and the priestly party, which is so evident in the Gospels. The high-priesthood had through political circumstances become the property of the Maccabees, though they were not of the Aaronic family, or even of the tribe of Levi. The priestly circle became the aristocratic, broad-church party, willing to come to terms with Gr thought and life. Hence in 2 Macc, Jason and Menelaus are fit representatives of the priesthood. In the list of martyrs (chs **6** f) no priest appears, but on the other hand, Eleazar, one of the principal scribes—scribes and Pharisees were then as in NT times virtually one party—suffered for his loyalty to the national religion, "leaving his death for an example" (**6** 18–31).

(4) The temple occupies a high and honorable place in 2 Macc, as in the mind of the orthodox party (see **2** 19; **3** 2; **5** 15; **9** 16; **13** 23; **14** 31). Great stress is laid on the importance of the feasts (**6** 6; **10** 8, etc), of sacrifice (**10** 3), of circumcision (**6** 10), of the laws of diet (**6** 18; **11** 31). The author seems in particular anxious to recommend to his readers (Egyp Jews) the observance of the two new festivals instituted to commemorate the purification of the temple after its pollution by the Syrians and also the victory over Nicanor. According to this book the *Ḥanukkah* feast was established immediately *after* the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (**10** 6 ff), not before this event (1 Macc **4** 56), probably to give it additional importance. The book closes with the defeat and death of Nicanor and the founding of the Nicanor Day festival, without mentioning the death of Judas, as though the writer's aim was to give prominence to the two new festivals.

(5) This book shows a Jewish particularism which agrees well with Pharisaism and Scribism, but is opposed to the broader sentiments of the ruling party: Israel is God's people (**1** 26); His portion (**14** 15); He often intervenes miraculously on behalf of Israel and the religion of Israel (**3** 24–30; **10** 29 f; **11** 6–8); even the calamities of the nation are proofs of Divine love because designed for the nation's good (**5** 18); but the sufferings brought upon the heathen are penal and show the Divine displeasure (**4** 38; **5** 9; **13** 8; **15** 32 f). The writer is deadly opposed to the introduction of Gr customs and in particular to the establishment of a gymnasium in Jerus (**4** 7 f; **11** 24). The Book of Jub, also written by a zealous Pharisee, takes up the same hostile attitude toward foreign customs (see **3** 31; **7** 20, and the note by R. H. Charles [*Book of Jub*] on the former).

(6) This book gives prominence to the doctrine of a resurrection and of a future life about which 1 Macc, a document of the Sadducee party, is silent (cf I, 5 above; see **7** 9.11.14.36; **12** 43–45; **14** 46 [cf IV, 4, below]). The Sadducees, to which the Hasmoneans belonged, denied a resurrection, limiting their conception of religion to the present life, in this agreeing with the teaching of the Heb Scriptures down to the time of the exile (536 BC). But the Pharisees and scribes, though professing to rest their beliefs on the "Law of Moses," departed from that law in this matter (see Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses*). The resurrection is to be a bodily one (**7** 11.22 f; **14** 46) and to a life that is unending (**7** 9.36). The following related beliefs supported in this book and forming part of the creed of orthodox Pharisaism are adduced by Romanists on behalf of their own teaching: (*a*) the efficacy of prayers for the dead (**12** 44); (*b*) the power exercised by the intercession of saints (**15** 12–14); Philo (*De execrat.*, 9) and Jos (*Ant*, I, xi, 3) held the same doctrine; (*c*) the atoning character of the martyrdom of the righteous (**7** 36.38; cf 4 Macc **17** 22; see IV, 4, [3], below).

(7) The angelology of 2 Macc forms a prominent feature of the book (see **3** 24–30; **10** 29 f; **11** 6–8). The Sadducees accepted the authority of the Pent, though they rejected tradition. They were therefore inconsistent in allowing no place for angelic beings in their creed, though consistent in rejecting the doctrine of a future life.

(8) The comparative silence of this book on the question of the Messianic hope is strikingly in contrast with the prominence of the subject in Ps Sol (**17** 23 ff, etc; see Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, lii ff) and other contemporary writings emanating from the Pharisees. But why should the author of 2 Macc be expected to give equal prominence to all his opinions in one tract? Some such hope as that connected with the Messiah does, however, seem to be implied in **1** 27; **2** 18; **7** 33; **14** 15.

The present writer holds that one man is responsible for 2 Macc in its present form and that the only written source was the 2 letters with which the book opens (**1** 1—**2** 18) (see II, 4, above).

7. The Author

Even if we have to assume an original in 5 books of which 2 Macc, as we have it, is but an epitome, it is not possible to distinguish between the sentiments of "Jason" and his epitomizer. The author—assuming but one—was evidently an Egyp, probably an Alexandrian Jew, who nevertheless retained his loyalty to the Jerus temple and its constitutions and desired to prevent the alienation of his fellow-countrymen in the same country from the home sanctuary and its feasts, esp. the two new feasts, *Ḥanukkah* (Dedication) and Nicanor Day. The Jews of Egypt had a temple of their own, in opposition to the teaching of the Jewish law (D and P; cf Dt **12** 2–18 and Lev **17** 1–9; **19** 30), and it was perhaps the growing influence of this temple that prompted the author to compose this book which sets so much honor upon the Jerus temple and its observances. The character of the Gr (see II, 9, below), the ignorance of Pal and also the deep interest in Egypt which this book reveals—these and other considerations point to the conclusion that the author lived and wrote in Egypt. There is no evidence that Judas Maccabaeus (Leon Allatius), or the author of Sir (Hasse) or Philo the Jew (Honorius d'Autun) or Jos wrote the book, though it has been ascribed by different scholars to each of the persons named.

8. Date

The book must have been written sufficiently long after 161 BC, the year with which the record closes, to allow mythical tales of the martyrdoms in chs **6** f and the history of the supernatural appearances in **3** 24–30, etc, to arise. If we allow 30 years, or the lifetime of a generation, we come down to say 130 BC as a *terminus a quo*. There is probably in **15** 36 a reference to the Book of Est (so Cornill, Kautzsch and Wellhausen, *IJG*⁴, 302 f) which would bring the *terminus a quo* down to about 100 BC. That 2 Macc was written subsequently to 1 Macc (i.e. after 80 BC) is made certain by the fact that the Jews now pay tribute to Rome (**8** 10.36). Since Philo, who died about 40 AD, refers to **4** 8—**7** 42 (*Quod omnis probus liber*, *Works*, ed Mangey, II, 459), the book must have been composed before 40 AD. This is confirmed by the certainty that it was written before the destruction of Jerus and the temple (70 AD), for the city still exists and the temple services are in full operation (**3** 6 ff, etc). He **11** 35 f is no doubt an echo of **6** 18—**7** 42 and shows that the unknown author of He had 2 Macc before him. The teaching of the book represents the views of the Pharisees about the middle of the last cent. BC. A date about 40 BC would agree with all the evidence.

9. Original Language

That the original language was Gr is made exceedingly likely by the easy flow of the style and the almost entire absence of Hebraisms (yet see **8** 15; **9** 5; **14** 24). No scholar of any standing has pleaded for a Heb original of the present book. Bertholdt, however, argued that the two letters (**1** 1—**2** 18) were composed in Heb (or Aram.). Ewald held that the 2d letter (**1** 11—**2** 18) is from the Heb, and Schlünkes that this applies to the 1st only. But the evidence given by these scholars is unconvincing, though the 1st letter is certainly more Hebraic in style than the 2d, the contrary of what Ewald said.

10. Text and Versions

As to the texts and versions, see I, 9, above, where the statements apply here with but slight qualifications. But the book is lacking in ℵ as well as in A. In addition to the Old Lat text adopted for the Vulg, we have another Lat text in Cod. Ambrosianus, published in 1824 by Peyron; but this book is unrepresented in Sabatier's collection of Old Lat texts.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the lit. mentioned under APOCRYPHA and I above, and in the course of the present art., note the following items: Comm. of Moffatt (*Oxford Apoc*); C. Bertheau, *De sec. lib. Macc.*, 1829 (largely quoted by Grimm); W. H. Kosters, "De Polemiek van het tweede boek de Mak," *TT*, XII, 491–558; Schlatter, "Jason von Cyrene," *TLZ*, 1893, 322; A. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden u. die Oniaden im II Mak*, 1889; Wibrich, *Juden und Griechen*, etc, 1895, 64; Kamphausen (Kautzsch, *Die Apoc des AT*). The following discussing the two letters (**1** 1—**2** 18) deserve mention: Valckenaer, *De Aristobulo*, 38–44; Schlünkes, *Epistolae quae secundo Macc libro I*, etc, 1844, 1–9; also *Difficiliorum locorum epistolae*, etc, 1847; Graetz, "Das Sendschreiben der Palaestinenser an die aegyptischen Gemeinden," etc, *Monatss. für Gesch. u. Wissen. des Judenthums*, 1877, 1–16, 49–60; A. Büchler, "Das Sendschreiben der Jerusalemer," etc, *Monatss. für Gesch. u. Wissen. des Judenthums;* see last notice, 1897, 481–500, 529–54); Bruston, "Trois lettres des Juifs de Palestine," *ZATW*, X, 110–17; W. H. Kosters, "Strekking der brieven in 2 Macc," *TT*, 1898, 68–76; Torrey, "Die Briefe 2 Mak," *ZATW*, 1900, 225–42.

III. 3 Maccabees.—The name 3 Macc, though occurring in the oldest MSS and VSS, is quite unsuitable, because the book refers to

1. Name

events which antedate the Maccabean age by about half a cent., and also to events in which the Maccabees took no part. But this book tells of sufferings and triumphs on the part of loyal Jews comparable to those of the Maccabean period. Perhaps the term Maccabees was generalized so as to denote all who suffered for their faith. Some hold that the book was written originally as a kind of introduction to the Books of Macc, which it precedes as Book I in Cotton's *Five Books of Maccabees*. But the contents of the book do not agree with this view. Perhaps the title is due to a mistake on the part of a copyist.

2. Canonicity

The book has never been reckoned as canonical by the Western church, as is shown by the fact that it exists in no edition of the Vulg and was not included in the Canon by the Council of Trent. It is for the latter reason absent from the Protestant VSS of the Apoc which contain but the Books of Macc (1 and 2). But 3 Macc has a place in two uncials of the LXX (A and V) and also in the ancient (Pesh) Syr VS of the Scriptures, and it is given canonical rank in the Apos Const (canon 85). The book must therefore have been held in high esteem in the early church.

3. Contents

3 Macc is a historical novel in which there is much more romance than history, and more silly and superficial writing than either. It professes to narrate occurrences in the history of the Jews which took place at Jerus and at Alexandria in which the Jews were persecuted but in various ways delivered.

(1) **1** 1—**2** 24: After conquering at Raphia Antiochus III, the great king of Syria (224–187 BC), Ptolemy IV Philopator, king of Egypt (221–204 BC), resolved to visit Jerus and to enter the sanctum ("holy of holies," ναός, *naós*) of the temple to which by the Jewish law access was allowed only to the high priest, and even to him but once a year (Day of Atonement [**1** 11]). The Jews, priests and people, were in a paroxysm of grief and earnestly entreated him to desist, but he persisted in his plan. They then through Simon, the high priest, 219–199 BC, prayed that God might intervene and avert this desecration. The prayer is answered, the king being paralyzed before realizing his purpose.

(2) **2** 25–30: Returned to Alexandria, Ptolemy is exasperated at the failure of his long-cherished project and resolves to wreak his vengeance upon the Jews of Egypt. He issues a decree that all Jews in Alexandria who refused to bend the knee to Bacchus should be deprived of all their rights as citizens.

(3) **2** 31—**4** 21: A goodly number of Alexandrian Jews refuse to obey the royal mandate, whereupon Ptolemy issues an edict that all the Jews of Egypt, men, women and children, shall be brought in chains to Alexandria and confined in the race-course (hippodrome), with a view to their wholesale massacre. Prior to the massacre there is to be a complete register taken of the names of the assembled Jews. Before the list is complete the writing materials give way and the huge slaughter is averted.

(4) **4** 22—**6** 21: The king, still thirsting for the blood of this people, hits upon a different method of compassing their ruin. Five hundred elephants are intoxicated with wine and incense and let loose upon the Jews in the race-course. Here we have the principal plot of the book, and we reach the climax in the various providential expedients, childish in their character, of preventing the

execution of the king's purpose. The lesson of it all seems to be that God will deliver those who put their trust in Him.

(5) **6** 22—**7** 23: At length the king undergoes a change of heart. He releases the Jews and restores them to all their lost rights and honors. In response to their request, he gives them permission to slay their brother-Jews who, in the hour of trial, had given up their faith. They put to death 300, "esteeming this destruction of the wicked a season of joy" (**7** 15).

3 Macc is made up of a number of incredible tales, the details of which are absurd and contradictory. The beginning of the book has evidently been lost, as appears from the opening words, "Now when Philopator" (ὁ δὲ Φιλοπάτωρ, *ho dé Philopátōr*), and also from the references to an earlier part of the narrative now lost, e.g.: **1** 1 ("from those who came back"); **1** 2 ("the plot afore mentioned"); **2** 25 ("the aforenamed boon companions"), etc.

4. Historicity

The book contains very little that is true history, notwithstanding what Israel Abrahams (see "Literature" to this section), depending largely on Mahaffy (*The Empire of the Ptolemies*), says to the contrary. It is much more manifest than even in the case of 2 Macc that the writer's aim was to convey certain impressions and not to write history (see III, 5).

The improbabilities of the book are innumerable (see Bissell, *The Apoc of the OT*, 616 f), and it is evident that we have to do here with a combination of legends and fables worked up in feeble fashion with a view to making prominent certain ideas which the author wishes his readers to keep in mind. Yet behind the fiction of the book there are certain facts which prompted much of what the writer says.

(1) That Ptolemy IV bore the character of cruelty and capriciousness and effeminacy is borne out by Polybius (204–121 BC) in his *History* and by Plutarch in his *Life of Cleomenes*.

(2) The brief outline of the war between Ptolemy IV and Antiochus III, the latter being conquered at Raphia (chs **1** f), agrees in a general way with what has been written by Polybius, Livy and Justin.

(3) In this book, by the command of Ptolemy, 500 intoxicated elephants are let loose upon the Jews brought bound to the race-course of Alexandria. Jos (*CAp*, II, v) tells us that Ptolemy VII Physcon, king of Egypt, 145–117 BC, had the Jews of Alexandria, men, women and children, brought bound and naked to an inclosed space and that he had let loose on them a herd of elephants, which, however, turned instead upon his own men, killing a large number of them. The cause of the king's action was that the Jewish residents of Alexandria sided with his foes. In 3 Macc the cause of the action of Ptolemy IV was the failure of his project to enter the sanctum of the Jerus temple; this last perhaps a reflection of 2 Macc **3** 9 ff, where it is related that Heliodorus was hindered from entering the temple by a ghostly apparition. Now these two incidents, in both of which Jews are attacked by intoxicated elephants, must rest upon a common tradition and have probably a nucleus of fact. Perhaps, as Israel Abrahams holds, the tradition arose from the action of the elephants of Ptolemy in the Battle of Raphia. Most writers think that the reference is to something that occurred in the reign of Ptolemy VII.

(4) The shutting-up of the Jews in the race-course at Alexandria was not improbably suggested by a similar incident in which Herod the Great was the principal agent.

(5) In the opinion of Grimm (*Comm.*, 216) we have in the two festivals (**6** 36; **7** 19) and in the existence of the synagogue at Ptolemais an implied reference to some great deliverance vouchsafed to the Jews.

3 Macc was probably written by an Alexandrian Jew at a time when the Jews in and around Alexandria were sorely persecuted on account of their religion.

5. Aim and Teaching

The purpose of the author seems to have been to comfort those suffering for the faith by giving examples showing how God stands by His people, helping in all their trials and delivering them out of the hands of their enemies. Note further the following points: (1) The book, unlike 2 Macc, is silent as to a bodily resurrection and a future life, though this may be due to pure accident. Hades (Ἅιδης, *Haídēs*) in **4** 8; **5** 42; **6** 31, etc, appears to stand only for death, regarded as the end of all human life. (2) Yet the belief in angelic beings is clearly implied (see **6** 18 ff). (3) The author has much confidence in the power of prayer (see **2** 10; **2** 21–24; **5** 6–10.13.50 f; **6** 1–15, etc). (4) The book lays stress upon the doctrine that God is on the side of His people (**4** 21, etc), and even though they transgress His commandments He will forgive and save them (**2** 13; **4** 13, etc).

6. Authorship and Date

From the character of the Gr, the interest shown in Alexandrian Judaism, and the acquaintance displayed with Egyp affairs (see I. Abrahams, op. cit., 39 ff), it may be inferred with confidence that the author was a Jew residing in Alexandria. The superior limit (*terminus a quo*) for the date is some time in the last cent. BC. Since the existence of the additions to Dnl is implied (see Dnl **6** 6), the inferior limit (*terminus ad quem*) is some time before 70 AD. If the temple had been destroyed, the continuance of the temple services could not have been implied (see **1** 8 ff). As the book seems written to comfort and encourage Alexandrian Jews at a time when they were persecuted, Ewald, Hausrath, Reuss and others thought it was written during the reign of the emperor Caligula (37–41 AD), when such a persecution took place. But if Ptolemy is intended to represent Caligula, it is strange, as Schürer (*GJV*⁴, III, 491) remarks, that the writer does not make Ptolemy claim Divine honors, a claim actually made by Caligula.

Though Jos (d. 95 AD) could not have known the book, since his version of the same incidents differs so much, yet it must have been written some 30 years before his death, i.e. before the destruction of Jerus and the temple in 71 AD.

7. Original Language

That 3 Macc was composed in Gr is the opinion of all scholars and is proved by the free, idiomatic and rather bombastic character of the language in the LXX.

8. Text and Versions

(1) *Greek.*—This book occurs in the two uncials A and V (not in B or ℵ), in most cursives and also in nearly all edd of the LXX.

(2) *Syriac.*—The Syr VS (Pesh) reproduced in the Paris and London Polyglot and by Lagarde, *Lib. Apoc. Vet. Test.* It is not a good tr.

(3) *Latin.*—The earliest Lat tr is that made for the Complutensian Polyglot.

(4) The earliest in Eng. is that of Walter Lynne (1650).

Literature.—Besides the comms. by Grimm (the best), Bissell (Lange), Kautzsch and Emmet (*Oxford Apoc*), and the arts. in *HDB* (Fairweather, excellent), *EB* (Torrey, good), *GJV*⁴ (Schürer), III, 489–92; *HJP*, II, iii, 216–19, let the following be noted: A. Hausrath, *A Hist of NT Times*, 1895, II, 70 ff; Wibrich, *Juden u. Griechen;* Abrahams, "The Third Book of the Macc," *JQR*, IX, 1897, 39–58; A. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden u. die Oniaden*, 1899, 172–212. Both Abrahams and Büchler defend the historicity of some parts of 3 Macc; Wibrich, "Der historische Kern des III Makk," *Hermes*, Bd. 39, 1904, 244–58. For ET see (1) Henry Cotton, *The Five Books of Macc* (Cotton calls it *First Book of Macc*); (2) W. R. Churton, *The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, and (3) Baxter, *The Apoc, Gr and Eng.*

IV. 4 Maccabees.—4 Macc is a philosophical treatise or discourse on the supremacy of pious

1. Name

reason (=religious principle) in the virtuous man. The oldest title of the book, 4 Macc (Μακκαβαίων δ, *Makkabaíōn d*, [4]), occurs in the earliest extant MSS of the LXX

(א, A, V, etc), in the list of the Cod. Claromontanus (3d cent.?), the *Catalogue of the Sixty Canonical Books* (5th cent.?) and the *Synopsis of Athanasius* (9th cent.). It obtained this name from the fact that it illustrates and enforces its thesis by examples from the history of the Maccabees. Some early Christian writers, believing 4 Macc to be the work of Jos (see IV, 5), gave it a corresponding title. Eusebius and Jerome, who ascribe the book to Jos, speak of it under the name of: *A Discourse concerning the Supreme Power of Reason.*

2. Canonicity Though absent from the Vulg, and therefore from the Romanist Canon and from Protestant VSS of its Apoc, 4 Macc occurs in the principal MSS (א, A, V, etc) and edd (Fritzsche, Swete, not Tischendorf) of the LXX, showing it was highly esteemed and perhaps considered canonical by at least some early Christian Fathers.

3. Contents This book is a philosophical disquisition in the form of a sermon on the question "Whether pious reason is absolute master of the passions" (**1** 1). (1) **1** 1–12: The writer first of all states his theme and the method in which he intends to treat it.

(2) **1** 13—**3** 18: He defines his terms and endeavors from general principles to show that pious reason does of right rule the passions.

(3) **3** 19 to end of book: He tries to prove the same proposition from the lives of the Maccabean martyrs. These historical illustrations are based on 2 Macc **6** 18—**7** 42 (cf 3 Macc **6**).

Because the book is written as a discourse or sermon and is largely addressed to an apparent audience (**1** 17; **2** 14; **13** 10; **18** 4), Freudenthal and others think we have here an example of a Jewish sermon delivered as here written. But Jewish preachers based their discourses on Scripture texts and their sermons were more concise and arresting than this book.

4. Teaching The author's philosophical standpoint is that of Stoicism, viz. that in the virtuous man reason dominates passion. His doctrine of four cardinal virtues (*φρόνησις, phrónēsis, δικαιοσύνη, dikaiosúnē, ἀνδρεία, andreía, σωφροσύνη, sōphrosúnē*, "Providence," "Justice," "Fortitude," "Temperance" [**1** 18]), is also derived from Stoicism. Though, however, he sets out as if he were a true Stoic, he proceeds to work out his discourses in orthodox Jewish fashion. His all-dominating reason is that which is guided by the Divinely revealed law, that law for the faithful observing of which the martyrs died. The four cardinal virtues are but forms of that true wisdom which is to be obtained only through the Mosaic law (**7** 15–18). Moreover, the passions are not, as Stoicism taught, to be annihilated, but regulated (**1** 61; **3** 5), since God has planted them (**2** 21).

The author's views approach those of Pharisaism. (1) He extols the self-sacrificing devotion to the law exhibited by the Maccabean martyrs mentioned in **3** 9 to the end of the book. (2) He believes in a resurrection from the dead. The souls of the righteous will enjoy hereafter ceaseless fellowship with God (**9** 8; **15** 2; **18** 5), but the wicked will endure the torment of fire forever and ever (**10** 11.15; **12** 12; **13** 14). Nothing, however, is said of the Pharisees' doctrine of a bodily resurrection which 2 Macc, a Pharisaic document (see II, 6, [6], above), clearly teaches. (3) The martyrdom of the faithful atones for the sins of the people (**6** 24; **17** 19–21; cf Rom **3** 25).

5. Authorship and Date According to Eusebius (*HE*, III, 6), Jerome (*De Viris Illust.*, xiii; *C Peleg*, ii.6), Suidas (*Lex* Ἰώσηπος, *Iṓsēpos*) and other early writers, Jos is the author of this book, and in Gr edd of his works it constitutes the last chapter with the heading: Φλαβ. Ἰωσήπου εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος, ἢ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, *Phlab. Iosḗpou eis Makkabaíous lógos, ḗ perí autokrátoros logismoú,* "The Discourse of Flavius Josephus: or concerning the Supreme Power of Reason" (so Niese, Bekker, Dindorf, etc). But this tradition is negatived by the style and thought, which differ completely from those found in the genuine writings of that Jewish historian. Besides this, the author of the book makes large use of 2 Macc, of which Jos was ignorant. Moreover, there are traditions equally ancient of a contrary kind.

The author must have been a Jew and he probably belonged to the Pharisee party (see IV, 7). He was also a Hellenist, for he reveals the influence of Gr thought more than any other apocryphal writer. He was also, it would appear, a resident of Alexandria, for the earliest notices of it occur in literature having an Alexandrian origin, and the author makes considerable use of 2 Macc, which emanated from Alexandria.

It is impossible definitely to fix the date of the book. But it was certainly written before the destruction of the temple in 70 AD and after the composition of 2 Macc, on which it largely depends. A date in the first half of the 1st cent. of our era would suit all the requirements of the case.

6. Original Language The book was certainly written in Gr, as all scholars agree. It employs many of the terms of Gr philosophy and it bears the general characteristics of the Gr spoken and written at Alexandria at the commencement of the Christian era.

7. Text and Versions (1) *Greek*—This book occurs in the principal MSS (א, A, V, etc) and printed edd (Grabe, Breitinger, Apel, Fritzsche, Swete [Cod. A with variants of א and V] and Baxter, *The Apoc, Gr and Eng.*), also in various Jos MSS and most edd of Jos, including Naber, but not Niese.

(2) *Latin.*—No Old Lat VS has come down to us.

(3) *Syriac.*—The Pesh text is printed in Cod. Ambros. (Ceriani) and by Bensley from a MS in *The Fourth Book of Macc and Kindred Documents* in Syr (agrees mostly with Cod. A). Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca Sancta*, 1566, I, 39) speaks of having seen another 4 Macc. But this was probably "simply a reproduction of Jos" (Schürer, *HJP*, II, iii, 14).

LITERATURE.—Besides the lit. mentioned under the other books of Macc, under APOCRYPHA, and in the course of the present art., note the following: The comms. of Grimm (excellent; the only one on the complete book) and Deissmann (in Kautzsch, *Apok des AT*, brief but up to date and good); the valuable monograph by Freudenthal: *Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschafft der Vernunft* (IV. Makkabäerbuch) *Untersucht*, 1869. See, besides the arts. in *HDB* (Fairweather); *EB* (Torrey); Gfrörer, *Philo*, etc, II, 1831, 173–200; Dähne, *Gesch. Darstellung der jüd.-alex. Religions-Philosophie*, II, 1834, 190–99; and the *History* of Ewald, IV, 632 ff. There are ETs in Cotton, *The Five Books of Macc*, Oxford, 1832; W. R. Churton, *The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scripture;* Baxter, *The Apoc, Gr and Eng.*

V. 5 Maccabees.—**1. Name** The designation 5 Macc was first given to the book (now commonly so called) by Cotton (*The Five Books of Macc in Eng.*, 1832), and it has been perpetuated by Dr. Samuel Davidson (*Intro to the OT*, III, 465); Ginsburg (*Kitto's Cyc. of Bib. Lit.*); Bissell (*Apoc of the OT*) and others. It has been called the *Arab. 2 Macc* (so in the Paris and London Polyglot), and the *Arab. Macc.* The 5 Macc in the *Translatio Syra Peshitto*, edited by Ceriani, is really nothing more than a Syr VS of the 6th book of Jos, *The Wars of the Jews.*

2. Canonicity This book has never been recognized as canonical by either Jews or Christians.

3. Contents The book is ostensibly a history of the Jews from the attempt of Heliodorus to plunder the temple (186 BC) to about 6 BC. It is really nothing more than a clumsy compilation from 1 and 2 Macc and Jos (except ch **12**, which is the only original part, and this teems with errors of various kinds); a note at the end of ch **16** says **1** 1—**16** 26 is called *The Second Book of Macc according to the Tr of the Hebrews.* Ch **19** closes with the events narrated at the end of 1 Macc. The rest of the book (chs **20–59**) follows Jos (*BJ*, I f) closely. Perhaps the original work ended with ch **19**. Ginsburg (op. cit., III, 17), Bissell (*Apoc*, 639) and Wellhausen (*Der arab. Josippus*) give useful tables showing the dependence of the various parts of 5 Macc on the sources used.

4. Historicity In so far as this book repeats the contents of 1 and 2 Macc and Jos, it has the historical value of the sources used. But in itself the book has no historical worth. The author calls Rom and Egyp soldiers "Macedonians," Mt. Gerizim, "Jezebel," Samaria "Sebaste," Shechem "Neapolis" or "Naploris." Herod and Pilate exchange names. Some of the mistakes may of course be traceable to the tr.

5. Original Language The original work was almost certainly composed in Heb, though we have no trace of a Heb text (so Ginsburg, op. cit., and Bissell). This conclusion is supported by the numerous Hebraisms which show themselves even in a double tr. The Pent is called the "Torah," the Heb Scriptures are spoken of as "the twenty-four books," the temple is "the house of God" or "the holy house," Judaea is "the land of the holy house" and Jerus is "the city of the holy house." These and like examples make it probable that the writer was a Jew and that the language he used was Heb. Zunz (*Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, 1832, 146 ff), Graetz (*Geschichte*, V, 281) and Dr. S. Davidson (op. cit., 465) say the book was written in Arab. from Heb memoirs. According to Zunz (l.c.) and Graetz (l.c.) the Jewish history of Joseph ben Gorion (Josippon), the "pseudo-Josephus" (10th cent.), is but a Heb recension of 5 Macc (the Arab. 2 Macc). On the contrary, Wellhausen (op. cit.) and Schürer (*GJV*^{4}, I, 159 f) maintain that the shorter narrative in 5 Macc represents the extent of the original composition far more correctly than the Heb history of Josippon (which ranges from Adam to 70 AD), and than other recensions of the same history.

6. Aim and Teaching The book was compiled for the purpose of consoling the Jews in their sufferings and encouraging them to be stedfast in their devotion to the Mosaic law. The same end was contemplated in 2, 3 and 4 Macc and in a lesser degree in 1 Macc, but the author or compiler of the present treatise wished to produce a work which would appeal in the first instance and chiefly to Heb (or Arab.?) readers. The author believes in a resurrection of the body, in a future life and a final judgment (**5** 13.43 f). The righteous will dwell in future glory, the wicked will be hereafter punished (**5** 49.50 f; **59** 14).

7. Authorship and Date We have no means of ascertaining who the author was, but he must have been a Jew and he lived some time after the destruction of the temple in 70 AD (see **9** 5; **21** 30; **22** 9; **53** 8, though Ginsburg regards these passages as late additions and fixes the date of the original work at about 6 BC, when the history ends). The author makes large use of Jos (d. 95 AD), which also favors the lower date.

8. Text and Versions The Arab. text of the book and a Lat tr by Gabriel Sionita is printed in the Paris and London Polyglots. No other ancient text has come down to us. Cotton (op. cit., xxx) errs in saying that there is a Syr VS of the book.

LITERATURE.—The most important lit. has been mentioned in the course of the art. The Eng. and earlier Ger. edd of Schürer, *GJV*, do not help. The only Eng. tr is that by Cotton made directly from the Lat of Gabriel Sionita. Bissell says that a Fr. VS appears as an appendix in the Bible of de Sacy; not, however, in the Nouvelle Édition (1837) in the possession of the present writer.

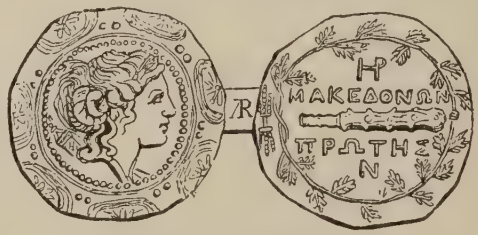
T. WITTON DAVIES

MACEDONIA, mas-ḗ-dō′ni-a (**Μακεδονία**, *Makedonía*, ethnic **Μακεδών**, *Makedṓn*):

I. THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE AND LAND
II. HISTORY OF MACEDONIA
    1. Philip and Alexander
    2. Roman Intervention
    3. Roman Conquest
    4. Macedonia a Roman Province
    5. Later History
III. PAUL AND MACEDONIA
    1. Paul's First Visit
    2. Paul's Second Visit
    3. Paul's Third Visit
    4. Paul's Later Visits
IV. THE MACEDONIAN CHURCH
    1. Prominence of Women
    2. Marked Characteristics
    3. Its Members
LITERATURE

A country lying to the N. of Greece, afterward enlarged and formed into a Rom province; it is to the latter that the term always refers when used in the NT.

I. The Macedonian People and Land.—Ethnologists differ about the origin of the Macedonian race and the degree of its affinity to the Hellenes. But we find a well-marked tradition in ancient times that the race comprised a Hellenic element and a non-Hellenic, though Aryan, element, closely akin to the Phrygian and other Thracian stocks. The dominant race, the Macedonians in the narrower sense of the term, including the royal family, which was acknowledged to be Gr and traced its descent through the Temenids of Argos back to Heracles (Herod. v.22), settled in the fertile plains about the lower Haliacmon (*Karasu* or *Vistritza*) and Axius (*Vardar*), to the N. and N.W. of the Thermaic Gulf. Their capital, which was originally at Edessa or Aegae (*Vodhena*), was afterward transferred to Pella by Philip II. The other and older element—the Lyncestians, Orestians, Pelagonians and other tribes—were pushed back northward and westward into the highlands, where they struggled for generations to maintain their independence and weakened the Macedonian state by constant risings and by making common cause with the wild hordes of Illyrians and Thracians, with whom we find the Macedonian kings in frequent conflict. In order to maintain their position they entered into a good understanding from time to time with the states of Greece or acknowledged temporarily Pers suzerainty, and thus gradually extended the sphere of their power.



Coin of Macedonia.

II. History of Macedonia.—Herodotus (viii.137–39) traces the royal line from Perdiccas I through Argaeus, Philip I, Aeropus, Alcetas and Amyntas I to Alexander I, who was king at the time of the Pers invasions of Greece. He and his son and grandson, Perdiccas II and Archelaus, did much to consolidate Macedonian power, but the death of Archelaus (399 BC) was followed by 40 years of disunion and weakness.

With the accession of Philip II, son of Amyntas II, in 359 BC, M. came under the rule of a man powerful alike in body and in mind, an able general and an astute diplomatist, one, moreover, who started out with a clear perception of the end at which he must aim, the creation of a great national army and a nation-state, and worked consistently

1. Philip and Alexander

and untiringly throughout his reign of 23 years to gain that object. He welded the Macedonian tribes into a single nation, won by force and fraud the important positions of Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Olynthus, Abdera and Maronea, and secured a plentiful supply of gold by founding Philippi on the site of Crenides. Gradually extending his rule over barbarians and Greeks alike, he finally, after the battle of Chaeronea (338 BC), secured his recognition by the Greeks themselves as captain-general of the Hellenic states and leader of a Graeco-Macedonian crusade against Persia. On the eve of this projected eastern expedition, however, he was assassinated by order of his dishonored wife Olympias (336 BC), whose son, Alexander the Great, succeeded to the throne. After securing his hold on Thrace, Illyria and Greece, Alexander turned eastward and, in a series of brilliant campaigns, overthrew the Pers empire. The battle of the Granicus (334 BC) was followed by the submission or subjugation of most of Asia Minor. By the battle of Issus (333), in which Darius himself was defeated, Alexander's way was opened to Phoenicia and Egypt; Darius' second defeat, at Arbela (331), sealed the fate of the Pers power. Babylon, Susa, Persepolis and Ecbatana were taken in turn, and Alexander then pressed eastward through Hyrcania, Aria, Arachosia, Bactria and Sogdiana to India, which he conquered as far as the Hyphasis (*Sutlej*): thence he returned through Gedrosia, Carmania and Persis to Babylon, to make preparations for the conquest of Arabia. A sketch of his career is given in 1 Macc **1** 1–7, where he is spoken of as "Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, who came out of the land of Chittim" (ver 1): his invasion of Persia is also referred to in 1 Macc **6** 2, where he is described as "the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Greeks," i.e. the first who united in a single empire all the Gr states, except those which lay to the W. of the Adriatic. It is the conception of the Macedonian power as the deadly foe of Persia which is responsible for the description of Haman in Ad Est **16** 10 as a Macedonian, "an alien in truth from the Pers blood," and for the attribution to him of a plot to transfer the Pers empire to the Macedonians (ver 14), and this same thought appears in the LXX rendering of the Heb Agagite (אֲגָגִי, *'ăghāghī*) in Est **9** 24 as Macedonian (*Makedōn*).

2. Roman Intervention

Alexander died in June 323 BC, and his empire fell a prey to the rivalries of his chief generals (1 Macc **1** 9); after a period of struggle and chaos, three powerful kingdoms were formed, taking their names from Macedonia, Syria and Egypt. Even in Syria, however, Macedonian influences remained strong, and we find Macedonian troops in the service of the Seleucid monarchs (2 Macc **8** 20). In 215 King Philip V, son of Demetrius II and successor of Antigonus Doson (229–220 BC), formed an alliance with Hannibal, who had defeated the Rom forces at Lake Trasimene (217) and at Cannae (216), and set about trying to recover Illyria. After some years of desultory and indecisive warfare, peace was concluded in 205, Philip binding himself to abstain from attacking the Rom possessions on the E. of the Adriatic. The Second Macedonian War, caused by a combined attack of Antiochus III of Syria and Philip of Macedon on Egypt, broke out in 200 and ended 3 years later in the crushing defeat of Philip's forces by T. Quinctius Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly (cf 1 Macc **8** 5). By the treaty which followed this battle, Philip surrendered his conquests in Greece, Illyria, Thrace, Asia Minor and the Aegean, gave up his fleet, reduced his army to 5,000 men, and undertook to declare no war and conclude no alliance without Rom consent.

3. Roman Conquest

In 179 Philip was succeeded by his son Perseus, who at once renewed the Rom alliance, but set to work to consolidate and extend his power. In 172 war again broke out, and after several Rom reverses the consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus decisively defeated the Macedonians at Pydna in 168 BC (cf 1 Macc **8** 5, where Perseus is called "king of Chittim"). The kingship was abolished and Perseus was banished to Italy. The Macedonians were declared free and autonomous; their land was divided into four regions, with their capitals at Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella and Pelagonia respectively, and each of them was governed by its own council; *commercium* and *connubium* were forbidden between them and the gold and silver mines were closed. A tribute was to be paid annually to the Rom treasury, amounting to half the land tax hitherto exacted by the Macedonian kings.

4. Macedonia a Roman Province

But this compromise between freedom and subjection could not be of long duration, and after the revolt of Andriscus, the pseudo-Philip, was quelled (148 BC), M. was constituted a Rom province and enlarged by the addition of parts of Illyria, Epirus, the Ionian islands and Thessaly. Each year a governor was dispatched from Rome with supreme military and judicial powers; the partition fell into abeyance and communication within the province was improved by the construction of the *Via Egnatia* from Dyrrhachium to Thessalonica, whence it was afterward continued eastward to the Nestus and the Hellespont. In 146 the Achaeans, who had declared war on Rome, were crushed by Q. Caecilius Metellus and L. Mummius, Corinth was sacked and destroyed, the Achaean league was dissolved, and Greece, under the name of Achaea, was made a province and placed under the control of the governor of M. In 27 BC, when the administration of the provinces was divided between Augustus and the Senate, M. and Achaea fell to the share of the latter (Strabo, p. 840; Dio Cassius liii.12) and were governed separately by ex-praetors sent out annually with the title of proconsul. In 15 AD, however, senatorial mismanagement had brought the provinces to the verge of ruin, and they were transferred to Tiberius (Tacitus, *Annals*, i.76), who united them under the government of a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* until, in 44 AD, Claudius restored them to the Senate (Suetonius, *Claudius* 25; Dio Cassius lx.24). It is owing to this close historical and geographical connection that we find M. and Achaea frequently mentioned together in the NT, M. being always placed first (Acts **19** 21; Rom **15** 26; 2 Cor **9** 2; 1 Thess **1** 7.8).

5. Later History

Diocletian (284–305 AD) detached from M. Thessaly and the Illyrian coast lands and formed them into two provinces, the latter under the name of Epirus Nova. Toward the end of the 4th cent. what remained of M. was broken up into two provinces, *Macedonia prima* and *Macedonia secunda* or *salutaris*, and when in 395 the Rom world was divided into the western and eastern empires, M. was included in the latter. During the next few years it was overrun and plundered by the Goths under Alaric, and later, in the latter half of the 6th cent., immense numbers of Slavonians settled there. In the 10th cent. a large part of it was under Bulgarian rule, and afterward colonies of various Asiatic tribes were settled there by the Byzantine emperors. In 1204 it became a Lat kingdom under Boniface, marquis of Monferrat, but 20 years later Theodore, the Gr despot of Epirus, founded a Gr empire of Thessalonica. During the 2d half of the 14th cent. the greater part of it was part of the Servian dominions, but in 1430 Thessalonica fell before the Ottoman Turks, and from that time down to the year 1913 M. has formed part of the Turkish empire. Its history thus accounts for the very mixed character of its population, which consists chiefly of Turks, Albanians, Greeks and Bulgarians, but has in it a considerable element of Jews, Gypsies, Vlachs, Servians and other races.

III. Paul and Macedonia.—In the narrative of Paul's journeys as given us in Acts **13–28** and in the Pauline Epp., M. plays a prominent part. The apostle's relations with the churches of Philippi, Thessalonica, and Beroea will be found discussed under those several headings; here we will merely recount in outline his visits to the province.

1. Paul's First Visit

On his 2d missionary journey Paul came to Troas, and from there sailed with Silas, Timothy and Luke to Neapolis, the nearest Macedonian seaport, in obedience to the vision of a Macedonian (whom Ramsay identifies with Luke: see s.v. "Philippi") urging him to cross to M. and preach the gospel there

(Acts **16** 9). From Neapolis he journeyed inland to Philippi, which is described as "a city of M., the first of the district" (ver 12). Thence Paul and his two companions (for Luke appears to have remained in Philippi for the next 5 years) traveled along the Egnatian road, passing through Amphipolis and Apollonia, to Thessalonica, which, though a "free city," and therefore technically exempt from the jurisdiction of the Rom governor, was practically the provincial capital. Driven thence by the hostility of the Jews, the evangelists preached in Beroea, where Silas and Timothy remained for a short time after a renewed outbreak of Jewish animosity had forced Paul to leave M. for the neighboring province of Achaia (Acts **17** 14). Although he sent a message to his companions to join him with all speed at Athens (ver 15), yet so great was his anxiety for the welfare of the newly founded Macedonian churches that he sent Timothy back to Thessalonica almost immediately (1 Thess **3** 1.2), and perhaps Silas to some other part of M., nor did they again join him until after he had settled for some time in Corinth (Acts **18** 5; 1 Thess **3** 6). The rapid extension of the Christian faith in M. at this time may be judged from the phrases used by Paul in his 1st Ep. to the Thess., the earliest of his extant letters, written during this visit to Corinth. He there speaks of the Thessalonian converts as being an example "to all that believe in M. and in Achaia" (**1** 7), and he commends their love "toward all the brethren that are in all M." (**4** 10). Still more striking are the words, "From you hath sounded forth the word of the Lord, not only in M. and Achaia, but in every place your faith to God-ward is gone forth" (**1** 8).

2. Paul's Second Visit

On his 3d missionary journey, the apostle paid two further visits to M. During the course of a long stay at Ephesus he laid plans for a 2d journey through M. and Achaia, and dispatched two of his helpers, Timothy and Erastus, to M. to prepare for his visit (Acts **19** 21.22). Some time later, after the uproar at Ephesus raised by Demetrius and his fellow-silversmiths (vs 23–41), Paul himself set out for M. (**20** 1). Of this visit Luke gives us a very summary account, telling us merely that Paul, "when he had gone through those parts, and had given them much exhortation, ... came into Greece" (ver 2); but from 2 Cor, written from M. (probably from Philippi) during the course of this visit, we learn more of the apostle's movements and feelings. While at Ephesus, Paul had changed his plans. His intention at first had been to travel across the Aegean Sea to Corinth, to pay a visit from there to M. and to return to Corinth, so as to sail direct to Syria (2 Cor **1** 15.16). But by the time at which he wrote the 1st Ep. to the Cor, probably near the end of his stay at Ephesus, he had made up his mind to go to Corinth by way of M., as we have seen that he actually did (1 Cor **16** 5.6). From 2 Cor **2** 13 we learn that he traveled from Ephesus to Troas, where he expected to find Titus. Titus, however, did not yet arrive, and Paul, who "had no relief for [his] spirit," left Troas and sailed to M. Even here the same restlessness pursued him: "fightings without, fears within" oppressed him, till the presence of Titus brought some relief (2 Cor **7** 5.6). The apostle was also cheered by "the grace of God which had been given in the churches of M." (**8** 1); in the midst of severe persecution, they bore their trials with abounding joy, and their deep poverty did not prevent them begging to be allowed to raise a contribution to send to the Christians in Jerus (Rom **15** 26; 2 Cor **8** 2–4). Liberality was, indeed, from the very outset one of the characteristic virtues of the Macedonian churches. The Philippians had sent money to Paul on two occasions during his first visit to Thessalonica (Phil **4** 16), and again when he had left M. and was staying at Corinth (2 Cor **11** 9; Phil **4** 15). On the present occasion, however, the Corinthians seem to have taken the lead and to have prepared their bounty in the previous year, on account of which the apostle boasts of them to the Macedonian Christians (2 Cor **9** 2). He suggests that on his approaching visit to Achaia he may be accompanied by some of these Macedonians (ver 4), but whether this was actually the case we are not told.

3. Paul's Third Visit

The 3d visit of Paul to M. took place some 3 months later and was occasioned by a plot against his life laid by the Jews of Corinth, which led him to alter his plan of sailing from Cenchreae, the eastern seaport of Corinth, to Syria (2 Cor **1** 16; Acts **20** 3). He returned to M. accompanied as far as Asia by 3 Macedonian Christians—Sopater, Aristarchus and Secundus—and by 4 from Asia Minor. Probably Paul took the familiar route by the *Via Egnatia*, and reached Philippi immediately before the days of unleavened bread; his companions preceded him to Troas (Acts **20** 5), while he himself remained at Philippi until after the Passover (Thursday, April 7, 57 AD, according to Ramsay's chronology), when he sailed from Neapolis together with Luke, and joined his friends in Troas (ver 6).

4. Paul's Later Visits

Toward the close of his 1st imprisonment at Rome Paul planned a fresh visit to M. as soon as he should be released (Phil **1** 26; **2** 24), and even before that he intended to send Timothy to visit the Philippian church and doubtless those of Beroea and Thessalonica also. Whether Timothy actually went on this mission we cannot say; that Paul himself went back to M. once more we learn from 1 Tim **1** 3, and we may infer a 5th visit from the reference to the apostle's stay at Troas, which in all probability belongs to a later occasion (2 Tim **4** 13).

IV. The Macedonian Church.—Of the churches of Macedonia in general, little need be said here.

1. Prominence of Women

A striking fact is the prominence in them of women, which is probably due to the higher social position held by women in this province than in Asia Minor (Lightfoot, *Philippians*^{4}, 55 ff). We find only two references to women in connection with Paul's previous missionary work; the women proselytes of high social standing take a share in driving him from Pisidian Antioch (Acts **13** 50), and Timothy's mother is mentioned as a Jewess who believed (**16** 1). But in M. all is changed. To women the gospel was first preached at Philippi (ver 13); a woman was the first convert and the hostess of the evangelists (vs 14.15); a slave girl was restored to soundness of mind by the apostle (ver 18), and long afterward Paul mentions two women as having "labored with [him] in the gospel" and as endangering the peace of the church by their rivalry (Phil **4** 2.3). At Thessalonica a considerable number of women of the first rank appear among the earliest converts (Acts **17** 4), while at Beroea also the church included from the outset numerous Gr women of high position (ver 12).

2. Marked Characteristics

The bond uniting Paul and the Macedonian Christians seems to have been a peculiarly close and affectionate one. Their liberality and open-heartedness, their joyousness and patience in trial and persecution, their activity in spreading the Christian faith, their love of the brethren—these are a few of the characteristics which Paul specially commends in them (1 and 2 Thess; Phil; 2 Cor **8** 1–8), while they also seem to have been much freer than the churches of Asia Minor from Judaizing tendencies and from the allurements of "philosophy and vain deceit."

3. Its Members

We know the names of a few of the early members of the Macedonian churches—Sopater (Acts **20** 4) or Sosipater (Rom **16** 21: the identification is a probable, though not a certain, one) of Beroea; Aristarchus (Acts **19** 29; **20** 4; **27** 2; Col **4** 10; Philem ver 24), Jason (Acts **17** 5–9; Rom **16** 21?) and Secundus (Acts **20** 4) of Thessalonica; Clement (Phil **4** 3), Epaphroditus (Phil **2** 25; **4** 18), Euodia (Phil **4** 2; this, not Euodias [AV], is the true form), Syntyche (ib), Lydia (Acts **16** 14.40; a native of Thyatira), and possibly Luke (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 201 ff) of Philippi. Gaius is also mentioned as a Macedonian in Acts **19** 29, but perhaps the reading of a few MSS Μακεδόνα is to be preferred to the *TR* Μακεδόνας, in which case Aristarchus alone would be a Macedonian, and this Gaius would probably be identical with the Gaius of Derbe mentioned in Acts **20** 4 as a companion of Paul (Ramsay, op. cit., 280). The later history of the Macedonian churches, together with lists of all their known bishops, will be found in Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II, 1 ff; III, 1089 ff, 1045 f.

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M. N. Tod

MACHAERUS, ma-kē′rus (**Μαχαιροῦς**, *Machairoús*): Not mentioned in Scripture, canonical or apocryphal, but its importance in Jewish history justifies its inclusion here. Pliny (*NH*, v.16.72) speaks of it as, after Jerus, the strongest of Jewish fortresses. It was fortified by Alexander Jannaeus (*BJ*, VII, vi, 2). It was taken and destroyed by Gabinius (ib, I, viii, 5; *Ant*, XIV, v, 4). Herod the Great restored it and, building a city here, made it one of his residences (*BJ*, VII, vi, 1, 2). It lay within the tetrarchy assigned to Antipas at the death of Herod. The wife of Antipas, daughter of Aretas, privately aware of his infidelity, asked to be sent hither (*Ant*, XVIII, v, 1). Here Jos has fallen into confusion if he meant by the phrase "a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod" that it was still in Herod's hands, since immediately he tells us that it was "subject to her father." It was natural enough, however, that a border fortress should be held now by one and now by the other. It may have passed to Aretas by some agreement of which we have no record; and Herod, unaware that his wife knew of his guilt, would have no suspicion of her design in wishing to visit her father. If this is true, then the Baptist could not have been imprisoned and beheaded at Machaerus (ib, 2). The feast given to the lords of Galilee would most probably be held at Tiberias; and there is nothing in the Gospel story to hint that the prisoner was some days' journey distant (Mk **6** 14 ff). The citadel was held by a Rom garrison until 66 AD, which then evacuated it to escape a siege (*BJ*, II, xviii, 6). Later by means of a stratagem it was recovered for the Romans by Bassus, c 72 AD (*BJ*, VII, vi, 4).

The place is identified with the modern *Mkaur*, a position of great strength on a prominent height between *Wādy Zerḳā Maʿīn* and *Wādy el-Mōjib*, overlooking the Dead Sea. There are extensive ruins.

W. Ewing

MACHBANNAI, mak′ba-nī, -ba-nā′ī (מַכְבַּנַּי, *makhbannay;* AV **Machbanai**): A Gadite who attached himself to David in Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 13).

MACHBENA, mak-bē′na (מַכְבֵּנָה, *makhbēnāh;* B, **Μαχαβηνά,** *Machabēná*, A, **Μαχαμηνά,** *Machamēná;* AV **Machbenah**): A name which occurs in the genealogical list of Judah (1 Ch **2** 49), apparently the name of a place, which may be the same as "Cabbon" (Josh **15** 40), probably to be identified with *el-Kubeibeh*, about 3 miles S. of *Beit Jibrîn*.

MACHI, mā′kī (מָכִי, *mākhī;* Pesh and some MSS of LXX read "Machir"): A Gadite, father of Geuel, one of the 12 spies (Nu **13** 15).

MACHIR, mā′kir (מָכִיר, *mākhīr;* **Μαχείρ,** *Macheír*), **MACHIRITE,** mā′kir-īt:

(1) The eldest son of Manasseh (Gen **50** 23). In Nu **26** 29 it is recorded that Machir begat Gilead, but another narrative informs us that the children of Machir "went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorites that were therein. And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein" (Nu **32** 39.40; Josh **17** 1.3; cf also 1 Ch **2** 21.25; **7** 14–17; Dt **3** 15; Josh **13** 31). In the song of Deborah, Machir is used as equivalent to Manasseh (Jgs **5** 14).

(2) Son of Ammiel, dwelling in Lo-debar (2 S **9** 4.5), a wealthy landowner who protected Mephibosheth (Meribbaal), son of Jonathan, until assured of the friendly intentions of David (cf *Ant*, VII, ix, 8). Afterward, during the rebellion of Absalom, Machir with others came to David's assistance at Mahanaim, bringing supplies for the king and his men (2 S **17** 27 ff). John A. Lees

MACHMAS, mak′mas. See Michmash.

MACHNADEBAI, mak-nad′ĕ-bī, mak-na-dē′bī (מַכְנַדְבַי, *makhnadd*^{e}*bhay*): Son of Bani, one of those who married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 40).

MACHPELAH, mak-pē′la (הַמַּכְפֵּלָה, *ha-makhpēlāh*, "the Machpelah"; **τὸ διπλοῦν,** *tó diploún*, "the double"): The name of a piece of ground and of a cave purchased by Abraham as a place of sepulcher. The word is supposed to mean "double" and refers to the condition of the cave. It is tr^d "double cave" (*τὸ διπλοῦν σπήλαιον, tó diploún spḗlaion*) in the LXX in Gen **23** 17. The name is applied to the ground in Gen **23** 19; **49** 30; **50** 13, and to the cave in Gen **23** 9; **25** 9. In Gen **23** 17 we have the phrase "the field of Ephron, which was in [the] Machpelah."

1. Scriptural Data

The cave belonged to Ephron the Hittite, the son of Zohar, from whom Abraham purchased it for 400 shekels of silver (Gen **23** 8–16). It is described as "before," i.e. "to the E. of" Mamre (ver 17) which (ver 19) is described as the same as Hebron (see, too, **25** 9; **49** 30; **50** 13). Here were buried Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah. (Cf however the curious variant tradition in Acts **7** 16, "Shechem" instead of "Hebron.")

Jos (*BJ*, IV, ix, 7) speaks of the monuments (*mnēmeía*) of Abraham and his posterity which "are shown to this very time in that small city [i.e. in

2. Tradition Regarding the Site

Hebron]; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble and wrought after the most excellent manner"; and in another place he writes of Isaac being buried by his sons with his wife in Hebron where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers (*Ant*, I, xxii, 1). The references of early Christian writers to the site of the tombs of the patriarchs only very doubtfully apply to the present buildings and may possibly refer to *Rāmet el-Khalīl* (see Mamre). Thus the *Bordeaux Pilgrim* (333 AD) mentions a square enclosure built of stones of great beauty in which Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were buried with their wives. Antonius Martyr (c 600) and Arculf (698) also mention this monument. Mukaddasi speaks (c 985) of the strong fortress around the tombs of the patriarchs built of great squared stones, the work of Jinns, i.e. of supernatural beings. From this onward the references are surely to the present site, and it is difficult to believe, if, as good authorities maintain, the great buttressed square wall enclosing the site is work at least as early as Herod, that the earlier references can be to any other site. It is certain that the existing buildings are very largely those which the Crusaders occupied; there are many full references to this place in mediaeval Moslem writers.

3. The Haram at Hebron

The *Ḥaram* at Hebron, which present-day tradition, Christian, Jewish and Moslem, recognizes as built over the cave of Machpelah, is one of the most jealously guarded sanctuaries in the world. Only on rare occasions and through the exercise of much political pressure have a few honored Christians been allowed to visit the spot. The late King Edward VII in 1862 and the present King George V, in 1882, with certain distinguished scholars in their parties, made visits which have been chiefly important through the writings of their companions—Stanley in 1862 and Wilson and Conder in 1882. One of the latest to be accorded the privilege was C. W. Fairbanks, late vice-president of the United States of America. What such visitors have been permitted to see has not been of any great antiquity nor has it thrown any certain light on the question of the genuineness of the site.

The space containing the traditional tombs is a great quadrangle 197 ft. in length (N.W. to S.E.) and 111 ft. in breadth (N.E. to S.W.). It is enclosed by a massive wall of great blocks of limestone, very hard and akin to marble. The walls which are between 8 and 9 ft thick are of solid masonry throughout. At the height of 15 ft. from the ground, at indeed the level of the floor within, the wall is set back about 10 in. at intervals, so as to leave pilasters 3 ft. 9 in. wide, with space between each of 7 ft. all round. On the longer sides there are 16 and on the shorter sides 8 such pilasters, and there are also buttresses 9 ft. wide on each face at each angle. This pilastered wall runs up for 25 ft., giving the total average height from the ground of 40 ft. The whole character of the masonry is so similar to the wall of the Jerus *Ḥaram* near the "wailing place" that Conder and Warren considered that it must belong to that period and be Herodian work.

The southern end of the great enclosure is occupied by a church—probably a building entirely of the crusading period—with a nave and two aisles. The rest is a courtyard open to the air. The cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebecca are within the church; those of Abraham and Sarah occupy octagonal chapels in the double porch before the church doors; those of Jacob and Leah are placed in chambers near the north end of the *Ḥaram*. The six monuments are placed at equal distances along the length of the enclosure, and it is probable that their positions there have no relation to the sarcophagi which are described as existing in the cave itself.

4. The Cave

It is over this cave that the chief mystery hangs. It is not known whether it has been entered by any man at present alive, Moslem or otherwise. While the cave was in the hands of the Crusaders, pilgrims and others were allowed to visit this spot. Thus Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, writing in 1163 AD, says that "if a Jew comes, who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the times of our forefathers who rest in peace, and with a burning candle in his hand the visitor descends into a first cave which is empty, traverses a second in the same state and at last reaches a third which contains six sepulchres—those of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebecca and Leah, one opposite the other. . . . . A lamp burns in the cave and upon the sepulchre continually, both night and day." The account reminds us of the condition of many Christian tomb-shrines in Pal today.

It would appear from the description of modern observers that all entrance to the cave is now closed; the only known approaches are never now opened and can only be reached by breaking up the flags of the flooring. Through one of the openings—which had a stone over it pierced by a circular hole 1 ft. in diameter—near the northern wall of the old church, Conder was able by lowering a lantern to see into a chamber some 15 ft. under the church. He estimated it to be some 12 ft. square; it had plastered walls, and in the wall toward the S.E. there was a door which appeared like the entrance to a rock-cut tomb. On the outside of the Ḥaram wall, close to the steps of the southern entrance gateway is a hole in the lowest course of masonry, which may possibly communicate with the western cave. Into this the Jews of Hebron are accustomed to thrust many written prayers and vows to the patriarchs.

The evidence, historical and archaeological seems to show that the cave occupies only the south end of the great quadrilateral enclosure under part only of the area covered by the church. See Hebron.

Literature.—*PEF*, III, 333–46; *PEFS*, 1882, 197; 1897, 53; 1912, 145–150; *HDB*, III, art. "Machpelah," by Warren; Stanley, *SP* and *Lects on the Jewish Church*; "Pal under the Moslems," *PEF*; Pilgrim Text Soc. publications.

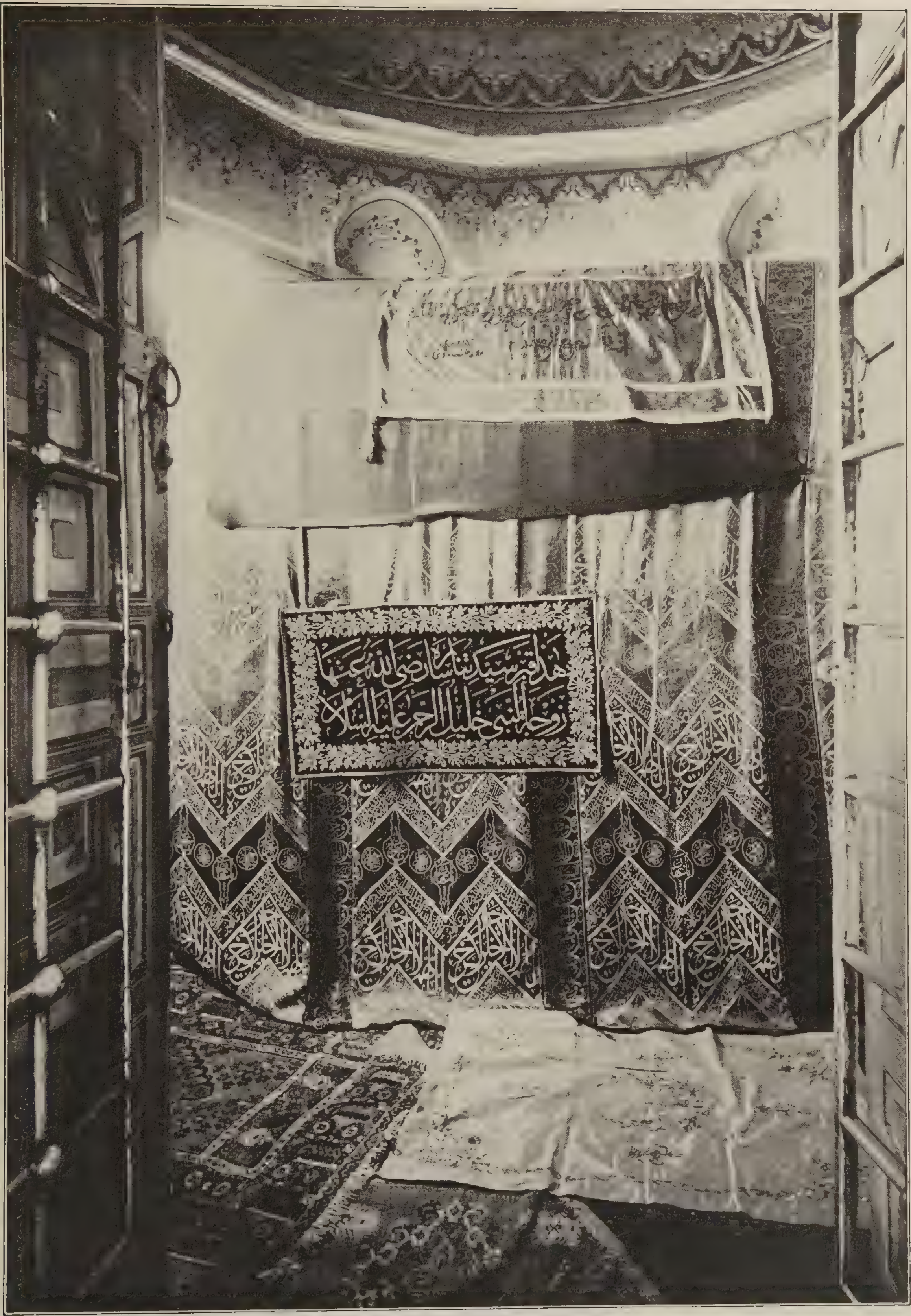
E. W. G. Masterman

MACONAH, mȧ-kō′na: AV **Mekonah** (q.v.).

MACRON, mā′kron (**Μάκρων**, *Mákrōn*): Ptolemy Macron who had been appointed by Ptolemy Philometor VI governor of Cyprus and deserted to Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria (2 Macc **10** 12 ff). Under Antiochus he was governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia (**8** 8). In 1 Macc **3** 38 and 2 Macc **4** 45 he is called "Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes." At first he was a fierce and cruel enemy of the Jews and was one of those chosen by Lysias to destroy Israel and reduce Judas Maccabee (ib). Later he apparently relented toward the Jews (2 Macc **10** 12), fell into disfavor with Antiochus Eupator, before whom he was accused by the king's *friends*, and was so galled by being constantly called traitor that he ended his life with poison (2 Macc **10** 13).

S. Angus

MAD, MADNESS (הָלַל, *hālal*, שָׁגַע, *shāgha'*; **μανία**, *manía*): These words, and derivatives from the same roots are used to express various conditions of mental derangement. Though usually tr^{d} "mad," or "madness," they are often used for temporary conditions to which one would scarcely



CENOTAPH OVER TOMB OF SARAH IN MOSQUE OF HEBRON ABOVE CAVE OF MACHPELAH

apply them today except as common colloquial inaccuracies. The madness coupled with folly in Eccl is rather the excessive frivolity and dissipation on the part of the idle rich (so in **1** 17; **2** 2–12; **7** 25; **9** 3; **10** 13). The insensate fury of the wicked against the good is called by this name in Ps **102** 8. In Dt **28** 28–34 it is used to characterize the state of panic produced by the oppression of tyrannical conquerors, or (as in Zec **12** 4) by the judgment of God on sinners. This condition of mind is metaphorically called a drunkenness with the wine of God's wrath (Jer **25** 16; **51** 7). The same mental condition due to terror-striking idols is called "madness" in Jer **50** 38. The madman of Prov **26** 18 is a malicious person who carries his frivolous jest to an unreasonable length, for he is responsible for the mischief he causes. The ecstatic condition of one under the inspiration of the Divine or of evil spirits, such as that described by Balaam (Nu **24** 3 f), or that which Saul experienced (1 S **10** 10), is compared to madness; and conversely in the Near East at the present day the insane are supposed to be Divinely inspired and to be peculiarly under the Divine protection. This was the motive which led David, when at the court of Achish, to feign madness (1 S **21** 13–15). It is only within the last few years that any provision has been made in Pal for the restraint even of dangerous lunatics, and there are many insane persons wandering at large there.

1. In the OT

This association of madness with inspiration is expressed in the name "this mad fellow" given to the prophet who came to anoint Jehu, which did not necessarily convey a disrespectful meaning (2 K **9** 11). The true prophetic spirit was, however, differentiated from the ravings of the false prophets by Isaiah (**44** 25), these latter being called mad by Jeremiah (**29** 26) and Hosea (**9** 7).

The most interesting case of real insanity recorded in the OT is that of Saul, who, from being a shy, self-conscious young man, became, on his exaltation to the kingship, puffed up with a megalomania, alternating with fits of black depression with homicidal impulses, finally dying by suicide. The cause of his madness is said to have been an evil spirit from God (1 S **18** 10), and when, under the influence of the ecstatic mood which alternated with his depression, he conducted himself like a lunatic (**19** 23 f), his mutterings are called "prophesyings." The use of music in his case as a remedy (1 S **16** 16) may be compared with Elisha's use of the same means to produce the prophetic ecstasy (2 K **3** 15).

The story of Nebuchadnezzar is another history of a sudden accession of insanity in one puffed up by self-conceit and excessive prosperity. His delusion that he had become as an ox is of the same nature as that of the daughters of Procyus recorded in the Song of Silenus by Virgil (*Ecl.* vi.48).

2. In the NT

In the NT the word "lunatic" (*selēniazómenoi*) (AV Mt **4** 24; **17** 15) is correctly rendered in RV "epileptic." Undoubtedly many of the demoniacs were persons suffering from insanity. The words "mad" or "madness" occur 8 t, but usually in the sense of paroxysms of passion, excitement and foolishness. Thus in Acts **26** 11 Paul says that before his conversion he was "exceedingly mad" (*emmainómenos*) against the Christians. In 1 Cor **14** 23, those who "speak with tongues" in Christian assemblies are said to appear mad to the outsider. Rhoda was called "mad" when she announced that Peter was at the door (Acts **12** 15). The madness with which the Jews were filled when Our Lord healed the man with the withered hand is called *ánoia,* which is literally senselessness (Lk **6** 11), and the madness of Balaam is called *paraphronía,* "being beside himself" (2 Pet **2** 16). Paul is accused by Festus of having become deranged by overstudy (Acts **26** 24). It is still the belief among the fellahin that lunatics are people inspired by spirits, good or evil, and it is probable that all persons showing mental derangement would naturally be described as "possessed," so that, without entering into the vexed question of demoniacal possession, any cases of insanity cured by Our Lord or the apostles would naturally be classed in the same category. See also LUNATIC.

ALEX. MACALISTER

MADAI, mad′ȧ-ī, mā′dī (מָדַי, *mādhay*). See MEDES.

MADIABUN, ma-dī′a-bun (**Μαδιαβούν,** *Madiaboún,* AV). See EMADABUN.

MADIAN, mā′di-an (AV Jth **2** 26; Acts **7** 29 AV). See MIDIAN.

MADMANNAH, mad-man′a (מַדְמַנָּה, *madhmannāh;* B, **Μαχαρίμ,** *Macharím,* A, **Βεδεβηνά,** *Bedebēná* [Josh **15** 31]; B, **Μαρμηνά,** *Marmēná,* A, **Μαδμηνά,** *Madmēná* [1 Ch **2** 49]): This town lay in the Negeb of Judah and is mentioned with Hormah and Ziklag. It is represented in Josh **19** 5, etc, by Beth-marcaboth. *Umm Deimneh,* 12 miles N. of Beersheba, has been proposed on etymological grounds (*PEF,* III, 392, 399, Sh XXIV).

MADMEN, mad′men (מַדְמֵן, *madhmēn;* **καὶ παῦσιν παύσεται,** *kaí paúsin paúsetai*): An unidentified town in Moab against which Jer prophesied (**48** 2). The play upon the words here suggests a possible error in transcription: *gam madhmēn tiddōmī,* "Also, Madmen, thou shalt be silenced." The initial *M* of "Madmen" may have arisen by dittography from the last letter of *gam.* We should then point *Dimon,* which of course is Dibon.

MADMENAH, mad-mē′na (מַדְמֵנָה, *madhmēnāh;* **Μαδεβηνᾶ,** *Madebēná*): A place mentioned only in Isaiah's description of the Assyr advance upon Jerus (**10** 31). It is not identified.

MADNESS, mad′nes. See MAD, MADNESS.

MADON, mā′don (מָדוֹן, *mādhōn;* B, **Μαῤῥών,** *Marrhōn,* A, **Μαδών,** *Madōn* [Josh **11** 1], B, **Μαρμώθ,** *Marmōth,* A, **Μαρών,** *Marōn* [Josh **12** 19]): A royal city of the Canaanites named along with Hazor of Galilee. *El-Medīneh,* "the city," on the heights W. of the Sea of Galilee, with which it might possibly be identified, probably dates only from Moslem times. It seems likely that the common confusion of the Heb ד for ר has occurred, and that we should read "Maron." The place may be then identified with *Meirōn,* a village with ancient ruins and rock tombs at the foot of *Jebel Jermuk,* a little to the N.W. of *Ṣafed.* W. EWING

MAELUS, mȧ-ē′lus (A, **Μάηλος,** *Máēlos,* B, **Μίλησς,** *Mílēlos*): One of those who at Esdras' request put away his foreign wife (1 Esd **9** 26 = "Mijamin" in the ‖ Ezr **10** 25).

MAGADAN, mag′a-dan, ma-gā′dan (**Μαγαδάν,** *Magadán;* the reading of *TR,* **Μαγδαλά** [AV], *Magdalá,* is unsupported): This name appears only in Mt **15** 39. In the ‖ passage, Mk **8** 10, its place is taken by Dalmanutha. From these two passages it is reasonable to infer that "the borders of Magadan" and "the parts of Dalmanutha" were contiguous. We may perhaps gather from the narrative that they lay on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. After the feeding of the 4,000, Jesus and His disciples came to these parts. Thence they departed to "the other side" (Mk **8** 13), arriving at Bethsaida. This is generally believed to have been Bethsaida Julias, N.E. of the sea, whence He set out on His visit to Caesarea Philippi. In this case we might look for Dalmanutha and Magadan somewhere S. of the Plain of Gennesaret, at the foot of the western hills. Stanley (*SP*, 383) quotes Schwarz to the effect that a cave in the face of these precipitous slopes bears the name of Teliman or Talmanutha. If this is true, it points to a site for Dalmanutha near *'Ain el-Fulīyeh*. Magadan might then be represented by *el-Mejdel*, a village at the S.W. corner of the Plain of Gennesaret. It is commonly identified with Magdala, the home of Mary Magdalene, but without any evidence. The name suggests that this was the site of an old Heb *mighdāl*, "tower" or "fortress." The village with its ruins is now the property of the German Roman Catholics. The land in the plain has been purchased by a colony of Jews, and is once more being brought under cultivation.

Magdala (Looking to the N.E.).

The identification with Magdala is made more probable by the frequent interchange of *l* for *n*, e.g. Nathan (Heb), Nethel (Aram.). W. Ewing

MAGBISH, mag′bish (מַגְבִּישׁ, *maghbīsh;* B, **Μαγεβώς,** *Magebōs,* A, **Μααβείς,** *Maabeís*): An unidentified town in Benjamin, 156 of the inhabitants of which are said to have returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Ezr **2** 30). It does not appear in Nehemiah's list (**7** 33). LXX (B), however, has *Magebōs*. The name is probably identical with Magpiash, "one who sealed the covenant" (Neh **10** 20).

MAGDALA, mag′da-la. See Magadan.

MAGDALENE, mag′da-lēn, mag-da-lē′nē. See Mary, III.

MAGDIEL, mag′di-el (מַגְדִּיאֵל, *maghdī'ēl;* Gen **36** 43, A, **Μετοδυήλ,** *Metoduḗl;* 1 Ch **1** 54, A, **Μαγεδυήλ,** *Mageduḗl,* B, **Μεδυήλ,** *Meduḗl*): One of the "dukes" of Edom.

MAGED, mā′ged. See Maked.

MAGI, mā′jī, **THE** (**Μάγοι,** *Mágoi* [Mt **2** 1.7.16, "Wise-men," RV and AV, "Magi" RVm]): Were originally a Median tribe (Herod. i.101); and in Darius' Inscriptions *Magush* means only a member of that tribe. It was one of them, Bardiya, who pretended to be Smerdis and raised the rebellion against Cambyses. **1. Originally a Median Tribe** *Rabh Magh* in Jer **39** 3 does not mean "Chief Magus," but is in Assyr *Rab mugi* (apparently "commander"; cf *rab mugi ša narkabti,* "commander of chariots"), having no connection with "Magus" (unless perhaps Magians were employed as charioteers, Media being famous for its Nisaean steeds). The investment of the Magi with priestly functions, *possibly* under Cyrus (Xen. *Cyrop.* viii), but probably much later, was perhaps due to the fact that Zoroaster (Zarathuštra) belonged, it is said, to that tribe. They guarded the sacred fire, recited hymns at dawn and offered sacrifices of *haoma*-juice, etc. Herodotus (i.132) says they also *buried* the dead (perhaps temporary burial is meant as in *Vendîdâd,* Farg. viii). They were granted extensive estates in Media for their maintenance, and the *âthravans* and other priests mentioned in the Avesta may have been of their number, though only once does the word "Magus" occur in the book (in the compound *Môghu-thbish,* "Magus-hater," *Yasna,* lxv.7, Geldner's ed). The Magi even in Herodotus' time had gained a reputation for "magic" arts (cf Acts **13** 6.8). They also studied astrology and astronomy (*rationes mundani motus et siderum* [Amm. Marc., xxiii.6, 32]), partly learned from Babylon.

These latter studies explain why a star was used to lead them to Christ at Bethlehem, when Our Lord was less than two years old (Mt **2** 16).

2. The Magi at Bethlehem No reliable tradition deals with the country whence these particular magi came. Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Epiphanius fancied that they came from Arabia, founding their opinion on the fact that "gold, frankincense and myrrh" abounded in Yemen. But the text says they came not from the S. but from the E. Origen held that they came from Chaldaea, which is possible. But Clement of Alexandria, Diodorus of Tarsus, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Juvencus, Prudentius and others are probably right in bringing them from Persia. Sargon's settlement of Israelites in Media (c 730–728 BC [2 K **17** 6]) accounts for the large Heb element of thought which Darmesteter recognizes in the Avesta (*SBE,* IV, Intro, ch vi). Median astronomers would thus know Balaam's prophecy of the star out of Jacob (Nu **24** 17). That the Jews expected a star as a sign of the birth of the Messiah is clear from the tractate *Zohar* of the Gemârâ and also from the title "Son of the Star" (*Bar Kōkhebhā*) given to a pseudo-Messiah

(130–35 AD). Tacitus (*Hist.* v.13) and Suetonius (*Vesp.* iv) tell us how widespread in the East at the time of Christ's coming was the expectation that "at that time men starting from Judaea would make themselves masters of things" (cf Virgil, *Ecl.* iv). All this would naturally prepare the Magi to follow the star when it appeared. See also Astrology; Astronomy; Divination; Magic; Wise Men; Zoroastrianism.

Literature.—Herodotus; Xenophon; Amm. Marcellinus; Strabo; Spiegel, *Altpersische Keilinschriften;* Geldner, *Avesta;* Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr Dict.;* *BDB;* *RE.*

W. St. Clair Tisdall

MAGI, STAR OF. See Star of the Magi.

MAGIC, maj′ik, MAGICIAN, ma-jish′an:

I. Definition
II. Division of the Subject
    1. Magic as Impersonal
    2. Magic as Personal
III. Magic and Religion
IV. Magic in the Bible
    1. Hostility to Magic
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V. Magical Terms Used in the Bible
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    5. Incantation
    6. Repeated Utterances
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    8. Witchcraft
Literature

The word comes from a Gr adj. (*μαγική, magikḗ*) with which the noun *τέχνη, téchnē*, "art," is understood. The full phrase is "magical art" (Wisd **17** 10). But the Gr word is derived from the *magi* or Zarathustran (Zoroastrian) priests. Magic is therefore historically the art practised in Persia by the recognized priests of the country. It is impossible in the present article, owing to exigencies of space, to give a full account of this important subject and of the leading views of it which have been put forth. The main purpose of the following treatment will be to consider the subject from the Bib. standpoint.

I. Definition.—In its modern accepted sense magic may be described as the art of bringing about results beyond man's own power by superhuman agencies. In the wide sense of this definition divination is but a species of magic, i.e. magic used as a means of securing secret knowledge, esp. a knowledge of the future. Divination and magic bear a similar relation to prophecy and miracle respectively, the first and third implying special knowledge, the second and fourth special power. But divination has to do generally with omens, and it is better for this and other reasons to notice the two subjects—magic and divination—apart, as is done in the present work.

II. Division of the Subject.—There are two kinds of magic: (1) impersonal; (2) personal. In the

1. Magic as Impersonal

first, magic is a species of crude science, for the underlying hypothesis is that there are forces in the world which can be utilized on certain conditions, incantations, magical acts, drugs, etc. The magician in this case connects what on a very slender induction he considers to be causes and effects, mainly on the principle of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. He may not know much of the causal agency; it is enough for him to know that by performing some act or reciting some formula (see Charm) or carrying some object (see Amulet) he can secure some desired end. Frazer (*Golden Bough*^{2}, I, 61) says: "Magic is a kind of savage logic, an elementary species of reasoning based on similarity, contiguity and contrast." But why does the savage draw conclusions from association of ideas? There must be an implied belief in the uniformity of Nature or in the controlling power of intelligent beings.

2. Magic as Personal

In personal magic, living, intelligent, spiritual beings are made the real agents which men by incantations, etc, influence and even control. The magical acts may in an advanced stage include sacrifice, the incantations become prayer.

Impersonal magic is regarded by most anthropologists, including E. B. Tylor and J. Frazer, as more primitive than the second and as a lower form of it. This conclusion rests on an assumption that human culture is always progressive, that the movement is uniformly onward and upward. But this law does not always hold. The religion of Israel as taught in the 8th cent. BC stands on a higher level ethically and intellectually than that taught in the writings of Haggai, Zechariah and Ecclesiastes centuries later. Among the ancient Indians, the Rig Veda occupies much loftier ground than the much later Atharva Veda.

III. Magic and Religion.—Personal magic in its higher forms shades off into religion, and very commonly the two exist together. It is the practice to speak of sacrifice and prayer as constituting elements of the ancient and modern religions of India. But it is doubtful whether either of these has the same connotation that it bears in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. J. Frazer (*Golden Bough*^{2}, I, 67 ff) says that where the operation of spirits is assumed (and "these cases are exceptional"), magic is "tinged and alloyed with religion." Such an assumption is, he admits, often made and the present writer thinks it is generally made, for even the operation of the laws of association implies it. But Frazer concludes from various considerations that "though magic is . . . . found to fuse and amalgamate with religion in many ages and in many lands, there are some grounds for thinking that this fusion is not primitive." It is of course personal magic to which religion stands in closest relations. As soon as man comes to see in the beings by whose power marvels are wrought, personalities capable of emotions like himself and susceptible to persuasion, his magical art becomes an intelligent effort to propitiate these superior beings and his incantations become hymns and prayers. In all religions, Jewish, Moslem, Christian or pagan, when the act or prayer as such is held to produce certain results or to secure certain desired boons, we have to do with a species of magic. The word "religion" is inapplicable, unless it includes the idea of personal faith in a God or gods whose favor depends on moral acts and on ritual acts only in so far as they have a voluntary and ethical character. If it be granted that magic, the lower, precedes religion, the higher, this does not necessarily negative the validity of the religious concept. Mature knowledge is preceded by elementary impressions and beliefs which are subjective without objective correspondences. But this higher knowledge is none the less valid for its antecedents. If it can be proved that the Christian or any other religion has become what it is by gradual ascent from animism, magic, etc, its validity is not by this destroyed or even impaired. Religion must be judged according to its own proper evidence. But see II, end.

IV. Magic in the Bible.—The general remarks made on the Bible and divination in Divination, V, have an equal application to the

1. Hostility to Magic

attitude of the Bible toward magic. This attitude is distinctly hostile, as it could not but be in documents professing to inculcate the teaching of the ethical and spiritual religion of Israel (see Dt **18** 10 f; 2 K **21** 6; 2 Ch **33** 6. etc). Yet it is equally clear that the actual power of magic is acknowledged as clearly as its illegitimacy is pointed out. In the account of the plagues (Ex **7–11**) it is assumed that the magicians of Egypt had real power to perform superhuman feats. They throw their rods and they become serpents; they turn the waters of the Nile into blood. It is only when they try to produce gnats that they fail, though Aaron had succeeded by Yahweh's power in doing this and thus showed that Yahweh's power was greatest. But that the magicians had power that was real and great is not so much as called in question.

2. Potency of Magical Words

Among the ancient Semites (Arabs, Assyrians, Hebrews, etc) there was a strong belief in the potency of the magical words of blessing and of curse. The mere utterance of such words was regarded as enough to secure their realization. That the narrator of Nu **22–24** ascribed to Balaam magical power is clear from the narrative, else why should Yahweh be represented as transferring Balaam's service to the cause of Israel? We have other Bib. references to the power of the spoken word of blessing in Gen **12** 3; Ex **12** 32; Jgs **17** 2; 2 S **21** 3, and of curse in Gen **27** 29; Jgs **5** 23; Job **3** 8 (cf the so-called Imprecatory Psalms, and see *Century Bible*, "Ps," vol II, 216). On the prevalence of the belief among the Arabs, see the important work of Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, Theil I, 23 ff.

3. Influence of Charms

In Gen **30** 14, we have an example of the belief in the power of plants (here mandrakes) to stir up and strengthen sexual love, and we read in Arab. lit. of the very same superstition in connection with what is called *Yabruḥ*, almost certainly the same plant. Indeed one of the commonest forms in which magic appears is as a love-charm, and as this kind of magic was often exercised by women, magic and adultery are frequently named together in the OT (see 2 K **9** 22; Nah **3** 4; Mal **3** 5; and cf Ex **22** 18 [17], where the sorceress [AV "witch"] is to be condemned to death). We have an instance of what is called sympathetic magic (for a description of which see Jevons, *Intro to Hist of Religion*, 28 ff, and Frazer, *Golden Bough*², I, 49 ff) in Gen **30** 37 ff. Jacob placed before the sheep and goats that came to drink water peeled rods, so that the pregnant ones might bring forth young that were spotted and striped. The teraphim mentioned in Gen **31** 19 ff and put away with wizards during the drastic reforms of Josiah (2 K **23** 24; cf Zec **10** 2) were household objects supposed capable of warding off evil of every kind. The Babylonians and Assyrians had a similar custom. We read of an Assyr magician that he had statues of the gods Lugalgira and Alamu put on each side of the main entrance to his house, and in consequence he felt perfectly impregnable against evil spirits (see Tallquist, *Assyr. Besch*, 22).

In Isa **3** 2 the *ķōşēm* ("magician" or "diviner") is named along with the knight warrior, the judge, prophet and elder, among the stays and supports of the nation; no disapproval is expressed or implied with regard to any of them. Yet it is not to be denied that in its essential features pure Yahwism, which enforced personal faith in a pure spiritual being, was radically opposed to all magical beliefs and practices. The fact that the Hebrews stood apart as believers in an ethical and spiritual religion from the Sem and other peoples by which they were surrounded suggests that they were Divinely guided, for in other respects—art, philosophy, etc—this same Heb nation held a lower place than many contemporary nations.

V. Magical Terms Used in the Bible.—Many terms employed in the OT in reference to divination have also a magical import. See Divination, VII. For a fuller discussion of Bib. terms connected with both subjects, reference may be made to T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and Their Neighbours*, 44 ff, 78 ff; see also arts. "Divination" and "Magic" in *EB*, by the present writer.

1. Divination

Here a few brief statements are all that can be attempted. *Ķeşem* (קֶסֶם), usually rendered "divination" (see Nu **23** 23), has primarily a magical reference (Fleischer), though both Wellhausen (*Reste des arabischen Heidenthums*², 133, n.5) and W. Robertson Smith (*Jour. Phil.*, XIII, 278) hold that its first use was in connection with divination. The Arab. vb. ("to exorcise") and noun ("an oath") have magical meanings. But it must be admitted that the secondary meaning ("divination") has almost driven out the other. See under I, where it is held that at bottom magic and divination are one.

2. Sorcery

The vb. *kāshaph* (כִּשֵּׁף), RV "to practise sorcery," comes, as Fleischer held, from a root denoting "to have a dark appearance," to look gloomy, to be distressed, then as a suppliant to seek relief by magical means. The corresponding nouns *kashshāph* and *m*ᵉ*kashshēph* are rendered "sorcerer" in EV.

3. Enchantment

Laḥash (לַחַשׁ), EV "enchantment," etc (see Isa **3** 3, *n*ᵉ*bhōn laḥash*, RV "the skilful enchanter"), is connected etymologically with *nāḥāsh*, "a serpent," the *n* and *l* often interchanging in Sem. *Laḥash* is, therefore, as might have been expected from this etymology, used specifically of serpent charming (see Jer **8** 17; Eccl **10** 11; cf *m*ᵉ*laḥēsh* [מְלַחֵשׁ] in Ps **58** 5 [6], EV "charmer").

4. Amulets

Ḥebher (חֶבֶר) occurs in the plural only (Isa **47** 9.12, EV "enchantments"). It comes from a root meaning "to bind," and it denotes probably amulets of some kind carried on the person to ward off evil. It seems therefore to be the Bib. equivalent of the Talmudic *ķ*ᵉ*mīaʿ* (קְמִיעַ), lit. = "something bound," from *ķāmaʿ* (קָמַע), "to bind."

5. Incantation

Shiḥar (שִׁחַר) (Isa **47** 11) seems to have an etymological connection with the principal Arab. word for "magic" (*siḥrun*), and is explained by the great majority of recent commentators following J. H. Michaelis (Hitzig, Ewald, Dillmann, Whitehouse in *Century Bible*, etc) as meaning "to charm away" (by incantations). So also Tg, *Rashi*, *JH* and *JD*, Michaelis, Eichhorn, etc.

6. Utterances Repeated

The vb. *battologéō* (βαττολογέω) in Mt **6** 7 (= "say not the same thing over and over again") refers to the superstition that the repeated utterance of a word will secure one's wish. In India today it is thought that if an ascetic says in one month the name of Radha, Krishna or Rom 100,000 times, he cannot fail to obtain what he wants (see 1 K **18** 26). See Repetition.

7. Impostors

The term *góētes* (γόητες), RV "impostors," AV "seducers," is used of a class of magicians who uttered certain magical formulae in a deep, low voice (cf the vb. *goáō* [γοάω], which = "to sigh," "to utter low moaning tones"). Herodotus (ii.33) says that there were persons of the kind in Egypt, and they are mentioned also by Euripides and Plato.

Paul in Gal **5** 20 classes with uncleanness, idolatry, etc, what he calls *pharmakeia* (φαρμακεία), AV "witchcraft," RV "sorcery." The word has

8. Witchcraft

reference first of all to drugs used in exercising the magical art. Note the name Simon Magus, which = Simon the magician (Acts **8** 9 f), and Bar-Jesus, whom Luke calls a magician (μάγος, *mágos*, EV "sorcerer") and to whom he gives also the proper name Elymas, which is really the Arab. *'āliṃ* = "learned," and so one skilful in the magical art. See also under AMULET; CHARM; DEMONOLOGY; WITCHCRAFT.

LITERATURE.—A very full bibliography of the subject will be found in T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and Their Neighbours*, xi–xvi. See also the lit. under DIVINATION and in addition to the lit. cited in the course of the foregoing art., note the following: A. Lehmann, *Aberglaube und Zauberei*^{2}, 1908; A. C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, 1906; Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 1898; Smith, "Witchcraft in the OT," *Bib. Soc.*, 1902, 23–35; W. R. Halliday, *Gr Divination; A Study of Its Methods and Principles*, London, Macmillan (important) and the valuable art. on "Magic" by N. W. Thomas in the *Enc Brit*, and also the relevant arts. in the Bible dictionaries.

T. WITTON DAVIES

MAGISTRATE, maj′is-trāt (שְׁפַט, *sh^{e}phaṭ*, corresponding to שָׁפַט, *shāphaṭ*, "to judge," "to pronounce sentence" [Jgs **18** 7]): Among the ancients, the terms corresponding to our "magistrate" had a much wider signification. "Magistrates and judges" (שֹׁפְטִים וְדַיָּנִים, *shōph^{e}ṭīm w^e-dhayyānīm*) should be tr^d "judges and rulers" (Ezr **7** 25). סְגָנִים, *ṣ^{e}ghānīm*, "rulers" or "nobles," were Bab magistrates or prefects of provinces (Jer **51** 23.28.57; Ezk **23** 6). In the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the Jewish magistrates bore the same title (Ezr **9** 2; Neh **2** 16; **4** 14; **13** 11). The Gr ἄρχων, *árchōn*, "magistrate" (Lk **12** 58; Tit **3** 1 AV), signifies the chief in power (1 Cor **2** 6.8) and "ruler" (Acts **4** 26; Rom **13** 3).

The Messiah is designated as the "prince [*archōn*] of the kings of the earth" (Rev **1** 5 AV), and by the same term Moses is designated the judge and leader of the Hebrews (Acts **7** 27.35). The wide application of this term is manifest from the fact that it is used of magistrates of any kind, e.g. the high priest (Acts **23** 5); civil judges (Lk **12** 58; Acts **16** 19); ruler of the synagogue (Lk **8** 41; Mt **9** 18.23; Mk **5** 22); persons of standing and authority among the Pharisees and other sects that appear in the Sanhedrin (Lk **14** 1; Jn **3** 1; Acts **3** 17). The term also designates Satan, the prince or chief of the fallen angels (Mt **9** 34; Eph **2** 2).

In the NT we also find στρατηγός, *stratēgós*, employed to designate the Rom praetors or magistrates of Philippi, a Rom colony (Acts **16** 20.22.35.36.38). A collective term for those clothed with power (Eng. "the powers"), ἐξουσίαι, *exousíai*, is found in Lk **12** 11 AV; Rom **13** 2.3; Tit **3** 1. The "higher powers" (Rom **13** 1) are all those who are placed in positions of civil authority from the emperor down.

In early Heb history, the magisterial office was limited to the hereditary chiefs, but Moses made the judicial office elective. In his time the "heads of families" were 59 in number, and these, together with the 12 princes of the tribes, composed the Sanhedrin or Council of 71. Some of the scribes were intrusted with the business of keeping the genealogies and in this capacity were also regarded as magistrates.

FRANK E. HIRSCH

MAGNIFICAL, mag-nif′i-kal (גָּדַל, *gādhal*, in Hiph. "to make great"): Old form retained from Genevan VS in 1 Ch **22** 5; in ARV "magnificent."

MAGNIFICAT, mag-nif′i-kat: The name given to the hymn of Mary in Lk **1** 46–55, commencing "My soul doth magnify the Lord." Three old Lat MSS substitute the name "Elisabeth" for "Mary" in ver 46, but against this is the authority of all Gr MSS and other Lat VSS. The hymn, modeled in part on that of Hannah in 1 S **2** 1 ff, is peculiarly suitable to the circumstances of Mary, and plainly could not have been composed after the actual appearance and resurrection of Christ. Its early date is thus manifest.

MAGNIFY, mag′ni-fī (Hiph. of גָּדַל, *gādhal;* **μεγαλύνω,** *megalúnō*, "to make great," "extol," "celebrate in praise"): Used esp. of exaltation of the name, mercy, and other attributes of God (Gen **19** 19; 2 S **7** 26, Ps **35** 27; **40** 16; **70** 4; Lk **1** 46; Acts **10** 46); of God's "word" (Ps **138** 2); or of Christ (Acts **19** 17; Phil **1** 20). Men also can be "magnified" (Josh **4** 14; 1 Ch **29** 25, etc). In Rom **11** 13, "magnify mine office," the word (Gr *doxázō*) is changed in RV to "glorify."

MAGOG, mā′gog (מָגוֹג, *māghōgh;* **Μαγώγ,** *Magôg*): Named among the sons of Japheth (Gen **10** 2; 1 Ch **1** 5). Ezekiel uses the word as equivalent to "land of Gog" (Ezk **38** 2; **39** 6). Jos identifies the Magogites with the Scythians (*Ant*, I, vi, 1). From a resemblance between the names Gog and Gyges (Gugu), king of Lydia, some have suggested that Magog is Lydia; others, however, urge that Magog is probably only a variant of Gog (Sayce in *HDB*). In the Apocalypse of John, Gog and Magog represent all the heathen opponents of Messiah (Rev **20** 8), and in this sense these names frequently recur in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

JOHN A. LEES

MAGOR-MISSABIB, mā′gor-mis′a-bib (מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב, *māghōr miṣṣābhībh*, "terror on every side"): A name given by Jeremiah to Pashhur ben Immer, the governor of the temple, who had caused the prophet to be beaten and set in the stocks (Jer **20** 3). The same expression is used (not as a proper name) in several other passages (Ps **31** 13; Jer **6** 25; **20** 10; **46** 5; **49** 29; Lam **2** 22).

MAGPIASH, mag′pi-ash. See MAGBISH.

MAGUS, mā′gus, **SIMON.** See SIMON MAGUS; MAGI; MAGIC.

MAHALAH, ma-hā′lä, mā′ha-lä (מַחְלָה, *maḥlāh;* RV has the correct form MAHLAH): A descendant of Manasseh (1 Ch **7** 18).

MAHALALEL, ma-hā′la-lel (מַהֲלַלְאֵל, *mahălal'ēl;* AV **Mahalaleel**, ma-hā′la-lē-el, ma-hal′a-lēl):

(1) Son of Cainan, the grandson of Seth (Gen **5** 12 ff; 1 Ch **1** 2).

(2) The ancestor of Athaiah, one of the children of Judah who dwelt in Jerus after the return from exile (Neh **11** 4).

MAHALATH, mā′ha-lath (מַחֲלַת, *maḥălath*):

(1) In Gen **28** 9 the name of a wife of Esau, daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebaioth, called in **36** 3, BASEMATH (q.v.). The Sam, however, throughout ch **36** retains "Mahalath." On the other hand, in **26** 34 Basemath is said to be "the daughter of Elon the Hittite," probably a confusion with Adah, as given in **36** 2, or corruption may exist in the lists otherwise.

(2) One of the 18 wives of Rehoboam, a granddaughter of David (2 Ch **11** 18).

(3) The word is found in the titles of Ps **53** (RV "set to Mahalath") and Ps **88** (RV "set to Mahalath Leannoth," m "for singing"). Probably some song or tune is meant, though the word is taken by many to denote a musical instrument. Hengstenberg and others interpret it as indicating the subject of the Pss. See PSALMS.

JAMES ORR

MAHALI, mā′ha-lī. See Mahli.

MAHANAIM, mā-ha-nā′im (מַחֲנַיִם, *maḥănayim;* the Gr is different in every case where the name occurs, B and A also giving variant forms; the dual form may be taken as having arisen from an old locative ending, as, e.g. in יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, *yᵉrūshāla[y]im*, from an original יְרוּשָׁלֵם, *yᵉrūshālēm*. In Gen **32** 21 *maḥăneh* is evidently a ‖ form and should be rendered as a proper name, Mahaneh, i.e. Mahanaim): The city must have been one of great strength. It lay E. of the Jordan, and is first mentioned in the history of Jacob. Here he halted after parting from Laban, before the passage of the Jabbok (Gen **32** 2), "and the angels of God met him." Possibly it was the site of an ancient sanctuary. It is next noticed in defining the boundaries of tribal territory E. of the Jordan. It lay on the border of Gad and Manasseh (Josh **13** 26.30). It belonged to the lot of Gad, and was assigned along with Ramoth in Gilead to the Merarite Levites (**21** 38; 1 Ch **6** 80—the former of these passages affords no justification to Cheyne in saying [*EB*, s.v.] that it is mentioned as a "city of refuge"). The strength of the place doubtless attracted Abner, who fixed here the capital of Ishbosheth's kingdom. Saul's chivalrous rescue of Jabesh-gilead was remembered to the credit of his house in these dark days, and the loyalty of M. could be reckoned on (2 S **2** 8, etc). To this same fortress David fled when endangered by the rebellion of Absalom; and in the "forest" hard by, that prince met his fate (2 S **17** 24, etc). It was made the center of one of Solomon's administrative districts, and here Abinadab the son of Iddo was stationed (1 K **4** 14). There seems to be a reference to M. in Cant **6** 13 RV. If this is so, here alone it appears with the article. By emending the text Cheyne would read: "What do you see in the Shulammite? A narcissus of the valleys."

It is quite clear from the narrative that Jacob, going to meet his brother, who was advancing from the S., crossed the Jabbok after leaving M. It is therefore vain to search for the site of this city S. of the Jabbok, and Conder's suggested identification with some place near *el-Buḳei'a*, E. of *es-Salt*, must be given up.

On the N. of the Jabbok several positions have been thought of. Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, 433 ff) argues in favor of *Khirbet Saleikhat*, a ruined site in the mouth of *Wādy Saleikhat*, on the northern bank, 3 miles E. of Jordan, and 4 miles N. of *Wādy 'Ajlūn*. From its height, 300 ft. above the plain, it commands a wide view to the W. and S. One running "by the way of the Plain" could be seen a great way off (2 S **18** 23). This would place the battle in the hills to the S. near the Jordan valley. Ahimaaz then preferred to make a détour, thus securing a level road, while the Cushite took the rough track across the heights. Others, among them Buhl (*GAP*, 257), would place M. at *Miḥneh*, a partly overgrown ruin 9 miles E. of Jordan, and 4 miles N. of *'Ajlūn* on the north bank of *Wādy Maḥneh*. This is the only trace of the ancient name yet found in the district. It may be assumed that M. is to be sought in this neighborhood. Cheyne would locate it at *'Ajlūn*, near which rises the great fortress *Ḳal'ater-Rabaḍ*. He supposes that the "wood of Mahanaim" extended as far as *Miḥneh*, and that "the name of Mihneh is really an abbreviation of the ancient phrase." Others would identify M. with *Jerash*, where, however, there are no remains older than Gr-Rom times.

Objections to either *'Ajlūn* or *Miḥneh* are: (1) The reference to "this Jordan" in Gen **32** 10, which seems to show that the city was near the river. It may indeed be said that the great hollow of the Jordan valley seems close at hand for many miles on either side, but this, perhaps, hardly meets the objection. (2) The word *kikkār*, used for "Plain" in 2 S **18** 23, seems always elsewhere to apply to the "circle" of the Jordan. Buhl, who identifies M. with *Miḥneh*, yet cites this verse (*G A P*, 112) as a case in which *kikkār* applies to the plain of the Jordan. He thus prescribes for Ahimaaz a very long race. Cheyne sees the difficulty. The battle was obviously in the vicinity of M., and the nearest way from the "wood" was by the כִּכָּר, *kikkār*, "or, since no satisfactory explanation of this reading has been offered by the נַחַל, *naḥal*, that is to say, the eager Ahimaaz ran along in the *wādy* in which, at some little distance, M. lay" (*EB*, s.v.). The site for the present remains in doubt. W. Ewing

MAHANEH-DAN, mā′ha-ne-dan (מַחֲנֵה־דָן, *maḥănēh-dhān;* **παρεμβολὴ Δάν**, *parembolḗ Dán*): This place is mentioned twice: in Jgs **13** 25 (AV "the camp of Dan"), and Jgs **18** 12. In Mahaneh-dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol, the spirit of the Lord began to move Samson. Here the 600 marauders of Dan, coming from Zorah and Eshtaol, encamped behind Kiriath-jearim. It has been thought that these two statements contradict each other; or at least that they cannot both apply to the same place. But if we accept the identification of Zorah with *Surah*, and of Eshtaol with *Eshu'*, which there seems no reason to question; and if, further, we identify Kiriath-jearim with *Khirbet Erma*, which is at least possible, the two passages may be quite reconciled. Behind Kiriath-jearim, that is W. of *Khirbet Erma*, runs the Vale of Sorek, on the north bank of which, about 2 miles apart, stand Zorah and Eshtaol; the former 3½ miles, the latter 2½ miles from *Khirbet Erma*. No name resembling Mahaneh-dan has yet been recovered; but the place may have lain within the area thus indicated, so meeting the conditions of both passages, whether it was a permanent settlement, or derived its name only from the incident mentioned in **18** 12. W. Ewing

MAHARAI, ma-har′ā̇-ī, mā′ha-rī (מַהֲרַי, *mahăray*, "impetuous"): One of David's "braves" (2 S **23** 28; 1 Ch **11** 30; **27** 13). He was one of the 12 monthly captains of David's administration, and took the 10th month in rotation. He was of the family of Zerah, and dwelt in Netophah in Judah.

MAHATH, mā′hath (מַחַת, *maḥath*, "snatching"; **Μέθ**, *Méth*):

(1) One of the Kohathites having charge of the "service of song" in David's time, son of Amasai (1 Ch **6** 35). Possibly the same as Ahimoth (ver 25). He seems also to be the same as the person named in 2 Ch **29** 12 during Hezekiah's time, though it is probable there is some confusion in the narrative. He is there represented as taking part in the new covenant of Hezekiah and the cleansing of the Lord's house.

(2) One of the overseers of the temple under Conaniah and Shimei (2 Ch **31** 13); three passages of Scripture give the name, but it is difficult to individuate these because the genealogy identifies the two first named (1 Ch **6** 35; 2 Ch **29** 12), while the chronology seems to divide them—one in David's day, the other in Hezekiah's. It is not, however, impossible to identify the man of 2 Ch **29** 12 with him of 2 Ch **31** 13. Possibly the genealogy has been mistakenly repeated in 2 Ch **29** 12. Henry Wallace

MAHAVITE, mā′ha-vīt (מַחֲוִים, *maḥăwīm*, "villagers"): The description given to Eliel, one of David's warrior guard (1 Ch **11** 46), perhaps to distinguish him from the Eliel in the next verse. MT is very obscure here.

MAHAZIOTH, ma-hā′zi-oth, ma-hā′zi-ōth (מַחֲזִיאוֹת, *maḥăzī'ōth*, "visions"): One of the 14 sons of Heman the Kohathite in the temple choir. "He was leader of the 23d course of musicians whose function was to blow the horns" (1 Ch **25** 4.30).

MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ, mā′hĕr-shal′al-hash′baz (מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז, *mahēr shālāl ḥāsh baz*, "the spoil speedeth, the prey hasteth"): A symbolic name given to Isaiah's son to signify the sharp destruction of Rezin and Pekah by the Assyr power (Isa **8** 1.3). Cf the Gr idea of Nemesis.

MAHLAH, mä′la (מַחְלָה, *maḥlāh*, "sickness" or "song," etymology doubtful):

(1) Eldest of Zelophehad's 5 daughters (Nu **26** 33; **27** 1). As Zelophehad, grandson of Manasseh, had no sons, the daughters successfully claimed their father's inheritance. The law was altered in their favor on condition that they married into their father's tribe. They agreed and married their cousins (Nu **36** 11). The whole chapter should be read and compared with Josh **17** 3 ff, because the decision became a precedent.

(2) Another (AV "Mahalah"), same Heb name as above, daughter of Hammoleketh, granddaughter of Manasseh (1 Ch **7** 18).

Henry Wallace

MAHLI, mä′lī (מַחְלִי, *maḥlī*, "a sick or weak one"):

(1) A son of Merari (Ex **6** 19, AV **Mahali;** Nu **3** 20), grandson of Levi and founder of the Levitical family of Mahlites (q.v.).

(2) A son of Mushi, Mahli's brother, bears the same name (1 Ch **6** 47; **23** 23; **24** 30). Cf Ezr **8** 18 and 1 Esd **8** 47.

MAHLITES, mä′līts (מַחְלִי, *maḥlī*): Descendants of Mahli, son of Merari (Nu **3** 33; **26** 58). These Mahlites appear to have followed the example of the daughters of Zelophehad, *mutatis mutandis.* (See Mahlah; had the name become the description of a practice?) They married the daughters of their uncle Eleazar (1 Ch **23** 21.22).

MAHLON, mä′lon (מַחְלוֹן, *maḥlōn*, "invalid"): Ruth's first husband (Ruth **1** 2.5; **4** 9.10). In the latter passage is further evidence of the unwillingness to allow a family connection or inheritance to drop (see Mahlah; Mahli). Note that David's descent and that of his "Greater Son" come through Ruth and Boaz (Ruth **4** 22).

MAHOL, mā′hol (מָחוֹל, *māḥōl*, "dance"; cf בְּנֵי־מָחוֹל, *b^{e}nē-māḥōl*, "sons of dance"): The father of the 4 sages reputed next in wisdom to Solomon (1 K **4** 31). Their names were Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, Darda.

MAHSEIAH, mä-sē′ya, mä-sī′a (מַחְסֵיָה, *maḥṣēyāh*, "Jeh a refuge"): Grandfather of Baruch (Jer **32** 12) and of Seraiah (Jer **51** 59). The name (not to be confused with Maaseiah [q.v.] as AV has done even in the above passages) is spelt "Maaseas" (q.v.) in Bar **1** 1.

MAIANNAS, mī-an′as (**Μαιάννας,** *Maiánnas;* AV **Maianeas**): One of the Levites who taught the law for Esdras (1 Esd **9** 48) = Maaseiah (q.v.) in Neh **8** 7.

MAID, mād, **MAIDEN,** mād″n: Used in AV in the sense of a girl or young female; of an unmarried woman or virgin, and of a female servant or handmaid. Thus it translates several Heb words: (1) The more generic word is נַעֲרָה, *na'ărāh*, "girl," fem. form of the common נַעַר, *na'ar*, "boy" (1 S **9** 11; 2 K **5** 2.4; Est **2** 4.7 ff; Job **41** 5; Am **2** 7). In several places masc. form נַעַר, *na'ar*, with fem. form of vb. rendered "damsel" (Gen **24** 14.16.28.55; **34** 3.12; Dt **22** 15); cf ἡ παῖς, *hē paîs* (Lk **8** 51.54); see also παιδίσκη, *paidískē*, diminutive (Sir **41** 22; Mk **14** 66.69; Lk **12** 45; κοράσιον, *korásion*, LXX for *nă'arāh*, "maid," in Mt **9** 24 f with Job **6** 12 f; Sus vs 15.19). (2) The Heb עַלְמָה, *'almāh*, also rendered "maid," refers to a woman of marriageable age (Ex **2** 8; Prov **30** 19), whether married or not, whether a virgin or not. The same word is tr^{d} "virgin" in several places (Gen **24** 43 AV; Cant **1** 3; **6** 8; Isa **7** 14). (3) The word בְּתוּלָה, *b^{e}thūlāh*, a common Heb word for "virgin," a chaste woman (LXX παρθένος, *parthénos*), is frequently rendered "maid" and "maiden" (Ex **22** 16; Jgs **19** 24; 2 Ch **36** 17; Ps **78** 63; **148** 12; Jer **51** 22; Lam **5** 11; Ezk **9** 6; **44** 22; Zec **9** 17; cf Dt **22** 14.17, having "the marks [tokens] of virginity"); בְּתוּלִים, *b^{e}thūlīm*, rendered "maid." See Virgin. (4) Two Heb words covering the idea of service, handmaid, handmaiden, and in numerous passages so rendered: (*a*) אָמָה, *'āmāh*, tr^{d} "maid" (Gen **30** 3; Ex **2** 5; **21** 20.26; Lev **25** 6; Ezr **2** 65; Job **19** 15; Nah **2** 7); (*b*) שִׁפְחָה, *shiphḥāh*, "a family servant," "a handmaid," so rendered in numerous passages ("maid," "maiden," Gen **16** 2 ff; **29** 24.29; **30** 7.9.10.12.18; Isa **24** 2; Ps **123** 2; Eccl **2** 7). In AV they are variously tr^{d} "maid," "handmaid," etc. (5) The rather rare word ἅβρα, *hábra*, "favorite slave," is rendered "maid" in Jth **10** 2.5; **13** 9; **16** 23; Ad Est **15** 2.7. (6) δούλη, *doúlē*, "female slave," in AV Jth **12** 49 (RV "servant").

Maidservant means simply a female slave in the different positions which such a woman naturally occupies. They were the property of their masters; sometimes held the position of concubines (Gen **31** 33); daughters might be sold by their fathers into this condition (Ex **21** 7). It is regrettable that no uniform tr was adopted in AV. And in RV cf Tob **3** 7; Jth **10** 10; Sir **41** 22.

"Maidservants" replaces "maidens" of AV in Lk **12** 45. Cf Job **31** 13.

Edward Bagby Pollard

MAIL, māl. See Armor.

MAIMED, mām'd (חָרוּץ, *ḥārūç;* **κυλλός,** *kullós,* **ἀνάπηρος,** *anápēros*): The condition of being mutilated or rendered imperfect as the result of accident, in contrast to congenital malformation. An animal thus affected was declared to be unfit to be offered in sacrifice as a peace offering (Lev **22** 22); although under certain conditions a congenitally deformed animal might be accepted as a free-will offering, apparently the offering of a maimed animal was always prohibited (vs 23.24). The use of such animals in sacrifice was one of the charges brought against the Jews of his time by Malachi (**1** 8–14). The word is also used to denote those who were so mutilated. Among those made whole by Our Lord in Galilee were the maimed as well as the halt (Mt **15** 30).

Figuratively the casting off of any evil habit or distracting condition which interferes with the spiritual life is called "maiming" (Mt **18** 8; Mk **9**

43); with this may be taken the lesson in Mt **19** 12. In these passages "maimed" (*kullos*) is used of injuries of the upper limb, and *chōlos* of those affecting the feet, rendering one halt. Hippocrates, however, uses *kullos* for a deformation of the legs in which the knees are bent so far outward as to render the patient lame; while he applies the term *chōlos* as a generic name for any distortion, and in one place uses it to describe a mutilation of the head (*Prorrhetica*, 83). The maimed and the halt are among the outcasts who are to be brought into the gospel feast according to the parable (Lk **14** 13–21). ALEX. MACALISTER

MAINSAIL, mān′sāl. See SHIPS AND BOATS.

MAKAZ, mā′kaz (מָקַץ, *māḳaç*): One of the cities of the 2d of the 12 districts or prefectures which supplied victuals for Solomon (1 K **4** 9). It is associated with Shaalbim, Beth-shemesh and Elon-beth-hanan, all three probably identical with cities mentioned (Josh **19** 41.42) as on the border of Dan. Cheyne (*EB*, II, col. 2906) suggests that Makaz may be identical with MEJARGON (q.v.) in the latter list.

MAKE, māk, **MAKER,** māk′ẽr (עָשָׂה, *ʿāsāh*, נָתַן, *nāthan*, שׂוּם, *sūm*; **ποιέω**, *poiéō*, **τίθημι**, *títhēmi*, **καθίστημι**, *kathístēmi*):

1. As Used in the OT "Make" is a frequently used word, meaning "to create," "construct," "cause," "constitute," etc, and represents different Heb words. It is very often in AV (1) the tr of *ʿāsāh*, "to do," "make," etc, usually in the sense of constructing, effecting. In Gen **1** 7.16.25.31, etc, it is used of the creation; of the creation of man in the likeness of God (**5** 1); of the ark (**6** 14); of a feast (**21** 8); of the tabernacle and all the things belonging to it (Ex **25** 8, etc); of idols (Isa **2** 8; Jer **2** 28, etc); (2) of *nāthan* (lit. "to give"), chiefly in the sense of constituting, appointing, causing; of a covenant (Gen **9** 12; **17** 2); of Abraham as the father of many nations, etc (**17** 5.6); of Ishmael as a great nation (**17** 20); of Moses as a god to Pharaoh (Ex **7** 1); of judges and officers (Dt **16** 18); of laws (Lev **26** 46, etc); it has the meaning of "to cause" (Ex **18** 16; **23** 27; Nu **5** 21; 1 S **9** 22; Ps **106** 46); (3) *sūm*, "to set," "put," "lay," has a similar significance: of Abraham's seed (Gen **13** 16; **32** 12); Joseph lord of all Egypt (**45** 9; cf Ex **2** 14; Dt **1** 13; **10** 22); (4) *shīth*, with same meaning, occurs (2 S **22** 12, "He made darkness pavilions round about him"; 1 K **11** 34; Ps **18** 11; **21** 6). Other words are *ʿăbhadh* (Aram.); "to make," "do," (Jer **10** 11; Dnl **3** 1); *ʿāmadh*, "to set up" (2 Ch **11** 22; **25** 5; Neh **10** 32); *ʿāçabh*, "to labor," etc (Job **10** 8, AVm "took pains about me"); *bānāh*, "to build up" (Gen **2** 22; 1 K **22** 39); *bārāʾ*, "to prepare," "create" (Nu **16** 30; Ps **89** 47); *yāçagh*, "to set up" (Job **17** 6; Jer **51** 34); *yāçar*, "to form," "constitute" (Ps **74** 17; **104** 26); *pāʿal*, "to work," "make" (Ex **15** 17; Ps **7** 15); words with special meanings are: *pāḳadh*, "to give a charge" (1 K **11** 28; 2 K **25** 23); *kārath*, "to cut," or "prepare," "to make a covenant or league" (Gen **15** 18; Ex **24** 8; Josh **9** 16); *ḳāshar*, "to bind together," "to make a conspiracy" (2 K **12** 20; **14** 19); *pāraç*, "to break forth," "to make a breach" (2 S **6** 8; 1 Ch **13** 11; **15** 13); *lābhēn*, "to make brick" (Gen **11** 3); *lābhabh* (denom. of *lᵉbhībhāh*), "to make cakes" (2 S **13** 6.8); *mālakh*, "to make a king" (1 S **8** 22; **12** 1); among obsolete and archaic words and phrases may be mentioned, "What makest thou in this place?" (Jgs **18** 3), RV "doest"; "made" for "pretend" (2 S **13** 5.6), RV "feign," "feigned"; "made as if" (Josh **8** 15; **9** 4), so RV; "make for him" (Ezk **17** 17), RV "help him"; "make mention" (Jer **4** 16); "make mention of" (Gen **40** 14; Ps **87** 4); "make account" (Ps **144** 3); "make an end" (Jgs **3** 18; **15** 17); "make an end" is also "to bring to nought," "to destroy" (Isa **38** 12); "make riddance" (Lev **23** 22), RV "wholly reap." In 1 Macc **16** 22, we have "to make him away" as tr of *apolésai autón*, RV "destroy."

Maker is the tr of *ʿāsāh* (Job **4** 17; Ps **95** 6), of *yāçar* (Isa **45** 9.11; Hab **2** 18 *bis*), of *ḥārāsh*, "graver" (Isa **45** 16), of *pāʿal* (Job **36** 3; Isa **1** 31, or *pōʿal*).

In the NT the chief word for "make" is *poieō*, "to do," "make," etc (Mt **3** 3; Jn **2** 16; **5** 15);

2. As Used in the NT of *kathistēmi*, "to set down," "to appoint" (Mt **24** 45.47; Rom **5** 19); of *tithēmi*, "to set," "lay" (Mt **22** 44; Mk **12** 36); of *diatíthēmi*, "to set or lay throughout" (Acts **3** 25; He **8** 10; **10** 16); of *dídōmi*, "to give" (2 Thess **3** 9; Rev **3** 9); of *eimí*, "to be" (Mk **12** 42); of *epiteléō*, "to complete" (He **8** 5; Gal **3** 3, "make perfect," RVm "make an end"); of *kataskeuázō*, "to prepare thoroughly" (He **9** 2, RV "prepared"); of *ktízō*, "to make," "found" (Eph **2** 15); of *plērophoréō*, "to bear on fully" (2 Tim **4** 5, "make full proof of thy ministry," RV "fulfil"); *doxázō*, "to make honorable or glorious" (2 Cor **3** 10); of *peritrépō* (*eis manían*), "to turn round to raving" (Acts **26** 24, "doth make thee mad," RV "is turning thee mad," m "Gr turneth thee to madness"); of *emporeúomai*, "to traffic," "cheat" (2 Pet **2** 3, "make merchandise of you"); of *eirēnopoiéō*, "to make peace" (Col **1** 20); of *sumbállō*, "to throw together" (Lk **14** 31; "to make war," RV "goeth to encounter"); "made" is frequently the tr of *gínomai*, "to become," "begin to be" (Mt **4** 3; **9** 16; Mk **2** 21.27; Jn **1** 3 [thrice]. 10, "The world was made through him," ver 14, "The word was made flesh," RV "became flesh"; **2** 9, water "made wine," RV "now become wine," m "that it had become"; **8** 33, "made free"; Rom **1** 3, RV "born"; Gal **3** 13, RV "having become a curse for us"; **4** 4, RV "born of a woman," etc; Phil **2** 7, "was made in the likeness of men," RVm "Gr becoming in"; 1 Pet **2** 7, etc).

In addition to the changes in RV already noted may be mentioned, for "maketh collops" (Job **15** 27) "gathered fat"; for "set us in the way of his steps" (Ps **85** 13), "make his footsteps a way to walk in"; for "did more grievously afflict her" (Isa **9** 1), "hath made it glorious"; for "shall make him of quick understanding" (Isa **11** 3), "his delight shall be in"; for "make sluices and ponds for fish" (Isa **19** 10), "they that work for hire," m "or make dams"; for "ye that make mention of the Lord" (Isa **62** 6), "ye that are Jeh's remembrancers"; for "he shall confirm the covenant" (Dnl **9** 27), "he shall make a firm covenant"; for "maketh my way perfect" (2 S **22** 33), "guideth the perfect in his way" (see margin); for "the desire of a man is his kindness" (Prov **19** 22), "that which maketh a man to be desired"; for "maketh intercession" (Rom **11** 2), "pleadeth"; for "hath made us accepted" (Eph **1** 6), "freely bestowed on us," m "wherewith he endued us"; for "made himself of no reputation" (Phil **2** 7), "emptied himself"; for "spoil you" (Col **2** 8), "maketh spoil of you"; for "is the enemy of God" (Jas **4** 4), "maketh himself"; for "worketh abomination or [maketh] a lie" (Rev **21** 27), "maketh [m "doeth"] an abomination and a lie"; we have "become" for "made" (Mt **4** 3; Lk **3** 5; **4** 3), "became" (Rom **10** 20; 1 Cor **15** 45, *bis*); "becoming in" for "being made" (Phil **2** 7 m).

W. L. WALKER

MAKEBATES, māk′bāts: This is the pl. of the word *makebate*, which means "one who stirs up strife." It occurs only in AVm of 2 Tim **3** 3 and Tit **2** 3 as an alternative tr of διάβολοι, *diáboloi*, which AV renders "false accusers," and RV "slanderers."

MAKED, mā′ked (**Μακέδ,** *Makéd,* **Μακέβ,** *Makéb*): A strong city E. of the Jordan, not yet identified. It is named along with Bosor, Alema and Casphor (1 Macc **5** 26). In ver 36, AV reads "Maged."

MAKER, mā′kẽr. See Make.

MAKHELOTH, mak-hē′loth, mak-hē′lōth (מַקְהֵלֹת, *maḳhēlōth,* "assemblies"): A desert camp of the Israelites between Haradah and Tahath (Nu **33** 25.26). See Wanderings of Israel.

MAKKEDAH, ma-kē′da (מַקֵּדָה, *maḳḳēdhāh;* **Μακηδά,** *Makēdá*): A Canaanite royal city which Joshua captured, utterly destroying the inhabitants, and doing to the king as he had done unto the king of Jericho (Josh **10** 28; **12** 16). It lay in the Shephelah of Judah (**15** 41). It was brought into prominence by the flight thither of the 5 kings of the Amorites who, having united their forces for the destruction of Gibeon, were themselves defeated and pursued by Joshua (ch **10**). Seeing their danger, the men of Gibeon sent to the camp at Gilgal beseeching Joshua to save and help them. That energetic commander marched all night with his full strength, fell upon the allies at Gibeon, slew them with a great slaughter, chased the fugitives down the valley by way of Beth-horon, and smote them unto Azekah and unto Makkedah. It was during this memorable pursuit that in response to Joshua's appeal:

> "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
> And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon,"

the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down a whole day, until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

The 5 kings sought refuge in the cave at Makkedah, where, by Joshua's orders, they were blocked in with great stones, until the slaughter of the fugitives should be completed. Then the royal prisoners were brought out, and, after the chiefs of Israel had set their feet upon their necks, Joshua slew them and hanged them on five trees until sunset. This is an illustration of the old practice of impaling enemies after death. The bodies were then cast into the cave where they had sought to hide, and great stones were rolled against the entrance.

The flight of the allies was past Beth-horon and Azekah to Makkedah. Azekah is not identified, but it is named with Gederoth, Beth-dagon and Naamah (Josh **15** 41). These are probably represented by *Ḳaṭrah, Dajān* and *Nā‘aneh,* so that in this district Makkedah may be sought. The officers of the Pal Exploration Fund agree in suggesting *el-Mughār,* "the cave," on the northern bank of *Wādy es-Surār,* about 4 miles from the sand dunes on the shore. There are traces of old quarrying and many rock-cut tombs with loculi. "The village stands on a sort of promontory stretching into the valley . . . . divided into three plateaus; on the lower of these to the S. is the modern village, *el-Mughār,* built in front of the caves which are cut out of the sandstone" (Warren). In no other place in the neighborhood are caves found. The narrative, however, speaks not of caves, but of "*the* cave," as of one which was notable. On the other hand the events narrated may have lent distinction to some particular cave among the many. "The cave" would therefore be that associated with the fate of the 5 kings. No certainty is possible.
W. Ewing

MAKTESH, mak′tesh, **THE** (הַמַּכְתֵּשׁ, *ha-makhtēsh,* "the mortar"; cf Jgs **15** 19, "the mortar," EV "hollow place that is in Lehi"): A quarter of Jerus so named, it is supposed, on account of the configuration of the ground and associated (Zeph **1** 10.11) with the "fish gate" and Mishneh (q.v.) or "second quarter." Most authorities think it was in the northern part of the city, and many consider that the name was derived from the hollowed-out form of that part of the Tyropœon just N. of the walls, where foreign merchants congregated; others have suggested a hollow farther W., now occupied by the *muristan* and the three long bazaars.
E. W. G. Masterman

MALACHI, mal′a-kī:

1. Name of the Prophet
2. The Prophet's Times
3. Contents
4. Style
5. Message

Literature

The last book of the OT. Nothing is known of the person of Malachi. Because his name does not occur elsewhere, some scholars indeed doubt whether "Malachi" is intended to be the personal name of the prophet.

1. Name of the Prophet

But none of the other prophetic books of the OT is anonymous. The form מַלְאָכִי, *mal’ākhī,* signifies "my messenger"; it occurs again in **3** 1; cf **2** 7. But this form of itself would hardly be appropriate as a proper name without some additional syllable such as יָהּ, *Yah,* whence *mal’akhiah,* i.e. "messenger of Yahweh." Haggai, in fact, is expressly designated "messenger of Yahweh" (Hag **1** 13). Besides, the superscriptions prefixed to the book, in both the LXX and the Vulg, warrant the supposition that Malachi's full name ended with the syllable יָהּ. At the same time the LXX tr^s the last clause of **1** 1, "by the hand of *his messenger,*" and the Tg reads, "by the hand of my angel, whose name is called Ezra the scribe." Jerome likewise testifies that the Jews of his day ascribed this last book of prophecy to Ezra (*V. Praef. in duodecim Prophetas*). But if Ezra's name was originally associated with the book, it would hardly have been dropped by the collectors of the prophetic Canon who lived only a century or two subsequent to Ezra's time. Certain traditions ascribe the book to Zerubbabel and Nehemiah; others, still, to Malachi, whom they designate as a Levite and a member of the "Great Synagogue." Certain modern scholars, however, on the basis of the similarity of the title (**1** 1) to Zec **9** 1; **12** 1, declare it to be anonymous; but this is a rash conclusion without any substantial proof other than supposition. The best explanation is that of Professor G. G. Cameron, who suggests that the termination of the word "Malachi" is adjectival, and equivalent to the Lat *angelicus,* signifying "one charged with a message or mission" (a missionary). The term would thus be an official title; and the thought would not be unsuitable to one whose message closed the prophetical Canon of the OT, and whose mission in behalf of the church was so sacred in character (1-vol *HDB*).

2. The Prophet's Times

Opinions vary as to the prophet's exact date, but nearly all scholars are agreed that Malachi prophesied during the Pers period, and after the reconstruction and dedication of the second temple in 516 BC (cf Mal **1** 10; **3** 1.10). The prophet speaks of the people's "governor" (Heb *peḥāh,* Mal **1** 8), as do Haggai and Nehemiah (Hag **1** 1; Neh **5** 14; **12** 26). The social conditions portrayed are unquestionably those also of the period of the Restoration. More specifically, Malachi probably lived and labored during the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. Serious abuses had crept into Jewish life; the priests had become lax and degenerate, defective and inferior sacrifices were allowed to be offered upon the temple altar, the people were neglecting their tithes, divorce was common and God's covenant was forgotten and ignored; just such abuses as we know from the Book of Neh were common in his day (cf Neh **3** 5; **5** 1–13). Yet, it is doubtful whether Malachi preached during Nehemiah's *active* governorship; for in Mal **1** 8 it is implied that gifts might be offered to the "governor," whereas Nehemiah tells us that he declined all such (Neh **5** 15.18). On the other hand, the abuses which Malachi attacked correspond so exactly with those which Nehemiah found on his 2d visit to Jerus in 432 BC (Neh **13** 7 ff) that it seems reasonably certain that he prophesied shortly before that date, i.e. between 445 and 432 BC. As Dr. J. M. P. Smith says, "The Book of Mal fits the situation amid which Nehemiah worked as snugly as a bone fits its socket" (*ICC*, 7). That the prophet should exhort the people to remember the law of Moses, which was publicly read by Ezra in the year 444 BC, is in perfect agreement with this conclusion, despite the fact that Stade, Cornill and Kautzsch argue for a date prior to the time of Ezra. On the other hand, Nägelsbach, Köhler, Orelli, Reuss and Volck rightly place the book in the period between the two visits of Nehemiah (445–432 BC).

3. Contents

The book, in the main, is composed of two extended polemics against the priests (**1** 6—**2** 9) and the people (**2** 10—**4** 3), opening with a clear, sharp statement of the prophet's chief thesis that Jeh still loves Israel (**1** 2–5), and closing with an exhortation to remember the Law of Moses (**4** 4–6). After the title or superscription (**1** 1) the prophecy falls naturally into seven divisions:

(1) **1** 2–5, in which Malachi shows that Jeh still loves Israel because their lot stands in such marked contrast to Edom's. They were temporarily disciplined; Edom was forever punished.

(2) **1** 6—**2** 9, a denunciation of the priests, the Levites, who have become neglectful of their sacerdotal office, indifferent to the Law, and unmindful of their covenant relationship to Jeh.

(3) **2** 10–16, against idolatry and divorce. Some interpret this section metaphorically of Judah as having abandoned the religion of his youth (ver 11). But idolatry and divorce were closely related. The people are obviously rebuked for literally putting away their own Jewish wives in order to contract marriage with foreigners (ver 15). Such marriages, the prophet declares, are not only a form of idolatry (ver 11), but a violation of Jeh's intention to preserve to Himself a "godly seed" (ver 15).

(4) **2** 17—**3** 6, an announcement of coming judgment. Men are beginning to doubt whether there is longer a God of justice (ver 17). Malachi replies that the Lord whom the people seek will suddenly come, both to purify the sons of Levi and to purge the land of sinners in general. The nation, however, will not be utterly consumed (**3** 6).

(5) **3** 7–12, in which the prophet pauses to give another concrete example of the people's sins: they have failed to pay their tithes and other dues. Accordingly, drought, locusts, and famine have ensued. Let these be paid and the nation will again prosper, and their land will become "a delightsome land."

(6) **3** 13—**4** 3, a second section addressed to the doubters of the prophet's age. In **2** 17, they had said, "Where is the God of justice?" They now murmur: "It is vain to serve God; and what profit is it that we have kept his charge?" The wicked and the good alike prosper (**3** 14.15). But, the prophet replies, Jeh knows them that are His, and a book of remembrance is being kept; for a day of judgment is coming when the good and the evil will be distinguished; those who work iniquity will be exterminated, while those who do righteously will triumph.

(7) **4** 4–6, a concluding exhortation to obey the Mosaic Law; with a promise that Elijah the prophet will first come to avert, if possible, the threatened judgment by reconciling the hearts of the nation to one another, i.e. to reconcile the ideals of the old to those of the young, and vice versa.

4. Style

Malachi was content to write prose. His Hebrew is clear and forceful and direct; sometimes almost rhythmical. His figures are as numerous as should be expected in the brief remnants of his sermons which have come down to us, and in every case they are chaste and beautiful (**1** 6; **3** 2.3.17; **4** 1–3). His statements are bold and correspondingly effective. The most original feature in his style is the lecture-like method which characterizes his book throughout; more particularly that of question and answer. His style is that of the scribes. It is known as the didactic-dialectic method, consisting first of an assertion or charge, then a fancied objection raised by his hearers, and finally the prophet's refutation of their objection. Eight distinct examples of this peculiarity are to be found in his book, each one containing the same clause in Heb, "Yet ye say" (**1** 2.6.7; **2** 14.17; **3** 7.8.13). This debating style is esp. characteristic of Malachi. Ewald called it "the dialogistic" method. Malachi shows the influence of the schools (cf his use of "also" and "again" in **1** 13; **2** 13, which is equivalent to our "firstly," "secondly," etc).

5. Message

Malachi's message has a permanent value for us as well as an immediate value for his own time. He was an intense patriot, and accordingly his message was clean-cut and severe. His primary aim was to encourage a disheartened people who were still looking for Haggai's and Zechariah's optimistic predictions to be fulfilled. Among the lessons of abiding value are the following: (1) That ritual is an important element in religion, but not as an end in itself. Tithes and offerings are necessary, but only as the expression of sincere moral and deeply spiritual life (**1** 11). (2) That a cheap religion avails nothing, and that sacrifices given grudgingly are displeasing to God. Better a temple closed than filled with such worshippers (**1** 8–10). (3) That divorce and intermarriage with heathen idolaters thwarts the purpose of God in securing to Himself a peculiar people, whose family life is sacred because it is the nursery of a "godly seed" (**2** 15). (4) That there is eternal discipline in the Law. Malachi places the greatest emphasis upon the necessity of keeping the Mosaic Law. The priests, he says, are the custodians and expounders of the Law. At their mouth the people should seek knowledge. "To undervalue the Law is easy; to appraise it is a much harder task" (Welch). With Malachi, no less than with Christ Himself, not one jot or tittle should ever pass away or become obsolete.

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GEORGE L. ROBINSON

MALACHY, mal′a-kī: Another form of the name of the prophet "Malachi" (q.v.), found in RV and AV of 2 Esd **1** 40.

MALCAM, mal′kam (מַלְכָּם, *malkām*, "their king"; AV **Malcham**):

(1) A chief of the Benjamites, son of Shaharaim (1 Ch **8** 9).

(2) The name of an idol as well as the possessive pronominal form of מֶלֶךְ, *melekh*, "king" (2 S **12** 30 RVm; Jer **49** 1.3 [LXX *Melchól*]; Zeph **1** 5). In Am **1** 15 it appears to be best tr^{d} "their king," as in both AV and RV. Only a careful examination of the context can determine whether the word is the proper name of the idol (Moloch) or the 3d personal possessive pronoun for king. The idol is also spelt "Milcom" and "Molech."

MALCHIAH, mal-kī′a. See MALCHIJAH.

MALCHIEL, mal′ki-el (מַלְכִּיאֵל, *malkī′ēl*, "God is king"): Grandson of Asher (Gen **46** 17; Nu **26** 45; 1 Ch **7** 31).

MALCHIELITES, mal′ki-el-īts (מַלְכִּיאֵלִי, *malkī′ēlī*): Descendants of Malchiel (Nu **26** 45).

MALCHIJAH, mal-kī′ja (מַלְכִּיָּה, *malkīyāh*, "Jeh is king"; **Μελχείας**, *Melcheías*, with variants):

(1) A Levite, descendant of Gershom, of those whom David set over the "service of song" in the worship (1 Ch **6** 40).

(2) The head of the 5th course of priests (1 Ch **24** 9).

(3) One of the laymen who had taken "strange wives" during the exile (Ezr **10** 25); the "Melchias" of 1 Esd **9** 26.

(4) Another of the same name (Ezr **10** 25; two in same verse). Called "Asibias" in 1 Esd **9** 26.

(5) Another under the same offence, son of Harim (Ezr **10** 31). "Melchias" in 1 Esd **9** 32.

(6) One of the "repairers" who helped with the "tower of the furnaces" (Neh **3** 11).

(7) Son of Rechab ruler of Beth-haccerem, repairer of the dung gate (Neh **3** 14).

(8) A goldsmith who helped in building the walls of Jerus (Neh **3** 31).

(9) One of those at Ezra's left hand when he read the law (though possibly one of the above [Neh **8** 4]). In 1 Esd **9** 44 "Melchias."

(10) One of the covenant signatories (Neh **10** 3).

(11) The father of Pashhur (Neh **11** 12; Jer **21** 1; **38** 1).

(12) A priest, a singer at the dedication of the walls of Jerus under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh **12** 42).

(13) (מַלְכִּיָּהוּ, *malkīyāhū*, as above with *u* ending): Son of Ham-melech (or, as 1 K **22** 26; 2 Ch **28** 7 translate it, "king's son"). Jeremiah was cast into his dungeon or pit (Jer **38** 6).

AV spells "Malchiah" or "Malchijah" indifferently with "Melchiah" in Jer **21** 1; ERV has "Malchiah" in Jer **21** 1; **38** 1.6, elsewhere "Malchijah"; ARV has "Malchijah" throughout.

HENRY WALLACE

MALCHIRAM, mal-kī′ram (מַלְכִּירָם, *malkīrām*, "uplifted king"): Son of Jeconiah, descendant of David (1 Ch **3** 18).

MALCHI-SHUA, mal-kī-shōō′a (מַלְכִּישׁוּעַ, *malkīshū*^{a}*ʿ*, "my king saves"): One of the sons of Saul (1 S **14** 49; **31** 2, AV "Melchishua"; 1 Ch **8** 33; **9** 39). He was slain by the Philis with his brothers at the battle of Gilboa (1 Ch **10** 2; 1 S **31** 2).

MALCHUS, mal′kus (**Μάλχος**, *Málchos*, from מֶלֶךְ, *melekh*, i.e. "counsellor" or "king"): The name of the servant of the high priest Caiaphas whose right ear was smitten off by Simon Peter at the arrest of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane (cf Mt **26** 51; Mk **14** 47; Lk **22** 50; Jn **18** 10). It is noteworthy that Luke "the physician" alone gives an account of the healing of the wound (Lk **22** 51). As Jesus "*touched* his ear, and healed him," the ear was not entirely severed from the head. The words of Jesus, "Suffer ye thus far," may have been addressed either to the disciples, i.e. "Suffer ye that I thus far show kindness to my captors," or to those about to bind him, i.e. asking a short respite to heal Malchus. They were not addressed directly to Peter, as the Gr form is pl., whereas in Mt **26** 52; Jn **18** 11, where, immediately after the smiting of Malchus, Jesus does address Peter, the sing. form is used; nor do the words of Jesus there refer to the healing but to the action of his disciple. A kinsman of Malchus, also a servant of the high priest, was one of those who put the questions which made Peter deny Jesus (Jn **18** 26). C. M. KERR

MALE, māl ([1] זָכָר, *zākhār*, זָכַר, *zākhar*, זָכוּר, *zākhūr* [√ meaning "to stand out," "to be prominent," here a physiological differentiation of the sex, as נְקֵבָה, *n*^{e}*ḳēbhāh*, "female," q.v.]; [2] אִישׁ, *'īsh*, lit. "man"; [3] by circumlocution, only in the books of S and K, מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר, *mashtīn b*^{e}*ḳīr;* **οὐρῶν πρὸς τοῖχον,** *ourôn prós toíchon*, which RV euphemistically renders "man-child" [1 S **25** 22.34; 1 K **14** 10]): Gesenius has rightly pointed out that this phrase designates young boys, who do not as yet wear clothes, of whom the above description is accurate, while it does not apply in the case of adults, even in the modern Orient. We know this from the statement of Herod. ii.35, relating to Egypt, and from Jgs **3** 24; 1 S **24** 3. The Gr tr^{s} these words with ἄρσην, *ársēn*, ἄῤῥην, *árrhēn*, while 1 Macc **5** 28.51 has the adj. ἀρσενικός, *arsenikós*.

The above words (the phrase *mashtīn b*^{e}*ḳīr* excepted) are used promiscuously of animals and men, e.g. "Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, the male [*'īsh*] and his female, of the birds also of the heavens, seven and seven, male [*zākhār*] and female" (Gen **7** 2.3). A careful distinction was made in the use of male and female animals in the rules concerning sacrifice; in some offerings none but males were allowed, in others females were permitted along with the males (Lev **3** 6). The same distinction was made in the valuation of the different sexes (Gen **32** 14.15; Lev **27** 5). Certain priestly portions were permitted to the Levites or the male descendants of Aaron for food, while women were not permitted to partake of the same (Nu **18** 10.11).

As a rule Jewish parents (as is now common in the Orient) preferred male children to daughters. This is seen from the desire for male progeny (1 S **1** 8–18) and from the ransom paid for firstborn sons to Jeh (Ex **13** 12; Lk **2** 23). It was reserved to the NT to proclaim the equality of the sexes, as it does of races and conditions of men: "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus" (Gal **3** 28). See WOMAN.

Among the prominent sins of oriental peoples, "the abominations of the nations which Jeh drove out before the children of Israel" was one of the most heinous character, that of sodomy, against which God's people are repeatedly warned. The Gr expression for the devotee of this vice is a compound noun, ἀρσενοκοίτης, *arsenokoítēs*, lit. "he who lies with man," the abuser of himself with mankind, the sodomite (1 Cor **6** 9), while the Heb קָדֵשׁ, *ḳādhēsh*, lit. means the (male) devotee of lascivious and licentious idolatry (Dt **23** 17; 1 K **14** 24; **15** 12; **22** 46; 2 K **23** 7; Job **36** 14).

H. L. E. Luering

MALEFACTOR, mal-ē-fak′tẽr (**κακοποιός,** *kakopoiós,* "a bad doer," i.e. "evildoer," "criminal"; **κακοῦργος,** *kakoúrgos,* "a wrongdoer"): The former occurs in Jn **18** 30 AV, the latter, which is the stronger term, in Lk **23** 32.39. The former describes the subject as doing or making evil, the latter as creating or originating the bad, and hence designates the more energetic, aggressive, initiating type of criminality.

MALELEEL, ma-lē′lē-el, mal′ē-lēl (**Μαλελεήλ,** *Maleleēl,* AV): Gr form of "Mahalalel" (Lk **3** 37); RV "Mahalaleel."

MALICE, mal′is, **MALIGNITY,** ma-lig′ni-ti (**κακία,** *kakía,* **πονηρός,** *ponērós,* **κακοήθεια,** *kakoētheia*): "Malice," now used in the sense of deliberate ill-will, by its derivation means *badness,* or *wickedness* generally, and was so used in Older Eng. In the Apoc it is the tr of *kakia,* "evil," "badness" (Wisd **12** 10.20; **16** 14; 2 Macc **4** 50, RV "wickedness"); in Ecclus **27** 30; **28** 7, we have "malice" in the more restricted sense as the tr of *mēnis,* "confirmed anger." In the NT "malice" and "maliciousness" are the tr of *kakia* (Rom **1** 29*a;* 1 Cor **5** 8; **14** 20; Col **3** 8); **malicious** is the tr of *ponēros,* "evil" (3 Jn ver 10, RV "wicked"); it also occurs in Ad Est **13** 4.7, ver 4, "malignant"; Wisd **1** 4, RV "that deviseth evil"; 2 Macc **5** 23; **malignity** occurs in Rom **1** 29*b* as the tr of *kakoētheia,* "evil disposition"; "maliciously," Sus vs 43.62; 2 Macc **14** 11, RV "having ill will."

W. L. Walker

MALLOS, mal′os. See Mallus.

MALLOTHI, mal′ō-thī, ma-lō′thī (מַלּוֹתִי, *mallōthī,* "my discourse"): Son of Heman, a Kohathite singer (1 Ch **6** 33; **25** 4). The song service in the house of the Lord was apportioned by David and the captains of the host to the 3 families of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (1 Ch **25** 1). Their place in the "courses" was, however, settled by "lot" (1 Ch **25** 8.9). Mallothi was one of Heman's 17 children—14 sons and 3 daughters (1 Ch **25** 5)—and was chief of the 19th course of twelve singers into which the temple choir was divided (1 Ch **25** 26).

Henry Wallace

MALLOWS, mal′ōz. See Salt-wort.

MALLUCH, mal′uk (מַלּוּךְ, *mallūkh,* "counsellor"):

(1) A Levite of the sons of Merari, ancestor of Ethan the singer (1 Ch **6** 44; cf ver 29).

(2) Son of Bani, among those who had foreign wives (Ezr **10** 29). He is a descendant of Judah (1 Ch **9** 4) and is the Mamuchus of 1 Esd **9** 30.

(3) A descendant of Harim, who married a foreign wife (Ezr **10** 32).

(4) (5) Two who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh **10** 4.27).

(6) Possibly the same as (4). One of the priests who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh **12** 2). Doubtless the Melicu of ver 14 m.

Henry Wallace

MALLUCHI, mal′ū-kī (מַלּוּכִי, *mallūkhī,* "my counsellor"): A family of priests that came over with Zerubbabel (Neh **10** 4; **12** 14). May be the patronymic Malluch, (4) (q.v.).

MALLUS, mal′us (**Μαλλός,** *Mallós;* AV **Mallos**): A city in Cilicia, the inhabitants of which along with those of Tarsus, revolted from Antiochus Epiphanes in protest against his action in giving them to his concubine, Antiochis (2 Macc **4** 30). The ancient name was Marlos. The river Pyramos divides about 10 miles from the sea, one branch flowing to the W., the other to the E. of the low range of hills along the coast on which stands *Kara-Tash.* Mallus stood on a height (Strabo, 675) to the E. of the western arm, a short distance from the shore. The site is a little W. of *Kara-Tash,* where inscriptions of Antiocheia and Mallus have been found. Tarsus lay about 35 miles to the N.W. The two cities were rivals in trade. The position of Mallus with her harbor on the shore gave her really no advantage over Tarsus, with her river navigable to the city walls. The fine wagon road over the mountain by way of the Cilician Gates opened for her easy access to the interior, compared with that furnished for Mallus by the old caravan track to the N. by way of Adana. This sufficiently explains the greater prosperity of the former city.

W. Ewing

MALOBATHRON, mal-o-bath′ron: RVm suggests that this tr may be right instead of Bether in the phrase הָרֵי־בָתֶר, *hārē bether* (Cant **2** 17). But this spice never grew wild in Pal, and so could hardly have given its name to a mountain, or mountain range. The name Bether ought therefore to be retained, notwithstanding Wellhausen (*Prol.*², 415). The spice is the leaf of the *Cassia lignea* tree.

MALTANNEUS, mal-ta-nē′us (**Μαλτανναῖος,** *Maltannaíos,* B and Swete; **Ἀλτανναῖος,** *Altannaíos,* A and Fritzsche—the M being perhaps dropped because of the final M in the preceding word; AV **Altaneus**): One of the sons of Asom who put away his "strange wife" (1 Esd **9** 33) = "Mattenai" in Ezr **10** 33.

MAMAIAS, ma-mā′yas. See Samaias, (3).

MAMDAI, mam′dā-ī, mam′dī (B, **Μαμδαί,** *Mamdaí,* A, **Μανδαί,** *Mandaí*): One of those who consented to put away their "strange wives" at Esdras' order (1 Esd **9** 34) = AV "Mabdai" = "Benaiah" in Ezr **10** 35.

MAMMON, mam′un (**Μαμωνᾶς,** *Mamōnás*): A common Aram. word (מָמוֹן, *māmōn*) for riches, used in Mt **6** 24 and in Lk **16** 9.11.13. In these passages mammon merely means wealth, and is called "unrighteous," because the abuse of riches is more frequent than their right use. In Lk **16** 13 there is doubtless personification, but there is no proof that there was in NT times a Syrian deity called Mammon. The application of the term in Mt is apparent and requires no comment. In Lk, however, since the statement, "Make to yourselves friends out of the mammon of unrighteousness," follows as a comment on the parable of the Unjust Steward, there is danger of the inference that Jesus approved the dishonest conduct of the steward and advised His disciples to imitate his example. On the contrary, the statement is added more as a corrective against this inference than as an application. 'Do not infer,' He says, 'that honesty in the use of money is a matter of indifference. He that is unfaithful in little is unfaithful in much. So if you are not wise in the use of earthly treasure how can you hope to be intrusted with heavenly treasure?' The commendation is in the matter of foresight, not in the method. The steward tried to serve two masters, his lord and his lord's creditors, but the thing could not be done, as the sequel shows. Neither can men serve both God and riches exalted as an object of slavish servitude. Wealth, Jesus teaches, does not really belong to men, but as stewards they may use wealth prudently unto their eternal advantage. Instead of serving God and mammon alike we may serve God by the use of wealth, and thus lay up treasures for ourselves in heaven. Again, the parable is not to be interpreted as teaching that the wrong of dishonest gain may be atoned for by charity. Jesus is not dealing with the question of reparation. The object is to point out how one may best use wealth, tainted or otherwise, with a view to the future.

Russell Benjamin Miller

MAMNITANEMUS, mam-ni-ta-nē′mus (**Μαμνιτάναιμος,** *Mamnitánaimos*, B, **Μαμτιτάναιμος,** *Mamtitánaimos*, AV **Mamnitanaimus**): 1 Esd **9** 34, where it represents the two names Mattaniah and Mattenai in the ‖ Ezr **10** 37, which probably represent only one person. It must be a corruption of these names. The Aldine gives a still more corrupt form, Μαμνιματαναῖμος, *Mamnimatanaîmos*.

MAMRE, mam′rē̂ (מַמְרֵא, *mamrē′*; LXX **Μαμβρή,** *Mambrē̂*):

1. Biblical Data

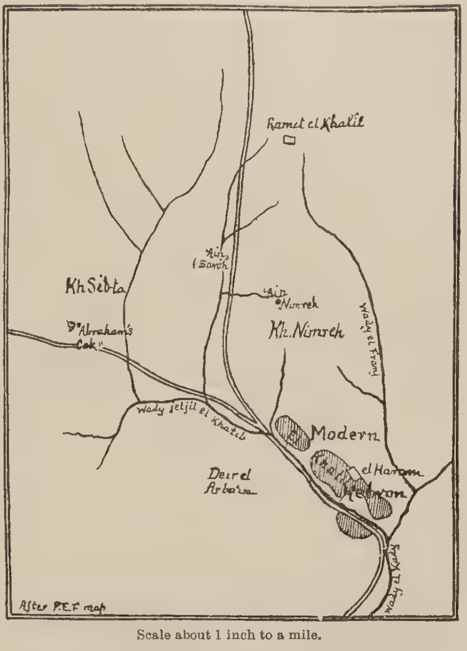
(1) In Gen **14** 24 Mamre is mentioned as the name of one of Abraham's allies, who in ver 13 is described as the Amorite, brother of Eshcol and Aner. The name of the grove of trees is evidently considered as derived from this sheikh or chieftain. The "oaks" ("terebinths") of Mamre where Abram pitched his tent (Gen **14** 13; **18** 1) are described (**13** 18) as "in Hebron." Later on Machpelah (q.v.) is described as "before," i.e. "to the E. of Mamre" (Gen **23** 17; **25** 9; **49** 30; **50** 13), and Mamre is identified with Hebron itself (**23** 19).

2. Traditional Sites

While Mamre has always been looked for in the vicinity of Hebron, the traditions have varied greatly, determined apparently by the presence of a suitable tree. The one site which has a claim on grounds other than tradition is that called *Kh.* and *ʽAin Nimreh* (lit. the "ruin" and "spring" of "the leopard"), about ½ mile N.N.W. of modern Hebron. The word *Nimreh* may be a survival of the ancient Mamre, the name, as often happens, being assimilated by a familiar word. The site is a possible one, but, beyond this, the name has not much to commend it.

Tradition has centered round three different sites at various periods: (1) The modern tradition points to a magnificent oak (*Quercus ilex*, Arab. *Sindian*), 1½ miles W.N.W. of the modern city, as the terebinth of Abraham; its trunk has a girth of 32 ft. It is now in a dying condition, but when Robinson visited it (*BR*, II, 72, 81) it was in fine condition; he mentions a Mohammedan tradition that this was "Abraham's oak." Since then the site had been bought by the Russians, a hospice and church have been erected, and the tradition, though of no antiquity, has become crystallized. (2) The second tradition, which flourished from the 16th cent. down to the commencement of the 19th cent., pointed to the hill of *Deir el Arbaʽin* (see Hebron) as that of Mamre, relying esp., no doubt, in its inception on the identity of Mamre and Hebron (Gen **23** 19). A magnificent terebinth which stood there was pointed out as that of Abraham. The site agrees well with the statement that the cave of Machpelah was "before," i.e. to the E. of Mamre (Gen **23** 17, etc). (3) The third and much older tradition, mentioned in several Christian writers, refers to a great terebinth which once stood in an inclosure some 2 miles N. of Hebron, near the road to Jerus. It is practically certain that the site of this inclosure is the strange *Rāmet el-Khalîl*. This is an inclosure some 214 ft. long and 162 ft. wide. The inclosing walls are made of extremely fine and massive masonry and are 6 ft. thick; the stones are very well laid and the jointing is very fine, but the building was evidently never completed. In one corner is a well—*Bîr el-Khalîl*—lined with beautiful ashlar masonry, cut to the curve of the circumference.

It is probable that this inclosure surrounded a magnificent terebinth; if so, it was at this spot that before the days of Constantine a great annual fair was held, attended by Jews, Christians and heathen who united to pay honor to the sacred tree, while the well was on the same occasion illuminated, and offerings were made to it. Similar customs survive today at several shrines in Pal. Constantine suppressed these "superstitions," and built a church in the neighborhood, probably the so-called "Abraham's house," *Beit Ibrahim* of today. The tree which stood here is apparently that mentioned by Jos (*BJ*, IV, ix, 7) as having continued "since the creation of the world." At this inclosure, too, Jewish women and children were sold at auction after the suppression of the revolt of Bar Cochba. Whatever the origin of the veneration paid to this terebinth—now long centuries dead and gone—early Christian tradition associated it with Abraham and located Mamre here. This tradition is mentioned by Jerome (4th cent.), by Eucherius (6th cent.), by Areulphus (700 AD) and by Benjamin of Tudela (1163 AD). Among the modern Jews it is looked upon as the site of "Abraham's oak." It is probable that the view that Abraham was connected with this tree is one attached to it much later than its original sanctity; it was originally one of the many "holy trees" of the land venerated by primitive Sem religious feeling, and the nearness of Hebron caused the Bible story to be attached to it. Judging from the Bible data, it appears to be too far from Hebron and Machpelah to suit the conditions; the site of Mamre must have been nearer to Deir el Arbaʽin, but it has probably been entirely lost since very early times.



Scale about 1 inch to a mile.

Sketch Map of the Environs of Hebron to Show the Various Proposed Sites of Mamre.

For a very good discussion about Mamre see

Mambré by Le R. P. Abel des Frères Prêcheurs in the *Conférences de Saint Étienne*, 1909–10 (Paris).

(2) An Amorite chief, owner of the "oaks" mentioned above (Gen **14** 13.24).

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

MAMUCHUS, ma-mū′kus (**Μάμουχος**, *Mámouchos*): One of those who put away their "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 30); identical with "Malluch" in Ezr **10** 29.

MAN. See ANTHROPOLOGY.

MAN, NATURAL, naţ′ū-ral, nach′u-ral (**ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος**, *psuchikós ánthrōpos*): Man as he *is* by nature, contrasted with man as he *becomes* by grace. This phrase is exclusively Pauline.

I. Biblical Meaning.—The classical passage in which it occurs is 1 Cor **2** 14 AV: "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." In his anthropology Paul uses four groups of descriptive adjs. in contrasted pairs: (1) the *old* man and the *new* man (Rom **6** 6; Eph **4** 22; Col **3** 9; Eph **2** 15; **4** 24; Col **3** 10); (2) the *outward* man and the *inward* man (2 Cor **4** 16; Rom **7** 22; Eph **3** 16); (3) the *carnal* man and the *spiritual* man (Rom **8** 1–14; 1 Cor **3** 1.3.4); (4) the *natural* man and the *spiritual* man (2 Cor **2** 14; **3** 3.4; Eph **2** 3; 1 Cor **2** 15; **3** 1; **14** 37; **15** 46; Gal **6** 1). A study of these passages will show that the adjs. "old," "outward," "carnal," and "natural" describe man, from different points of view, prior to his conversion; while the adjs. "new," "inward" and "spiritual" describe him, from different points of view, after his conversion. To elucidate the meaning, the expositor must respect these antitheses and let the contrasted words throw light and meaning upon each other.

1. The Old Man

The "old man" is the "natural man" considered chronologically—prior to that operation of the Holy Spirit by which he is renovated into the "new man."

The old house is the house as it was before it was remodeled; an old garment is the garment as it was before it was re-fashioned; and the "old man" is man as he was before he was regenerated and sanctified by the grace of the Spirit. "Our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin" (Rom **6** 6 AV). Here the "old man" is called the "body of sin," as the physical organism is called the body of the soul or spirit, and is to be "crucified" and "destroyed," in order that man may no longer be the "servant of sin." "Put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt. . . . . Put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness" (Eph **4** 22.24 AV). Here the "old man" is said to be "corrupt," and we are called upon to "put it off." The figure is that of putting off old clothes which are unclean, and putting on those garments which have come from the wash clean and snowy white. We have the same idea, in different language and with a slightly different imagery, in Col **3** 9.10.

When Paul calls the "natural man" the "old man," and describes it as the "body of sin" which is "corrupt" in its nature and "deeds," and tells us that it must be "crucified" and "destroyed" and "put off" in order that we may "not serve sin," but may have "righteousness" and "true holiness" and "knowledge" and the "image" of God, we get some conception of the moral meaning which he is endeavoring to convey by these contrasts (Gal **5** 19–24). He has reference to that sinful nature in man which is as old as the individual, as old as the race of which he is a member, which must be graciously renovated according to that gospel which he preached to Corinthians, Colossians, Ephesians, Romans and all the world. See OLD MAN; MAN, NEW, I, 3.

2. The Outward Man

The apostle also establishes a contrast between "the inward man" and "the outward man." "Though our outward man is decaying, yet our inward man is renewed day by day" (2 Cor **4** 16). Now what sort of man is the "outward man" as contrasted with the "inward man"? In Gr, the *éxō-anthrōpos* is set over against the *ésō-anthrōpos*. See OUTWARD MAN.

"The contrast here drawn between the 'outward' and the 'inward man,' though illustrated by the contrast in Rom **7** 22 between the 'law in the members' and 'the inner man,' and in Eph **4** 22; Col **3** 9 between 'the old man' and 'the new man' is not precisely the same. Those contrasts relate to the difference between the sensual and the moral nature, 'the flesh' and 'the spirit'; this to the difference between the material and the spiritual nature" (Stanley, in loc.).

"The outward man" is the body, and "the inward man" is the soul, or immaterial principle in the human make-up. As the body is wasted by the afflictions of life, the soul is renewed; what is death to the body is life to the soul; as afflictions depotentiate man's physical organism, they impotentiate man's spiritual principle. That is, the afflictions of life, culminating in death itself, have diametrically opposite effects upon the body and upon the soul. They kill the one; they quicken the other.

"The inward man" is the whole human nature as renewed and indwelt and dominated by the Spirit of God as interpenetrated by the spirit of grace. As the one is broken down by the adverse dispensations of life, the other is upbuilt by the sanctifying discipline of the Spirit.

3. The Carnal Man

There is another Pauline antithesis which it is necessary for us to interpret in order to understand what he means by the "natural man." It is the distinction which he draws between the "carnal mind" and the "spiritual mind." The critical reference is Rom **8** 1–14. In this place the "carnal mind" is identified with the "law of death," and the "spiritual mind" is identified with the "law of the Spirit." These two "laws" are two principles and codes: the one makes man to be at "enmity against God" and leads to "death"; the other makes him the friend of God, and conducts to "life and peace." The word "carnal" connotes all that is fallen and sinful and unregenerate in man's nature. In its gross sense the "carnal" signifies that which is contrary to nature, or nature expressing itself in low and bestial forms of sin.

4. The Natural Man

The "natural man" is the "old man," the "outward man," the "carnal man"—man as he is by nature, as he is firstborn, contra-distinguished *to* man as he is changed by the Spirit, as he is second-born or regenerated. There is an "old" life, an "outward" life, a "carnal" life, a "natural" life, as contrasted with the "new" life, the "inward" life, the "spiritual" life, the "gracious" life. The "natural man" is a bold and vivid personification of that depraved nature which we inherit from Adam fallen, the source and seat of all actual and personal transgressions.

II. Theological Meaning.—We know what we mean by the *nature* of the lion, by the *nature* of the lamb. We are using perfectly comprehensible language when we speak of the lion as *naturally* fierce, and of the lamb when we say he is *naturally* gentle. We have reference to the dominant dispositions of these animals, that resultant of their qualities which defines their character and spontaneity. So we are perfectly plain when we say that man is *naturally* sinful. We are but saying that sinfulness is to man what fierceness is to the lion, what gentleness is to the lamb. The "natural man" is a figure of speech for that sinful human nature, common to us all. It is equivalent to the theological phrases: the "sinful inclination," the "evil disposition," the "apostate will," "original sin," "native depravity." It manifests itself in the understanding as blindness, in the heart as hardness, in the will as obstinacy. See MAN, NEW.

ROBERT ALEXANDER WEBB

MAN, NEW (**νέος** or **καινὸς ἄνθρωπος,** *néos* or *kainós ánthrōpos*): Generally described, the "new man" is man as he becomes under the transforming power of the Holy Spirit, contrasted with man as he is by nature. The phrase has (1) its Bib., and (2) its theological, meanings.

I. Biblical Meaning.—There are four Bib. contrasts which must be considered as opposites: (1) the "old man" (*palaiós anthrōpos*) and the "new man" (*neos* or *kainos anthrōpos*); (2) the "outward man" (*éxō-anthrōpos*) and the "inward man" (*ésō-anthrōpos*); (3) the "carnal man" (*sarkikós anthrōpos*) and the "spiritual man" (*pneumatikós anthrōpos*); (4) the "natural man" (*psuchikós anthrōpos*) and the "spiritual man" (*pneumatikós anthrōpos*). These are not four different sorts of men, but four different sorts of man. Take up these antitheses in their reverse order, so as to arrive at some clear and impressive conception of what the Bib. writer means by the "new man."

1. The Spiritual Man

The "spiritual man" is a designation given in opposition to the "carnal man" and to the "natural man" (Rom **8** 1–14; 1 Cor **2** 15; **3** 1.3.4; **2** 14; **3** 11; **14** 37; **15** 46; Gal **6** 1; Eph **2** 3). All three of these terms are personifications of human nature. The "carnal man" is human nature viewed as ruled and dominated by sensual appetites and fleshly desires—as energized by those impulses which have close association with the bodily affections. The "natural man" is human nature ruled and dominated by unsanctified reason—those higher powers of the soul not yet influenced by Divine grace. The "spiritual man" is this same human nature after it has been seized upon and interpenetrated and determined by the Holy Spirit. The word "spiritual" is sometimes used in a poetic and idealistic sense, as when we speak of the spirituality of beauty; sometimes in a metaphysical sense, as when we speak of the spirituality of the soul; but in its prevalent Bib. and evangelical sense it is an adj. with the Holy Spirit as its noun-form. The spiritual life is that life of which the Holy Spirit is the author and preserver; and the "spiritual man" is that nature or character in man which the Holy Spirit originates, preserves, determines, disciplines, sanctifies and glorifies.

2. The Inward Man

The "inward man" is a designation of human nature viewed as internally and centrally regenerated, as contrasted with the "outward man" (2 Cor **4** 16; Rom **7** 22; Eph **3** 16). See Man, Outward. This phrase indicates the whole human nature conceived as affected from within—in the secret, inside, and true springs of activity—by the Holy Spirit of God. Such a change—regeneration—is not superficial, but a change in the inner central self; not a mere external reformation, but an internal transformation. Grace operates not from the circumference toward the center, but from the center toward the circumference, of life. The product is a man renovated in his "inward parts," changed in the dynamic center of his heart.

3. The New Man

The "new man" is an appellation yielded by the contrasted idea of the "old man" (Rom **6** 6; Eph **4** 22; Col **3** 9; Eph **2** 15; **4** 24; Col **3** 10). The "old" is "corrupt" and expresses itself in evil "deeds"; the "new" possesses the "image of God" and is marked by "knowledge," "righteousness," and "holiness." There are two Gr words for "new"—*neos* and *kainos*. The former means new in the sense of *young*, as the new-born child is a young thing; the latter means "new" in the sense of *renovated*, as when the house which has been rebuilt is called a new house. The converted man is "new" (*neo-anthrōpos*) in the sense that he is a "babe in Christ," and "new" (*kaino-anthrōpos*) in the sense that his moral nature is renovated and built over again.

In the NT there are 5 different vbs. used to express the action put forth in making the "old man" a "new man." (1) In Eph **2** 10 and **4** 24, he is said to be "created" (*ktízō*), and in 2 Cor **5** 17 the product is called a "new creature" (*kainḗ kísis*), a renovated creature. Out of the "old man" the Holy Spirit has created the "new man." (2) In 1 Pet **1** 3.23 and elsewhere, he is said to be "begotten again" (*anagennáō*), and the product is a "babe in Christ" (1 Cor **3** 1). The "old man" thus becomes the "new man" by a spiritual begetting: his paternity is assigned to the Holy Ghost. (3) In Eph **2** 5 and elsewhere, he is said to be 'quickened' (*zōopoiéō*), and the product is represented as a creature which has been made "alive from the dead" (Rom **6** 13). The "old man," being 'dead in trespasses and sins' (Eph **2** 1), is brought forth from his sin-grave by a spiritual resurrection. (4) In Eph **4** 23 he is represented as being made "young" (*ananeóō*), and the product is a child of the Spirit at the commencement of his religious experience. The "old man," dating his history back to the fall in Eden, has become, through the Spirit, a young man in Christ Jesus. (5) In 2 Cor **4** 16 and in Rom **12** 2, he is said to be 'renovated' (*anakainóō*). The "old man" is renovated into the "new man." Sinful human nature is taken by the Spirit and morally recast.

II. Theological Meaning.—The "new man" is the converted, regenerated man. The phrase has its significance for the great theological doctrine of regeneration as it expands into the broad work of sanctification. Is the sinner dead? Regeneration is a new life. Is holiness non-existent in him? Regeneration is a new creation. Is he born in sin? Regeneration is a new birth. Is he determined by his fallen, depraved nature? Regeneration is a spiritual determination. Is he the subject of carnal appetites? Regeneration is a holy appetency. Is he thought of as the old sinful man? Regeneration is a new man. Is the sinful mind blind? Regeneration is a new understanding. Is the heart stony? Regeneration is a heart of flesh. Is the conscience seared? Regeneration is a good conscience. Is the will impotent? Regeneration is a new impotentiation. The regenerated man is a man with a new governing disposition—a "new man," an "inward man," a "spiritual man."

(1) The "new man"—the regenerate man—is not a theological transubstantiation: a being whose substance has been supernaturally converted into some other sort of substance.

(2) He is not a scientific transmutation: a species of one kind which has been naturally evolved into a species of another kind.

(3) He is not a metaphysical reconstruction: a being with a new mental equipment.

(4) He is an evangelical convert: an "old man" with a new regnant moral disposition, an "outward man" with a new inward *fons et origo* of moral life; a "natural man" with a new renovated spiritual heart. See Man, Natural; Regeneration.

Robert Alexander Webb

1. The Pauline Description

MAN OF SIN (**ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας,** *ho ánthrōpos tḗs hamartías;* many ancient authorities read, "man of lawlessness," **ἀνομίας,** *anomías*): The name occurs in Paul's remarkable announcement in 2 Thess **2** 3–10 of the manifestation of a colossal anti-Christian power prior to the advent, which some of the Thessalonians had been misled into thinking of as immediately impending (ver 2). That "day of the Lord," the apostle declares, will not come till, as he had previously taught them (ver 5), there has first been a great apostasy and the revelation of "the man of sin" (or "of lawlessness"; cf ver 8), named also "the son of perdition" (ver 3). This "lawless one" (ver 8) would exalt himself above all that is called God, or is an object of worship; he would sit in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God (ver 4). For the time another power restrained his manifestation; when that was removed, he would be revealed (vs 6.7). Then "the mystery of lawlessness," which was already working, would attain its full development (vs 7.8). The coming of this "man of sin," in the power of Satan, would be with lying wonders and all deceit of unrighteousness, whereby many would be deceived to their destruction (vs 9.10). But only for a season (ver 6). Jesus would slay (or consume) him with the breath of His mouth (cf Isa **11** 4), and bring him to nought by the manifestation of His coming (ver 8).

2. The Varying Interpretations

Innumerable are the theories and speculations to which this Pauline passage has given rise (a very full account of these may be seen in the essay on "The Man of Sin" appended to Dr. J. Eadie's posthumous *Comm. on Thess*, and in Lünemann's *Comm.*, 222 ff, ET). (1) There is the view, favored by "moderns," that the passage contains no genuine prediction (Paul "could not know" the future), but represents a speculation of the apostle's own, based on Dnl **8** 23 ff; **11** 36 ff, and on current ideas of Antichrist (see Antichrist; Belial; cf Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, 93 ff, etc). This view will not satisfy those who believe in the reality of Paul's apostleship and inspiration. (2) Some connect the description with Caligula, Nero, or other of the Rom emperors. Caligula, indeed, ordered supplication to be made to himself as the supreme god and wished to set up his statue in the temple of Jerus (Suet. *Calig.* xxii.33; Jos, *Ant*, XVIII, viii). But this was long before Paul's visit to Thessalonica, and the acts of such a madman could not furnish the basis of a prediction so elaborate and important as the present (cf Lünemann and Bousset). (3) The favorite Protestant interpretation refers the prediction to the papacy, in whom, it is contended, many of the blasphemous features of Paul's representation are unmistakably realized. The "temple of God" is here understood to be the church; the restraining power the Rom empire; "the man of sin" not an individual, but the personification of an institution or system. It is difficult, however, to resist the impression that the apostle regards "the mystery of lawlessness" as culminating in an individual—a personal Antichrist—and in any case the representation outstrips everything that can be conceived of as even nominally Christian. (4) There remains the view held by most of the Fathers, and in recent times widely adopted, that "the man of sin" of this passage is an individual in whom, previous to the advent, sin will embody itself in its most lawless and God-denying form. The attempts to identify this individual with historical characters may be set aside; but the idea is not thereby invalidated. The difficulty is that the apostle evidently conceives of the manifestation of the "man of sin" as taking place, certainly not immediately, but at no very remote period—not 2,000 years later—and as connected directly with the final advent of Christ, and the judgment on the wicked (cf **1** 7–9), without apparently any reference to a "millennial" period, either before or after.

3. The Essential Idea

It seems safest, in view of the difficulties of the passage, to confine one's self to the general idea it embodies, leaving details to be interpreted by the actual fulfilment. There is much support in Scripture—not least in Christ's own teaching (cf Mt **13** 30.37–43; **24** 11–14; Lk **18** 8)—for the belief that before the final triumph of Christ's kingdom there will be a period of great tribulation, of decay of faith, of apostasy, of culmination of both good and evil ("Let both grow together until the harvest," Mt **13** 30), with the seeming triumph for the time of the evil over the good. There will be a crisis-time—sharp, severe, and terminated by a decisive interposition of the Son of Man ("the manifestation of his coming," RVm "Gr presence"), in what precise form may be left undetermined. Civil law and government—the existing bulwark against anarchy (in Paul's time represented by the Rom power)—will be swept away by the rising tide of evil, and lawlessness will prevail. It may be that impiety will concentrate itself, as the passage says, in some individual head; or this may belong to the form of the apostle's apprehension in a case where "times and seasons" were not yet fully revealed: an apprehension to be enlarged by subsequent revelations (see Revelation, Book of), or left to be corrected by the actual course of God's providence. The kernel of the prediction is not, any more than in the OT prophecies, dependent on its literal realization in every detail. Neither does the final manifestation of evil exclude partial and anticipatory realizations, embodying many of the features of the prophecy. See Thessalonians, Second Epistle to, III. James Orr

MAN OF WAR. See War.

MAN, OLD. See Man, New; Old Man.

MAN, OUTWARD. See Man, Natural; Outward Man.

MAN, SON OF. See Son of Man.

MANAEN, man'a-en (**Μαναήν**, *Manaēn*, Gr form of Heb name "Menahem," meaning "consoler"): Manaen is mentioned, with Barnabas, Saul and others, in Acts **13** 1, as one of the "prophets and teachers" in the recently founded gentile church at Antioch, at the time when Barnabas and Saul were "separated" by Divine call for their missionary service. He is further described as "the foster-brother [*súntrophos*] of Herod the tetrarch" (i.e. Herod Antipas [q.v.]). He was probably brought up and educated with this Herod and his brother Archelaus. An earlier glimpse of Christian influence in Herod's court is afforded by Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward Chuzas, among the holy women who ministered to Jesus (Lk **8** 3). Manaen may have been related to the older Manaen, the Essene, who, Jos tells us, foretold the greatness of Herod the Great, and was afterward treated by Herod as his friend (*Ant*, XV, x, 5). His position in the church at Antioch was evidently an influential one, whether he himself ranked among the "prophets," or perhaps only among the "teachers."

James Orr

MANAHATH, man'a-hath (מָנַחַת, *mānaḥath;* **Μαχαναθί**, *Machanathí*):

(1) A place to which certain Benjamites, victims, apparently, of intra-tribal jealousy, were carried captive (1 Ch **8** 6). Of this town the Manahathites were probably natives. It is possibly denoted by Manocho which LXX adds to the list of towns in Judah (Josh **15** 59). This place is named along with Bether (*Bittīr*). The name seems to be preserved in that of *Māliḥa*, a large village not far from *Bittīr*, S.W. of Jerus. The change of *l* to *n*, and vice versa, is not uncommon. The same place may be intended by Menuhah (Jgs **20** 43

RVm), where AV reads "with ease," and RV "at their resting-place."

(2) One of the sons of Shobal, the son of Seir the Horite (Gen **36** 23; 1 Ch **1** 40), the "name-father" of one of the ancient tribes in Mt. Seir, afterward subdued and incorporated in Edom.

W. Ewing

MANAHATHITES, man′a-hath-īts (מְנוּחוֹת, *m^enūḥōth* [1 Ch **2** 52], מָנַחְתִּי, *mānaḥtī* [ver 54]; B, **Μωναιώ,** *Mōnaiō*, A, **'Αμμανίθ,** *Ammaníth* [ver 52], B, **Μαλαθεί,** *Malatheí*, A, **Μανάθ,** *Manáth*, [ver 54]; AV **Manahethites**): These men were the inhabitants of Manahath. They were descendants of Caleb, one-half being the progeny of Shobal, and the other of Salma. In ver 52 RV transliterates "Menuhoth," but Manahathites is preferable.

MANAHETHITES, man-a-hē′thīts, ma-nā′heth-īts. See Manahathites.

MANASSEAS, man-a-sē′as (**Μανασσήας,** *Manasséas*): One of those who had married "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 31); "Manasseh" of Ezr **10** 30.

MANASSEH, ma-nas′e (מְנַשֶּׁה, *m^enashsheh*, "causing to forget"; cf Gen **41** 51; **Μαν[ν]ασσή,** *Man[n]assḗ*):

(1) The firstborn of Joseph by Asenath, daughter of Poti-phera, priest of On. See next article.

(2) The tribe named from Manasseh, half of which, with Gad and Reuben, occupied the E. of Jordan (Nu **27** 1, etc). See next article.

(3) The "Manasseh" of Jgs **18** 30.31 AV is really an intentional mistake for the name Moses. A small *nûn* (*n*) has been inserted over and between the first and second Heb letters in the word Moses, thus מנשה for משה. The reason for this is that the individual in question is mentioned as priest of a brazen image at Dan. His proper name was Moses. It was felt to be a disgrace that such a one bearing that honored name should keep it intact. The insertion of the *nūn* hides the disgrace and, moreover, gives to the person a name already too familiar with idolatrous practices; for King Manasseh's 55 years of sovereignty were thus disgraced.

(4) King of Judah. See separate article.

(5) Son of Pahath-moab (q.v.), who had married a foreign wife (Ezr **10** 30). Manaseas in 1 Esd **9** 31.

(6) The **Manasses** of 1 Esd **9** 33. A layman of the family of Hashum, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's order (Ezr **10** 33).

In RV of Mt **1** 10 and Rev **7** 6 the spelling "Manasseh" is given for AV "Manasses." The latter is the spelling of the husband of Judith (Jth **8** 2.7; **10** 3; **16** 22.23.24); of a person named in the last words of Tobit and otherwise unknown (Tob **14** 10), and also the name given to a remarkable prayer probably referred to in 2 Ch **33** 18, which Manasseh (4) is said to have uttered at the end of his long, unsatisfactory life. See Manasses, Prayer of. In Jgs **12** 4, RV reads "Manasseh" for AV "Manassites."

Henry Wallace

1. Son of Joseph

MANASSEH: Following the Bib. account of Manasseh (patriarch, tribe, and territory) we find that he was the elder of Joseph's two sons by Asenath, the daughter of Poti-phera, priest of On (Gen **41** 51). The birth of a son marked the climax of Joseph's happiness after the long bitterness of his experience. In the joy of the moment, the dark years past could be forgotten; therefore he called the name of the firstborn Manasseh ("causing to forget"), for, said he, God hath made me to forget all my toil. When Jacob was near his end, Joseph brought his two sons to his father who blessed them. Himself the younger son who had received the blessing of the firstborn, Jacob preferred Ephraim, the second son of Joseph, to M. his elder brother, thus indicating the relative positions of their descendants (Gen **48**). Before Joseph died he saw the children of Machir the son of M. (**50** 23). Machir was born to M. by his concubine, an Aramitess (1 Ch **7** 14). Whether he married Maacah before leaving for Egypt is not said. She was the sister of Huppim and Shuppim. Of M.'s personal life no details are recorded in Scripture. Acccording to Jewish tradition he became steward of his father's house, and acted as interpreter between Joseph and his brethren.

2. The Tribes in the Wilderness and Portion in Palestine

At the beginning of the desert march the number of M.'s men of war is given at 32,200 (Nu **1** 34 f). At the 2d census they had increased to 52,700 (**26** 34). Their position in the wilderness was with the tribe of Benjamin, by the standard of the tribe of Ephraim, on the W. of the tabernacle. According to Tg Pseudojon, the standard was the figure of a boy, with the inscription "The cloud of Jeh rested on them until they went forth out of the camp." At Sinai the prince of the tribe was Gamaliel, son of Pedahzur (Nu **2** 20). The tribe was represented among the spies by Gaddi, son of Susi (**13** 11, where the name "tribe of Joseph" seems to be used as an alternative). At the census in the plains of Moab, M. is named before Ephraim, and appears as much the stronger tribe (**26** 28 ff). The main military exploits in the conquest of Eastern Pal were performed by Manassites. Machir, son of M., conquered the Amorites and Gilead (**32** 39). Jair, son of M., took all the region of Argob, containing three score cities; these he called by his own name, "Havvoth-jair" (**32** 41; Dt **3** 4.14). Nobah captured Kenath and the villages thereof (Nu **32** 42; Josh **17** 1.5). Land for half the tribe was thus provided, their territory stretching from the northern boundary of Gad to an undetermined frontier in the N., marching with Geshur and Maacah on the W., and with the desert on the E. The warriors of this half-tribe passed over with those of Reuben and Gad before the host of Israel, and took their share in the conquest of Western Pal (Josh **22**). They helped to raise the great altar in the Jordan valley, which so nearly led to disastrous consequences (**22** 10 ff). Golan, the city of refuge, lay within their territory.

The possession of Ephraim and Manasseh W. of the Jordan appears to have been undivided at first (Josh **17** 16 ff). The portion which ultimately fell to M. marched with Ephraim on the S., with Asher and Issachar on the N., running out to the sea on the W., and falling into the Jordan valley on the E. (**17** 7 ff). The long dwindling slopes to westward and the flat reaches of the plain included much excellent soil. Within the territory of Issachar and Asher, Beth-shean, Ibleam, Dor, Endor, Taanach and Megiddo, with their villages, were assigned to M. Perhaps the men of the West lacked the energy and enterprise of their eastern brethren. They failed, in any case, to expel the Canaanites from these cities, and for long this grim chain of fortresses seemed to mock the strength of Israel (Josh **17** 11 ff)

Ten cities W. of the Jordan, in the portion of M., were given to the Levites, and 13 in the eastern portion (Josh **21** 5.6).

M. took part in the glorious conflict with the host of Sisera (Jgs **5** 14). Two famous judges, Gideon and Jephthah, belonged to this tribe. The men of the half-tribe E. of Jordan were noted for skill and valor as warriors (1 Ch **5** 18.23 f). Some men of

3. Its Place in Later History

M. had joined David before the battle of Gilboa (1 Ch **12** 19). Others, all mighty men of valor, and captains in the host, fell to him on the way to Ziklag, and helped him against the band of rovers (vs 20 ff). From the half-tribe W. of the Jordan 18,000 men, expressed by name, came to David at Hebron to make him king (ver 31); while those who came from the E. numbered, along with the men of Reuben and Gad, 120,000 (ver 37). David organized the eastern tribes under 2,700 overseers for every matter pertaining to God and for the affairs of the king (**26** 32). The rulers of M. were, in the W., Joel, son of Pedaiah, and in the E., Iddo, son of Zechariah (**27** 20.21). Divers of M. humbled themselves and came to Jerus at the invitation of Hezekiah to celebrate the Passover (2 Ch **30** 11). Although not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary, they ate the Passover. Pardon was successfully sought for them by the king, because they set their hearts to seek God (vs 18 ff).

Of the eastern half-tribe it is said that they went a-whoring after the gods of the land, and in consequence they were overwhelmed and expatriated by Pul and Tiglath-pileser, kings of Assyria (1 Ch **5** 25 f). Reference to the idolatries of the western half-tribe are also found in 2 Ch **31** 1; **34** 6.

There is a portion for M. in Ezekiel's ideal picture (**48** 4), and the tribe appears in the list in Rev (**7** 6).

The genealogies in Josh **17** 1 ff; Nu **26** 28–34; 1 Ch **2** 21–23; **7** 14–19 have fallen into confusion. As they stand, they are mutually contradictory, and it is impossible to harmonize them.

The theories of certain modern scholars who reject the Bib. account are themselves beset with difficulties: e.g. the name is derived from the Arab. *nasa*, "to injure a tendon of the leg." M., the Piel part., would thus be the name of a supernatural being, of whom the infliction of such an injury was characteristic. It is not clear which of the wrestlers at the Jabbok suffered the injury. As Jacob is said to have prevailed with gods and men, the suggestion is that it was his antagonist who was lamed. "It would appear therefore that in the original story the epithet Manasseh was a fitting title of Jacob himself, which might be borne by his worshippers, as in the case of Gad" (*EB*, s.v., par. 4).

It is assumed that the mention of Machir in Jgs **5** 14 definitely locates the Manassites at that time on the W. of the Jordan. The raids by members of the tribe on Eastern Pal must therefore have taken place long after the days of Moses. The reasoning is precarious. After the mention of Reuben (vs 15.16), Gilead (ver 17) may refer to Gad. It would be strange if this warlike tribe were passed over (Guthe). Machir, then probably the strongest clan, stands for the whole tribe, and may be supposed to indicate particularly the noted fighters of the eastern half.

In dealing with the genealogies, "the difficult name" Zelophehad must be got rid of. Among the suggestions made is one by Dr. Cheyne, which first supposes the existence of a name Salhad, and then makes Zelophehad a corruption of this.

The genealogies certainly present difficulties, but otherwise the narrative is intelligible and self-consistent without resort to such questionable expedients as those referred to above.

W. EWING

MANASSEH: A king of Judah, son and successor of Hezekiah; reigned 55 years (2 K **21** 1; 2 Ch **33** 1), from c 685 onward. His was one of the few royal names not compounded with the name of Jeh (his son Amon's was the only other if, as an Assyr inscription gives it, the full name of Ahaz was Jehoahaz or Ahaziah); but it was no heathen name like Amon, but identical with that of the elder son of Joseph. Born within Hezekiah's added 15 years, years of trembling faith and tender hope (cf Isa **38** 15 f), his name may perhaps memorialize the father's sacred feelings; the name of his mother Hephzibah too was used long afterward as the symbol of the happy union of the land with its loyal sons (Isa **62** 4). All this, however, was long forgotten in the memory of Manasseh's apostate career.

I. Sources of His Life.—The history (2 K **21** 1–18) refers for "the rest of his acts" to "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah," but the body of the account, instead of reading like state annals, is almost entirely a censure of his idolatrous reign in the spirit of the prophets and of the Deuteronomic strain of literature. The parallel history (2 Ch **33** 1–20) puts "the rest of his acts" "among the acts of the kings of Israel," and mentions his prayer (a prayer ascribed to him is in the Apocrypha) and "the words of the seers that spoke to him in the name of Jeh." This history of Ch mentions his captive journey to Babylon and his repentance (2 Ch **33** 10–13), also his building operations in Jerus and his resumption of Jeh-worship (vs 14–17), which the earlier source lacks. From these sources, which it is not the business of this article either to verify or question, the estimate of his reign is to be deduced.

1. Political Situation

II. Character of His Reign.—During his reign, Assyria, principally under Esar-haddon and Assurbanipal, was at the height of its arrogance and power: and his long reign was the peaceful and uneventful life of a willing vassal, contented to count as tributary king in an illustrious world-empire, hospitable to all its religious and cultural ideas, and ready to take his part in its military and other enterprises. The two mentions of his name in Assyr inscriptions (see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II, 182) both represent him in this tributary light. His journey to Babylon mentioned in 2 Ch **33** 11 need not have been the penalty of rebellion; more likely it was such an enforced act of allegiance as was perhaps imposed on all provincial rulers who had incurred or would avert suspicion of disloyalty. Nor was his fortification of Jerus after his return less necessary against domestic than foreign aggression; the more so, indeed, as in so long and undisturbed a reign his capital, which was now practically synonymous with his realm (Esar-haddon calls him "king of the *city* of Judah"), became increasingly an important center of wealth and commercial prosperity. Of the specific events of his reign, however, other than religious, less is known than of almost any other.

2. Reactionary Idolatry

That the wholesale idolatry by which his reign is mainly distinguished was of a reactionary and indeed conservative nature may be understood alike from what it sought to maintain and from what it had to react against. On the one side was the tremendous wave of ritual and mechanical heathen cultus which, proceeding from the world-centers of culture and civilization (cf Isa **2** 6–8), was drawing all the tributary lands, Judah with the rest, into its almost irresistible sweep. M., it would seem, met this not in the temper of an amateur, as had his grandfather Ahaz, but in the temper of a fanatic. Everything old and new that came to his purview was of momentous religious value—except only the simple and austere demands of prophetic insight. He restored the debasing cultus of the aboriginal Nature-worship which his father had suppressed, thus making Judah revert to the sterile Baal-cultus of Ahab; but his blind credence in the black arts so prevalent in all the surrounding nations, imported the elaborate worship of the heavenly bodies from Babylon, invading even the temple-courts with its numerous rites and altars; even went to the horrid extreme of human sacrifice, making an institution of what Ahaz had tried as a desperate expedient. All this, which to the matured prophetic sense was headlong wickedness, was the mark of a desperately earnest soul.

seeking blindly in this wholesale way to propitiate the mysterious Divine powers, his nation's God among them, who seemed so to have the world's affairs in their inscrutable control. On the other side, there confronted him the prophetic voice of a religion which decried all insincere ritual ('wickedness and worship,' Isa **1** 13), made straight demands on heart and conscience, and had already vindicated itself in the faith which had wrought the deliverance of 701. It was the fight of the decadent formal against the uprising spiritual; and, as in all such struggles, it would grasp at any expedient save the one plain duty of yielding the heart to repentance and trust.

3. Persecution

Meanwhile, the saving intelligence and integrity of Israel, though still the secret of the lowly, was making itself felt in the spiritual movement that Isaiah had labored to promote; through the permeating influence of literature and education the "remnant" was becoming a power to be reckoned with. It is in the nature of things that such an innovating movement must encounter persecution; the significant thing is that already there was so much to persecute. Persecution is as truly the offspring of fear as of fanaticism. M.'s persecution of the prophets and their adherents (tradition has it that the aged Isaiah was one of his victims) was from their point of view an enormity of wickedness. To us the analysis is not quite so simple; it looks also like the antipathy of an inveterate formal order to a vital movement that it cannot understand. The vested interests of almost universal heathenism must needs die hard, and "much innocent blood" was its desperate price before it would yield the upper hand. To say this of M.'s murderous zeal is not to justify it; it is merely to concede its sadly mistaken sincerity. It may well have seemed to him that a nation's piety was at stake, as if a world's religious culture were in peril.

4. Return to Better Mind

The Chronicler, less austere in tone than the earlier historian, preserves for us the story that, like Saul of Tarsus after him, M. got his eyes open to the truer meaning of things; that after his humiliation and repentance in Babylon he "knew that Jeh he was God" (2 Ch **33** 10–13). He had the opportunity to see a despotic idolatry, its evils with its splendors, in its own home; a first-fruit of the thing that the Heb exiles were afterward to realize. On his return, accordingly, he removed the altars that had encroached upon the sacred precincts of the temple, and restored the ritual of the Jeh-service, without, however, removing the high places. It would seem to have been merely the concession of Jeh's right to a specific cultus of His own, with perhaps a mitigation of the more offensive extremes of exotic worship, while the toleration of the various fashionable forms remained much as before. But this in itself was something, was much; it gave Jeh His chance, so to say, among rivals; and the growing spiritual fiber of the heart of Israel could be trusted to do the rest. It helps us also the better to understand the situation when, only two years after M.'s death, Josiah came to the throne, and to understand why he and his people were so ready to accept the religious sanity of the Deuteronomic law. He did not succeed, after all, in committing his nation to the wholesale sway of heathenism. M.'s reactionary reign was indeed not without its good fruits; the crisis of religious syncretism and externalism was met and passed.

John Franklin Genung

MANASSES, ma-nas′ēz (**Μανασσῆς**, *Manassḗs*, B, *Manassḗ*):

(1) One who had married a "strange wife" (1 Esd **9** 33) = "Manasseh" of Ezr **10** 33.

(2) The wealthy husband of Judith; died of sunstroke when employed at the barley harvest (Jth **8** 2 f.7; **10** 3; **16** 22 ff).

(3) A person mentioned in Tob **14** 10, who "gave alms, and escaped the snare of death." It must be admitted that Manasses here is an awkward reading and apparently interrupts the sense, which would run more smoothly if Manasses were omitted or Achiacharus read. There is great variety of text in this verse. ℵ (followed by Fritzsche, *Libri apoc. vet. Test Gr.*, 1871) reads *en tō̃ poiḗsai me eleēmosúnēn exḗlthen*, where Manasses is omitted and Achiacharus is understood as the subject. Itala and Syr go a step further and read Achiacharus as subject. But B (followed by Swete, AV and RV) reads *Manassēs*, which must be the correct reading on the principle of being the most difficult. Explanations have been offered (1) that Manasses is simply the Heb name for Achiacharus, it not being uncommon for a Jew to have a Gr and a Heb name; (2) that on reading Ἀμών, *Amṓn*, Manasses was inserted for Achiacharus according to 2 Ch **33** 22 ff; (3) that M. here is an incorrect reading for Nasbas (Tob **11** 18), identified by Grotius with Achiacharus. "It seems impossible at present to arrive at a satisfactory explanation" (Fuller, *Speaker's Comm.*). There is as great uncertainty as to the person who conspired against Manasses: Ἀμάν, *Amán*, in A, followed by AV and RV, who is by some identified with the Haman of Est and Achiacharus with Mordecai; Ἀδάμ, *Adám*, in B, followed by Swete; Itala Nadab; Syr Ahab (Acab).

(4) A king of Judah (Mt **1** 10 AV, Gr form, RV "Manasseh"), whose prayer forms one of the apocryphal books. See Manasses, Prayer of.

(5) The elder son of Joseph (Rev **7** 6, AV Gr form, RV "Manasseh"). S. Angus

MANASSES, THE PRAYER OF:

1. Name
2. Canonicity and Position
3. Contents
4. Original Language
5. Authenticity
6. Author and Motive
7. Date
8. Text and Versions
    (1) Greek
    (2) Latin

Literature

The Prayer of Manasses purports to be, and may in reality be, the prayer of that king mentioned in 2 Ch **33** 13.18 f.

1. Name

In Cod. A it is called simply "A Prayer of Manasses," in the London Polyglot "A Prayer of Manasses, King of the Jews." Its title in the Vulg is "A Prayer of Manasses, King of Judah, when He Was Held Captive in Babylon." In Baxter's *Apoc, Gr and Eng.* this Prayer appears at the end with the heading "A Prayer of Manasses, son of Ezekias" (= Hezekiah).

2. Canonicity and Position

The Greek church is the only one which has consistently reckoned this Prayer as a part of its Bible. Up to the time of the Council of Trent (1545–63 AD), it formed a part of the Vulg, but by that council it was relegated with 3 and 4 (1 and 2) Esd to the appendix (which included uncanonical scriptures), "lest they should become wholly lost, since they are occasionally cited by the Fathers and are found in printed copies." Yet it is wholly absent from the Vulg of Sixtus V, though it is in the Appendix of the Vulg of Clement VIII. Its position varies in MSS, VSS and printed editions of the LXX. It is most frequently found among the odes or canticles following the Psalter, as in Codd. A, T (the Zurich Psalter) and in Ludolf's Ethiopic Psalter. In Swete's LXX the Ps Sol followed by the odes (Ὠδαί, *Ōdai*), of which Pr Man is the 8th, appear as an Appendix after 4 Macc in vol III. It was placed after 2 Ch in the original Vulg, but in the Romanist Vulg it stands first, followed by 3 and 4 (1 and 2) Esd in the apocryphal Appendix. It is found in all MSS of the Armenian Bible, where, as in Swete's LXX, it is one of many odes. Though not included in Coverdale's Bible or the Geneva VS, it was retained (at the close of the Apoc) in Luther's tr, in Mathew's Bible and in the Bishops' Bible, whence it passed into our EV.

3. Contents

According to 2 Ch **33** (cf 2 K **21**) Manasseh was exiled by the Assyrians to Babylon as a punishment for his sins. There he became penitent and earnestly prayed to God for pardon and deliverance. God answered his prayer and restored him to Jerus and to the throne. Though the prayer is mentioned in 2 Ch **33** 13.18 f, it is not given, but this lack has been supplied in the Pr Man of the Apoc. After an opening invocation to the God of Abraham, Isaac, Judah and their righteous seed, the Creator of all things, most high, yet compassionate, who has ordained repentance, not for perfect ones like the patriarchs who did not need it, but for the like of the person praying, there follows a confession of sin couched for the most part in general terms, a prayer for pardon and a vow to praise God forever if this prayer is answered.

4. Original Language

The bulk of scholars (Fritzsche, Reuss, Schürer, Ryssel, etc) agree that this Prayer was composed in Gr. The Gr recension is written in a free, flowing and somewhat rhetorical style, and it reads like an original work, not like a tr. Though there are some Hebraisms, they are not more numerous or striking than usually meet us in Hellenistic Gr. It is of some importance also that, although Jewish tradition adds largely to the legends about Manasseh, it has never supplied a Heb VS of the Prayer (see Text and Versions, VIII). On the other hand, Ewald (*Hist. Isr*, I, 186; IV, 217, n.5, Ger. ed, IV, 217 f), Fürst (*Gesch. der bibl. Lit.*, II, 399), Budde (*ZAW*, 1892, 39 ff), Ball (*Speaker's Apoc*) and others argue for a Heb original, perhaps existing in the source named of 2 Ch **33** 18 f (see Ryssel in Kautzsch, *Die Apoc des AT*, 167).

5. Authenticity

Have we here the authentic prayer of Manasseh offered under the circumstances described in 2 Ch **33**? Ewald and the other scholars named (see foregoing section), who think the Prayer was composed in Heb, say that we have probably here a Gr rendering of the Heb original which the Chronicler saw in his source. Ball, on the other hand, though not greatly opposed to this view, is more convinced that the Heb original is to be sought in a haggadic narrative concerning Manasseh. Even if we accept the view of Ewald or of Ball, we still desiderate evidence that this Heb original is the very prayer offered by the king in Babylon. But the arguments for a Gr original are fairly conclusive. Many OT scholars regard the narrative of the captivity, prayer and penitence of Manasseh as a fiction of the Chronicler's imagination, to whom it seemed highly improper that this wicked king should escape the punishment (exile) which he richly deserved. So De Wette (*Einleitung*), Graf (*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1859, 467–94, and *Gesch. Bücher des AT*, 174) and Nöldeke (Schenkel's *Bibelwerk*, "Manasse"). Nothing corresponding to it occurs in the more literal narrative of 2 K **21**, an argument which, however, has but little weight. Recent discoveries of cuneiform inscriptions have taken off the edge of the most important objections to the historicity of this part of Ch. See Ball (op. cit., 361 ff) and Bissell (Lange's *Apoc*, 468). The likeliest supposition is that the author of the Prayer was an Alexandrian Jew who, with 2 Ch **33** before him, desired to compose such a prayer as Manasseh was likely to offer under the supposed circumstances. This prayer, written in excellent Alexandrian Gr, is, as Fritzsche points out, an addition to 2 Ch **33**, corresponding to the prayers of Mordecai and Esther added to the canonical Est (Ad Est **13** 8—**14** 19), and also to the prayer of Azarias (Three **1** 2–22) and the Song of the Three Young Men (Three **1** 29–68) appended to the canonical Book of Dnl.

6. The Author and His Motive

That the author was an Alexandrian Jew is made probable by the (Gr) language he employs and by the sentiments he expresses. It is strange to find Swete (*Expos T*, II, 38 f) defending the Christian authorship of this Prayer. What purpose could the writer seek to realize in the composition and publication of the penitential psalm? In the absence of definite knowledge, one may with Reuss (*Das AT*, VI, 436 f) suppose that the Jewish nation was at the time given up to great unfaithfulness to God and to gross moral corruption. The lesson of the Prayer is that God will accept the penitent, whatever his sins, and remove from the nation its load of sufferings, if only it turns to God.

7. Date

Ewald and Fürst (op. cit.) hold that the prayer is at least as old as the Book of Ch (300 BC), since it is distinctly mentioned, they say, in 2 Ch **33** 13.18 f. But the original form was, as seen (cf 4 above), Gr, not Heb. Moreover, the teaching of the Prayer is post-Bib. The patriarchs are idealized to the extent that they are thought perfect and therefore not needing forgiveness (ver 8); their merits avail for the sinful and undeserving (ver 1) (see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 292). The expressions "God of the Just" (ver 8), "God of those who repent" (ver 13), belong to comparatively late Judaism. A period about the beginning of the Christian era or (Fritzsche) slightly earlier would suit the character (language and teaching) of the Prayer. The similarity between the doctrines implied in Pr Man and those taught in apocryphal writings of the time confirms this conclusion. There is no need with Bertholdt to bring down the writing to the 2d or 3d cent. AD. Fabricius (*Liber Tobit*, etc, 208) dates the Prayer in the 4th or 5th cent. AD, because, in his opinion, its author is the same as that of the Apos Const which has that date. But the source of this part of the Apos Const is the *Didaskalia* (3d cent.), and moreover both these treatises are of Christian origin, the Prayer being the work of an Alexandrian Jew.

8. Text and Versions

(1) *The Greek text* occurs in Codd. A, T (Psalterium Turicence 262, Parsons). Swete (*OT in Gr*, III, 802–4) gives the text of A with the variations of T. It is omitted from the bulk of ancient MSS and edd of the LXX, as also from several modern editions (Tischendorf, etc). Nestle (*Septuaginta Studien*, 1899, 3) holds that the Gr text of Codd. A, T, etc, has been taken from the Apos Const or from the *Didaskalia*. The common view is that it was extracted by the latter from the LXX.

(2) *The Latin text* in Sabatier (*Bib. Sac. Lat*, III, 1038) is not by Jerome, nor is it in the manner of the Old Lat; its date is later.

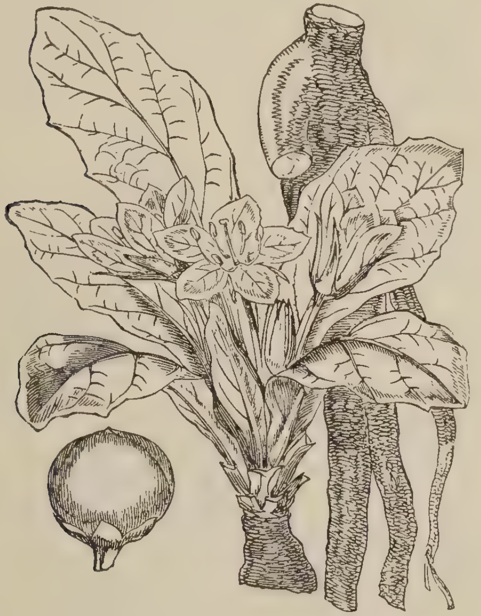
Literature.—The outstanding literature has been cited in the foregoing art. Reference may be made to Howorth ("Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible," *PSBA*, XXXI, 89 ff: he argues that the narrative concerning Manasseh, including the Prayer in the Apos Const, represents a portion of the true LXX of 2 Ch **33**).

T. Witton Davies

MANASSITES, ma-nas′īts (מְנַשִּׁי, *m^enashshī;* **ὁ Μανασσῆ**, *ho Manassē*): Members of the tribe of Manasseh (Dt **4** 43; Jgs **12** 4 AV; 2 K **10** 33).

MAN-CHILD, man′chīld (ARV; "man child," ERV; not in AV; מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר, *mashtīn b^eḳīr*): The expression is used with the meaning of "male," but is found only in the description of the extermination of a whole family, where it is employed to express every male descendant of any age. It occurs in 1 S **25** 22.34; 1 K **14** 10; **16** 11; **21** 21; 2 K **9** 8.

MANDRAKES, man′drāks (דּוּדָאִים, *dūdhā'īm;* **μανδραγόρας,** *mandragóras* [Gen **30** 14 f; Cant **7** 13]; the marginal reading "love apples" is due to the supposed connection of *dūdhā'īm* with דּוֹדִים, *dōdhīm,* "love"): Mandrakes are the fruit of the *Mandragora officinarum,* a member of the *Solanaceae* or potato order, closely allied to the *Atropa belladonna.* It is a common plant all over Pal, flourishing particularly in the spring and ripening about the time of the wheat harvest (Gen **30** 14). The plant has a rosette of handsome dark leaves, dark purple flowers and orange, tomato-like fruit. The root is long and branched; to pull it up is still considered unlucky (cf Jos, *BJ,* VII, vi, 3). The fruit is called in Arab. *baiḍ el-jinn,* the "eggs of the jinn"; they have a narcotic smell and sweetish taste, but are too poisonous to be used as food. They are still used in folklore medicine in Pal. The plant was well known as an aphrodisiac by the ancients (Cant **7** 13). E. W. G. Masterman



Mandrake (*Mandragora officinarum*).

MANEH, man′e, or **MINA,** mī′na (מָנֶה, *māneh;* **μνᾶ,** *mná,* "pound" [EV]): A weight containing 50 shekels, according to Heb usage, but which varied according to the standard adopted. Estimated on the Phoen, or commercial, standard, it was equal to 11,200 grains, or about 2 lbs. troy, or about 1.6 lbs. avoirdupois. This is probably the weight intended in 1 K **10** 17; Ezr **2** 69 and Neh **7** 71 f (see Weights and Measures). When used in a monetary sense, the *māneh* of silver was worth about £6 17*s.* or $34; the gold *māneh* was equal to about £102 10*s.* or $510. H. Porter

MANES, mā′nēz (**Μάνης,** *Mánēs*): One of those who put away their "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 21). It represents the two names Maaseiah and Elijah of the ‖ Ezr **10** 21. The real equivalent is probably Maaseiah, Elijah being dropped. RVm and AVm give Harim of Ezr **10** 21 as identical—apparently incorrectly, for the words "and of the sons of Harim" (Ezr **10** 21) are simply omitted. AV blunders strangely here in reading Eanes after a misprint **Ηάνης,** *Ēánēs* (for **Μάνης,** *Mánēs*) in the Aldine edition.

MANGER, mān′jẽr (**φάτνη,** *phátnē*): Properly the place in a stall or stable where the food of cattle is placed (in the OT "crib" [Job **39** 9; Prov **14** 4; Isa **1** 3]); thus also, apparently, in the narrative of the nativity in Lk **2** 7.12.16. In LXX, the Gr word, representing different Heb words, has also the extended meaning of "stall" (2 Ch **32** 28; Hab **3** 17); thus also in Lk **13** 15, where RVm has "manger." Old tradition says that Jesus was born in a cave in the neighborhood of Bethlehem; even so, a place for food for cattle may have been cut in the side of the rock. James Orr

MANI, mā′nī (**Μανί,** *Maní*): Head of a family (1 Esd **9** 30) = "Bani" in Ezr **10** 29, the form which appears in 1 Esd **5** 12.

MANIFEST, man′i-fest, **MANIFESTATION,** man-i-fes-tā′shun (**φανερόω,** *phaneróō,* **φανερός,** *panerós*): "To manifest" is generally the tr of *phaneroō,* "to make apparent" (Mk **4** 22; Jn **17** 6; Rom **3** 21; 1 Tim **3** 16, "God was manifest in the flesh," RV "manifested"; 1 Jn **1** 2 *bis,* etc); also of *phaneros,* "manifest" (Acts **4** 16; Rom **1** 19; 1 Cor **3** 13; 1 Jn **3** 10, etc); "to make manifest" (*phaneroō*) (Jn **1** 31; Rom **16** 26); of *emphanízō,* "to make fully manifest" (Jn **14** 21 f); of *emphanḗs,* "fully manifest" (Rom **10** 20); of *dḗlos,* "evident," tr^{d} "manifest" (1 Cor **15** 27, RV "evident"); of *ékdēlos,* "very evident" (2 Tim **3** 9, RV "evident"); of *pródēlos,* "evident beforehand" (1 Tim **5** 25, RV "evident"); of *aphanḗs,* is "not manifest" (He **4** 13, "There is no creature that is not manifest in his sight"); "manifest," occurs once in the OT as the tr of *bārar,* "to clear," "to purify" (Eccl **3** 18, RV "prove"); of *phanerō̂s* (2 Macc **3** 28, RV "manifestly").

Manifestation is the tr of *apokálupsis,* "uncovering" (Rom **8** 19, "the manifestation of the sons of God," RV "revealing"); of *phanérōsis,* "manifestation" (1 Cor **12** 7; 2 Cor **4** 2).

RV has "manifest" for "shew" (Jn **7** 4); "was manifested" for "appeared" (Mk **16** 12.14); "was manifested to the," for "shewed himself to his" (Jn **21** 14); "be made manifest" for "appear" (2 Cor **5** 10; **7** 12; Rev **3** 18); "became manifest" for "was made known" (Acts **7** 13); "gave him to be made manifest" for "shewed him openly" (Acts **10** 40); "He who was manifested" for "God was manifest" (1 Tim **3** 16) (m "The word *God,* in place of *He who,* rests on no sufficient ancient evidence. Some ancient authorities read *which*"); "is not yet made manifest" for "doth not yet appear" (1 Jn **3** 2); "by the manifestation" for "with the brightness" (2 Thess **2** 8) "be manifested" for "appear" (Col **3** 4 *bis;* 1 Pet **5** 4); "if he shall be manifested" for "when he shall appear" (1 Jn **2** 28; **3** 2), etc.

W. L. Walker

MANIFESTLY, man′i-fest-li (מַרְאֶה, *mar'eh,* "[in] personal presence"): Has the meaning of "by direct vision," as in 1 Cor **13** 12, "face to face," stating positively (Nu **12** 8) what the next clause states negatively, viz. "not in dark speeches." "Apparently" of AV is ambiguous.

MANIFOLD, man′i-fōld (רַב, *rabh;* **ποικίλος,** *poikilos*): "Manifold," which occurs only a few times, is in the OT the tr of *rabh,* "many," "abundant" (Neh **9** 19.27; Am **5** 12, where it is equivalent to "many"), and of *rābhabh,* "to multiply," "to increase" (Ps **104** 24, "O Jeh, how manifold are thy works"); *poikilos,* properly, "many colored," "spotted," "variegated," is tr^{d} "manifold": 1 Pet **1** 6 m, "manifold temptations"; **4** 10, "manifold grace," suggests *variety, diverseness; polupoíkilos* has this meaning more intensely (Eph **3** 10, "the manifold wisdom of God"). With this may be compared a fine passage in Wisd **7** 22, where it is said that in Wisdom there is "an understanding spirit, holy, one only [RV "alone in kind," m "Gr sole-born"], manifold [*polumerês*]." In like manner, *pollaplasíōn*, "manifold more" (Lk **18** 30), indicates the *varied elements* of the reward of him who is faithful to Christ. In Ecclus **51** 3, we have "manifold afflictions" (*pleíōn*). W. L. Walker

MANIUS, mā'ni-us, **TITUS,** tī'tus (**Τίτος Μάνιος,** *Títos Mánios*, A, V and Syr; **Μάνλιος,** *Mánlios*, Swete following A; *Manilius*, Itala and Vulg, AV **Manlius**): Titus Manius and Quintus Memmius were the legates of the Romans who carried a letter unto the Jewish people consenting to the favorable terms which Lysias, the captain of Antiochus, granted to the Jews after his defeat, 163 BC (2 Macc **11** 34). That the letter is spurious appears from the facts (1) that it is dated in the 148th year of the Seleucidian era adopted by the Jews and not, after the Rom fashion, according to consulates; (2) that it is also dated the same day as that of Eupator—the 15th of the month Xanthicus; (3) that the Jews had as yet no dealings with the Romans; Judas first heard of the fame of the Romans a year or two years later (1 Macc **8** 1 ff), after the death of Nicanor (**7** 47); (4) that no such names are found among the Rom *legati* mentioned by Polybius as sent to the East. If Manius is not altogether a fabrication, it is difficult to decide exactly who he is. The reading fluctuates between "Manius" and "Manlius." About the same time a T. Manlius Torquatus was sent by the Romans on an embassy to Egypt to settle a quarrel between Philometor and Euergetes II Physcon (Polyb. xxxi.18; Livy xliii.11), but not to *Syria*, and his colleague was Cn. Merula. Perhaps *Manius* Sergius is intended, who with C. Sulpicius was sent to investigate the state of Greece and to see what Antiochus Epiphanes and Eumanes were doing (165 BC) (Polyb. xxxi.9). But no such name as Titus Manius or Manlius is otherwise found as legate to Asia with a colleague Quintus Memmius. See also Memmius. S. Angus

MANKIND, man-kīnd': In Lev **18** 22; **20** 13, the term is applied to men, as distinguished from women; in Job **12** 10, to the human race; in Jas **3** 7, to the human nature.

MANLIUS, man'li-us, **TITUS.** See **MANIUS, TITUS.**

MANNA, man'a (מָן, *mān*; **μάννα,** *mánna*): The Heb *mān* is probably derived, as Ebers suggests, from the Egyp *mennu*, "food." In Ex **16** 15, we have a suggested source of the name, "They said one to another, What is it?" i.e. *manhu*, which also means, "It is manna" (see m).

1. OT References

This substance is described as occurring in flakes or small round grains, lit. "hoar frost"; it fell with the dew (Nu **11** 9) and appeared when the dew left the ground (Ex **16** 14); "It was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey" (ver 31). In Nu **11** 8, its taste is described "as the taste of fresh oil," m "cakes baked with oil." "And the children of Israel did eat the manna forty years, until they came . . . . unto the borders of the land of Canaan" (Ex **16** 35). It ceased the day after they ate the produce of the land, unleavened cakes and parched grain, in the plains of Jericho (Josh **5** 10–12). Although an important article of diet, it was by no means the sole one as seems implied in Nu **21** 5; there are plenty of references (e.g. Ex **17** 3; **24** 5; **34** 3; Lev **8** 2.26.31; **9** 4; **10** 12; **24** 5; Nu **7** 13.19 f, etc) which show that they had other food besides. The food was gathered every morning, "every man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed hot, it melted" (Ex **16** 21); a portion of the previous day's gathering bred worms and stank if kept (ver 20); on the 6th day a double amount was gathered, the Sabbath portion being miraculously preserved (vs 22–27). A pot—a golden one (He **9** 4)—with an omer of manna was "laid up before Jeh" in the tabernacle (Ex **16** 33). Manna is referred to in Neh **9** 20. It is described poetically as "food from heaven" and "bread of the mighty" (Ps **78** 24 f); as "bread of heaven" (Ps **105** 40); and as "angels' bread" (2 Esd **1** 19; Wisd **16** 20).

2. NT References

In Jn **6** 31–63, Our Lord frequently refers to "the manna" or "bread from heaven" as typical of Himself. St. Paul (1 Cor **10** 3) refers to it as "spiritual food," and in Rev **2** 17 we read, "To him that overcometh, to him will I give of the hidden manna."

Manna, as might be expected, figures largely in rabbinical lit. It was, it is said, adapted to the taste of each individual who could by wishing taste in the manna anything he desired (cf Wisd **16** 21). Manna is reserved as the future food of the righteous (cf Rev **2** 17), for which purpose it is ground in a mill situated in the third heaven (Ḥag 12*b*; Tan. Beshallaḥ 22).

3. Natural Explanations

No substance is known which in any degree satisfies all the requirements of the Scriptural references, but several travelers in the wilderness have reported phenomena which suggest some of the features of the miraculous manna.

(1) In the Peninsula of Sinai, on the route of the children of Israel, a species of tamarisk, named in consequence by Ebers *Tammaris mannifera*, is found to exude a sweet, honey-like substance where its bark is pierced by an insect, *Gossyparia mannifera*. It collects upon the twigs and falls to the ground. The Arabs who gather it to sell to pilgrims call it *mann-es-samā*, "heavenly manna"; it is white at first but turns yellow; in the early morning it is of the consistency of wax but when the sun is hot it disappears. This substance occurs only after midsummer and for a month or two at most.

(2) A second proposal is to identify manna with a lichen—*Lecanora esculenta* and allied species—which grows in the Arabian and other deserts upon the limestone. The older masses become detached and are rolled about by the wind. When swept together by sudden rain storms in the rainy season they may collect in large heaps. This lichen has been used by the Arabs in time of need for making bread. It is a quite reasonable form of nourishment in the desert, esp. when eaten with the sugary manna from the trees.

E. W. G. Masterman

MANNER, man'ẽr, **MANNERS,** man'ẽrz (דָּבָר, *dābhār*, דֶּרֶךְ, *derekh*, מִשְׁפָּט, *mishpāṭ*; **ἔθος,** *éthos*, **οὕτω,** *hoútō*):

1. As Used in the OT

"Manner" (probably from *manus*, "the hand," mode of handling things, or acting) is in the Bible in general equivalent (1) to *way, custom, habit*, etc, (2) to *kind* or *sort*. There are some special senses, however, and archaic usages. It is frequently the tr of *dābhār*, "speaking," "word," "thing" (Gen **18** 25, "That be far from thee to do after this manner" [i.e. in this way]; **32** 19, "On this manner shall ye speak unto Esau" [in this way]; **39** 19, "After this manner [in this way] did thy servant to me"; Ex **22** 9, "every manner of trespass" [every kind, sort, or way]; Dt **15** 2; 1 S **17** 27.30 *bis*); also of *derekh*, "way" (Gen **19** 31, "after the manner of all the earth" [way]; 1 S **21** 5 AV "[the bread] is in a manner common"; "manner" here might be taken as equivalent to "way" or "measure," but the passage is a difficult one and the text uncertain; RV omits "manner," and in the text makes the reference to be to the *journey*, not to the bread, but in m it has "common [bread]"; Isa **10** 24.26, "after the manner of Egypt" [after the way or fate of Egypt]; so also Am **4** 10; **8** 14, "the manner of Beer-sheba liveth," RV "the way," m "manner," the reference here being to the religious *way*, or manner of worship); of *mishpāṭ*, "judgment," "ordinance," hence also "manner" or "custom" (Gen **40** 13; Ex **21** 9; 2 K **1** 7, "what manner of man" [sort or kind]; **17** 26 AV; 1 Ch **24** 19; Ezk **11** 12, "after the manners [RV "ordinances"] of the nations"); *tōrāh*, "instruction," "law," is also tr^{d} "manner" (2 S **7** 19, "[is] this the manner [m "law"] of man, O Lord God?" RV "and this [too] after the manner of men, O Lord Jeh," m "and is this the law of man, O Lord Jeh?"). Other words are: *'ōraḥ*, "path," "custom" (Gen **18** 11); *dōbher*, "leading," "pasture" (cf "sheep-walk," "sheep-fold"); Isa **5** 17, "Then shall the lambs feed after their manner," RV "as in their pasture" (in Mic **2** 12, the same word is tr^{d} AV "fold," RV "pasture"); *d^{e}mūth*, "likeness" (Ezk **23** 15); *dāth*, "law," "sentence" (Est **2** 12); *ḥuḳḳāh*, "statute," "custom" (Lev **20** 23) in AV. In Nu **5** 13 "with the manner" is supplied to "taken" (in adultery). "Manner" here is an old law-French phrase, "a thief taken with the *mainour*"—that is, with the thing stolen upon him *in manu* (in his hand) (Blackstone, *Comm.*, IV, xxiii), RV "in the act" (cf Jn **8** 4, "in the very act"); *gam*, "also" is tr^{d} (1 S **19** 24) "in like manner," RV "also."

2. As Used in the Apocrypha

In Apoc, 2 Macc **4** 13 AV, we have "increase of heathenish manners," RV "an extreme of Gr fashions"; **6** 9, the "manners of the Gentiles," RV "the Gr rites"; in 2 Esd **9** 19, AV and RV, "manners" appears in the sense of "morals"; cf 1 Cor **15** 33, RV "Evil companionships corrupt good morals."

3. As Used In the NT

In the NT various words and phrases are rendered by "manner"; we have *ethos*, "custom," "usage," "manner" (Jn **19** 40; Acts **15** 1, RV "custom"); *katá tó eiōthós* (Lk **4** 16, RV "as his custom was"); *trópos*, a "turning," "manner," "way" (Jude ver 7); *hón trópon*, "in which manner" (Acts **1** 11); *hoútōs*, "thus," "so," "accordingly," is "after this manner," "in like manner" (Mt **6** 9; Mk **13** 29 AV); in Acts **15** 23, "after this manner" stands in AV for "by their hands," RV "thus"; *pōs* (Acts **20** 18), "after what manner"; *agōgḗ*, "course of life" (2 Tim **3** 10, RV "conduct"); *bíōsis*, "mode of life" (Acts **26** 4); in 1 Cor **15** 33, we have manners in the moral sense, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," ARV "Evil companionships corrupt good morals." Acts **13** 18 is interesting because of diversities of rendering; AV has "suffered he their manners in the wilderness," m "*etropophórēsen*, perhaps for *etrophophórēsen*, bore, or fed them as a nurse beareth *or* feedeth her child, Dt **1** 31 (2 Macc **7** 27) according to LXX, and so Chrysostom"; ERV text, same as AV, m "Many ancient authorities read 'bear he them as a nursing father in the wilderness.' See Dt **1** 31"; ARV (text) "as a nursing-father bare he them in the wilderness," m "Many ancient authorities read 'Suffered he their manners in the wilderness.' See Dt **9** 7." The Gr words differ only by a single letter, and authorities are pretty equally divided.

Among other changes RV has frequently "ordinance" for "manner" (Lev **5** 10, etc) and "custom" (Ruth **4** 7; Jn **19** 40; He **10** 25, etc); "manner of" is introduced (1 S **4** 8, etc); "manner of" and "manner" omitted (Gen **25** 23; Ex **35** 29, etc); "what manner of house" for "where is the house" (Isa **66** 1); "manner of life" for "conversation" (Gal **1** 13; Eph **4** 22); "after the manner of men" for "as a man" (Rom **3** 5; 1 Cor **9** 8); "how to inquire concerning these things" (Acts **25** 20) for "of such manner of questions"; "in an unworthy manner," ARV, for "unworthily" (1 Cor **11** 27); "who" for "what manner of man" (Mk **4** 41; Lk **8** 25, "who then is this?"); in Lk **9** 55, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of" is omitted, with the m "Some ancient authorities add *and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.*"

W. L. Walker

MANOAH, ma-nō'a (מָנוֹחַ, *mānō^{a}ḥ*, "rest"): A man of Zorah and of the family of the Danites. M. was the father of Samson, and his life-story is but imperfectly told in the history of the conception, birth and early life of his son. No children had been born to M. and his wife, and the latter was considered barren (Jgs **13** 2). Finally it was revealed to her by an angel of the Lord that she would conceive and bear a child. She was cautioned against strong drink and "unclean" food, for her child was to be born and reared a Nazirite to the end that he might save Israel out of the hands of the Philis (**13** 3–5). That M. was a devout man seems certain in view of the fact that, upon hearing of the angel's visit, he offered a prayer for the angel's return, in order that he and his wife might be instructed as to the proper care of the child to be born (**13** 8). The request was granted and the angel repeated the visit and the instructions (**13** 9–13). M. with true hospitality would have the guest remain and partake of food. The angel refused, but commanded a sacrifice unto Jeh. When M. had prepared the sacrifice and lit it on the the altar, the angel ascended in the flame from the altar and appeared no more (**13** 15–21). The child was born according to the promise and was named Samson. M. and his wife appear twice in the narrative of Samson's early life—once as they protestingly accompanied him to sue for the hand of a Phili woman of Timnah in marriage, and again when they went with him to Timnah for the wedding.

Jos richly embellishes this Scriptural narrative concerning M., but offers no further light upon the occupation or character of M. At the death of Samson, his brothers went down to Gaza and brought back the body and buried it by the side of M. in the family tomb near Zorah (**16** 31). In *Samson Agonistes* Milton gains dramatic effect by having M. survive Samson and in deep sorrow assist at his burial.

C. E. Schenk

MANSERVANT, man'sûr-vant (עֶבֶד, *'ebhedh*): A male slave; usually coupled with maidservant or female slave (Gen **12** 16; Ex **20** 10; 1 S **8** 16; Job **31** 13; Lk **12** 45). See Servant; Slave.

MANSION, man'shun (**μονή**, *monḗ*, "abode"): In Jn **14** 2, the word is used in the pl.: "In my Father's house are many mansions," RVm "abiding places." The ideas conveyed are those of abundance of room, and permanence of habitation, in the heavenly world.

MANSLAYER, man'slā-ẽr (מְרַצֵּחַ, *m^{e}raççē^{a}ḥ*, from רָצַח, *rāçaḥ* [Nu **35** 6.12]; **ἀνδροφόνος**, *androphónos* [1 Tim **1** 9]): A term employed with reference to both premeditated and accidental or justifiable killing. In the latter case, an asylum was granted (Nu **35** 6.12) until the death of the high priest, after which the slayer was allowed to "return into the land of his possession" (ver 28). The cases in which the manslayer was to be held clearly immune from the punishment imposed on wilful killing were: (1) death by a blow in a sudden quarrel (Nu **35** 22); (2) death by anything thrown at random (Nu **35** 22.23); (3) death by the blade of an axe flying from the handle (Dt **19** 5). Among the cases in which one would be held responsible for the death of another, is to be counted the neglectful act of building a house without a parapet (Dt **22** 8).

Manslaughter, as a modern legal term, is employed to distinguish unpremeditated killing from coldblooded murder, but formerly (2 Esd **1** 26) it was used in a more general sense. See Murder.

Frank E. Hirsch

MANSTEALING, man′stēl-ing. See Crime, under "Kidnapping"; Punishment.

MANTELET, man′tel-et, man′t′l-et, mant′let (Nah **2** 5). See Siege, 4, (*d*).

MANTLE, man′t′l: Used 5 t of Elijah's mantle (אַדֶּרֶת, *'addereth*, 1 K **19** 18.19; 2 K **2** 8.13.14), which was probably of hair. Found in pl. once (Isa **3** 22), where it (*ma'ăṭāphōth*) is an upper wide tunic with sleeves (*keṯhōneth*). See Dress; Kerchief.

MANUSCRIPTS, man′ū-skripts: In the broadest sense manuscripts include all handwritten records as distinguished from printed records. In a narrower sense they are handwritten codices, rolls and folded documents, as distinguished from printed books on the one hand and inscriptions, or engraved documents, on the other. More loosely, but commonly, the term is used as synonym of the codex.

The Heb and Gr manuscripts of the OT and NT, respectively, form the primary sources for establishing the text or true original words of the respective authors. The subordinate sources, VSS and quotations have also their text problem, and manuscripts of the VSS and of the church Fathers, and other ancient writers who refer to Bib. matters, play the same part in establishing the true words of the VS or the writer that the Heb and Gr manuscripts play in establishing the original of Scripture. For discussion of the textual aspects, see arts. on Text and MSS of the NT, Text of the OT, on Versions, and esp. the Septuagint. For the material, writing instruments, form of manuscripts, etc, see Book; and esp. the lit. under Writing.

E. C. Richardson

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE OT. See Languages and Text of the OT.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NT. See Text and Manuscripts of the NT.

MAOCH, mā′ok (מָעוֹךְ, *mā'ōkh*, "oppressed," "bruised"): The same as Maacah (1 K **2** 39). The father of that Achish, king of Gath, with whom David and his 600 sojourned under fear of Saul's treachery (1 S **27** 2).

MAON, mā′on, **MAONITES,** mā′on-īts, mȧ-ō′nīts (מָעוֹן, *ma'ōn;* B, **Μαώρ,** *Maôr*, **Μαᾶν,** *Maán*, A, **Μαών,** *Maôn*):

(1) A town in the mountain of Judah named along with Carmel and Ziph (Josh **15** 55). It appears again as the home of Nabal, the great flockmaster (1 S **25** 2). In the genealogical list of 1 Ch **2**, Maon stands as the "son" of Shammai and the "father" of Beth-zur (vs 44.45). This evidently means that Shammai was the founder of Maon. About a mile S. of *el-Karmil*, the ancient Carmel, lies *Tell Ma'īn*. This may be confidently identified with Maon, the radicals of the names being the same. It suits the requirements of the narratives in other respects, being near to Carmel, while the surrounding wilderness is still used as the wide pasture land for multitudinous flocks. In this district, the wilderness of Maon, David was hiding when his whereabouts was betrayed to Saul by the men of Ziph (1 S **23** 24 f), and only a timely raid by the Philis delivered him out of that monarch's hands (vs 27 ff).

(2) (Μαδιάμ, *Madiám*): Maon is named along with the Zidonians and Amalek as having at some time, not mentioned, oppressed Israel (Jgs **10** 12). The LXX "Midian" has been accepted by some scholars as restoring the original text, since, otherwise, the Midianites remain unmentioned. But the Maonites are evidently identical with the Meunim of 1 Ch **4** 41 (RV), the pastoral people destroyed by Hezekiah. In 2 Ch **20** 1 AV, instead of "other beside the Ammonites" we must read "some of the Meunim," as associated with the Ammonites in the battle with Jehoshaphat. Against them also Uzziah was helped of God (2 Ch **26** 7). They are included among the inhabitants of Mt. Seir (**20** 10.23), so that an Edomite tribe is intended. It is natural to connect them with *Ma'ān*, a place on the great pilgrimage road, and now a station on the Damascus-Hejaz Railway, to the S.E. of Petra. It undoubtedly represents an ancient stronghold.

The **Maonites** appear in the lists of those who returned from exile (Ezr **2** 50, AV "Mehunim," RV "Meunim"; Neh **7** 52, "Meunim"). These may possibly be the descendants of prisoners taken in the wars of Jehoshaphat and Uzziah, to whom menial tasks may have been appointed in the temple services.

W. Ewing

MAR, mär: "To mar" means "to destroy," "to disfigure," "to damage." Job **30** 13, "They mar my path" (RVm "they break up"); Nah **2** 2, "and destroyed their vine" (AV "and marred their vine"); cf Lev **19** 27; 2 K **3** 19; Isa **52** 14; Jer **13** 9.

MARA, mā′ra, mâr′a (מָרָה, *mārāh*, "bitter"): The term which Naomi applies to herself on her return from Moab to her native country (Ruth **1** 20). Changed beyond recognition, she creates astonishment among her former acquaintances, who ask, "Is this Naomi?" She replies, "Call me not Naomi" (i.e. "pleasant" or "sweet"), but "call me Mara" (i.e. "bitter"). In the light of her bitter experience, and her present pitiable plight, the old name has become peculiarly inappropriate.

MARAH, mā′ra, mär′a (מָרָה, *mārāh*, "bitter"): The first camp of the Israelites after the passage of the Red Sea (Ex **15** 23; Nu **33** 8 f). The name is derived from the bitterness of the brackish water. Moses cast a tree into the waters which were thus made sweet (Ex **15** 23). See Wanderings of Israel.

MARALAH, mar′a-lä (מַרְעֲלָה, *mar'ălāh;* B, **Μαραγελδά,** *Marageldá*, A, **Μαριλά,** *Marilá*): A place on the western border of Zebulun (Josh **19** 11). Pesh renders *Rāmath ta'le'*, "height of the fox." It is not identified.

MARANATHA, mar-a-nath′a, mar-an-ä′tha (from Aram. words, מָרָנָא אָתָה, *mārānā' 'āthāh*, "Our Lord cometh, or will come"; according to some, "has come"; to others, "Come!" an invitation for his speedy reappearance [cf Rev **22** 20]; **μαραναθά,** *maranathá*, or **μαρὰν ἀθά,** *marán athá*): Used in connection with ἀνάθεμα, *anáthema*, "accursed" (1 Cor **16** 22), but has no necessary connection therewith. It was used by early Christians to add solemn emphasis to previous statement, injunction or adjuration, and seems to have become a sort of watchword; possibly forming part of an early liturgy.

MARBLE, mär′b'l (שַׁיִשׁ, *shayish*, שֵׁשׁ, *shēsh*, אַבְנֵי שַׁיִשׁ, *'abhnē shayish*, "stones of marble" [1 Ch **29** 2]; רִצְפַּת בַּהַט וָשֵׁשׁ וְדַר וְסֹחָרֶת, *riçpath bahaṭ wā-shēsh we-dhar we-ṣōḥāreth*, "a pavement of red, and white, and yellow, and black marble," or, according to m, "a pavement of porphyry, and white marble, and alabaster, and stone of blue color" [Est **1** 6]; עַמּוּדֵי שֵׁשׁ, *'ammūdhē* *shēsh*, "pillars of marble" [Est **1** 6; Cant **5** 15]; cf שֵׁשׁ, *shēsh*, AVm "silk" or RV "fine linen" [Gen **41** 42; Ex **25** 4, etc]; שׁוֹשַׁנִּים, *shōshannīm*, "lilies" [Cant **2** 16, etc], apparently from a root signifying "white"; **μάρμαρος,** *mármaros*, "marble" [Rev **18** 12]): Marble is properly crystalline limestone, usually pure white or veined with black, the former being in demand for statuary, while the latter is used in architecture, esp. for floors and pillars. True marble is not found in Pal, but is obtained from Greece or Italy. Much of the stone described as marble is non-crystalline limestone capable of being smoothed and polished. White or yellow stone of this character is abundant in Pal. Non-crystalline rocks of other colors are also sometimes called marble. In the passage from Est cited above (cf m), it is a question whether the reference is to marble and other stones or to marble of different colors. In 1 Ch **29** 2, "marble stones" are mentioned among the materials brought together by David for the building of the temple. In Est **1** 6, pillars and a pavement of marble are features of the palace of Ahasuerus. In Cant **5** 15, the various parts of the body of the "beloved" are likened to gold, beryl, ivory, sapphire, and marble. In Rev **18** 12, marble occurs in the list of the merchandise of Babylon. All these references imply a costly stone, and therefore probably one imported from other countries, and make it likely that true crystalline marble is meant. ALFRED ELY DAY

MARCH, märch, **MARCHES,** märch′iz. See ARMY; WAR.

MARCHESHVAN, mär-chesh′van. See TIME.

MARCION, mär′shun, **GOSPEL OF.** See APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.

MARCUS, mär′kus. See MARK, JOHN.

MARDOCHEUS, mär-dō-kē′us (**Μαρδοχαῖος,** *Mardochaíos*):

(1) One of the Jewish leaders who accompanied Zerubbabel on the return from Babylon to Judah (1 Esd **5** 8, where it stands for "Mordecai" of Ezr **2** 2 and Neh **7** 7).

(2) Another form of Mordecai, the uncle of Esther (Ad Est **10** 4; **11** 2.12; **12** 1.4 ff; **16** 13).

MARE, mâr ([1] סוּסָה, *ṣūṣāh*, "steed," AV "company of horses"; LXX **ἡ ἵππος,** *hē híppos*, "mare" [Cant **1** 9]; [2] בְּנֵי הָרַמָּכִים, *b^{e}nē hā-rammākhīm*, "bred of the stud," AV and RVm "young dromedaries" [Est **8** 10]; cf Arab. رَمَكَةٌ, *ramakat*, "mare"): The word "mare" does not occur in EV, but in Cant **1** 9 we find *ṣūṣāh*, the fem. of *ṣūṣ*, "horse," and in Est **8** 10, *b^{e}nē hā-rammākhīm* is by some tr^d "sons of mares." See CAMEL; HORSE.

MARESHAH, ma-rē′sha (מָרֵשָׁה, *mārēshāh;* B, **Βαθησάρ,** *Bathēsár*, A, **Μαρησά,** *Marēsá*): A town in the Shephelah of Judah named with Keilah and Achzib (Josh **15** 44). It occupied such a position that Rehoboam thought well to fortify it for the protection of Jerus (2 Ch **11** 8). In the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah, Asa overwhelmed Zerah the Ethiopian and his army, pursuing them as far as Gezer (2 Ch **14** 9 ff). From M. came Eliezer the prophet who denounced disaster upon the commercial copartnery of Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah (**20** 37). The place is mentioned in Mic (**1** 15). M. was plundered and burned by Judas Maccabaeus (*Ant*, XII, viii, 6; 1 Macc **5** 66 RVm). Hither Gorgias escaped, having been rescued from the hands of Dositheus by a Thracian horseman (2 Macc **12** 35). It was taken by John Hyrcanus, who allowed the inhabitants to remain on condition that they adopt circumcision and submit to the Jewish law. This they did; and later John avenged an injustice done to M. by the Samaritans. It is then described as "a colony of Jews" (*Ant*, XIII, ix, 1; x, 2). The city was treated with favor by Pompey (XIV, iv, 4). When the Parthians invaded Judaea in support of Antigonus they demolished M. (xiii, 9).

According to *Onom*, M. was 2 Rom miles from Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrîn*). Until recently it was thought that *Khirbet Mir‘ash*, where the old name lingers, not far S.W. of *Beit Jibrîn*, represented the ancient city. The work of Dr. Bliss, however ("Excavations in Pal," *PEF*), shows that it must be located at *Tell Sandahannah*, about a mile S. of *Beit Jibrîn*. A series of remarkable tombs was discovered here. From 1 Ch **2** 42 we may perhaps gather that Hebron was colonized by the men of M. W. EWING

MARIMOTH, mar′i-moth, mar′i-mōth: An ancestor of Esdras (Ezra) (2 Esd **1** 2), identical with Meraioth (Ezr **7** 3). In 1 Esd **8** 2, it appears also as "Memeroth" (AV "Meremoth").

MARINER, mar′i-nẽr. See SHIPS AND BOATS, II, 2, (3); III, 2.

MARISA, mar′i-sa (**Μαρισά,** *Marisá*): The Gr form of MARESHAH (q.v.) in 2 Macc **12** 35.

MARISH, mar′ish (גֶּבֶא, *gebhe′;* **ἕλος,** *hélos*): An old form of "marsh," found in AV, ERV Ezk **47** 11 (ARV "marsh"). Some (not all) edd of the AV Apoc have retained this same spelling in 1 Macc **9** 42.45 (RV "marsh").

MARK, märk: In the AV this word is used 22 t as a noun and 26 t as a predicate. In the former case it is represented by 5 Heb and 3 Gr words; in the latter by 11 Heb and 2 Gr words. As a noun it is purely a physical term, gaining almost a technical significance from the "mark" put upon Cain (Gen **4** 15 AV); the *stigmata* of Christ in Paul's body (Gal **6** 17); the "mark of the beast" (Rev **16** 2).

As a vb. it is almost exclusively a mental process: e.g. "to be attentive," "understand": בִּין, *bīn* (Job **18** 2 AV), rightly rendered in RV "consider"; שִׁית, *shīth*, "Mark ye well her bulwarks" (Ps **48** 13), i.e. turn the mind to, notice, regard; שָׁמַר, *shāmar*, i.e. observe, keep in view; so Ps **37** 37, "Mark the perfect man"; cf Job **22** 15 AV. This becomes a unique expression in 1 S **1** 12, where Eli, noticing the movement of Hannah's lips in prayer, is said to have "marked her mouth." Jesus "marked" how invited guests chose out (ἐπέχω, *epéchō*, i.e. "observed") the chief seats (Lk **14** 7); so σκοπέω, *skopéō* (Rom **16** 17; Phil **3** 17), "Mark them," i.e. look at, signifying keen mental attention, i.e. scrutinize, observe carefully. The only exceptions to this mental signification of the vb. are two vs in the OT: Isa **44** 13, "He marketh it out with a pencil" ("red ochre," AV "line"), and "with the compasses," where the vb. is תָּאַר, *tā′ar*, "to delineate," "mark out"; Jer **2** 22, "Thine iniquity is marked [כָּתַם, *kātham*, "cut (i.e. engraved)] before me," signifying the deep and ineradicable nature of sin. It may also be rendered "written," as in indelible hieroglyphics.

As a noun the term "mark" may signify, according to its various Heb and Gr originals, a sign, "a target" an object of assault, a brand or stigma cut or burnt in the flesh, a goal or end in view, a stamp or imprinted or engraved sign.

(1) אוֹת, *′ōth*, "a sign": Gen **4** 15 AV, "The Lord set a mark upon Cain" (ARV "appointed a sign"). It is impossible to tell the nature of this sign.

Delitzsch thinks that the rabbins were mistaken in regarding it as a mark upon Cain's body. He considers it rather "a certain sign which protected him from vengeance," the continuance of his life being necessary for the preservation of the race. It was thus, as the Heb indicates, the token of a covenant which God made with Cain that his life would be spared.

(2) מַטָּרָא, *maṭṭārā'*, "an aim," hence a mark to shoot at. Jonathan arranged to shoot arrows as at a mark, for a sign to David (1 S **20** 20); Job felt himself to be a target for the Divine arrows, i.e. for the Divinely decreed sufferings which wounded him and which he was called to endure (Job **16** 12); so Jeremiah, "He hath set me as a mark for the arrow" (Lam **3** 12); closely akin to this is מִפְגָּע, *miphgā'*, an object of attack (Job **7** 20), where Job in bitterness of soul feels that God has become his enemy, and says, 'Why hast thou made me the mark of hostile attack?'; "set me as a mark for thee." See TARGET.

(3) תָּו, *tāw*, "mark" (Ezk **9** 4.6). In Ezekiel's vision of the destruction of the wicked, the mark to be set upon the forehead of the righteous, at Jeh's command, was, as in the case of the blood sprinkled on the door-posts of the Israelites (Ex **12** 22.23), for their protection. As the servants of God (Rev **7** 2.3)—the elect—were kept from harm by being sealed with the seal of the living God in their foreheads, so the man clothed in linen, with a writer's inkhorn by his side, was told to mark upon their foreheads those whom God would save from judgment by His sheltering grace. *Taw* also appears (Job **31** 35) for the attesting mark made to a document (RV "signature," m "mark").

The letter ת in the Phoen alphabet and on the coins of the Maccabees had the form of a cross (T). In oriental synods it was used as a signature by bishops who could not write. The cross, as a sign of ownership, was burnt upon the necks or thighs of horses and camels. It may have been the "mark" set upon the forehead of the righteous in Ezekiel's vision.

(4) קַעֲקַע, *ḳa'ăḳa'*, "a stigma" cut or burnt. The Israelites were forbidden (Lev **19** 28) to follow the custom of other oriental and heathen nations in cutting, disfiguring or branding their bodies.

The specific prohibition "not to print any marks upon" themselves evidently has reference to the custom of tattooing common among savage tribes, and in vogue among both men and women of the lower orders in Arabia, Egypt, and many other lands. It was intended to cultivate reverence for and a sense of the sacredness of the human body, as God's creation, known in the Christian era as the temple of the Holy Spirit. See also CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH.

(5) σκοπός, *skopós*, something seen or observed in the distance, hence a "goal." The Christian life seemed to St. Paul, in the intensity of his spiritual ardor, like the stadium or race-course of the Greeks, with runners stretching every nerve to reach the goal and win the prize. "I press on toward the goal [AV "mark"] unto the prize" (Phil **3** 14). The mark or goal is the ideal of life revealed in Christ, the prize, the attainment and possession of that life.

In Wisd **5** 21 "they fly to the mark" is from εὔστοχοι, *eústochoi*, "with true aim" (so RV).

(6) στίγμα, *stígma*, "a mark pricked or branded upon the body." Slaves and soldiers, in ancient times, were stamped or branded with the name of their master. Paul considered and called himself the bondslave of Jesus Christ. The traces of his sufferings, scourging, stonings, persecution, wounds, were visible in permanent scars on his body (cf 2 Cor **11** 23–27). These he termed the *stigmata* of Jesus, marks branded in his very flesh as proofs of his devotion to his Master (Gal **6** 17).

This passage gives no ground for the Romanist superstition that the very scars of Christ's crucifixion were reproduced in Paul's hands and feet and side. It is also "alien to the lofty self-consciousness" of these words to find in them, as some expositors do, a contrast in Paul's thought to the scar of circumcision.

(7) χάραγμα, *cháragma*, "a stamp" or "imprinted mark." "The mark of the beast" (peculiar to Rev) was the badge of the followers of Antichrist, stamped on the forehead or right hand (Rev **13** 16; cf Ezk **9** 4.6). It was symbolic of character and was thus not a literal or physical mark, but the impress of paganism on the moral and spiritual life. It was the sign or token of apostasy. As a spiritual state or condition it subjected men to the wrath of God and to eternal torment (Rev **14** 9–11); to noisome disease (**16** 2); to the lake of fire (**19** 20). Those who received not the mark, having faithfully endured persecution and martyrdom, were given part in the first resurrection and lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years (Rev **20** 4). The "beast" symbolizes the anti-Christian empires, particularly Rome under Nero, who sought to devour and destroy the early Christians.

(8) μώλωψ, *mṓlōps*, "bruise," Sir **23** 10 (RV "bruise"); **28** 17. DWIGHT M. PRATT

MARK, märk, **JOHN**: John (Ἰωάννης, *Iōánnēs*) represents his Jewish, Mark (Μάρκος, *Márkos*) his

1. Name and Family

Rom name. Why the latter was assumed we do not know. Perhaps the aorist participle in Acts **12** 25 may be intended to intimate that it dated from the time when, in company with Barnabas and Saul, he turned to service in the great gentile city of Antioch. Possibly it was the badge of Rom citizenship, as in the case of Paul. The standing of the family would be quite consistent with such a supposition.

His mother's name was Mary (Acts **12** 12). The home is spoken of as hers. The father was probably dead. The description of the house (with its large room and porch) and the mention of the Gr slave, suggest a family of wealth. They were probably among the many zealous Jews who, having become rich in the great world outside, retired to Jerus, the center of their nation and faith. M. was "cousin" to Barnabas of Cyprus (Col **4** 10) who also seems to have been a man of means (Acts **4** 36). Possibly Cyprus was also M.'s former home.

2. His History as Known from the NT

When first mentioned, M. and his mother are already Christians (44 AD). He had been converted through Peter's personal influence (1 Pet **5** 13) and had already won a large place in the esteem of the brethren, as is shown by his being chosen to accompany Barnabas and Saul to Antioch, a little later. The home was a resort for Christians, so that M. had every opportunity to become acquainted with other leaders such as James and John, and James the brother of the Lord. It was perhaps from the latter James that he learned the incident of Mk **3** 21 which Peter would be less likely to mention.

His kinship with Barnabas, knowledge of Christian history and teaching, and proved efficiency account for his being taken along on the first missionary journey as "minister" (ὑπηρέτης, *hupērétēs*) to Barnabas and Saul (Acts **13** 5). Just what that term implies is not clear. Chase (*HDB*) conjectures the meaning to be that he had been *hupēretēs*, "attendant" or *ḥazzān* in the synagogue (cf Lk **4** 20), and was known as such an official. Wright (ET, February, 1910) suggests that he was to render in newly founded churches a teaching service similar to that of the synagogue *ḥazzān*. Hackett thought that the *kaí* of this verse implies that he was to be doing the same kind of work as Barnabas and Saul and so to be their "helper" in preaching and teaching. The more common view has been (Meyer, Swete, et al.) that he was to perform "personal service not evangelistic," "official service but not of the menial kind"—to be a sort of business agent. The view that he was to be a teacher, a catechist for converts, seems to fit best all the facts.

Why did he turn back from the work (Acts **13** 13)? Not because of homesickness, or anxiety for his mother's safety, or home duties, or the desire to rejoin Peter, or fear of the perils incident to the journey, but rather because he objected to the offer of salvation to the Gentiles on condition of faith alone. There are hints that M.'s family, like Paul's, were Hebrews of the Hebrews, and it is not without significance that in both verses (Acts **13** 5.13) he is given only his Heb name. The terms of Paul's remonstrance are very strong (Acts **15** 38), and we know that nothing stirred Paul's feelings more deeply than this very question. The explanation of it all may be found in what happened at Paphos when the Rom Sergius Paulus became a believer. At that time Paul (the change of name is here noted by Lk) stepped to the front, and henceforth, with the exception of **15** 12.25, where naturally enough the old order is maintained, Lk speaks of Paul and Barnabas, not Barnabas and Saul. We must remember that, at that time, Paul stood almost alone in his conviction. Barnabas, even later than that, had misgivings (Gal **2** 13). Perhaps, too, M. was less able than Barnabas himself to see the latter take second place.

We hear nothing further of M. until the beginning of the second missionary journey 2 years later, when Paul's unwillingness to take him with them led to the rupture between Paul and Barnabas and to the mission of Barnabas and M. to Cyprus (Acts **15** 39). He is here called Mark, and in that quiet way Luke may indicate his own conviction that Mark's mind had changed on the great question, as indeed his willingness to accompany Paul might suggest. He had learned from the discussions in the council at Jerus and from subsequent events at Antioch.

About 11 years elapse before we hear of him again (Col **4** 10 f; Philem ver 24). He is at Rome with Paul. The breach is healed. He is now one of the faithful few among Jewish Christians who stand by Paul. He is Paul's honored "fellow-worker" and a great "comfort" to him.

The Colossian passage may imply a contemplated visit by M. to Asia Minor. It may be that it was carried out, that he met Peter and went with him to Babylon. In 1 Pet **5** 13 the apostle sends M.'s greeting along with that of the church in Babylon. Thence M. returns to Asia Minor, and in 2 Tim **4** 11 Paul asks Timothy, who is at Ephesus, to come to him, pick up M. by the way, and bring him along. In that connection Paul pays M. his final tribute; he is "useful for ministering" (*εὔχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν, eúchrēstos eis diakonían*), so useful that his ministry is a joy to the veteran's heart.

3. His History as Known from Other Sources

The most important and reliable tradition is that he was the close attendant and interpreter of Peter, and has given us in the Gospel that bears his name an account of Peter's teaching. For that comradeship the NT facts furnish a basis, and the gaps in the NT history leave plenty of room. An examination of the tradition will be found in MARK, THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO (q.v.).

Other traditions add but little that is reliable. It is said that M. had been a priest, and that after becoming a Christian he amputated a finger to disqualify himself for that service. Hence the nickname κολοβοδάκτυλος, *kolobodáktulos*, which, however, is sometimes otherwise explained. He is represented as having remained in Cyprus until after the death of Barnabas (who was living in 57 AD according to 1 Cor **9** 5 f) and then to have gone to Alexandria, founded the church there, become its first bishop and there died (or was martyred) in the 8th year of Nero (62–63). They add that in 815 AD Venetian soldiers stole his remains from Alexandria and placed them under the church of St. Mark at Venice.

LITERATURE.—Chase, *HDB*, III, 245 ff; Rae, *DCG*, II, 119 f; Harnack, *Enc Brit;* Zahn, *Intro to the NT*, II, 427–56; Lindsay, Salmond, Morison and Swete in their *Comms.*

J. H. FARMER

MARK, THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO:

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LITERATURE

I. Our Second Gospel.—The order of the Gospels in our NT is probably due to the early conviction that this was the order in which the Gospels were written. It was not, however, the invariable order. The question of order only arose when the roll was superseded by the codex, our present book-form. That change was going on in the 3d cent. Origen found codices with the order Jn, Mt, Mk, Lk—due probably to the desire to give the apostles the leading place. That and the one common today may be considered the two main groupings—the one in the order of dignity, the other in that of time. The former is Egyp and Lat; the latter has the authority of most Gr MSS, Catalogues and Fathers, and is supported by the Old Syr.

Within these, however, there are variations. The former is varied thus: Jn, Mt, Lk, Mk, and Mt, Jn, Mk, Lk, and Mt, Jn, Lk, Mk; the latter to Mt, Mk, Jn, Lk. Mk is never first; when it follows Lk, the time consideration has given place to that of length.

II. Contents and General Characteristics.—The Gospel begins with the ministry of John the Baptist

1. Scope

and ends with the announcement of the Resurrection, if the last 12 vs be not included. These add post-resurrection appearances, the Commission, the Ascension, and a brief summary of apostolic activity. Thus its limits correspond closely with those indicated by Peter in Acts **10** 37–43. Nothing is said of the early Judaean ministry. The Galilean ministry and Passion Week with the transition from the one to the other (in ch **10**) practically make up the Gospel.

2. Material Peculiar to Mark

Matter peculiar to Mk is found in **4** 26–29 (the seed growing secretly); **3** 21 (his kindred's fear); **7** 32–37 (the deaf and dumb man); **8** 22–26 (the blind man); **13** 33–37 (the householder and the exhortation to watch); **14** 51 (the young man who escaped). But, in addition to this, there are many vivid word-touches with which the common material is lighted up, and in not a few of the common incidents Mk's account is very much fuller; e.g. **6** 14–29 (death of John the Baptist); **7** 1–23 (on eating with unwashen hands); **9** 14–29 (the demoniac boy); **12** 28–34 (the questioning scribe). There is enough of this material to show clearly that the author could not have been wholly dependent on the other evangelists. Hawkins reckons the whole amount of peculiar material at about fifty verses (*Hor. Syn.*, 11).

3. Quotations

In striking contrast to Matthew who, in ‖ passages, calls attention to the fulfilment of prophecy by Jesus, Mark only once quotes the OT and that he puts in the very forefront of his Gospel. The Isa part of his composite quotation appears in all 4 Gospels; the Mal part in Mk only, though there is a reflection of it in Jn **3** 28. This fact alone might convey an erroneous impression of the attitude of the Gospel to the OT. Though Mark himself makes only this one twofold reference, yet he represents Jesus as doing so frequently. The difference in this respect between him and Matthew is not great. He has 19 formal quotations as compared with 40 in Mt, 17 in Lk and 12 in Jn. Three of the 19 are not found elsewhere. The total for the NT is 160, so that Mk has a fair proportion. When OT references and loose citations are considered the result is much the same. WH give Mt 100, Mk 58, Lk 86, Jn 21, Acts 107. Thus the OT lies back of Mk also as the authoritative word of God. Swete (*Intro to the OT in Gr*, 393) points out that in those quotations which are common to the synoptists the LXX is usually followed; in others, the Heb more frequently. (A good illustration is seen in Mk **7** 7 where the LXX is followed in the phrase, "in vain do they worship me"—a fair paraphrase of the Heb; but "teaching as their doctrines the precepts of men" is a more correct representation of the Heb than the LXX gives.) Three quotations are peculiar to Mk, viz. **9** 48; **10** 19; **12** 32.

4. A Book of Mighty Works

Judged by the space occupied, Mk is a Gospel of deeds. Jesus is a worker. His life is one of strenuous activity. He hastens from one task to another with energy and decision. The word εὐθύς, *euthús*, i.e. "straightway," is used 42 t as against Mt's 7 and Lk's 1. In 14 of these, as compared with 2 in Mt and none in Lk, the word is used of the personal activity of Jesus. It is not strange therefore that the uneventful early years should be passed over (cf Jn **2** 11). Nor is it strange that miracles should be more numerous than parables. According to Westcott's classification (*Intro to Study of the Gospels*, 480–86), Mk has 19 miracles and only 4 parables, whereas the corresponding figures for Mt are 21 to 15 and for Lk 20 to 19. Of the miracles 2 are peculiar to Mk, of the parables only 1. The evangelist clearly records the deeds rather than the words of Jesus. These facts furnish another point of contact with Peter's speeches in Acts—the beneficent character of the deeds in Acts **10** 38, and their evidential significance in Acts **2** 22 (cf Mk **1** 27; **2** 10, etc).

The following are the miracles recorded by Mk: the unclean spirit (**1** 21–28), the paralytic (**2** 1–12), the withered hand (**3** 1–5), the storm stilled (**4** 35–41), the Gerasene demoniac (**5** 1–17), Jairus' daughter (**5** 22 ff), the woman with the issue (**5** 25–34), feeding the 5,000 (**6** 35–44), feeding the 4,000 (**8** 1–10), walking on the water (**6** 48 ff); the Syrophoenician's daughter (**7** 24–30), the deaf mute (**7** 31–37), the blind man (**8** 22–26), the demoniac boy (**9** 14 ff), blind Bartimaeus (**10** 46–52), the fig tree withered (**11** 20 ff), the resurrection (**16** 1 ff). For an interesting classification of these see Westcott's *Intro to Study of the Gospels*, 391. Only the last three belong to Judaea.

5. The Worker a Teacher

Though what has been said is true, yet Mk is by no means silent about Jesus as a teacher. John the Baptist is a preacher (**1** 4.7), and Jesus also is introduced as a preacher, taking up and enlarging the message of John. Very frequent mention is made of Him as teaching (e.g. **1** 21; **2** 13; **6** 6, etc); indeed the words διδαχή, *didachḗ*, and διδάσκω, *didáskō*, occur more frequently in Mk than in any other Gospel. Striking references are made to His originality, methods, popularity and peerlessness as a teacher (**1** 22; **4** 1 f.33; **11** 27—**12** 37; esp. **12** 34). A miracle is definitely declared to be for the purpose of instruction (**2** 10), and the implication is frequent that His miracles were not only the dictates of His compassion, but also purposed self-revelations (**5** 19 f; **11** 21–23). Not only is He Himself a teacher, but He is concerned to prepare others to be teachers (**3** 13 f; **4** 10 f). Mk is just as explicit as Mt in calling attention to the fact that at a certain stage He began teaching the multitude in parables, and expounding the parables to His disciples (**4** 2–11f). He mentions, however, only four of them—the Sower (**4** 1–20), the Seed Growing Secretly (**4** 26–29), the Mustard Seed (**4** 30–32) and the Husbandmen (**12** 1–12). The number of somewhat lengthy discourses and the total amount of teaching is considerably greater than is sometimes recognized. Chs **4** and **13** approach most nearly to the length of the discourses in Mt and correspond to Mt **13** and **24** respectively. But in **7** 1–23; **9** 33–50; **10** 5–31.39–45 and **12** 1–44 we have quite extensive sayings. If Jesus is a worker, He is even more a teacher. His works prepare for His words rather than His words for His works. The teachings grew naturally out of the occasion and the circumstances. He did and taught. Because He did what He did He could teach with effectiveness. Both works and words reveal Himself.

6. Graphic Details

There is a multitude of graphic details: Mk mentions actions and gestures of Jesus (**7** 33; **9** 36; **10** 16) and His looks of inquiry (**5** 32), in prayer (**6** 41; **7** 34), of approval (**3** 34), love (**10** 21), warning (to Judas esp. **10** 23), anger (**3** 5), and in judgment (**11** 11). Jesus hungers (**11** 12), seeks rest in seclusion (**6** 31) and sleeps on the boat cushion (**4** 38); He pities the multitude (**6** 34), wonders at men's unbelief (**6** 6), sighs over their sorrow and blindness (**7** 34; **8** 12), grieves at their hardening (**3** 5), and rebukes in sadness the wrong thought of His mother and brothers, and in indignation the mistaken zeal and selfish ambitions of His disciples (**8** 33; **10** 14). Mk represents His miracles of healing usually as instantaneous (**1** 31; **2** 11 f; **3** 5), sometimes as gradual or difficult (**1** 26; **7** 32–35; **9** 26–28), and once as flatly impossible "because of their unbelief" (**6** 6). With many vivid touches we are told of the behavior of the people and the impression made on them by what Jesus said or did. They bring their sick along the streets and convert the market-place into a hospital (**1** 32), throng and jostle Him by the seaside (**3** 10), and express their astonishment at His note of authority (**1** 22) and power (**2** 12). Disciples are awed by His command over the sea (**4** 41), and disciples and others are surprised and alarmed at the strange look of dread as He walks ahead alone, going up to Jerus and the cross (**10** 32). Many other picturesque details are given, as in **1** 13 (He was with the wild beasts); **2** 4 (digging through the roof); **4** 38 (lying asleep on the cushion); **5** 4 (the description of the Gerasene demoniac); **6** 39 (the companies, dressed in many colors and looking like flower beds on the green mountainside). Other details peculiar to Mk are: names (**1** 29; **3** 6; **13** 3; **15** 21), numbers (**5** 13; **6** 7), time (**1** 35; **2** 1; **11** 19; **16** 2), and place (**2** 13; **3** 8; **7** 31; **12** 41; **13** 3; **14** 68 and **15** 39). These strongly suggest the observation of an eye-witness as the final authority, and the geographical references suggest that even the writer understood the general features of the country, esp. of Jerus and its neighborhood. (For complete lists see Lindsay, *St. Mark's Gospel*, 26 ff.)

III. Text.—Of the 53 select readings noted by WH (*Intro*), only a few are of special interest or importance. The following are to be accepted: ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ (**1** 2); ἁμαρτήματος (**3** 29); πλήρης (indeclinable, **4** 28); ὁ τέκτων (**6** 3; Jesus is here called "the carpenter"); αὐτοῦ (**6** 22, Herod's daughter probably had two names, Salome and Herodias); πυγμῇ (**7** 23, "with the fist," i.e. "thoroughly," not πυκνά, "oft"). WH are to be followed in rejecting πιστεῦσαι (leaving the graphic Τὸ Εἰ δύνῃ [**9** 23]); καὶ νηστείᾳ (**9** 29); πᾶσα . . . . ἁλισθήσεται (**9** 49); τοὺς . . . . χρήμασι (**10** 24); but not in rejecting υἱοῦ θεοῦ (**1** 1). They are probably wrong in retaining οὓς . . . . ὠνόμασαν (**3** 14; it was probably added from Lk **6** 31); and in rejecting καὶ κλινῶν and accepting ῥαντίσωνται instead of βαπτίσωνται (**7** 4; ignorance of the extreme scrupulosity of the Jews led to these scribal changes; cf Lk **11** 38, where ἐβαπτίσθη is not disputed). So one may doubt ἠπόρει (**6** 20), and suspect it of being an Alexandrian correction for ἐποίει, which was more difficult and yet is finely appropriate.

The most important textual problem is that of **16** 9–20. Burgon and Miller and Salmon believe it to be genuine. Miller supposes that up to that point Mk had been giving practically Peter's words, that for some reason those then failed him and that vs 9–20 are drawn from his own stores. The majority of scholars regard them as non-Markan; they think ver 8 is not the intended conclusion; that if Mark ever wrote a conclusion, it has been lost, and that vs 9–20, embodying traditions of the Apostolic Age, were supplied later. Conybeare has found in an Armenian MS a note referring these verses to the presbyter Ariston, whom he identifies with that Aristion, a disciple of John, of whom Papias speaks. Many therefore would regard them as authentic, and some accept them as clothed with John's authority. They are certainly very early, perhaps as early as 100 AD, and have the support of ACDXΓΔZ, all late uncials, all cursives, most VSS and Fathers, and were known to the scribes of ℵ and B, who, however, do not accept them.

It is just possible that the Gospel did end at ver 8. The very abruptness would argue an early date when Christians lived in the atmosphere of the Resurrection and would form an even appropriate closing for the Gospel of the Servant (see below). A Servant comes, fulfils his task, and departs—we do not ask about his lineage, nor follow his subsequent history.

IV. Language.—Mark employs the common coloquial Gr of the day, understood everywhere

1. General Character

throughout the Gr-Rom world. It was emphatically the language of the people, "known and read of all men." His vocabulary is equally removed from the technicalities of the schools and from the slang of the streets. It is the clean, vigorous, direct speech of the sturdy middle class.

2. Vocabulary

Of his 1,330 words, 60 are proper names. Of the rest 79 are peculiar to Mk, so far as the NT is concerned; 203 are found elsewhere only in the Synoptics, 15 only in John's Gospel, 23 only in Paul (including He), 2 in the Catholic Epp. (1 in Jas, 1 in 2 Pet), 5 in the Apocalypse (see Swete, *Comm. on St. Mark*). Rather more than a fourth of the 79 are non-classical as compared with one-seventh for Lk and a little more than one-seventh for Mt. Hawkins also gives a list of 33 unusual words or expressions. The most interesting of the single words are σχιζομένους, *schizoménous*, ἤφιεν, *ḗphien*, κωμοπόλεις, *kōmopóleis*, ἐκεφαλίωσαν, *ekephalíōsan*, προαύλιον, *proaúlion*, and ὅτι, *hóti*, in the sense of "why" (**2** 16; **9** 11.28); of the expressions, the distributives in **6** 7.39 f and **14** 19, the Hebraistic εἰ δοθήσεται, and ὅταν with indic. Of ordinary constructions the following are found with marked frequency: καί (reducing his use of δέ to half of Mt's or Lk's), historic present (accounting for the very frequent use of λέγει instead of εἶπεν), the periphrastic imperfect, the art. with infinitives or sentences, participles, and prepositions.

There are indications that the writer in earlier life was accustomed to think in Aramaic. Occasionally that fact shows itself in the retention of *Aram. words* which are proportionately rather more numerous than in Mt and twice as numerous as in Lk or Jn. The most interesting of these are ταλειθά κούμ, *taleithá koúm*, ἐφφαθά, *ephphathá*, and Βοανηργές, *Boanērgés*, each uttered at a time of intense feeling.

Latinisms in Mk are about half as numerous as Aramaisms. They number 11, the same as in Mt, as compared with 6 in Lk and 7 in Jn. The greater proportion in Mk is the only really noteworthy fact in these figures. It suggests more of a Roman outlook and fits in with the common tradition as to its origin and authorship.

For certain words he has great fondness: εὐθύς, 42 t; ἀκάθαρτος, 11 t; βλέπω, and its compounds very frequently; so ἐπερωτᾶν, ὑπάγειν, ἐξουσία, εὐαγγέλιον, προσκαλεῖσθαι, ἐπιτιμᾶν, compounds of πορεύεσθαι, συνζητεῖν, and such graphic words as ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, ἐμβριμᾶσθαι, ἐναγκαλίζεσθαι and φιμοῦσθαι. The following he uses in an unusual sense: ἐνεῖχεν, πυγμῇ, ἀπέχει, ἐπιβαλών.

The same exact and vivid representation of the facts of actual experience accounts for the *anacolutha* and other *broken constructions*, e.g. **4** 31 f; **5** 23; **6** 8 f; **11** 32. Some are due to the insertion of explanatory clauses, as in **7** 3–5; some to the introduction of a quotation as in **7** 11 f. These phenomena represent the same type of mind as we have already seen (II, 6 above).

The style is very simple. The common connective is καί. The stately periods of the classics

3. Style

are wholly absent. The narrative is commonly terse and concise. At times, however, a multitude of details are crowded in, resulting in unusual fulness of expression. This gives rise to numerous duplicate expressions as in **1** 32; **2** 25; **5** 19 and the like, which become a marked feature of the style. The descriptions are wonderfully vivid. This is helped out by the remarkably frequent use of the historic present, of which there are 151 examples, as contrasted with 78 in Mt and 4 in Lk, apart from its use in parables. Mk never uses it in parables, whereas Mt has 15 cases and Lk 5. Jn has 162, a slightly smaller proportion than Mk on the whole, but rather larger in narrative parts. But Mk's swift passing from one tense to another adds a variety and vividness to the narrative not found in Jn.

That the original language was Gr is the whole impression made by patristic references. Trans-

4. Original Language

lations of the Gospel are always from, not into, Gr. It was the common language of the Rom world, esp. for letters. Paul wrote to the Romans in Gr. Half a century later Clement wrote from Rome to Corinth in Gr. The Gr Mk bears the stamp of originality and of the individuality of the author.

Some have thought it was written in Lat. The only real support for that view is the subscription in a few MSS (e.g. 160, 161, ἐγράφη Ῥωμαϊστί ἐν Ῥώμῃ, *egráphē Rhōmaïstí en Rhṓmē*) and in the Peshitta and Harclean Syr. It is a mistaken deduction from the belief that it was written in Rome or due to the supposition that "interpreter of Peter" meant that Mark trd Peter's discourses into Lat.

Blass contended for an Aram. original, believing that Lk, in the first part of Acts, followed an Aram. source, and that that source was by the author of the Second Gospel which also, therefore, was written in Aramaic. He felt, moreover, that the text of Mk suggests several forms of the Gospel which are best explained as trs of a common original. Decisive against the view is the tr of the few Aram. words which are retained.

V. Authorship.—The external evidence for the authorship is found in the Fathers and the MSS.

1. External Evidence

The most important patristic statements are the following:

Papias—Asia Minor, c 125 AD—(quoted by Eus., *HE*, III, 39): "And this also the elder said: Mark, having become the interpreter [ἑρμηνεύτης, *hermēneútēs*] of Peter, wrote accurately what he remembered (or recorded) of the things said or done by Christ, but not in order. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him; but afterward, as I said [he attached himself to] Peter who used to frame his teaching to meet the needs [of his hearers], but not as composing an orderly account [σύνταξιν, *súntaxin*] of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error in thus writing down some things as he remembered them: for he took thought for one thing not to omit any of the things he had heard nor to falsify anything in them."

Justin Martyr—Palestine and the West, c 150 AD—(In *Dial. with Trypho*, cvi, Migne ed): "And when it is said that He imposed on one of the apostles the name Peter, and when this is recorded in his 'Memoirs' with this other fact that He named the two sons of Zebedee 'Boanerges,' which means 'Sons of Thunder,'" etc.

Irenaeus—Asia Minor and Gaul, c 175 AD—(*Adv. Haer.*, iii.1, quoted in part Eus., *HE*, V, 8): "After the apostles were clothed with the power of the Holy Spirit and fully furnished for the work of universal evangelization, they went out [“exierunt,” in Rufinus' tr] to the ends of the earth preaching the gospel. Matthew went eastward to those of Heb descent and preached to them in their own tongue, in which language he also [had ?] published a writing of the gospel, while Peter and Paul went westward and preached and founded the church in Rome. But after the departure [ἔξοδον, “exitum” in Rufinus] of these, Mark, the disciple and interpreter [ἑρμηνεύτης, *hermēneútēs*] of Peter, even he has delivered to us in writing the things which were preached by Peter.”

Clement of Alexandria—c 200 AD—(Hypotyp. in Eus., *HE*, VI, 14): “The occasion for writing the Gospel acc. to Mk was as follows: After Peter had publicly preached the word in Rome and declared the gospel by the Spirit, many who were present entreated Mark, as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what he said, to write down what he had spoken, and Mk, after composing the Gospel, presented it to his petitioners. When Peter became aware of it he neither eagerly hindered nor promoted it.”

Also (Eus., *HE*, II, 15): “So charmed were the Romans with the light that shone in upon their minds from the discourses of Peter, that, not contented with a single hearing and the viva voce proclamation of the truth, they urged with the utmost solicitation on Mark, whose Gospel is in circulation and who was Peter's attendant, that he would leave them in writing a record of the teaching which they had received by word of mouth. They did not give over until they had prevailed on him; and thus they became the cause of the composition of the so-called Gospel according to Mk. It is said that when the apostle knew, by revelation of the Spirit, what was done, he was pleased with the eagerness of the men and authorized the writing to be read in the churches.”

Tertullian—North Africa, c 207 AD—(*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 5): He speaks of the authority of the four Gospels, two by apostles and two by companions of apostles, “not excluding that which was published by Mark, for it may be ascribed to Peter, whose interpreter Mark was.”

Origen—Alexandria and the East, c 240 AD—(“Comm. on Mt” quoted in Eus., *HE*, VI, 25): “The second is that according to Mk who composed it, under the guidance of Peter [ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ, *hōs Pétros huphēgḗsato autṓ*], who therefore, in his Catholic ep., acknowledged the evangelist as his son.”

Eusebius—Caesarea, c 325 AD—(*Dem. Evang.*, III, 5): “Though Peter did not undertake, through excess of diffidence, to write a Gospel, yet it had all along been currently reported, that Mark, who had become his familiar acquaintance and attendant [γνώριμος καὶ φοιτητής, *gnṓrimos kaí phoitētḗs*] made memoirs of [or recorded, ἀπομνημονεῦσαι, *apomnēmoneúsai*] the discourses of Peter concerning the doings of Jesus.” “Mark indeed writes this, but it is Peter who so testifies about himself, for all that is in Mk are memoirs (or records) of the discourses of Peter.”

Epiphanius—Cyprus, c 350 AD—(*Haer.*, 41): “But immediately after Matthew, Mark, having become a follower [ἀκόλουθος, *akólouthos*] of the holy Peter in Rome, is entrusted with the putting forth of a gospel. Having completed his work, he was sent by the holy Peter into the country of the Egyptians.”

Jerome—East and West, c 350 AD—(*De vir. illustr.*, viii): “Mark, disciple and interpreter of Peter, at the request of the brethren in Rome, wrote a brief Gospel in accordance with what he had heard Peter narrating. When Peter heard it he approved and authorized it to be read in the churches.”

Also xi: “Accordingly he had Titus as interpreter just as the blessed Peter had Mark whose Gospel was composed, Peter narrating and Mark writing.”

Preface *Comm. on Mt:* “The second is Mark, interpreter of the apostle Peter, and first bishop of the Alexandrian church; who did not himself see the Lord Jesus, but accurately, rather than in order, narrated those of His deeds, which he had heard his teacher preaching.”

To these should be added the Muratorian Fragment—c 170 AD—“which gives a list of the NT books with a brief account of the authorship of each. The account of Mt and most of that of Mk are lost, only these words relating to Mark being left: ‘quibus tamen interfuit, et ita posuit’” (see below).

These names represent the churches of the 2d, 3d and 4th cents., and practically every quarter of the Rom world. Quite clearly the common opinion was that Mark had written a Gospel and in it had given us mainly the teaching of Peter.

That our second Gospel is the one referred to in these statements there can be no reasonable doubt. Our four were certainly the four of Irenaeus and Tatian; and Salmon (*Intro*) has shown that the same four must have been accepted by Justin, Papias and their contemporaries, whether orthodox or Gnostics. Justin's reference to the surname “Boanerges” supports this so far as Mark is concerned, for in the Gospel of Mk alone is that fact mentioned (**3** 17).

A second point is equally clear—that the Gospel of Mk is substantially Peter's. Mark is called disciple, follower, interpreter of Peter. Origen expressly quotes “Marcus, my son” (1 Pet **5** 13 AV) in this connection. “Disciple” is self-explanatory. “Follower” is its equivalent, not simply a traveling companion. “Interpreter” is less clear. One view equates it with “translator,” because Mark trd either Peter's Aram. discourses into Gr for the Hellenistic Christians in Jerus (Adeney, et al.), or Peter's Gr discourses into Lat for the Christians in Rome (Swete, et al.). The other view—that of the ancients and most moderns (e.g. Zahn, Salmon)—is that it means “interpreter” simply in the sense that Mark put in writing what Peter had taught. The contention of Chase (*HDB*, III, 247) that this was a purely metaphorical use has little weight because it may be so used here. The conflict in the testimony as to date and place will be considered below (VII).

There is no clear declaration that Mark himself was a disciple of Jesus or an eyewitness of what he records. Indeed the statement of Papias seems to affirm the contrary. However, that statement may mean simply that he was not a personal disciple of Jesus, not that he had never seen Him at all.

The Muratorian Fragment is not clear. Its broken sentence has been differently understood. Zahn completes it thus: “[ali] quibus tamen interfuit, et ita posuit,” and understands it to mean that “at some incidents [in the life of Jesus], however, he was present and so put them down.” Chase (*HDB*) and others regard “quibus tamen” as a literal tr of the Gr οἷς δὲ, *hoís dé*, and believe the meaning to be that Mark, who had probably just been spoken of as not continuously with Peter, “was present at some of his discourses and so recorded them.” Chase feels that the phrase following respecting Luke: “Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne,” compels the belief that Mark like Luke had not seen the Lord. But Paul, not Mark, may be there in mind, and further, this interpretation rather belittles Mark's association with Peter.

The patristic testimony may be regarded as summarized in the title of the work in our earliest MSS, viz. κατὰ Μάρκον, *katá Márkon.* This phrase must refer to the author, not his source of information, for then it would necessarily have been κατὰ Πέτρον, *katá Pétron.* This is important as throwing light on the judgment of antiquity as to the authorship of the First Gospel, which the MSS all entitle κατὰ Μαθθαῖον, *katá Matthaíon.*

2. Internal Evidence

The internal evidence offers much to confirm the tradition and practically nothing to the contrary. That Peter is back of it is congruous with such facts as the following:

(1) The many vivid details referred to above (III, 6) must have come from an eyewitness. The frequent use of λέγει, *légei*, in Mk and Mt where Lk uses εἶπεν, *eípen*, works in the same direction.

(2) Certain awkward expressions in lists of names can best be explained as Mark's turning of Peter's original, e.g. **1** 29, where Peter may have said, “We went home, James and John accompanying us.” So in **1** 36 (contrasted with Lk's impersonal description, Lk **4** 42 f); Mk **3** 16; **13** 3.

(3) Two passages (**9** 6 and **11** 21) describe Peter's own thought; others mention incidents which Peter would be most likely to mention: e.g. **14** 37 and vs 66–72 (esp. impf. ἠρνεῖτο, *ērneíto*); **16** 7; **7** 12–23 (in view of Acts **10** 15).

(4) In **3** 7 the order of names suits Peter's Galilean standpoint rather than that of Mark in Jerus—Galilee, Judaea, Jerus, Peraea, Tyre, Sidon. The very artlessness of these hints is the best kind of proof that we are in touch with one who saw with his own eyes and speaks out of his own consciousness.

(5) Generally Mark, like Matthew, writes from the standpoint of the Twelve more frequently than Luke; and Mark, more frequently than Matthew, from the standpoint of the three most honored by Jesus. Cf Mk **5** 37 with Mt **9** 23, where Mt makes no reference to the three;

the unusual order of the names in Lk's corresponding passage (**8** 51) suggests that James was his ultimate source. The language of Mk **9** 14 is clearly from one of the three, Lk's may be, but Mt's is not. The contrast in this respect between the common synoptic material and Lk **9** 51—**18** 14 lends weight to this consideration.

(6) The scope of the Gospel which corresponds to that outlined in Peter's address to Cornelius (Acts **10** 37–41).

(7) The book suits Peter's character—impressionable rather than reflective, and emotional rather than logical. To such men arguments are of minor importance. It is deeds that count (Burton, *Short Intro*).

It may seem to militate against all this that the three striking incidents in Peter's career narrated in Mt **14** 28–33 (walking on the water), **17** 24–27 (tribute money), and **16** 16–19 (the church and the keys), should be omitted in Mk. But this is just a touch of that fine courtesy and modesty which companionship with Jesus bred. We see John in his Gospel hiding himself in a similar way. These men are more likely to mention the things that reflect discredit on themselves. It is only in Mt's list of the Twelve that he himself is called "the publican." So "Peter never appears in a separate rôle in Mk except to receive a rebuke" (Bacon).

As to Mark's authorship, the internal evidence appears slight. Like the others, he does not obtrude himself. Yet for that very reason what hints there are become the more impressive.

There may be something in Zahn's point that the description of John as brother of James is an unconscious betrayal of the fact that the author's own name was John. There are two other passages, however, which are clearer and which reinforce each other. The story of the youth in **14** 51 seems to be of a different complexion from other Gospel incidents. But if Mark himself was the youth, its presence is explained and vindicated. In that case it is likely that the Supper was celebrated in his own home and that the upper room is the same as that in Acts **12**. This is favored by the fuller description of it in Mk, esp. the word "ready"—a most natural touch, the echo of the housewife's exclamation of satisfaction when everything was ready for the guests. It is made almost a certainty when we compare **14** 17 with the parallels in Mt and Lk. Mt **26** 20 reads: "Now when even was come, he was sitting at meat with the twelve disciples"; Lk **22** 14: "And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him"; while Mk has: "And when it was evening he cometh with the twelve." The last represents exactly the standpoint of one in the home who sees Jesus and the Twelve approaching. (And how admirably the terms "the twelve disciples," "the apostles" and "the twelve" suit Mt, Lk, and Mk respectively.) Such phenomena, undesigned (save by the inspiring Spirit), are just those that would not have been invented later, and become the strongest attestation of the reliability of the tradition and the historicity of the narrative. Modern views opposed to this are touched upon in what follows.

VI. Sources and Integrity.—We have seen that, according to the testimony of the Fathers, Peter's preaching and teaching are at least the main source, and that many features of the Gospel support that view. We have seen, also, subtle but weighty reasons for believing that Mark added a little himself. Need we seek further sources, or does inquiry resolve itself into an analysis of Peter's teaching?

B. Weiss believes that Mark used a document now lost containing mainly sayings of Jesus, called Logia (L) in the earlier discussions, but now commonly known as Q. In that opinion he has recently been joined by Sanday and Streeter. Harnack, Sir John Hawkins and Wellhausen have sought to reconstruct Q on the basis of the non-Markan matter in Mt and Lk. Allen extracts it from Mt alone, thinking that Mk also may have drawn a few sayings from it. Some assign a distinct source for ch **13**. Streeter considers it a document written shortly after the fall of Jerus, incorporating a few utterances by Jesus and itself incorporated bodily by Mark. Other sources, oral or written, are postulated by Bacon for smaller portions and grouped under X. He calls the final redactor R—not Mark but a Paulinist of a radical type.

In forming a judgment much depends upon one's conception of the teaching method of Jesus and the apostles. Teaching and preaching are not synonymous terms. Mt sums up the early ministry in Galilee under "teaching, preaching and healing," and gives us the substance of that teaching as it impressed itself upon him. Mk reports less of it, but speaks of it more frequently than either Mt or Lk. Jesus evidently gave teaching a very large place, and a large proportion of the time thus spent was devoted to the special instruction of the inner circle of disciples. The range of that instruction was not wide. It was intensive rather than extensive. He held Himself to the vital topic of the kingdom of God. He must have gone over it again and again. He would not hesitate to repeat instructions which even chosen men found it so difficult to understand. Teaching by repetition was common then as it is now in the East. The word "catechize" (κατηχέω, *katēcheō*) implies that, and that word is used by Paul of Jewish (Rom **2** 18) and by Luke of Christian teaching (Lk **1** 4). See CATECHIST.

The novelty in His teaching was not in method so much as in content, authority and accompanying miraculous power (Mk **1** 27). Certainly He was far removed from vain repetition. His supreme concern was for the spirit. Just as certainly He was not concerned about a mere reputation for originality or for wealth and variety of resources. He was concerned about teaching them the truth so effectively that they would be prepared by intellectual clearness, as well as spiritual sympathy, to make it known to others. And God by His Providence, so kind to all but so often thwarted by human self-will, was free to work His perfect work for Him and make all things work together for the furtherance of His purpose. Thus incidents occur, situations arise and persons of all types appear on the scene, calling forth fresh instruction, furnishing illustration and securing the presentation of truth in fulness with proper balance and emphasis and in right perspective.

Thus before His death the general character of that kingdom, its principles and prospects, were taught. That furnished the warp for the future Gospels. The essence, the substance and general form were the same for all the Twelve; but each from the standpoint of his own individuality saw particular aspects and was impressed with special details. No one of them was large enough to grasp it all, for no one was so great as the Master. And it would be strange indeed, though perhaps not so strange as among us, if none of them wrote down any of it. Ramsay, Salmon and Palmer are quite justified in feeling that it may have been put in writing before the death of Jesus. It may well be that Matthew wrote it as it lay in his mind, giving us substantially Harnack's Q. John and James may have done the same and furnished Luke his main special source. But whether it was written down then or not, the main fact to be noted is that it was lodged in their minds, and that the substance was, and the details through mutual conference increasingly became, their common possession. They did not understand it all—His rising from the dead, for example. But the words were lodged in memory, and subsequent events made their meaning clear.

Then follow the great events of His death and resurrection, and for forty days in frequent appearances He taught them the things concerning the kingdom of God and expounded in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself, esp. the necessity of His death and resurrection. These furnished the woof of the future Gospels. But even yet they are not equipped for their task. So He promises them His Spirit, a main part of whose work will be to bring to their remembrance all He had said, to lead them into all the truth, and show them things to come. When He has come they will be ready to witness in power.

The apostles' conception of their task is indicated in some measure by Peter when he insisted that an indispensable qualification in a successor to Judas was that he must have been with them from the beginning to the end of Christ's ministry, and so be conversant with His words and deeds. From the day of Pentecost onward they gave themselves preëminently to teaching. The thousands converted on that day continued in the teaching of the apostles. When the trouble broke out between Hebrews and Hellenists, the Seven were appointed because the apostles could not leave the word of God to serve tables. The urgency of this business may have been one reason why they stayed in Jerus when persecution scattered so many of the church (Acts **8** 2). They were thus in close touch for years, not only through the struggle between Hebrews and Hellenists, but until the admission of the gentile Cornelius and his friends by Peter had been solemnly ratified by the church in Jerus and possibly until the Council had declared against the contention that circumcision was necessary for salvation. During these years they had every opportunity for mutual conference, and the vital importance of the questions that arose would compel them to avail themselves of such opportunities. Their martyr-like devotion to Jesus would make them quick to challenge anything that might seem a misrepresentation of His teaching. The Acts account of their discussions at great crises proves that conclusively. To their success in training others and the accuracy of the body of catachetical instruction Luke pays fine tribute when he speaks of the "certainty" or undoubted truth of it (Lk **1** 4). Thus Jesus' post-resurrection expositions, the experience of the years and the guidance of the Spirit are the source and explanation of the apostolic presentation of the gospel.

Of that company Peter was the recognized leader, and did more than any other to determine the mold into which at least the post-resurrection teachings were cast. Luke tells us of many attempts to record them. He himself in his brief reports of Peter's addresses sketches their broad outlines. Mark, at the request of Rom Christians and with Peter's approval, undertook to give an adequate account. Two special facts influenced the result—one, the character of the people for whom he wrote; the other, the existence (as we may assume) of Matthew's Q. It would be natural for him to supplement rather than duplicate that apostolic summary. Moreover, since Q presented mainly the ethical or law side of Christianity the supplement would naturally present the gospel side of it—and so become its complement—while at the same time this presentation and the needs of the people for whom he specially writes make it necessary to add something from the body of catechetical material, oral or written, not included in Q, as his frequent καὶ ἔλεγεν, *kaí élegen*, seems to imply (Buckley, 152 ff). So Mk's is "the beginning of the Gospel." He introduces Jesus in the act of symbolically devoting Himself to that death for our sins and rising again, which constitutes the gospel and then entering upon His ministry by calling upon the people to "repent and believe in the gospel." The book is written from the standpoint of the resurrection, and gives the story of the passion and of the ministry in a perspective thus determined. About the same time it may be, Matthew, writing for Jewish Christians, combines this gospel side of the teaching with his own Q side of it, adding from the common stock or abridging as his purpose might suggest or space might demand. Later Luke does a similar service for Gr Christians (cf Harnack, *The Twofold Gospel in the NT*).

The only serious question about the integrity of the book concerns the last twelve vs, for a discussion of which see under III above. Some have suggested that **1** 1–13 is akin to **16** 9–20, and may have been added by the same hand. But while vocabulary and connection are main arguments against the genuineness of the latter, in both these respects **1** 1–13 is bound up with the main body of the book. Nor is there sufficient reason for denying ch **13** as a true report of what Jesus said. Wendling's theory of three strata assignable to three different writers—historian, poet, and theologian—is quite overdrawn. Barring the closing verses, there is nothing which can possibly demand anything more than an earlier and a later edition by Mark himself, and the strongest point in favor of that is Luke's omission of **6** 45—**8** 26. But Hawkins gives other reasons for that.

VII. Date and Place of Composition.—Ancient testimony is sharply divided. The Paschal Chronicle puts it in 40 AD, and many MSS, both uncial and cursive (Harnack, *Chronologie*, 70, 124) 10 or 12 years after the Ascension. These Swete sets aside as due to the mistaken tradition that Peter began work in Rome in the 2d year of Claudius (42 AD). Similarly he would set aside the opinion of Chrysostom (which has some MSS subscriptions to support it) that it was written in Alexandria, as an error growing out of the statement of Eusebius (*HE*, II, 16) that Mark went to Egypt and preached there the Gospel he composed. This he does in deference to the strong body of evidence that it was written in Rome about the time of Peter's death. Still there remains a discrepancy between Irenaeus, as commonly understood, and the other Fathers. For, so understood, Irenaeus places it after the death of Peter, whereas Jerome, Epiphanius, Origen and Clement of Alexandria clearly place it within Peter's lifetime. But it does not seem necessary so to understand Irenaeus. It may be that it was composed while Peter was living, but only published after his death. Christophorson (1570 AD) had suggested that and supported it by the conjectural emendation of ἔκδοσιν, *ékdosin*, "surrendering," "imprisonment," for ἔξοδον, *éxodon*, in Irenaeus. Grabe, Mill and others thought Irenaeus referred, not to Peter's death, but to his departure from Rome on further missionary tours. But if we take *exodon* in that sense, it is better to understand by it departure from Pal or Syria, rather than from Rome. Irenaeus' statement that the apostles were now fully furnished for the work of evangelization (*Adv. Haer.*, iii.1) certainly seems to imply that they were now ready to leave Pal; and his next statement is that Matthew and Mark wrote their respective Gospels. And Eusebius (*HE*, III, 24) states explicitly that Matthew committed his Gospel to writing "when he was about" to leave Pal "to go to other peoples." The same may very possibly be true of Mark. If the fact be that Romans in Caesarea or Antioch made the request of Mark, we can easily understand how, by the time of Irenaeus, the whole incident might be transferred to Rome.

If this view be adopted, the date would probably not be before the council at Jerus and the events of Gal **2** 11 ff. It is true the NT hints are that the apostles had left Jerus before that, but that they had gone beyond Syria is not likely. At any rate, at the time of the clash at Antioch they had not become so clear on the question touching Jews and Gentiles in the church as to be "fully furnished for the work of universal evangelization." But may it not be that Paul's strong statement of the seriousness of their error actually did settle those questions in the minds of the leaders? If so, and if, with new vision and ardor, they turn to the work of world-wide evangelism, that would be a natural and worthy occasion for the composition of the Gospel. The place may be Caesarea or Antioch, and the date not earlier than 50 AD. This is the simplest synthesis of the ancient testimony. Modern opinion as to date has ranged more widely than the ancient. Baur and Strauss were compelled by their tendency and mythical theories to place it in the 2d cent. Recent criticism tends strongly to a date in the sixties of the 1st cent., and more commonly the later sixties. This is based partly on hints in the Gospel itself, partly on its relation to Mt and Lk. The hints usually adduced are **2** 26 and **13**. The former, representing the temple as still standing, has force only if the relative clause be Mark's explanatory addition. Ch **13** has more force because, if Jerus had already fallen, we might expect some recognition of the fact.

Two other slight hints may be mentioned. The omission by the synoptists of the raising of Lazarus, and of the name of Mary in connection with the anointing of Jesus argues an early date when mention of them might have been unpleasant for the family. When the Fourth Gospel was published, they may have been no longer alive. The description of John as the brother of James (**5** 37) may also take us back to an early date when James was the more honored of the two brothers—though the unusual order of the names may be due, as Zahn thinks, to the author's instinctively distinguishing that John from himself.

The relation of Mk to Mt and Lk is important if the very widespread conviction of the priority of Mk be true. For the most likely date for Acts is 62 AD, as suggested by the mention of Paul's two years' residence in Rome, and Luke's Gospel is earlier than the Acts. It may well have been written at Caesarea about 60 AD; that again throws Mk back into the fifties.

The great objection to so early a date is the amount of detail given of the destruction of Jerus. Abbott and others have marshaled numerous other objections, but they have very little weight—most of them indeed are puerile. The real crux is that to accept an earlier date than 70 AD is to admit predictive prophecy. Yet to deny that, esp. for a believer in Christ, is an unwarranted pre-judgment, and even so far to reduce it as to deny its presence in this passage is to charge Luke—a confessedly careful historian—with ascribing to Jesus statements which He never made.

The eagerness to date Mt not earlier than 70 is due to the same feeling. But the problem here is complicated by the word "immediately" (**24** 29). Some regard that as proof positive that it must have been written before the destruction of Jerus. Others (e.g. Allen and Plummer) feel that it absolutely forbids a date much later than 70 AD, and consider 75 AD as a limit. But is it not possible that by εὐθέως, *euthéōs* (not παραχρῆμα, *parachrēma*), Christ, speaking as a prophet, may have meant no more than that the next great event comparable with the epochal overthrow of Judaism would be His own return and that the Divine purpose marches straight on from the one to the other? The NT nowhere says that the second advent would take place within that generation. See below under "Eschatology." There is therefore no sufficient reason in the Olivet discourse for dating Lk or Mt later than 60 AD, and if Mk is earlier, it goes back into the fifties.

VIII. Historicity.—Older rationalists, like Paulus, not denying Mark's authorship, regarded the miraculous elements as misconceptions of actual events. Strauss, regarding these as mythical, was compelled to postulate a 2d-cent. date. When, however, the date was pushed back to the neighborhood of 70 AD, the historicity was felt to be largely established. But recently the theory of "pragmatic values" has been developed; Bacon thus states it: "The key to all genuinely scientific appreciation of Bib. narrative . . . . is the recognition of motive. The motive . . . . is never strictly historical but always aetiological and frequently apologetic. . . . . The evangelic tradition consists of so and so many anecdotes, told and retold for *the purpose of explaining or defending beliefs and practices of the contemporary church*" (*Modern Comm., Beginnings of Gospel Story*, 9). Bacon works out the method with the result that Mk is charged again and again with historical and other blunders. This view, like Baur's tendency-theory, has elements of truth. One is that the vocabulary of a later day may be a sort of necessary tr of the original expression. But tr is neither invention nor perversion. The other is that each author has his purpose, but that simply determines his selection and arrangement of material; it neither creates nor misrepresents it if the author be honest and well informed. The word "selection" is advisedly chosen. The evangelists did not lack material. Each of the Twelve had personal knowledge beyond the content of Q or of Mk. These represent the central orb—the one the ethical, the other the evangelic side of it—but there were rays of exceeding brightness radiating from it in all directions. Luke's introduction and John's explicit declaration attest that fact. And neither John nor Luke throws the slightest suspicion on the reliability of the material they did not use. There is no sufficient reason for charging them with misstating the facts to make a point. Bacon seems to trust any other ancient writers or even his own imagination rather than the evangelists. The test becomes altogether too subjective. Yet since Christianity is a historical revelation, perversion of history may become perversion of most vital religious teaching. In the last analysis, the critic undertakes to decide just what Jesus could or could not have done or said. The utter uncertainty of the result is seen by a comparison of Schmiedel and Bacon. The former is sure that the cry "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me" is one of the very few genuine sayings of Jesus; Bacon is equally sure that Jesus could not have uttered it. Bacon also charges Mark with "immoral crudity" because in **10** 45 he reports Jesus as saying that He came "to give his life a ransom for [ἀντί, *antí*] many." Thus on two most vital matters he charges the evangelists with error because they run counter to his own religious opinions.

Plummer's remark is just (*Comm. on Mt*, xxxiii): "To decide a priori that Deity cannot become incarnate, or that incarnate Deity must exhibit such and such characteristics, is neither true philosophy nor scientific criticism." And A. T. Robertson ("Mt" in *Bible for Home and School*, 26): "The closer we get to the historic Jesus the surer we feel that He lived and wrought as He is reported in the Synoptic Gospels." The evangelists had opportunities to know the facts such as we have not. The whole method of their training was such as to secure accuracy. They support each other. They have given us sketches of unparalleled beauty, vigor and power, and have portrayed for us a Person moving among men absolutely without sin—a standing miracle. If we cannot trust them for the facts, there is little hope of ever getting at the facts at all.

IX. Purpose and Plan.—Mark's purpose was to write down the Gospel as Peter had presented it to Romans, so say the Fathers, at least, and internal evidence supports them. In any additions made by himself he had the same persons in mind. That the Gospel was for Gentiles can be seen (*a*) from the tr of the Aram. expressions in **3** 17 (Boanerges), **5** 41 (Talitha cumi), **7** 11 (Corban), **10** 46 (Bartimaeus), **14** 36 (Abba), **15** 22 (Golgotha); (*b*) in the explanation of Jewish customs in **14** 12 and **15** 42; (*c*) from the fact that the Law is not mentioned and the OT is only once quoted in Mark's own narrative; (*d*) the gentile sections, esp. in chs **6–8**.

1. The Gospel for Romans

That it was for Romans is seen in (*a*) the explanation of a Gr term by a Lat in **12** 42; (*b*) the preponderance of works of power, the emphasis on authority (**2** 10), patience and heroic endurance (**10** 17 ff); (*c*) **10** 12 which forbids a practice that was not Jewish but Rom. Those who believe it was written at Rome find further hints in the mention of Rufus (**15** 21; cf Rom **16** 13) and the resemblance between **7** 1–23 and Rom **14**. The Rom centurion's remark (**15** 39) is the Q.E.D. of the author, and bears the same relation to Mark's purpose as Jn **20** 31 to John's.

But one cannot escape the feeling that we have in this Gospel the antitype of the Servant of Jehovah. A. B. Davidson (*OT Theol.*, 365) tells us that there are two great figures around which Isaiah's thoughts gather—the King and the Servant. The former rises "to the unsurpassable height of 'God with us,' 'mighty God,' teaching that in Him God shall be wholly present with His people." The Servant is the other. The former is depicted in Mt, who also identifies Him with the Servant (**12** 18 f); the latter by Mk who identifies Him with the Messianic King (**11** 10; **14** 62). Davidson summarizes the description of the Servant: "(1) He is God's chosen; (2) He has a mission to establish judgment on the earth. . . . . The word is His instrument and the Lord is in the Word, or rather He Himself is the impersonation of it; (3) His endowment is the Spirit and an invincible faith; (4) There is in Him a marvelous combination of greatness and lowliness; (5) There are inevitable sufferings—bearing the penalty of others' sins; (6) He thus redeems Israel and brings light to the Gentiles. (7) Israel's repentance and restoration precede that broader blessing." It is not strange that this Servant-conception—this remarkable blend of strength and submission, achieving victory through apparent defeat—should appeal to Peter. He was himself an ardent, whole-souled man who knew both defeat and victory. Moreover, he himself had hired servants (Mk **1** 20), and now for years had been a servant of Christ (cf Acts **4** 29). That it did appeal to him and became familiar to the early Christians can be seen from Acts **3** 13 and **4** 30. In his First Ep. he has 17 references to Isaiah, 9 of which belong to the second part. Temperamentally Mark seems to have been like Peter. And his experience in a wealthy home where servants were kept (Acts **12** 13), and as himself *hupērétēs* of apostles in Christian service, fitted him both to appreciate and record the character and doings of the perfect servant—the Servant of Jeh. For Rom Christians that heroic figure would have a peculiar fascination.

2. Plan of the Gospel

The *plan* of the Gospel seems to have been influenced by this conception. Christ's kingship was apprehended by the Twelve at a comparatively early date. It was not until after the resurrection, when Jesus opened to them the Scriptures, that they saw Him as the Suffering Servant of Isa **53**. That gave Peter his gospel as we have already seen, and at the same time the general lines of its presentation. We see it sketched for Romans in Acts **10**. That sketch is filled in for us by Mark. So we have the following analysis:

Title: **1** 1
1. The Baptist preparing the way: **1** 2–8; cf Isa **40** 3 f.
2. Devotement of Jesus to death for us and endowment by the Spirit: **1** 9–13; cf Isa **42** 1 ff.
3. His greatness—the Galilean Ministry: **1** 14—**8** 30; cf Isa **43**—**52** 12.
    (1) In the synagogue: period of popular favor leading to break with Pharisaic Judaism: **1** 14—**3** 6.
    (2) Outside the synagogue: parabolic teaching of the multitude, choice and training of the Twelve and their Great Confession: **3** 7 ff—**8** 30.
4. His lowliness—mainly beyond Galilee: **8** 31—**15**; cf Isa **52** 13—**53** 9.
    (1) In the north—announcement of death: **8** 31—**9** 29.
    (2) On the way to Jerus and the cross—through Galilee (**9** 30–50), Peraea (**10** 1–45), Judaea (**10** 46–52).
    (3) The triumphal entry into Jerus (**11** 1–11).
    (4) In Jerus and vicinity—opposed by the leaders (**11** 12—**12** 44); foretelling their doom (**13**); preparing for death (**14** 1–42); betrayed, condemned, crucified and buried in a rich man's tomb (**14** 43—**15**).
5. His victory—the resurrection: Ch **16**; cf Isa **53** 10–12. What follows in Isa is taken up in Acts, for the first part of which Peter or Mark may have been Luke's main source.

Generally speaking the plan is chronological, but it is plain that the material is sometimes grouped according to subject-matter.

This Servant-conception may also be the real explanation of some of the striking features of this Gospel, e.g. the absence of a genealogy and any record of His early life; the frequent use of the word "straightway"; the predominance of deeds; the Son's not knowing the day (**13** 32); and the abrupt ending at **16** 8 (see III).

1. Person of Christ

X. Leading Doctrines.—The main one, naturally, is the *Person of Christ.* The thesis is that He is Messiah, Son of God, Author (Source) of the gospel. The first half of the book closes with the disciples' confession of His Messiahship; the second, with the supreme demonstration that He is Son of God. Introductory to each is the Father's declaration of Him as His Beloved Son (**1** 11; **9** 7). That the sonship is unique is indicated in **12** 6 and **13** 32. At the same time He is the Son of Man—true man (**4** 38; **8** 5; **14** 34); ideal man as absolutely obedient to God (**10** 40; **14** 36), and Head of humanity (**2** 10.28), their rightful Messiah or King (**1** 1; **14** 62)—yet Servant of all (**10** 44 f); David's Son and David's Lord (**12** 37). The unique Sonship is the final explanation of all else, His power, His knowledge of both present (**2** 5.8; **8** 17) and future (**8** 31; **10** 39; **14** 27; **13**), superiority to all men, whether friends (**1** 7; **9** 3 ff) or foes (**12** 34), and to superhuman beings, whether good (**13** 32) or evil (**1** 13. 32; **3** 27).

2. The Trinity

The Father speaks in **1** 11; **9** 7; is spoken of in **13** 32; and spoken to in **14** 36. The usual distinction between His fatherhood in relation to Christ and in relation to us is seen in **11** 25; **12** 6 and **13** 32. The Spirit is mentioned in **1** 8.10.12; **3** 29 and **13** 11. The last passage especially implies His personality.

3. Salvation

As to *salvation*, the Son is God's final messenger (**12** 6); He gives His life a ransom instead of many (**10** 45); His blood shed is thus the blood of the covenant (**14** 24); that involves for Him death in the fullest sense, including rupture of fellowship with God (**15** 34). From the outset He knew what was before Him—only so can His baptism be explained (**1** 5.11; cf **2** 20); but the horror of it was upon Him, esp. from the transfiguration onward (**10** 32; **14** 33–36); that was the Divine provision for salvation: He gave His life (**10** 45). The human condition is repentance and faith (**1** 15; **2** 5; **5** 34.36; **6** 5; **9** 23; **16** 16), though He bestows lesser blessings apart from personal faith (**1** 23–26 **5** 1–20; **6** 35–43). The power of faith, within the will of God, is limitless (**11** 25); faith leads to doing the will of God, and only such as do His will are Christ's true kindred (**3** 35). Salvation is possible for Gentile as well as Jew (**7** 24–30).

4. Eschatology

The eschatology of this Gospel is found chiefly in **8** 34—**9** 1 and **13**. In **9** 1 we have a prediction of the overthrow of Jerus which is here given as a type and proof of His final coming for judgment and reward which He has had in mind in the preceding verses. Ch **13** is a development of this—the destruction of Jerus being meant in vs 5–23 and 28–31, the final coming in vs 24–27 and 32. The distinction is clearly marked by the pronouns ταῦτα, *taúta*, and ἐκείνης, *ekeínēs*, in vs 30 and 32 (cf Mt **24** 34.36). In each passage (**9** 1; **13** 30) the fall of Jerus is definitely fixed as toward the close of that generation; the time of the latter is known only to the Father (**13** 32). Between Christ's earthly life and the Second Coming He is seated at the right hand of God (**12** 36; **16** 19). The resurrection which He predicted for Himself (**8** 31; **9** 31; **10**

34) and which actually took place (ch **16**), He affirms for others also (**12** 24–27).

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J. H. Farmer

MARKET, mär′ket, **MARKETPLACE,** mär′ket-plās, **MART,** märt (מַעֲרָב, *ma'ărābh*, סָחַר, *ṣāḥar;* **ἀγορά**, *agorá*): (1) *Ma'ărābh*, from a root meaning "trading" and hence goods exchanged, and so "merchandise" in RV, "market" in AV, occurs only in Ezk **27** 13.17.19.25, and is trd correctly "merchandise" in both ERV and ARV. (2) *Ṣāḥar* means a "trading emporium," hence mart, and merchandise. It occurs only in Isa **23** 3 (see Merchandise). (3) *Agora*, from root meaning "to collect," means a "town meeting-place," "resort of the people," so a place where the public generally met to exchange views and wares. No doubt, the central place soon filling up, the people thronged the adjoining streets, and so in time each street thus used came to be called *agora*, "marketplace"; tr^d "marketplace[s]" in 1 Esd **2** 18; Tob **2** 3; Mt **11** 16; **20** 3; **23** 7; Mk **6** 56; **7** 4; **12** 38; Lk **7** 32; **11** 43; **20** 46; Acts **16** 19; **17** 17; "Market of Appius" in Acts **28** 15 means, probably, "street" (see Appii Forum).

The marketplace in NT times was the public open space, either simple or ornate, in town, city or country, where (Mk **6** 56) the people congregated, not only for exchange of merchandise, but for one or more of the following purposes: (1) a place where the children came together to sing, dance and play, a "back-to-date" municipal recreation center (Mt **11** 16.17; Lk **7** 32); (2) a place for loafers, a sort of ancient, irresponsible labor bureau where the out-of-work idler waited the coming of an employer with whom he might bargain for his services, usually by the day (Mt **20** 1–16); (3) a place where the proud pretender could parade in long robes and get public recognition, "salutations in the market-places," e.g. the scribes and Pharisees against whom Jesus emphatically warns His disciples (Mt **23** 3–7; Mk **12** 38; Lk **11** 43; **20** 46); (4) a place where the sick were brought for treatment, the poor man's sanatorium, a municipal hospital; Jesus "who went about doing good" often found His opportunity there (Mk **6** 56); (5) a place of preliminary hearing in trials, where the accused might be brought before rulers who were present at the time, e.g. Paul and Silas at Philippi (Acts **16** 19); (6) a place for religious and probably political or philosophical discussion (gossip also), a forum, a free-speech throne; no doubt often used by the early apostles not only as a place of proclaiming some truth of the new religion but also a place of advertisement for a coming synagogue service, e.g. Paul in Athens (Acts **17** 17).

Going to Market.

Wisd **15** 12 (AV) has "They counted . . . our time here a market for gain," RV "a gainful fair," m "a keeping of festival," Gr *πανηγυρισμός*, *panēgurismós*, "an assembly of all." Such assemblies offered particular opportunities for business dealings.

William Edward Raffety

MARKET, SHEEP. See Sheep Market.

MARMOTH, mär′moth, mär′mōth (B, **Μαρμωθί**, *Marmōthí*, A, **Μαρμαθί**, *Marmathí*): "The priest the son of Urias" to whom were committed the silver and gold for the temple by the returning exiles (1 Esd **8** 62) = "Meremoth" in ‖ Ezr **8** 33.

MAROTH, mā′roth, mā′rōth (מָרוֹת, *mārōth;* [**κατοικοῦσα**] **ὀδύνας**, [*katoikoúsa*] *odúnas*): An unknown town probably in the Phili plain, named by Micah (**1** 12).

MARRIAGE, mar′ij:

Introductory
  Scope and Viewpoint of the Present Article
1. Marriage among the Hebrews
2. Betrothal the First Formal Part
3. Wedding Ceremonies
4. Jesus' Sanction of the Institution
5. His Teaching concerning Divorce
Literature

It would be interesting to study marriage biologically and sociologically, to get the far and near historical and social background of it as an institution, esp. as it existed among the ancient Jews, and as it figures in the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the NT. For, like all social institutions, marriage, and the family which is the outcome of marriage, must be judged, not by its status at any particular time, but in the light of its history. Such a study of it would raise a host of related historic questions, e.g. What was its origin? What part has it played in the evolution and civilization of the race? What social functions has it performed? And then, as a sequel, Can the services it has rendered to civilization and progress be performed or secured in any other way? This, indeed, would call for us to go back even farther—to try to discover the psychology of the institution and its history, the beliefs from which it has sprung and by which it has survived so long. This were a task well worth while and amply justified by much of the thinking of our time; for, as one of the three social institutions that support the much challenged form and fabric of modern civilization, marriage, private property and the state, its continued existence, in present form at least, is a matter of serious discussion and its abolition, along with the other two, is confidently prophesied. "Marriage, as at present understood, is an arrangement most closely associated with the existing social status and stands or falls with it" (Bebel, *Socialism and Sex*, 199, Reeves, London; *The Coöperative Commonwealth in Its Outline*, Gronlund, 224). But such a task is entirely outside of and beyond the purpose of this article.

Neither the Bible in general, nor Jesus in particular, treats of the family from the point of view of the historian or the sociologist, but solely from that of the teacher of religion and morals. In short, their point of view is theological, rather than sociological. Moses and the prophets, no less than Jesus and His apostles, accepted marriage as an existing institution which gave rise to certain practical, ethical questions, and they dealt with it accordingly. There is nothing in the record of the teachings of Jesus and of His apostles to indicate that they gave to marriage any new social content, custom or sanction. They simply accepted it as it existed in the conventionalized civilization of the Jews of their day and used it and the customs connected with it for ethical or illustrative purposes. One exception is to be made to this general statement, viz. that Jesus granted that because of the exigencies of the social development Moses had modified it to the extent of permitting and regulating divorce, clearly indicating, however, at the same time, that He regarded such modification as out of harmony with the institution as at first given to mankind. According to the original Divine purpose it was monogamous, and any form of polygamy, and apparently of divorce, was excluded by the Divine idea and purpose. The treatment of the subject here, therefore, will be limited as follows: Marriage among the Ancient Hebrews and Other Semites; Betrothal as the First Formal Part of the Transaction; Wedding Ceremonies Connected with Marriage, esp. as Reflected in the NT; and Jesus' Sanction and Use of the Institution, Teaching concerning Divorce, etc.

1. Marriage among the Hebrews

With the Hebrews married life was the normal life. Any exception called for apology and explanation. "Any Jew who has not a wife is no man" (Talmud). It was regarded as awaiting everyone on reaching maturity; and sexual maturity comes much earlier indeed in the East than with us in the West—in what we call childhood. The ancient Hebrews, in common with all Orientals, regarded the family as the social unit. In this their view of it coincides with that of modern sociologists. Of the three great events in the family life, birth, marriage and death, marriage was regarded as the most important. It was a step that led to the gravest tribal and family consequences. In case of a daughter, if she should prove unsatisfactory to her husband, she would likely be returned to the ancestral home, discarded and discredited, and there would be almost inevitably a feeling of injustice engendered on one side, and a sense of mutual irritation between the families (Jgs **14** 20; 1 S **18** 19). If she failed to pass muster with her mother-in-law she would just as certainly have to go, and the results would be much the same (cf customs in China). It was a matter affecting the whole circle of relatives, and possibly tribal amity as well. It was natural and deemed necessary, therefore, that the selection of the wife and the arrangement of all contractual and financial matters connected with it should be decided upon by the parents or guardians of the couple involved. Though the consent of the parties was sometimes sought (Gen **24** 8) and romantic attachments were not unknown (Gen **29** 20; **34** 3; Jgs **14** 1; 1 S **18** 20), the girl or woman in the case was not currently thought of as having a personal existence at her own disposal. She was simply a passive unit in the family under the protection and supreme control of father or brothers. In marriage, she was practically the chattel, the purchased possession and personal property of her husband, who was her *baʻal* or master (Hos **2** 16), she herself being *b*^{e}*ʻūlāh* (Isa **62** 4). The control, however, was not always absolute (Gen **26** 34; Ex **2** 21).

Modern Arab Marriage Procession.

The bargaining instinct, so dominant among Orientals then as now, played a large part in the transaction. In idea the family was a little kingdom of which the father was the king, or absolute ruler. There are many indications, not only that the family was the unit from which national coherence was derived, but that this unit was perpetuated through the supremacy of the oldest male. Thus society became *patriarchal*, and this is the key of the ancient history of the family and the nation. Through the expansion of the family group was evolved in turn the clan, the tribe, the nation, and the authority of the father became in turn that of the chief, the ruler, and the king. The Oriental cannot conceive, indeed, of any band, or clan, or company without a "father," even though there be no kith or kinship involved in the matter. The "father" in their thought, too, was God's representative, and as such he was simply carrying out God's purpose, for instance, in selecting a bride for his son, or giving the bride to be married to the son of another. This is as true of the far East as of the near East today. Accordingly, as a rule, the young people simply acquiesced, without question or complaint, in what was thus done for them, accepting it as though God had done it directly. Accordingly, too, the family and tribal loyalty overshadowed love-making and patriotism, in the larger sense. Out of this idea of the solidarity and selectness of the tribe and family springs the overmastering desire of the Oriental for progeny, and for the conservation of the family or the tribe at any cost. Hence the feuds, bloody and bitter, that persist between this family or tribe and another that has in any way violated this sacred law.

Traces of what is known as *beena* marriage are found in the OT, e.g. that of Jacob, where Laban claims Jacob's wives and children as his own (Gen **31** 31.43), and that of Moses (Ex **2** 21; **4** 18). This is that form of marriage in which the husband is incorporated into the wife's tribe, the children belonging to her tribe and descent being reckoned on her side (cf W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 94). In Samson's case we seem to have an instance of what is known among Arabs as *çadḳat* marriage (from *çadaḳ*, "gift"), the kid here being the customary *çadaḳ* (Jgs **14**; **15** 1; **16** 4). There is no hint that he meant to take his wife home. It is differentiated from prostitution in that no disgrace is attached to it and the children are recognized as legitimate by the tribe. Such marriages make it easier to understand the existence of the *matriarchate*, or the custom of reckoning the descent of children and property through the mothers. The influence of polygamy would work in the same direction, subdividing the family into smaller groups connected with the several wives. There is, however, no clear evidence in the OT of *polyandry* (a plurality of husbands), though the Levirate marriage is regarded by some as a survival of it. In other words, *polygamy* among the Hebrews seems to have been confined to *polygyny* (a plurality of wives). It is easy to trace its chief causes: (1) desire for a numerous offspring ("May his tribe increase!"); (2) barrenness of first wife (as in Abraham's case); (3) advantages offered by marital alliances (e.g. Solomon); (4) the custom of making wives of captives taken in war (cf Ps **45** 3.9); (5) slavery, which as it existed in the Orient almost implied it.

2. Betrothal

Betrothal with the ancient Hebrews was of a more formal and far more binding nature than the "engagement" is with us. Indeed, it was esteemed a part of the transaction of marriage, and that the most binding part. Among the Arabs today it is the only legal ceremony connected with marriage. Gen **24** 58.60 seems to preserve for us an example of an ancient formula and blessing for such an occasion. Its central feature was the dowry (*mōhar*), which was paid to the parents, not to the bride. It may take the form of service (Gen **29**; 1 S **18** 25). It is customary in Syria today, when the projected marriage is approved by both families, and all the financial preliminaries have been settled, to have this ceremony of betrothal. It consists in the acceptance before witnesses of the terms of the marriage as contracted for. Then God's blessing is solemnly asked on the union thus provided for, but to take place probably only after some months, or perhaps some years. The betrothal effected, all danger from any further financial fencing and bluffing now being at an end, happiness and harmony may preside over all the arrangements for the marriage day. Among the Jews the betrothal was so far regarded as binding that, if marriage should not take place, owing to the absconding of the bridegroom or the breach of contract on his part, the young woman could not be married to another man until she was liberated by a due process and a paper of divorce. A similar custom prevails in China and Japan, and in cases becomes very oppressive. The marriage may have been intended by the parents from the infancy of the parties, but this formality of betrothal is not entered on till the marriage is considered reasonably certain and measurably near. A prolonged interval between betrothal and marriage was deemed undesirable on many accounts, though often an interval was needed that the groom might render the stipulated service or pay the price—say a year or two, or, as in the case of Jacob, it might be seven years. The betrothed parties were legally in the position of a married couple, and unfaithfulness was "adultery" (Dt **22** 23; Mt **1** 19).

Polygamy is likely to become prevalent only where conditions are abnormal, as where there is a disproportionate number of females, as in tribal life in a state of war. In settled conditions it is possible only to those able to provide "dowry" and support for each and all of the wives.

The fact of polygamy in OT times is abundantly witnessed in the cases of Abraham, Jacob, the judges, David, Solomon, etc. It was prevalent in Issachar (1 Ch **7** 4); among the middle class (1 S **1** 1 f). But it is treated, even in the OT, as incompatible with the Divine ideal (Gen **2** 24), and its original is traced to a deliberate departure from that ideal by Lamech, the Cainite (Gen **4** 19). Kings are warned against it (Dt **17** 17; cf Gen **29** 31; **30**). Noah, Isaac and Joseph had each only one wife, and Bible pictures of domestic happiness are always connected with monogamy (2 K **4**; Ps **128**; Prov **31**; cf Sir **25** 1; **26** 1.13). Marriage is applied figuratively, too, to the union between God and Israel, implying monogamy as the ideal state. Nevertheless, having the advantage of precedent, it was long before polygamy fell into disuse in Heb society. Herod had nine wives at one time (Jos, *Ant*, XVII, i, 2). Justin Martyr (*Dial.*, 134, 141) reproaches Jews of his day with having "four or even five wives," and for "marrying as many as they wish" (cf Talm). It was not definitely and formally forbidden among Jews until c 1000 AD. It exists still among Jews in Moslem lands. Side by side with this practice all along has been the ideal principle (Gen **2** 18) rebuking and modifying it. The legal theory that made the man "lord" of the wife (Gen **3** 16; Tenth Commandment) was likewise modified in practice by the affection of the husband and the personality of the wife.

The difference between a *concubine* and a wife was largely due to the wife's birth and higher position and the fact that she was usually backed by relatives ready to defend her. A slave could not be made a concubine without the wife's consent (Gen **16** 2).

3. Ceremonies

There is a disappointing uncertainty as to the exact ceremonies or proceedings connected with marriage in Bible times. We have to paint our picture from passing allusions or descriptions, and from what we know of Jewish and Arab. customs. In cases it would seem that there was nothing beyond betrothal, or the festivities following it (see Gen **24** 3 ff). Later, in the case of a virgin, an interval of not exceeding a year came to be observed.

The first ceremony, *the wedding procession*, apparently a relic of marriage by capture (cf Jgs **5** 30; Ps **45** 15), was the first part of the proceedings. The bridegroom's "friends" (Jn **3** 29) went, usually by night, to fetch the bride and her attendants to the home of the groom (Mt **9** 15; Jn **3** 29). The joyousness of it all is witnessed by the proverbial "voice of the bridegroom" and the cry, "Behold the bridegroom cometh!" (Jer **7** 34; Rev **18** 23). The procession was preferably by night, chiefly, we may infer, that those busy in the day might attend, and that, in accordance with the oriental love of scenic effects, the weird panorama of lights and torches might play an engaging and kindling part.

The *marriage supper* then followed, generally in the home of the groom. Today in Syria, as Dr. Mackie, of Beirut, says, when both parties live in the same town, the reception may take place in either home; but the older tradition points to the house of the groom's parents as the proper place. It is the bringing home of an already accredited bride to her covenanted husband. She is escorted by a company of attendants of her own sex and by male relatives and friends conveying on mules or by porters articles of furniture and decoration for the new home. As the marriage usually takes place in the evening, the house is given up for the day to the women who are busy robing the bride and making ready for the coming hospitality. The bridegroom is absent at the house of a relative or friend, where men congregate in the evening for the purpose of escorting him home. When he indicates that it is time to go, all rise up, and candles and torches are supplied to those who are to form the procession, and they move off. It is a very picturesque sight to see such a procession moving along the unlighted way in the stillness of the starry night, while, if it be in town or city, on each side of the narrow street, from the flat housetop or balcony, crowds look down, and the women take up the peculiar cry of wedding joy that tells those farther along that the pageant has started. This cry is taken up all along the route, and gives warning to those who are waiting with the bride that it is time to arise and light up the approach, and welcome the bridegroom with honor. As at the house where the bridegroom receives his friends before starting some come late, and speeches of congratulation have to be made, and poems have to be recited or sung in praise of the groom, and to the honor of his family, it is often near midnight when the procession begins. Meanwhile, as the night wears on, and the duties of robing the bride and adorning the house are all done, a period of relaxing and drowsy waiting sets in, as when, in the NT parable, both the wise and the foolish virgins were overcome with sleep. In their case the distant cry on the street brought the warning to prepare for the reception, and then came the discovery of the exhausted oil.

Of the bridegroom's retinue only a limited number would enter, their chief duty being that of escort. They might call next day to offer congratulations. An Arab. wedding rhyme says:

> "To the bridegroom's door went the torch-lit array,
> And then like goats they scattered away."

With their dispersion, according to custom, the doors would be closed, leaving within the relatives and invited guests; and so, when the belated virgins of the parable hastened back, they too found themselves inexorably shut out by the etiquette of the occasion. The opportunity of service was past, and they were no longer needed.

At the home all things would be "made ready," if possible on a liberal scale. Jn **2** gives a picture of a wedding feast where the resources were strained to the breaking point. Hospitality was here esp. a sacred duty, and, of course, greatly ministered to the joy of the occasion. An oriental proverb is significant of the store set by it:

> "He who does not invite me to his marriage
> Will not have me to his funeral."

To decline the invitation to a marriage was a gross insult (Mt **22**).

It was unusual in Galilee to have a "ruler of the feast" as in Judaea (Jn **2**). There was *no formal religious ceremony* connected with the Heb marriage as with us—there is not a hint of such a thing in the Bible. The marriage was consummated by entrance into the "chamber," i.e. the nuptial chamber (Heb *ḥedher*), in which stood the bridal bed with a canopy (*ḥuppāh*), being originally the wife's tent (Gen **24** 67; Jgs **4** 17). In all lands of the dispersion the name is still applied to the embroidered canopy under which the contracting parties stand or sit during the festivities. In Arab. Syr and Heb the bridegroom is said to "go in" to the bride.

A general survey of ancient marriage laws and customs shows that those of the Hebrews are not a peculiar creation apart from those of other peoples. A remarkable affinity to those of other branches of the Sem races esp., may be noted, and striking parallels are found in the CH, with regard, e.g., to betrothal, dowry, adultery and divorce. But modern researches have emphasized the relative purity of OT sexual morality. In this, as in other respects, the Jews had a message for the world. Yet we should not expect to find among them the Christian standard. Under the new dispensation the keynote is struck by Our Lord's action. The significance of His attending the marriage feast at Cana and performing His first miracle there can hardly be exaggerated. The act corresponds, too, with His teaching on the subject. He, no less than Paul, emphasizes both the honorableness of the estate and the heinousness of all sins against it.

4. Jesus' Use of the Institution

The most characteristic use of marriage and the family by Our Lord is that in which He describes the kingdom of God as a social order in which the relationship of men to God is like that of sons to a father, and their relation to each other like that between brothers. This social ideal, which presents itself vividly and continuously to His mind, is summed up in this phrase, "Kingdom of God," which occurs more than a hundred times in the Synoptic Gospels. The passages in which it occurs form the interior climax of His message to men. It is no new and noble Judaism, taking the form of a political restoration, that He proclaims, and no "far-off Divine event" to be realized only in some glorious apocalyptic consummation; but a kingdom of God "within you," the chief element of it communion with God, the loving relation of "children" to a "Father," a present possession. Future in a sense it may be, as a result to be fully realized, and yet present; invisible, and yet becoming more and more visible as a new social order, a conscious brotherhood with one common, heavenly Father, proclaimed in every stage of His teaching in spite of opposition and varying fortunes with unwavering certainty of its completion—this is the "kingdom" that Jesus has made the inalienable possession of the Christian consciousness. His entire theology may be described as a transfiguration of the family (see Peabody, *Jesus Christ, and the Social Question*, 149 ff; Holtzmann, *NT Theology*, I, 200; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, I, 62; B. Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of the NT*, I, 72, ET, 1882).

Beyond this Jesus frequently used figures drawn from marriage to illustrate His teaching concerning the coming of the kingdom, as Paul did concerning Christ and the church. There is no suggestion of reflection upon the OT teaching about marriage in His teaching except at one point, the modification of it so as to allow polygamy and divorce. Everywhere He accepts and deals with it as sacred and of Divine origin (Mt **19** 9, etc), but He treats it as transient, that is of the "flesh" and for this life only.

5. Divorce

A question of profound interest remains to be treated: Did Jesus allow under any circumstances the remarriage of a divorced person during the lifetime of the partner to the marriage? Or did He allow absolute divorce for any cause whatsoever? Upon the answer to that question in every age depend momentous issues, social and civic, as well as religious. The facts bearing on the question are confessedly enshrined in the NT, and so the inquiry may be limited to its records. Accepting with the best scholarship the documents of the NT as emanating from the disciples of Jesus in the second half of the 1st cent. AD, the question is, what did these writers understand Jesus to teach on this subject? If we had only the Gospels of Mark and Luke and the Epp. of Paul, there could be but one answer given: Christ did not allow absolute divorce for any cause (see Mk **10** 2 ff; Lk **16** 18; Gal **1** 12; 1 Cor **7** 10). The OT permission was a concession, He teaches, to a low moral state and standard, and opposed to the ideal of marriage given in Gen (**2** 23).

"The position of women in that day was far from enviable. They could be divorced on the slightest pretext, and had no recourse at law. Almost all the rights and privileges of men were withheld from them. What Jesus said in relation to divorce was more in defence of the rights of the women of His time than as a guide for the freer, fuller life of our day. Jesus certainly did not mean to recommend a hard and enslaving life for women. His whole life was one long expression of full understanding of them and sympathy for them" (Patterson, *The Measure of a Man*, 181 f).

Two sayings attributed to Christ and recorded by the writer or editor of the First Gospel (Mt **5** 32; **19** 9) seem directly to contravene His teaching as recorded in Mk and Lk. Here he seems to allow divorce for "fornication" (*εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ, ei mḗ epí porneía*, "save for fornication"), an exception which finds no place in the parallels (cf **1** Cor **7** 15, which allows remarriage where a Christian partner is deserted by a heathen). The sense here demands that "fornication" be taken in its wider sense (Hos **2** 5; Am **7** 17; 1 Cor **5** 1). Divorce to a Jew carried with it the right of remarriage, and the words 'causeth her to commit adultery' (Mt **5** 32) show that Jesus assumed that the divorced woman would marry again. Hence if He allowed divorce, He also allowed remarriage. A critical examination of the whole passage in Mt has led many scholars to conclude that the exceptive clause is an interpolation due to the Jewish-Christian compiler or editor through whose hands the materials passed. Others think it betrays traces of having been rewritten from Mk or from a source common to both Mt and Mk, and combined with a semi-Jewish tradition, in short, that it is due to literary revision and compilation. The writer or compiler attempted to combine the original sayings of Jesus and His own interpretation. Believing that Our Lord had not come to set aside the authority of Moses, but only certain Pharisaic exegesis, and supported, as doubtless he was, by a Jewish-Christian tradition of Pal, he simply interpreted Mk's narrative by inserting what he regarded as the integral part of an eternal enactment of Jeh. In doing this he was unconsciously inconsistent, not only with Mk and Lk, but also with the context of the First Gospel itself, owing to his sincere but mistaken belief that the Law of Moses must not be broken. The view implied by the exception, of course, is that adultery *ipso facto* dissolves the union, and so opens the way to remarriage. But remarriage closes the door to reconciliation, which on Christian principles ought always to be possible (cf Hosea; Jer **3**; Hermas, *Mand* iv.1). Certainly much is to be said for the view which is steadily gaining ground, that the exception in Mt is an editorial addition made under the pressure of local conditions and practical necessity, the absolute rule being found too hard (see *HDB*, extra vol, 27*b*, and *The Teaching of Our Lord as to the Indissolubility of Marriage*, by Stuart Lawrence Tyson, M.A. Oxon., University of the South, 1912).

The general principle expanded in the NT and the ideal held up before the Christians is high and clear. How far that ideal can be embodied in legislation and applied to the community as a whole all are agreed must depend upon social conditions and the general moral development and environment. See further DIVORCE.

LITERATURE.—Material from Mish in Selden, *Uxor Heb*, London, 1546; Hamberger, *Real. Enc f. Bibel und Talm*, Breslau, 1870; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie;* Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie;* McLennan, *Primitive Marriage;* Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, London, 1891; W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1895; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, London, 1894; Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, London, 1898; Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, III, concerning the family.

GEO. B. EAGER

MARROW, mar′ō (מֹחַ, *mō*^{a}*ḥ*, חֵלֶב, *ḥēlebh*, שִׁקּוּי, *shiḳḳūy*, מָחָה, *māḥāh*, "to make fat," "to grease"; **μυελός**, *muelós*): Marrow is the nourisher and strengthener of the bones; it is said to moisten the bones: "The marrow [*mō*^{a}*ḥ*] of his bones is moistened" (Job **21** 24). The fear of Jeh "will be health to thy navel, and marrow [*shiḳḳūy*, m "refreshing, Heb moistening"] to thy bones" (Prov **3** 8). Thus the expression is used **figuratively** of the things which alone can satisfy the soul: "My soul shall be satisfied as with marrow [*ḥēlebh*, "fat"] and fatness" (Ps **63** 5); "In this mountain will Jeh of hosts make unto all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow [מְמֻחָיִם, *m*^{e}*muḥāyim*, part. pl., Pual of *māḥāh*], of wines on the lees well refined" (Isa **25** 6). In the Ep. to the He the writer speaks of the word of God, which is "living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow" (He **4** 12).

H. L. E. LUERING

MARSENA, mär-sē′na, mär′sḗ-na (מַרְסְנָא, *mar-ṣ*^{e}*nā'*; derivation unknown but probably of Pers origin [Est **1** 14]): One of "the seven princes of Persia and Media, who saw the king's face, and sat first in the kingdom."

MARSH, märsh ([1] גֶּבֶא, *gebhe'*, ARV "marsh," AV and ERV "marish" [Ezk **47** 11]; AV "pit," RV "cistern" [Isa **30** 14]; cf Arab. جَبَا , *jaba'*, "reservoir," "watering-trough"; [2] בֹּץ, *bōç*, "mire"; בִּצָּה, *biççāh*, "mire," "fen"; cf Arab. بَضَّ , *baḍḍa*, to "trickle," بَضَض , *baḍaḍ*, "a little water"; [3] טִיט, *ṭīṭ*, "mire," "clay"; [4] חֹמֶר, *ḥōmer*, "mire," "clay," "mortar"; [5] מַעֲבֵה הָאֲדָמָה, *ma'ăbhēh hā-'ădhāmāh* [1 K **7** 46], and עֲבִי הָאֲדָמָה, *'ăbhī hā-'ădhāmāh* [2 Ch **4** 17], "clay ground"): In the vision of Ezekiel the saltness of the Dead Sea is "healed" by the stream issuing from under the threshold of the temple, "But the miry places [*biççāh*] thereof, and the marshes [*gebhe'*] thereof, shall not be healed" (Ezk **47** 11). *Gebhe'* occurs elsewhere only in Isa **30** 14, where AV has "pit" and RV "cistern." *Bōç*, "mire," is found only in Jer **38** 22. *Biççāh* is found also in Job **8** 11,

> "Can the rush grow up without mire [*biççāh*]?
> Can the flag grow without water?"

and in Job **40** 21 (of the behemoth),

> "He lieth under the lotus-trees,
> In the covert of the reed, and the fen [*biççāh*]."

In 1 Macc **9** 42.45 ἕλος, *hélos*, but in ver 42 B reads ὄρος, *óros*, "mount."

Marshes are found near the mouths of some of the rivers, as the Kishon, about the *Ḥûleh* (? waters of Merom), at various places in the course of the Jordan and about the Dead Sea, esp. at its south end. For the most part Pal is rocky and dry.

Alfred Ely Day

MARS', märz, HILL. See Areopagus.

MARSHAL, mär'shal: Not found in AV, but in RV the word represents two Heb words: (1) סֹפֵר, *ṣōphēr* (Jgs **5** 14), trd "they that handle the marshal's staff." A difficulty arises because the usual meaning of *ṣōphēr* is "scribe" or "writer" (so AV). The revisers follow LXX and Gr authority which favor "marshal" as against "scribe." The office of marshal was to help the general to maintain discipline (cf 1 Macc **5** 42). (2) טִפְסַר, *ṭiphṣar* (Jer **51** 27), a loan-word whose meaning is not clear. Lenormant thinks it akin to a Bab-Assyr word meaning "tablet-writer" (cf Delitzsch). Accordingly, RVm renders Nah **3** 17 "thy scribes," though the Syr has "thy warriors," as does the Tg in Jer. We must await further light on both words.

Geo. B. Eager

MART, märt. See Market.

MARTHA, mär'tha (Μάρθα, *Mártha*, "mistress," being a transliteration of the fem. form of מַר, *mar*, "Lord"): Martha belonged to Bethany, and was the sister of Lazarus and Mary (Jn **11** 1 f). From the fact that the house into which Jesus was received belonged to Martha, and that she generally took the lead in action, it is inferred that she was the elder sister. Martha was one of those who gave hospitality to Jesus during His public ministry. Thus, in the course of those wanderings which began when "he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerus" (Lk **9** 51), he "entered into a certain village"—its name is not stated—and "a certain woman named Martha received him into her house" (Lk **10** 38). Martha, whose sense of responsibility as hostess weighed heavily upon her, was "cumbered about much serving," and her indignation was aroused at the lack of assistance given to her by her sister. Her words, "Lord, dost *thou* not care?" implied a certain reproach to Jesus also, in that she felt He showed a want of sympathy with her efforts and was the cause of Mary's remissness. But Jesus, in tones of gentle reproof, reminded her that for Him not the preparation of an elaborate meal but the hearing of His Word in the spirit of Mary was the "one thing needful" (Lk **10** 39–42).

Martha is first mentioned by St. John—the only other Gospel writer who refers to Martha—in his account of the raising of Lazarus from the dead at Bethany (Jn **11** 1–44). The narrative indicates, however, that Jesus was already on terms of the closest friendship with her and her household (cf vs 3.5). In the incident which St. John here records, Martha again displayed her more practical nature by going out to meet Jesus, while Mary sat in the house (ver 20). But she was not behind her sister in her love for her brother (ver 19), in her faith in Jesus (vs 21 f) and in her belief in the final resurrection (ver 24). The power of Him, whom she termed the "Teacher," to restore Lazarus to life even upon earth was beyond her understanding. To the words of Jesus concerning this she gave, however, a verbal assent, and went and informed Mary, "The Teacher is here, and calleth thee" (vs 27 f). Yet she remained inwardly unconvinced, and remonstrated when Jesus ordered the stone before the grave to be removed (ver 39). Jesus then recalled His previous words to her remembrance (ver 40), and vindicated them by restoring her brother to life (vs 41–44). After the raising of Lazarus, Jesus then made His departure, but after a short stay in Ephraim (ver 54) He returned to Bethany (Jn **12** 1). While He supped there, Martha once more served, and Lazarus was also present (Jn **12** 2). It was on this occasion that Mary anointed the feet of Jesus (Jn **12** 3–8). According to Mt **26** 6–13; Mk **14** 3–9, the anointing took place in the house of Simon the leper, and it has hence been concluded by some that Martha was the wife or widow of Simon. The anointing described in Lk **7** 36–50 happened in the house of Simon a Pharisee. But in none of the synoptist accounts is Martha mentioned. For the relationship of these anointings with each other, see Mary, IV. As, according to St. John, the abode of the sisters was in Bethany, a further difficulty of a topographical nature is raised by those who hold that St. Luke implies, from the Galilean setting of Lk **10** 38–41, that the sisters lived in Galilee. But the information supplied by St. Luke, upon which this inference is based, is of the vaguest (cf Lk **10** 38), and the great division of St. Luke's Gospel (**9** 51—**18** 31) has within it no organic cohesion of parts. In it is mentioned that on two separate occasions Jesus passed through Samaria (Lk **9** 52; **17** 11). It is therefore more logical to suppose that the events described in Lk **10** 38–41, falling within the intervening period, took place in Bethany during an excursion of Jesus to Judaea, and formed one of the several visits upon which the friendship recorded in Jn **11** 3.5 was built. According to a fragment of a Coptic gospel belonging to the 2d cent. (cf Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 38, 39), Martha was present with the other two Marys at the empty grave of Jesus (cf Mt **28** 1.11), and went and informed the disciples.

C. M. Kerr

MARTYR, mär'tẽr (μαρτύς, *martús*, Aeolic μαρτύρ, *martúr*): One who gives heed, and so, a "witness," so trd in numerous passages, both as of one bearing testimony, and also as of one who is a spectator of anything (see Witness). In AV rendered "martyr" in Acts **22** 20, "thy martyr Stephen"; and Rev **2** 13, "Antipas my faithful martyr"; also **17** 6, "the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," where alone ARV retains "martyrs." These 3 passages are the beginning of the use of the word "martyr" for such witnesses as were faithful even unto death, its uniform modern use.

MARVEL, mär′vel, **MARVELOUS,** mär′vel-us (תָּמַהּ, *tāmah,* פָּלָא, *pālā';* **θαυμάζω,** *thaumázō,* **θαυμαστός,** *thaumastós*): "To marvel" is the tr of *tāmah,* "to wonder" (Gen **43** 33; Ps **48** 5, RV "were amazed"; Eccl **5** 8); of *thaumazō,* "to admire," "wonder" (Mt **8** 10.27; Mk **5** 20; Jn **3** 7; Acts **2** 7; Rev **17** 7 AV, etc); "marvel" (subst.) occurs in the pl. as tr of *pālā',* "to distinguish," **fig.,** "to make wonderful" (Ex **34** 10, "I will do marvels, such as have not been wrought" [RVm "created"]); and of *thaumastos* (*thaúma*) (2 Cor **11** 14).

"Marvelous" is the tr of *pālā',* "marvelous works" (1 Ch **16** 12.24; Ps **9** 1); "marvelous things" (Job **5** 9; **10** 16; Ps **31** 21; **118** 23; Isa **29** 14; Dnl **11** 36; Zec **8** 6, *bis*); "marvellously," *pālā'* (Job **37** 5; Hab **1** 5 *bis* [*tāmah*], "regard and wonder marvellously," lit. "marvel marvellously"); *thaumastos,* "admirable," "wonderful," is trd "marvelous" (Mt **21** 42; 1 Pet **2** 9; Rev **15** 1.3, etc).

In Apoc we have "marvel" (Ecclus **11** 13; **47** 17; 2 Macc **1** 22; **7** 12); "marvelleth" (Ecclus **40** 7; **43** 18); "marvellous" (Wisd **10** 17; **19** 8, etc, mostly *thaumazō* and compounds).

RV has "wonder" for "marvel" (Rev **17** 7); "the marvel" for a "marvellous thing" (Jn **9** 30); "marvelled" for "wondered" (Lk **8** 25; **11** 14); "marvelled at" for "admired" (2 Thess **1** 10); "marveling" for "wondered" (Lk **9** 43); "marvellous" for "wondrous" (1 Ch **16** 9; Ps **105** 2); "marvellous things" for "and wonders" (Job **9** 10); "wonderful" for "marvellous" (Ps **139** 14); for "marvelled" (Mt **9** 8), "were afraid," and (Mk **12** 17) "marvelled greatly" (different texts).

W. L. WALKER

MARY, mā′ri, mâr′i (**Μαρία,** *María,* **Μαριάμ,** *Mariám,* Gr form of Heb מִרְיָם, *miryām*):

I. DEFINITION AND QUESTIONS OF IDENTIFICATION
 The Name Mary in the NT
II. MARY, THE VIRGIN
 1. Mary in the Infancy Narratives
 2. Mary at Cana
 3. Mary and the Career of Jesus
 4. Mary at the Cross
 5. Mary in the Christian Community
 6. Mary in Ecclesiastical Doctrine and Tradition
  (1) Legend
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   (a) The Dogma of Her Sinlessness
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III. MARY MAGDALENE
 1. Mary Not the Sinful Woman
 2. Mary Not a Nervous Wreck
IV. MARY OF BETHANY
 1. Attack upon Luke's Narrative
 2. Evidence of Luke Taken Alone
 3. Evidence Sifted by Comparison
 4. Character of Mary
V. MARY, THE MOTHER OF JAMES AND JOSES
VI. MARY, THE MOTHER OF JOHN MARK

I. Definition and Questions of Identification.—A Heb fem. proper name of two persons in the OT (see Ex **15** 20; Nu **12** 1; Mic **6** 4; 1 Ch **4** 17) and of a number not certainly determined in the NT. The prevalence of the name in NT times has been attributed, with no great amount of certainty, to the popularity of Mariamne, the last representative of the Hasmonean family, who was the second wife of Herod I.

The Name Mary in the NT

(1) The name Mary occurs in 51 passages of the NT to which the following group of articles is confined (see MIRIAM). Collating all these references we have the following apparent notes of identification: (*a*) Mary, the mother of Jesus; (*b*) Mary Magdalene; (*c*) Mary, the mother of James; (*d*) Mary, the mother of Joses; (*e*) Mary, the wife of Clopas; (*f*) Mary of Bethany; (*g*) Mary, the mother of Mark; (*h*) Mary of Rome; (*i*) the "other" Mary.

(2) A comparison of Mt **27** 56; **28** 1 with Mk **15** 47 seems clearly to identify the "other" Mary with Mary the mother of Joses.

(3) Mk **15** 40 identifies Mary the mother of James and Mary the mother of Joses (cf **15** 47) (see Allen's note on Mt **27** 56).

(4) At this point a special problem of identification arises. Mary, the wife of Clopas, is mentioned as being present at the cross with Mary the mother of Jesus, the latter's sister and Mary of Magdala (Jn **19** 25). In the other notices of the group at the cross, Mary, the mother of James, is mentioned (Mt **27** 56; Mk **15** 40). Elsewhere, James is regularly designated "son of Alphaeus" (Mt **10** 3; Mk **3** 18; Lk **6** 15). Since it can hardly be doubted that James, the apostle, and James the Less, the son of Mary, are one and the same person, the conclusion seems inevitable that Mary, the mother of James, is also the wife of Alphaeus. Here we might stop and leave the wife of Clopas unidentified, but the fact that the name Alphaeus (Ἀλφαῖος, *Alphaíos*) is the Gr transliteration of the Aram. חַלְפַּי, *ḥalpay,* together with the unlikelihood that anyone important enough to be mentioned by John would be omitted by the synoptists and that another Mary, in addition to the three definitely mentioned, could be present and not be mentioned, points to the conclusion that the wife of Clopas is the same person as the wife of Alphaeus (see ALPHAEUS). Along with this reasonable conclusion has grown, as an excrescence, another for which there is no basis whatever; viz. that the wife of Clopas was the sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus. This would make the apostle James the cousin of Jesus, and, by an extension of the idea, would identify James, the apostle, with James, the "Lord's brother." The available evidence is clearly against both these inferences (see Mt **13** 55; Mk **6** 3; Gal **1** 19).

(5) One other possible identification is offered for our consideration. Zahn, in an exceedingly interesting note (*NT*, II, 514), identifies Mary of Rome (Rom **16** 6) with the "other" Mary of Mt. We need not enter into a discussion of the point thus raised, since the identification of a woman of whom we have no details given is of little more than academic interest.

We are left free, however, by the probabilities of the case to confine our attention to the principal individuals who bear the name of Mary. We shall discuss Mary, the mother of Jesus; Mary of Magdala; Mary of Bethany; Mary, the mother of James and Joses; Mary, the mother of Mark.

II. Mary, the Virgin.—The biography of the mother of Jesus is gathered about a brief series of episodes which serve to exhibit her leading characteristics in clear light. Two causes have operated to distort and make unreal the very clear and vivid image of Mary left for us in the Gospels. Roman Catholic dogmatic and sentimental exaggeration has well-nigh removed Mary from history (see IMMACULATE CONCEPTION). On the other hand, reaction and overemphasis upon certain features of the Gospel narrative have led some to credit Mary with a negative attitude toward Our Lord and His claims, which she assuredly never occupied. It is very important that we should follow the narrative with unprejudiced eyes and give due weight to each successive episode.

Mary appears in the following passages: the Infancy narratives, Mt **1** and **2**; Lk **1** and **2**; the wedding at Cana of Galilee, Jn **2** 1–11; the episode of Mt **12** 46; Mk **3** 21.31 ff; the incident at the cross, Jn **19** 25 ff; the scene in the upper chamber, Acts **1** 14.

1. Mary in the Infancy Narratives

(1) It is to be noted, first of all, that Mary and her experiences form the narrative core of both Infancy documents. This is contrary to the ordinary opinion, but is unquestionably true. She is obviously the object of special interest to Luke (see Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 76 f), and there are not wanting indi-

cations that Luke's story came from Mary herself. But, while Matthew's account does not exhibit his interest in Mary quite so readily, that he was interested in the pathetic story of the Lord's mother is evident.

Luke tells the story of Mary's inward and deeply personal experiences, her call (**1** 26 f), her maidenly fears (**1** 29.35), her loyal submission (**1** 38), her outburst of sacred and unselfish joy (**1** 39–55). From this anticipatory narrative he passes at once to the Messianic fulfilment.

Matthew tells the story of the outward and, so to say, public experiences of Mary which follow hard upon the former and are in such dramatic contrast with them: the shame and suspicion which fell upon her (**1** 18); her bitter humiliation (**1** 19), her ultimate vindication (**1** 20f). Here the two narratives supplement each other by furnishing different details but, as in other instances, converge upon the central fact—the central fact here being Mary herself, her character, her thoughts, her experiences. The point to be emphasized above all others is that we have real biography, although in fragments; in that the same person appears in the inimitable reality of actual characterization, in both parts of the story. This is sufficient guaranty of historicity; for no two imaginary portraits ever agreed unless one copied the other—which is evidently not the case here. More than this, the story is a truly human narrative in which the remarkable character of the events which took place in her life only serves to bring into sharper relief the simple, humble, natural qualities of the subject of them.

(2) One can hardly fail to be impressed, in studying Mary's character, with her quietness of spirit; her meditative inwardness of disposition; her admirable self-control; her devout and gracious gift of sacred silence. The canticle (Lk **1** 46–55), which at least expresses Luke's conception of her nature, indicates that she is not accustomed to dwell much upon herself (4 lines only call particular attention to herself), and that her mind is saturated with the spirit and phraseology of the OT. The intensely Jewish quality of her piety thus expressed accounts for much that appears anomalous in her subsequent career as depicted in the Gospels.

2. Mary at Cana

The first episode which demands our attention is the wedding at Cana of Galilee (Jn **2** 1–11). The relationship between Jesus and His mother has almost eclipsed other interests in the chapter. It is to be noted that the idea of wanton interference on the part of Mary and of sharp rebuke on the part of Jesus is to be decisively rejected. The key to the meaning of this episode is to be found in 4 simple items: (1) in a crisis of need, Mary turns naturally to Jesus as to the one from whom help is to be expected; (2) she is entirely undisturbed by His reply, whatever its meaning may be; (3) she prepares the way for the miracle by her authoritative directions to the servants; (4) Jesus does actually relieve the situation by an exercise of power. Whether she turned to Jesus with distinctly Messianic expectation, or whether Jesus intended to convey a mild rebuke for her eagerness, it is not necessary for us to inquire, as it is not possible for us to determine. It is enough that her spontaneous appeal to her Son did not result in disappointment, since, in response to her suggestion or, at least, in harmony with it, He "manifested his glory." The incident confirms the Infancy narrative in which Mary's quiet and forceful personality is exhibited.

3. Mary and the Career of Jesus

In Mt **12** 46 (‖ Mk **3** 31–35), we are told that, when His mother and His brethren came seeking Him, Jesus in the well-known remark concerning His true relatives in the kingdom of heaven intended to convey a severe rebuke to His own household for an action which involved both unbelief and presumptuous interference in His great life-work. The explanation of this incident, which involves no such painful implications as have become connected with it in the popular mind, is to be found in Mark's account. He interrupts his narrative of the arrival of the relatives (which begins in ver 21) by the account of the accusation made by the scribes from Jerus that the power of Jesus over demons was due to Beelzebub. This goes a long way toward explaining the anxiety felt by the relatives of Jesus, since the ungoverned enthusiasm of the multitude, which gave Him no chance to rest and seemed to threaten His health, was matched, contrariwise, by the bitter, malignant opposition of the authorities, who would believe any malicious absurdity rather than that His power came from God. The vital point is that the attempt of Mary and her household to get possession of the person of Jesus, in order to induce Him to go into retirement for a time, was not due to captious and interfering unbelief, but to loving anxiety. The words of Jesus have the undoubted ring of conscious authority and express the determination of one who wills the control of his own life—but it is a serious mistake to read into them any faintest accent of satire. It has been well said (Horace Bushnell, *Sermons on Living Subjects*, 30) that Jesus would scarcely make use of the family symbolism to designate the sacred relationships of the kingdom of heaven, while, at the same time, He was depreciating the value and importance of the very relationships which formed the basis of His analogy. The real atmosphere of the incident is very different from this.

4. Mary at the Cross

To be sure that many have misinterpreted the above incident we need only turn to the exquisitely tender scene at the cross recorded by John (**19** 25 ff). This scene, equally beautiful whether one considers the relationship which it discloses as existing between Jesus and His mother, or between Jesus and His well-beloved disciple, removes all possible ambiguity which might attach to the preceding incidents, and reveals the true spirit of the Master's home. Jesus could never have spoken as He did from the cross unless He had consistently maintained the position and performed the duties of an eldest son. The tone and quality of the scene could never have been what it is had there not been a stedfast tie of tender love and mutual understanding between Jesus and His mother. Jesus could hand over His sacred charge to the trustworthy keeping of another, because He had faithfully maintained it Himself.

5. Mary in the Christian Community

The final passage which we need to consider (Acts **1** 14) is esp. important, because in it we discover Mary and her household at home in the midst of the Christian community, engaged with them in prayer. It is also clear that Mary herself and the family, who seemed to be very completely under her influence, whatever may have been their earlier misgivings, never broke with the circle of disciples, and persistently kept within the range of experiences which led at last to full-orbed Christian faith. This makes it sufficiently evident, on the one hand, that the household never shared the feelings of the official class among the Jews; and, on the other, that the family of Jesus passed through the same cycle of experiences which punctuated the careers of the whole body of disciples on the way to faith. The bearing of this simple but significant fact upon the historical trustworthiness of the body of incidents just passed in review is evident.

The sum of the matter concerning Mary seems to be this: The mother of Jesus was a typical Jewish believer of the best sort. She was a deeply meditative, but by no means a daring or original thinker. Her inherited Messianic beliefs did not and perhaps could not prepare her for the method of Jesus which involved so much that was new and unexpected. But her heart was true, and from the beginning to the day of Pentecost, she pondered in her heart the meaning of her many puzzling experiences until the light came. The story of her life and of her relationship to Jesus is consistent throughout and touched with manifold unconscious traits of truth. Such a narrative could not have been feigned or fabled.

6. Mary in Ecclesiastical Doctrine and Tradition

(1) *Legend.*—The ecclesiastical treatment of Mary consists largely of legend and dogma, about equally fictitious and unreliable. The legendary accounts, which include the apocryphal gospels, deal, for the most part, with details of her parentage and early life; her betrothal and marriage to Joseph; her journey to Bethlehem and the birth of her child. At this point the legendary narratives, in their crass wonder-mongering and indelicate intimacy of detail, are in striking contrast to the chaste reserve of the canonical story, and of evidential value on that account.

(2) *Dogma.*—There is, in addition, a full-grown legend concerning Mary's later life in the house of John; of her death in which the apostles were miraculously allowed to participate; her bodily translation to heaven; her reception at the hands of Jesus and her glorification in heaven. In this latter series of statements, we have already made the transition from legend to dogma. It is quite clear, from the statements of Roman Catholic writers themselves, that no reliable historical data are to be found among these legendary accounts. The general attitude of modern writers is exhibited in the following sentences (from Wilhelm and Scannel, *Manual of Catholic Theol.*, II, 220, quoted by Mayor, *HDB*, II, 288, n.): "Mary's corporeal assumption into heaven is so thoroughly implied in the notion of her personality as given by Bible and dogma, that the church can dispense with strict historical evidence of the fact." If that is the way one feels, there is very little to say about it. Aside from the quasi-historical dogma of Mary's bodily assumption, the Roman Catholic doctrinal interpretation of her person falls into three parts.

(*a*) The dogma of her sinlessness: This is discussed under IMMACULATE CONCEPTION (q.v.) and need not detain us here.

(*b*) The dogma of Mary's perpetual virginity: It is evident that this, too, is a doctrine of such a nature that its advocates might, with advantage to their argument, have abstained from the appearance of critical discussion.

Even if all the probabilities of exegesis are violated and the cumulative evidence that Mary had other children done away with; if the expression, "brethren of the Lord" is explained as "foster-brethren," "cousins" or what-not; if Jesus is shown to be not only "first-born" but "only-born" Son (Lk **2** 7); if the expression of Mt **1** 25 is interpreted as meaning "up to and beyond" (Pusey et al.; cf *Roman Catholic Dict.*, 604), it would still be as far as possible from a demonstration of the dogma. That a married woman has no children is no proof of virginity—perpetual or otherwise. That this thought has entered the minds of Roman Catholic apologists although not openly expressed by them, is evidenced by the fact that while certain forms of dealing with the "brethren-of-the-Lord" question make these the sons of Joseph by a former marriage, the favorite doctrine includes the perpetual virginity of Joseph. Just as the idea of the sinlessness of Mary has led to the dogma of the immaculate conception, so the idea of her perpetual virginity demands the ancillary notion of Joseph's. No critical or historical considerations are of any possible use here. It is a matter of dogmatic assumption unmixed with any alloy of factual evidence, and might better be openly made such.

It is evident that a very serious moral issue is raised here. The question is not whether virginity is a higher form of life than marriage. One might be prepared to say that under certain circumstances it is. The point at issue here is very different. If Mary was married to Joseph and Joseph to Mary in *appearance* only, then they were recreant to each other and to the ordinance of God which made them one. How a Roman Catholic, to whom marriage is a sacrament, can entertain such a notion is an unfathomable mystery. The fact that Mary was miraculously the mother of the Messiah has nothing to do with the question of her privilege and obligation in the holiest of human relationships. Back of this unwholesome dogma are two utterly false ideas: that the marriage relationship is incompatible with holy living, and that Mary is not to be considered a human being under the ordinary obligations of human life.

(*c*) The doctrine of Mary's glorification as the object of worship and her function as intercessor: With no wish to be polemic toward Roman Catholicism, and, on the contrary, with every desire to be sympathetic, it is very difficult to be patient with the puerilities which disfigure the writings of Roman Catholic dogmaticians in the discussion of this group of doctrines.

(i) Take, for example, the crude literalism involved in the identification of the woman of Rev **12** 1–6 with Mary. Careful exegesis of the passage (esp. ver 6), in connection with the context, makes it clear that no hint of Mary's status in heaven is intended. As a matter of fact, Mary, in any literal sense, is not referred to at all. Mary's motherhood along with that of the mother of Moses is very likely the basis of the figure, but the woman of the vision is the *church*, which is, at once, the mother and the body of her Lord (see Milligan, *Expositors' Bible*, "Revelation," 196 f).

Three other arguments are most frequently used to justify the place accorded to Mary in the liturgy.

(ii) Christ's perpetual humanity leads to His perpetual Sonship to Mary. This argument, if it carries any weight at all, in this connection, implies that the glorified Lord Jesus is still subject to His mother. It is, however, clear from the Gospels that the subjection to His parents which continued after the incident in the Temple (Lk **2** 51) was gently but firmly laid aside at the outset of the public ministry (see above, II, 2, 3). In all that pertains to His heavenly office, as Lord, Mary's position is one of dependence, not of authority.

(iii) Christ hears her prayers. Here, again, dogmatic assumption is in evidence. That He hears her prayers, even if true in a very special sense, does not, in the least, imply that prayers are to be addressed to her or that she is an intercessor through whom prayers may be addressed to Him.

(iv) Since Mary cared for the body of Christ when He was on earth, naturally His spiritual body would be her special care in heaven. But, on any reasonable hypothesis, Mary was, is, and must remain, a part of that body (see Acts **1** 14). Unless she is intrinsically a Divine being, her care for the church cannot involve her universal presence in it and her accessibility to the prayers of her fellow-believers.

To a non-Romanist, the most suggestive fact in the whole controversy is that the statements of cautious apologists in support of the ecclesiastical attitude toward Mary, do not, in the least degree, justify the tone of extravagant adulation which marks the non-polemical devotional literature of the subject (see Dearden, *Modern Romanism Examined*, 22 f).

(3) *Conclusion.*—Our conclusion on the whole question is that the lit. of Mariolatry belongs, historically, to unauthorized speculation; and, psychologically, to the natural history of asceticism and clerical celibacy.

III. Mary Magdalene (Μαρία Μαγδαληνή, *María Magdalēnḗ*=of "Magdala").—A devoted follower of Jesus who entered the circle of the taught during the Galilean ministry and became prominent during the last days. The noun "Magdala," from which the adjective "Magdalene" is formed, does not occur in the Gospels (the word in Mt **15** 39, is, of course, "Magadan"). The meaning of this obscure reference is well summarized in the following quotations from Plummer (*ICC*, "Luke," 215): "'Magdala is only the Gr form of *mighdōl* or watch-tower, one of the many places of the name in Pal' (Tristram, *Bible Places*, 260); and is probably represented by the squalid group of hovels which now bears the name of Mejdel near the center of the western shore of the lake."

1. Mary not the Sinful Woman of Lk 7

As she was the first to bear witness to the resurrection of Jesus, it is important that we should get a correct view of her position and character. The idea that she was a penitent, drawn from the life of the street, undoubtedly arose, in the first instance, from a misconception of the nature of her malady, together with an altogether impossible identification of her with the woman who was a sinner of the preceding section of the Gospel. It is not to be forgotten that the malady demon-possession, according to NT ideas (see DEMON, DEMONOLOGY), had none of the implications of evil temper and malignant disposition popularly associated with "having a devil." The possessed was, by Our Lord and the disciples, looked upon as diseased, the victim of an alien and evil power, not an accomplice of it. Had this always been understood and kept in mind, the unfortunate identification of Mary with the career of public prostitution would have been much less easy.

According to NT usage, in such cases the name would have been withheld (cf Lk **7** 37; Jn **8** 3). At the same time the statement that 7 demons had been cast out of Mary means either that the malady was of exceptional severity, possibly involving several relapses (cf Lk **11** 26), or that the mode of her divided and haunted consciousness (cf Mk **5** 9) suggested the use of the number 7. Even so, she was a healed invalid, not a rescued social derelict.

The identification of Mary with the sinful woman is, of course, impossible for one who follows carefully the course of the narrative with an eye to the transitions. The woman of ch **7** is carefully covered with the concealing cloak of namelessness. Undoubtedly known by name to the intimate circle of first disciples, it is extremely doubtful whether she was so known to Luke. Her history is definitely closed at ver 50.

The name of Mary is found at the beginning of a totally new section of the Gospel (see Plummer's analysis, op. cit., xxxvii), where the name of Mary is introduced with a single mark of identification, apart from her former residence, which points away from the preceding narrative and is incompatible with it. If the preceding account of the anointing were Mary's introduction into the circle of Christ's followers, she could not be identified by the phrase of Lk. Jesus did not cast a demon out of the sinful woman of ch **7**, and Mary of Magdala is not represented as having anointed the Lord's feet. The two statements cannot be fitted together.

2. Mary Not a Nervous Wreck

Mary has been misrepresented in another way, scarcely less serious. She was one of the very first witnesses to the resurrection, and her testimony is of sufficient importance to make it worth while for those who antagonize the narrative to discredit her testimony. This is done, on the basis of her mysterious malady, by making her a paranoiac who was in the habit of "seeing things." Renan is the chief offender in this particular, but others have followed his example.

(1) To begin with, it is to be remarked that Mary had been cured of her malady in such a marked way that, henceforth, throughout her life, she was a monument to the healing power of Christ. What He had done for her became almost a part of her name along with the name of her village. It is not to be supposed that a cure so signal would leave her a nervous wreck, weak of will, wavering in judgment, the victim of hysterical tremors and involuntary hallucinations.

(2) There is more than this a priori consideration against such an interpretation of Mary. She was the first at the tomb (Mt **28** 1; Mk **16** 1; Lk **24** 10). But she was also the last at the cross—she and her companions (Mt **27** 61; Mk **15** 40). A glance at the whole brief narrative of her life in the Gospels will interpret this combination of statements. Mary first appears near the beginning of the narrative of the Galilean ministry as one of a group consisting of "many" (Lk **8** 3), among them Joanna, wife of Chuzas, Herod's steward, who followed with the Twelve and ministered to them of their substance. Mary then disappears from the text to reappear as one of the self-appointed watchers of the cross, thereafter to join the company of witnesses to the resurrection. The significance of these simple statements for the understanding of Mary's character and position among the followers of Jesus is not far to seek. She came into the circle of believers, marked out from the rest by an exceptional experience of the Lord's healing power. Henceforth, to the very end, with unwearied devotion, with intent and eager willingness, with undaunted courage even in the face of dangers which broke the courage of the chosen Twelve, she followed and served her Lord. It is impossible that such singleness of purpose, such strength of will, and, above all, such courage in danger, should have been exhibited by a weak, hysterical, neurotic incurable. The action of these women of whom Mary was one, in serving their Master's need while in life, and in administering the last rites to His body in death, is characteristic of woman at her best.

IV. Mary of Bethany.—Another devoted follower of Jesus. She was a resident of Bethany (Bηθανία, *Bēthanía*), and a member of the family consisting of a much-beloved brother, Lazarus, and another sister, Martha, who made a home for Jesus within their own circle whenever He was in the neighborhood.

The one descriptive reference, aside from the above, connected with Mary, has caused no end of perplexity. John (**11** 2) states that it was this Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped His feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick. This reference would be entirely satisfied by the narrative of Jn **12** 1.8, and no difficulty would be suggested, were it not for the fact that Luke (**7** 36–50) records an anointing of Jesus by a woman, accompanied with the wiping of His feet with her hair. The identification of these two anointings would not occasion any great difficulty, in spite of serious discrepancies as to time, place and other accessories of the action, but for the very serious fact that the woman of Lk **7** is described as a sinner in the dreadful special sense associated with that word in NT times. This is so utterly out of harmony with all that we know of Mary and the family at Bethany as to be a well-nigh intolerable hypothesis.

On the other hand, we are confronted with at least one serious difficulty in affirming two anointings. This is well stated by Mayor (*HDB*, III, 280*a*): "Is it likely that Our Lord would have uttered such a high encomium upon Mary's act if she were only following the example already set by the sinful woman of Galilee; or (taking the other view) if she herself were only repeating under more favorable circumstances the act of loving devotion for which she had already received His commendation?" We shall be compelled to face this difficulty in case we are forced to the conclusion that there were more anointings than one.

1. Attack upon Luke's Narrative

In the various attempts to solve this problem, or rather group of problems, otherwise than by holding to two anointings, Luke, who stands alone against Mark, Matthew and John, has usually suffered loss of confidence. Mayor (op. cit., 282*a*) suggests the possibility that the text of Luke has been tampered with, and that originally his narrative contained no reference to anointing. This is a desperate expedient which introduces more difficulties than it solves. Strauss and other hostile critics allege confusion on the part of Luke between the anointing at Bethany and the account of the woman taken in adultery, but, as Plummer well says, the narrative shows no signs of confusion. "The conduct both of Jesus and of the woman is unlike either fiction or clumsily distorted fact. His gentle severity toward Simon, and tender reception of the sinner, are as much beyond the reach of invention as the eloquence of her speechless affection" (*ICC*, "Luke," 209).

The first step in the solution of this difficulty is to note carefully the evidence supplied by Luke's narrative taken by itself. Mary is named for

2. Evidence of Luke Taken Alone

the first time in Lk **10** 38–42 in a way which clearly indicates that the family of Bethany is there mentioned for the first time (a "*certain* [τις, *tis*] woman *named* Martha," and "she had a sister *called* Mary," etc). This phrasing indicates the introduction of a new group of names (cf Jn **11** 1). It is also a clear indication of the fact that Luke does not identify Mary with the sinful woman of ch **7** (cf Mt **26** 6–13; Mk **14** 3–9; Lk **7** 36–50; Jn **12** 1–8).

3. Evidence Sifted by Comparison

Our next task is to note carefully the relationship between the narratives of Mark, Matthew and John on one side, and that of Luke on the other. We may effectively analyze the narratives under the following heads: (1) notes of time and place; (2) circumstances and scenery of the incident; (3) description of the person who did the anointing; (4) complaints of her action, by whom and for what; (5) the lesson drawn from the woman's action which constitutes Our Lord's defence of it; (6) incidental features of the narrative.

Under (1) notice that all three evangelists place the incident near the close of the ministry and at Bethany. Under (2) it is important to observe that Matthew and Mark place the scene in the house of Simon "the leper," while John states vaguely that a feast was made for Him by persons not named and that Martha served. Under (3) we observe that Matthew and Mark say "a woman," while John designates Mary. (4) According to Matthew, the disciples found fault; according to Mark, some of those present found fault; while according to John, the fault-finder was Judas Iscariot. According to all three, the ground or complaint is the alleged wastefulness of the action. (5) Again, according to all three, Our Lord defended the use made of the ointment by a mysterious reference to an anointing of His body for the burial. John's expression in particular is most interesting and peculiar (see Jn **12** 7). (6) The Simon in whose house the incident is said to have taken place is by Matthew and Mark designated "the leper." This must mean either that he had previously been cured or that his disease had manifested itself subsequent to the feast. Of these alternatives the former is the more natural (see Gould, *ICC*, "Mark," 257). The presence of a healed leper on this occasion, together with the specific mention of Lazarus as a guest, would suggest that the feast was given by people, in and about Bethany, who had especial reason to be grateful to Jesus for the exercise of His healing power.

It is beyond reasonable doubt that the narratives of Matthew, Mark and John refer to the same incident. The amount of convergence and the quality of it put this identification among the practical certainties. The only discrepancies of even secondary importance are a difference of a few days in the time (Gould says four) and the detail as to the anointing of head or feet. It is conceivable, and certainly no very serious matter, that John assimilated his narrative at this point to the similar incident of Lk **7**.

An analysis of the incident of Lk **7** with reference to the same points of inquiry discloses the fact that it cannot be the same as that described by the other evangelists. (1) The time and place indications, such as they are, point to Galilee and the Galilean ministry. This consideration alone is a formidable obstacle in the way of any such identification. (2) The immediate surroundings are different. Simon "the leper" and Simon "the Pharisee" can hardly be one person. No man could have borne both of these designations. In addition to this, it is difficult to believe that a Pharisee of Simon's temper would have entertained Jesus when once he had been proscribed by the authorities. Simon's attitude was a very natural one at the beginning of Christ's ministry, but the combination of hostility and questioning was necessarily a temporary mood. (3) The description of the same woman as sinner in the sense of Lk **7** in one Gospel; simply as a woman in two others; and as the beloved and honored Mary of Bethany in a third is not within the range of probability, esp. as there is no hint of an attempt at explanation on the part of any of the writers. At any rate, prima facie, this item in Luke's description is seriously at variance with the other narratives. (4) Luke is again at variance with the others, if he is supposed to refer to the same event, in the matter of the complaint and its cause. In Luke's account there is no complaint of the woman's action suggested. There is no hint that anybody thought or pretended to think that she had committed a sinful waste of precious material. The only complaint is Simon's, and that is directed against the Lord Himself, because Simon, judging by himself, surmised that Jesus did not spurn the woman because He did not know her character. This supposed fact had a bearing on the question of Our Lord's Messiahship, concerning which Simon was debating; otherwise one suspects he had little interest in the episode. This fact is, as we shall see, determinative for the understanding of the incident and puts it apart from all other similar episodes.

(5) The lesson drawn from the act by Our Lord was in each incident different. The sinful woman was commended for an act of courtesy and tenderness which expressed a love based upon gratitude for deliverance and forgiveness. Mary was commended for an act which had a mysterious and sacramental relationship to the Lord's death, near at hand.

This brings us to the point where we may consider the one serious difficulty, that alleged by Mayor and others, against the hypothesis of two anointings, namely, that a repetition of an act like this with commendation attached would not be likely to occur. The answer to this argument is that the difficulty itself is an artificial one due to a misreading of the incident. In the point of central reference the two episodes are worlds apart. The act of anointing in each case was secondary, not primary. Anointing was one of those general and prevalent acts of social courtesy which might mean much or little, this or that, and might be repeated a score of times in a year with a different meaning each time. The matter of primary importance in every such case would be the purpose and motive of the anointing. By this consideration alone we may safely discriminate between these incidents. In the former case, the motive was to express the love of a forgiven penitent. In the latter, the motive was gratitude for something quite different, a beloved brother back from the grave, and, may we not say (in view of Jn **12** 7), grief and foreboding? That Mary's feeling was expressed in the same way outwardly as that of the sinful woman of the early ministry does not change the fact that the feeling was different, that the act was different and that, consequently, the commendation she received, being for a different thing, was differently expressed. The two anointings are not duplicates. Mary's act, though later, was quite as spontaneous and original as that of the sinful woman, and the praise bestowed upon her quite as natural and deserved.

4. Character of Mary

With this fictitious and embarrassing identification out of the way, we are now free to consider briefly the career and estimate the character of Mary. (1) At the outset it is worth mentioning that we have in the matter of these two sisters a most interesting and instructive point of contact between the synoptic and Johannine traditions. The underlying unity and harmony of the two are evident here as elsewhere. In Lk **10** 38–42 we are afforded a view of Mary and Martha photographic in its clear revelation of them both. Martha is engaged in household affairs, while Mary is sitting at the feet of Jesus, absorbed in listening. This, of course, might mean that Mary was idle and listless, leaving the burden of responsibility for the care of guests upon her more conscientious sister. Most housewives are inclined to take this view and to think that Martha has been hardly dealt with. The story points to the contrary. It will be noticed that Mary makes no defence of herself and that the Master makes no criticism of Martha until *she* criticizes Mary. When He does speak, it is with the characteristic and inimitable gentleness, but in a way leaving nothing to be desired in the direction of completeness. He conveyed His love, His perfect understanding of the situation, His defence of Mary, His rebuke to Martha, in a single sentence which contains a perfect photograph of the two loved sisters. Martha is not difficult to identify. She was just one of those excellent and tiresome women whose fussy concern and bustling anxiety about the details of household management make their well-meant hospitality a burden to all their guests. Mary's quiet and restful interest in the guest and His conversation must be set against the foil of Martha's excess of concern in housework and the serving of food. When one comes to think of it, Mary chose the better part of hospitality, to put no higher construction upon her conduct. (2) In Jn **11** 20, we are told that Martha went forth to meet Jesus while Mary remained in the house. In this we have no difficulty in recognizing the same contrast of outwardness and inwardness in the dispositions of the sisters; esp., as when Mary does come at Martha's call to meet Jesus, she exhibits an intensity of feeling of which Martha gives no sign. It is significant that, while Mary says just what Martha had already said (vs 21.32), her way of saying it and her manner as a whole so shakes the Lord's composure that He is unable to answer her directly but addresses His inquiry to the company in general (ver 34). (3) Then we come to the events of the next chapter. The supper is given in Bethany. Martha serves. Of course she serves. She always serves when there is opportunity. Waiting on guests, plate in hand, was the innocent delight of her life. One cannot fail to see that, in a single incidental sentence, the Martha of Lk **10** 38–42 is sketched again in lifelikeness. It is the same Martha engaged in the same task. But what of Mary in this incident? She is shown in an unprecedented rôle, strange to an oriental woman and esp. to one so retiring in disposition as Mary. Her action not only thrust her into a public place alone, but brought her under outspoken criticism. But after all, this is just what we come to expect from these deep, intense, silent natures. The Mary who sat at Jesus' feet in listening silence while Martha bustled about the house, who remained at home while Martha went out to meet Him, is the very one to hurl herself at His feet in a storm and passion of tears when she does meet Him and to break out in a self-forgetful public act of devotion, strange to her modest disposition, however native to her deep emotion.

Martha was a good and useful woman. No one would deny that, least of all the Master who loved her (Jn **11** 5). But she lived on the surface of things, and her affections and her piety alike found adequate and satisfying expression at all times in the ordinary kindly offices of hospitality and domestic service. Not so Mary. Her disposition was inward, silent, brooding, with a latent capacity for stress and the forthwith, unconventional expression of feelings, slowly gathering intensity through days of thought and repression. Mary would never be altogether at home in the world of affairs. Hers was a rare spirit, doomed often to loneliness and misunderstanding except at the hands of rarely discerning spirits, such as she happily met in the person of her Lord.

V. Mary, the Mother of James and Joses.—Under this caption it is necessary merely to recall and set in order the few facts concerning this Mary given in the Gospels (see Mt **27** 55.56.61; Mk **15** 40; **16** 1; Lk **24** 10; cf Lk **23** 49–56).

In Mt **27** 55.56 (‖ Mk **15** 40), we are told that at the time of the crucifixion there was a group of women observing the event from a distance. These women are said to have followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering to Him and to the disciples. Among these were **Mary Magdalene** (see III, above); Mary, mother of James and Joses; and the unnamed mother of Zebedee's children. By reference to Lk **8** 2.3, where this group is first introduced, it appears that, as a whole, it was composed of those who had been healed of infirmities of one kind or another. Whether this description applies individually to Mary or not we cannot be sure, but it is altogether probable. At any rate, it is certain that Mary was one who persistently followed with the disciples and ministered of her substance to aid and comfort the Lord in His work for others. The course of the narrative seems to imply that Mary's sons accompanied their mother on this ministering journey and that one of them became an apostle. It is interesting to note that two mothers with their sons joined the company of the disciples and that three out of the four became members of the apostolic group. Another item in these only too fragmentary references is that this Mary, along with her of Magdala and the others of this group, was of sufficient wealth and position to be marked among the followers of Jesus as serving in this particular way. The mention of Chuzas' wife (Lk **8** 3) is an indication of the unusual standing of this company of faithful women.

The other notices of Mary show her lingering late at the cross (Mk **15** 40); a spectator at the burial (Mk **15** 47); and among the first to bear spices to the tomb. This is the whole of this woman's biography extant, but perhaps it is enough. We are told practically nothing, directly, concerning her; but, incidentally, she is known to be generous, faithful, loving, true and brave. She came in sorrow to the tomb to anoint the body of her dead Lord; she went away in joy to proclaim Him alive forevermore. A privilege to be coveted by the greatest was thus awarded to simple faith and trusting love.

VI. Mary, the Mother of John Mark.—This woman is mentioned but once in the NT (Acts **12** 12), but in a connection to arouse intense interest. Since she was the mother of Mark, she was also, in all probability, the aunt of Barnabas. The aunt of one member and the mother of another of the earliest apostolic group is a woman of importance. The statement in Acts, so far as it concerns Mary, is brief but suggestive. Professor Ramsay (see *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc, 385) holds that the authority for this narrative was not Peter but Mark, the son of the house. This, if true, adds interest to the story as we have it. In the first place, the fact that Peter went thither directly upon his escape from prison argues that Mary's house was a well-known center of Christian life and worship. The additional fact that coming unannounced and casually the apostle found a considerable body of believers assembled points in the same direction. That "many" were gathered in the house at the same time indicates that the house was of considerable size. It also appears that Rhoda was only one of the maids, arguing a household of more than ordinary size. There is a tradition of doubtful authenticity, that Mary's house was the scene of a still more sacred gathering in the upper room on the night of the betrayal. We conclude that Mary was a wealthy widow of Jerus, who, upon becoming a disciple of Christ, with her son, gave herself with whole-souled devotion to Christian service, making her large and well-appointed house a place of meeting for the proscribed and homeless Christian communion whose benefactor and patron she thus became.

Louis Matthews Sweet

MARY, THE PASSING OF. See Apocryphal Gospels.

MASALOTH, mas'a-loth. See Mesaloth.

MASCHIL, mas'kil. See Psalms.

MASH (מַשׁ, *mash*): Named in Gen **10** 23 as one of the sons of Aram. In the ‖ passage in 1 Ch **1** 17 the name is given as "Meshech" (*meshekh*), and the LXX (*Mósoch*) supports this form in both passages. "Meshech," however, is a Japhetic name (Gen **10** 2), and "Mash" would seem to be the original reading. It is probably to be identified with the *Mons Masius* of classical writers (Strabo, etc), on the northern boundary of Mesopotamia.

MASHAL, mā'shal (מָשָׁל, *māshāl*, 1 Ch **6** 74). See Mishal.

MASIAS, ma-sī'as (A, **Μασίας,** *Masías*, B, **Μεισαίας,** *Meisaías*): The head of one of the families of Solomon's servants (1 Esd **5** 34); it has no equivalent in the ‖ Ezr **2** 55 ff; RVm "Misaias."

MASMAN, mas′man. See Maasmas.

MASON, mā′s′n: The tr of 4 Heb words: (1) חָרַשׁ אֶבֶן, *ḥārash ’ebhen,* "graver of stone" (2 S **5** 11); (2) (3) גָּדַר, *gādhar* (2 K **12** 12), חָרַשׁ קִיר, *ḥārash ḳīr* (1 Ch **14** 1), "maker of a wall [or hedge]"; (4) חָצַב, *ḥāçabh,* "a hewer or digger [of stones]" (1 Ch **22** 2; Ezr **3** 7). Lebanon still supplies the greater number of skilled masons to Pal and Syria (see 2 S **5** 11), those of Shweir being in special repute. See Crafts, II, 8; also Architecture; Building; Gebal; House.

MASPHA, mas′fa (1 Macc **3** 46, RV "Mizpeh"). See Mizpeh, 4.

MASREKAH, mas′rē-ka, mas-rē′ka (מַשְׂרֵקָה, *masrēḳāh;* **Μασέκκα,** *Masékka*): A place mentioned in the list of ancient rulers of Edom (Gen **36** 31), "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." Masrekah was the royal city of Samlah, son of Hadad (ver 36; 1 Ch **1** 47). The name may mean "place of choice vines," but there is nothing to show in what locality it must be sought.

MASSA, mas′a (מַשָּׂא, *massā’,* "burden"): Descendant of Abraham through Ishmael (Gen **25** 14; 1 Ch **1** 30). His people may be the Masani of Ptolemy, having Eastern Arabia near Babylon as their habitat. The marginal reading of the heading to Prov **31** mentions Lemuel as king of Massa. If that reading is accepted, it would seem that a tribe and probably a place were named from Ishmael's descendant. The reading is doubtful, however, for where the phrase recurs in Prov **30** 1 (RV) it appears to be a gloss.

MASSACRE, mas′a-kẽr, **OF THE INNOCENTS.** See Innocents, Massacre of.

MASSAH AND MERIBAH, mas′a, mer′i-bä (מַסָּה וּמְרִיבָה, *maṣṣāh ūm^{e}rībhāh,* "proving and strife"; **πειρασμὸς καὶ λοιδόρησις,** *peirasmós kaí loidórēsis*): These names occur together as applied to one place only in Ex **17** 7; they stand, however, in parallelism in Dt **33** 8; Ps **95** 8. In all other cases they are kept distinct, as belonging to two separate narratives. The conjunction here may be due to conflation of the sources. Of course, it is not impossible that, for the reason stated, the double name was given, although elsewhere (Dt **6** 16; **9** 22) the place is referred to as Massah.

1. First Instance

This scene is laid in Ex **17** 1 at Rephidim (q.v.) and in ver 6 at Horeb (q.v.). It is near the beginning of the desert wanderings. In dearth of water the people murmur and complain. Moses, appealing to God, is told what to do. He takes with him the elders of Israel, and smites with his rod the rock on which the Lord stands in Horeb, whereupon water gushes forth, and the people drink. Here Moses alone is God's agent. There is no hint of blame attaching to him. He called the place Massah and Meribah, because of the striving of the children of Israel, and because they tempted the Lord (ver 7). In some way not indicated, here and at Meribah, God put the Levites to proof (Dt **33** 8).

2. Second Instance

The second narrative describes what took place at Kadesh (i.e. "Kadesh-barnea") when the desert wanderings were nearly over (Nu **20** 1–13). The flow of water from the famous spring for some reason had ceased. In their distress the people became impatient and petulant. At the door of the tent of meeting Moses and Aaron received the Lord's instructions. In his speech of remonstrance to the people Moses seemed to glorify himself and his brother; and instead of speaking to the rock as God had commanded, he struck it twice with his rod. The flow of water was at once restored; but Moses and Aaron were heavily punished because they did not sanctify God in the eyes of the children of Israel. The "Waters of Meribah" was the name given to this scene of strife. The incident is referred to in Nu **20** 24, and Dt **32** 51 (*m^{e}rībhath ḳādhēsh,* AV "Meribah-Kadesh," RV "Meribah of Kadesh"). In Ps **81** 7 God appears as having tested Israel here. The sin of Israel and the ensuing calamity to Moses are alluded to in Ps **106** 32.

The place appears in Ezk **47** 19; **48** 28, as on the southern border of the land of Israel, in the former as "Meriboth-kadesh," in the latter as "Meribath-kadesh" (Meriboth = pl. Meribath = "const. sing.") where the position indicated is that of ‘*Ain Ḳadīs,* "Kadesh-barnea."

In Dt **33** 2, by a slight emendation of the text we might read *m^{e}rībhōth ḳādhēsh* for *mēribh^{e}bhōth ḳōdhesh.* This gives a preferable sense.

W. Ewing

MASSIAS, ma-sī′as (A, **Μασσίας,** *Massías,* B, **Ἀσσείας,** *Asseías*): One of those who put away their "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 22) = "Maaseiah" of Ezr **10** 22.

MAST. See Ships and Boats, II, 2, (3); 3.

MASTER, mas′ter (אָדוֹן, *’ādhōn,* בַּעַל, *ba‘al,* רַבִּי, *rabbī;* **δεσπότης,** *despótēs,* **διδάσκαλος,** *didáskalos,* **κύριος,** *kúrios,* **ῥαββί,** *rhabbí*): "Master," when the tr of *’ādhōn,* "ruler," "lord" (Sir), often tr^{d} "lord," denotes generally the owner or master of a servant or slave (Gen **24** 9, etc; **39** 2, etc; Ex **21** 4, etc; Dt **23** 15 *bis;* 2 S **9** 9.10 *bis;* Prov **30** 10); elsewhere it is rather "lord" or "ruler" (often king, e.g. 1 S **24** 6.8; **26** 16); in the pl. *’ădhonīm,* it is, as the rule, used only of God (but see Gen **19** 2.18; Dt **10** 17; Ps **136** 3, "Lord of *lords*"; Isa **26** 13, "other lords"; **19** 4 [Heb "lords"]; **24** 2). *Ba‘al,* "lord," "owner," is tr^{d} "master": "the master of the house" (Ex **22** 8; Jgs **19** 22.23); "the ass his master's crib" (Isa **1** 3). We have it also tr^{d} "masters of assemblies" (Eccl **12** 11). See Assemblies, Masters of. Cf Ecclus **32** 1, "master [of a feast]," RV "ruler"; Jn **2** 9, "ruler of the feast"; *rabh* (Dnl **1** 3; Jon **1** 6, "ship*master*"); *rabh,* Aram., "great," "mighty," "elder" (Dnl **4** 9; **5** 11, "master of the magicians"); also *sar,* "head" or "chief" (Ex **1** 11, "task*masters*"; 1 Ch **15** 27, "master of the song," RVm "*the carrying* of the ark, Heb *the lifting* up"); ‘*ūr,* "to call," "to awake," is also rendered "master" in AV, "The Lord will cut off the man that doeth this, the master and the scholar," m "him that waketh and him that answereth," RV as AVm (Mal **2** 12).

The vb. "to master" does not occur in the OT, but we have in Apoc (Wisd **12** 18) "mastering thy power" (*despózōn ischúos*), RV "being sovereign over [thy] strength."

In the NT *despotēs* answers to *’ādhōn* as "master" (1 Tim **6** 1.2; 2 Tim **2** 21), rendered also "Lord" (Lk **2** 29,etc); *kurios,* is "Master," "Lord," "Sir," used very frequently of God or of Christ (Mt **1** 20.22.24), tr^{d} "Master" (Mt **6** 24; **15** 27; AV Mk **13** 35; Rom **14** 4, etc); *kathēgētḗs,* a "leader," is tr^{d} "Master" (Mt **23** 8[AV].10); *didaskalos,* a title very often applied to Our Lord in the Gospels, is "Teacher," tr^{d} "Master" in AV Mt **8** 19; **9** 11; Mk **4** 38; Lk **3** 12, etc; RV "Teacher"; also Jn **3** 2.10; Jas **3** 1, "be not many masters," RV "teachers"; *rhabbi, rhabbei* ("Rabbi") (a transliterated Heb term signifying "my Teacher") is also in several instances applied to Jesus, AV "Master" (Mt **26** 25.49; Mk

9 5; **11** 21; Jn **9** 2 [RV leaves untranslated]; Mk **10** 51, "Rabboni," AV "Lord"; Jn **20** 16 ["Rabbouni"], RV "Rabboni," q.v.).

For "master" RV has "lord" (1 S **26** 16; **29** 4.10; Am **4** 1; Mk **13** 35; Rom **14** 4); "master" for "lord" (Gen **39** 16; 2 Pet **2** 1; Rev **6** 10); for "good man of the house" (Mt **24** 43; Lk **12** 39), "master of the house"; in Eph **6** 5, RVm gives "Gr lords" (in ver 9, "their *Master* and yours" is also Gr *kurios*); instead of "the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ" (Jude ver 4), RV reads "our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ," m "the only Master, and our Lord Jesus Christ"; for "overcame them" (Acts **19** 16), "mastered both of them."

W. L. Walker

MASTERY, mas'tẽr-i (גְּבוּרָה, *g^ebhūrāh*, שְׁלֵט, *sh^elēṭ*, Aram.; **ἀγωνίζομαι,** *agōnízomai*, **ἀθλέω,** *athléō*): "Mastery" occurs twice in the OT and twice in AV of the NT: in Ex **32** 18 (*g^ebhūrāh*, "might"), "the voice of them that shout for mastery"; in Dnl **6** 24 (*sh^elēṭ*, "to have power"), "The lions had the mastery of them"; in 1 Cor **9** 25, *agōnizomai*, "to contend for a prize," to be a combatant in the public games, is tr^d "striveth for the mastery," RV "striveth in the games"; and in 2 Tim **2** 5, *athleō*, with the same meaning, is tr^d "strive for masteries," RV "contend in the games." From the Gr we have the words "athlete," etc.

W. L. Walker

MASTIC, MASTICK, mas'tik (**σχῖνος,** *schínos*): A tree mentioned only in Sus ver 54 (cf Gen **37** 25 m). It is the *Pistacia lentiscus* (Arab. *Mistaki*), a shrub which attains a height of 10 to 12 ft., growing in thickets on the slopes round the Mediterranean. The gum which exudes through incisions made in the bark is greatly prized as a masticatory. The smell and flavor are suggestive of the terebinth. It is chewed in order to preserve the teeth and gums. But often men chew it without any special purpose, just because they like it. The mastick produced in Chios is most highly esteemed. It is employed in making perfumes and sweetmeats; in preparing bread a little is sometimes added to the dough just before it is put into the oven. W. Ewing

MATHANIAS, math-a-nī'as: AV in 1 Esd **9** 31. See Matthanias.

MATHELAS, ma-thē'las (A, **Μαθήλας,** *Mathḗlas*, B, **Μαεήλας,** *Maeḗlas;* AV **Matthelas**): One of the priests who had married "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 19) = "Maaseiah" of Ezr **10** 18.

MATHUSALA, ma-thū'sa-la (**Μαθουσαλά,** *Mathousalá*): Gr form of "Methuselah," RV (Lk **3** 37 AV).

MATRED, mā'tred (מַטְרֵד, *maṭrēdh*, "expulsion"): The mother of Mehetabel, wife of Hadar, one of the kings of Edom (Gen **36** 39; 1 Ch **1** 50, "Hadad"). The LXX and Pesh designate Matred as male, i.e. as *son* of Me-zahab instead of daughter.

MATRI, mā'trī (מַטְרִי, *maṭrī*, "rainy"): A family of the tribe of Benjamin to which King Saul belonged (1 S **10** 21 AV).

MATRITES, mā'trīts (הַמַּטְרִי, *ha-maṭrī*): The RV tr of *matri* with the definite art., "the Matrites" (1 S **10** 21).

MATTAN, mat'an (מַתָּן, *mattān*, "a gift"):

(1) A priest in the house of Baal, slain by Jehoiada before Baal's altar (2 K **11** 18; 2 Ch **23** 17).

(2) The father of Shephatiah a contemporary and persecutor of Jeremiah (Jer **38** 1), one of those who put Jeremiah into Malechiah's dungeon (ver 6).

MATTANAH, mat'a-na (מַתָּנָה, *mattānāh;* B, **Μανθαναείν,** *Manthanaeín;* A, **Μανθανείν,** *Manthaneín*): A station of the Israelites which seems to have lain between Beer and Nahaliel (Nu **21** 18 f). The name means "gift," and might not inappropriately be applied to a well in the wilderness (Budde translates "Out of the desert a gift"; see *Expos T*, VI, 482). Some would therefore identify it with Beer. This is improbable. There is now no clue to the place, but it must have lain S.W. of the Dead Sea.

MATTANIAH, mat-a-nī'a (מַתַּנְיָהוּ, *mattanyāhū*, "gift of Jeh"):

(1) King Zedekiah's original name, but changed by Nebuchadnezzar when he made him king over Judah instead of his nephew Jehoiachin (2 K **24** 17).

(2) A descendant of Asaph (1 Ch **9** 15), leader of the temple choir (Neh **11** 17; **12** 8). Mentioned among the "porters," keepers of "the storehouses of the gates" (**12** 25), and again in ver 35 as among the "priests' sons with trumpets."

(3) May be the same as (2), though in 2 Ch **20** 14 he is mentioned as an ancestor of that Jahaziel whose inspired words in the midst of the congregation encouraged Jehoshaphat to withstand the invasion of Moab, Ammon and Seir (vs 14 ff).

(4–7) Four others who had foreign wives, (*a*) the Matthanias of 1 Esd **9** 27 (Ezr **10** 26); (*b*) the Othonias of 1 Esd **9** 28 (Ezr **10** 27); (*c*) the Matthanias of 1 Esd **9** 31 (Ezr **10** 30); (*d*) the fourth of these in 1 Esd **9** 34 AV has had his name blended into that of Mattenai, and the two appear as the composite name Mamnitanemus (Ezr **10** 37). He is a son of Bani.

(8) A Levite, father of Zaccur, ancestor of Hanan the under-treasurer of the Levitical offerings under Nehemiah (Neh **13** 13).

(9) One of the sons of Heman the singer, whose office it was to blow the horns in the temple-service as David had appointed it (1 Ch **25** 4.5). He was head of the 9th division of the 12 Levites (1 Ch **25** 16), who were proficient in the Songs of Jeh (1 Ch **25** 7).

(10) One of the sons of Asaph who helped Hezekiah in the fulfilling of his vow to cleanse the house of the Lord (2 Ch **29** 13). Henry Wallace

MATTATHA, mat'a-tha (**Ματταθά,** *Mattathá*): Son of Nathan the son of David in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk **3** 31).

MATTATHAH, mat'a-tha: RV Mattattah (q.v.).

MATTATHIAS, mat-a-thī'as (**Ματταθίας,** *Mattathías*). The persons of this name in the Apoc are:

(1) Mattathias the father of the Maccabees. See Asmoneans; Maccabees.

(2) One of the 7 who stood on Ezra's right hand as he read the law (1 Esd **9** 43) = "Mattithiah" of Neh **8** 4.

(3) The son—probably the youngest (cf 1 Macc **16** 2)—of Simon the Maccabean, treacherously murdered along with his father and his brother Judas by his brother-in-law Ptolemy, son of Abubus in the stronghold of Dok near Jericho in the 177th Seleucid—136–135 BC (1 Macc **16** 14).

(4) Son of Absalom, one of the two "captains of the forces" who in the campaign against Demetrius in the plain of Hazor gallantly supported Judas, enabling the latter to turn an impending defeat into a great victory (1 Macc **11** 70).

(5) One of the three envoys sent by Nicanor to treat with Judas in 161 BC (2 Macc **14** 19). No

names of envoys are given in the account of 1 Macc **7** 27 ff.

(6) One of the sons of Asom who put away his "strange wife" (1 Esd **9** 33) = AV "Matthias" = "Mattattah" of Ezr **10** 33.

In addition to these two of this name are mentioned in the NT:

(7) Lk **3** 25, "son of Amos."

(8) Lk **3** 26, "son of Semein." S. Angus

MATTATTAH, mat′a-ta (מַתַּתָּה, *mattattāh*): RV for "Mattathah" in AV (Ezr **10** 33). The same as "Mattathias" of 1 Esd **9** 33, AV "Matthias" (q.v.).

MATTENAI, mat-ē-nā′ī, mat′ē-nī (מַתְּנַי, *mat^{e}nay*, "liberal"):

(1) (2) Two who married foreign wives, one a son of Hashum (Ezr **10** 33; in 1 Esd **9** 33 "Altaneus"); the other a son of Bani (Ezr **10** 37).

(3) A priest in the days of Joiakim son of Jeshua (Neh **12** 19), representing the house of Joiarib.

MATTER, mat′ẽr: This word being a very general term may express various ideas. RV therefore frequently changes the reading of AV in order to state more definitely the meaning of the context (cf Ex **24** 14; 1 S **16** 18; 1 K **8** 59; 2 S **11** 19; Est **3** 4; Ps **35** 20; **64** 5; Prov **16** 20; **18** 13). דָּבָר, *dābhār*, and the Gr λόγος, *lógos*, both meaning "word," are very frequently tr$^{\text{d}}$ by "matter." ὕλη, *húlē*, "wood," is rendered "matter" in Jas **3** 5 AV (RV "how much wood is kindled"; cf Sir **28** 10). Job **32** 18 tr$^{\text{s}}$ lit. "words"; also Dnl **4** 17, "sentence." διαφέρω, *diapherō*, "to carry in different places," "to differ," is rendered "to make matter" (Gal **2** 6). The meaning is "it makes a difference," "it matters," "it is of importance."

A. L. Breslich

MATTHAN, mat′than (*TR* **Ματθάν,** *Matthán*, WH **Μαθθάν,** *Maththán*): An ancestor of Jesus, grandfather of Joseph the husband of Mary (Mt **1** 15). See Matthat.

MATTHANIAS, mat-tha-nī′as (A, **Ματθανίας,** *Matthanías*, B, **Ματάν,** *Matán*):

(1) One of those who put away their "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 27) = "Mattaniah" of Ezr **10** 26.

(2) AV "Mathanias" (1 Esd **9** 31) = "Mattaniah" of Ezr **10** 30. B, followed by Swete, reads Βεσκασπασμύς, *Beskaspasmús*.

MATTHAT, mat′that (**Ματθάτ,** *Matthát*, **Μαθθάτ,** *Maththát*): The name of two ancestors of Jesus in Lk's genealogy (Lk **3** 24.29), one being the grandfather of Joseph the husband of Mary.

MATTHEW, math′ū: Matthew the apostle and evangelist is mentioned in the 4 catalogues of the apostles in Mt **10** 3; Mk **3** 18; Lk **6** 15; Acts **1** 13, though his place is not constant in this list, varying between the 7th and the 8th places and thus exchanging positions with Thomas. The name occurring in the two forms *Ματθαῖος*, *Matthaíos*, and *Μαθθαῖος*, *Maththaíos*, is a Gr reproduction of the Aram. *Mattathyāh*, i.e. "gift of Jeh," and equivalent to Theodore. Before his call to the apostolic office, according to Mt **9** 9, his name was Levi. The identity of Matthew and Levi is practically beyond all doubt, as is evident from the predicate in Mt **10** 3; and from a comparison of Mk **2** 14; Lk **5** 27 with Mt **9** 9. St. Mark calls him "the son of Alphaeus" (Mk **2** 14), although this cannot have been the Alphaeus who was the father of James the Less; for if this James and Matthew had been brothers this fact would doubtless have been mentioned, as is the case with Peter and Andrew, and also with the sons of Zebedee. Whether Jesus, as He did in the case of several others of His disciples, gave him the additional name of Matthew is a matter of which we are not informed. As he was a customs officer (ὁ τελώνης, *ho telōnēs*, Mt **10** 3) in Capernaum, in the territory of Herod Antipas, Matthew was not exactly a Rom official, but was in the service of the tetrarch of Galilee, or possibly a subordinate officer, belonging to the class called *portitores*, serving under the *publicani*, or superior officials who farmed the Rom taxes. As such he must have had some education, and doubtless in addition to the native Aram. must have been acquainted with the Gr. His ready acceptance of the call of Jesus shows that he must have belonged to that group of publicans and sinners, who in Galilee and elsewhere looked longingly to Jesus (Mt **11** 19; Lk **7** 34; **15** 1). Just at what period of Christ's ministry he was called does not appear with certainty, but evidently not at once, as on the day when he was called (Mt **9** 11.14.18; Mk **5** 37), Peter, James and John are already trustworthy disciples of Jesus. Unlike the first six among the apostles, Matthew did not enter the group from among the pupils of John the Baptist. These are practically all the data furnished by the NT on the person of Matthew, and what is found in post- and extra-Bib. sources is chiefly the product of imagination and in part based on mistaking the name of Matthew for Matthias (cf Zahn, *Intro to the NT*, ch liv, n.3). Tradition states that he preached for 15 years in Pal and that after this he went to foreign nations, the Ethiopians, Macedonians, Syrians, Persians, Parthians and Medes being mentioned. He is said to have died a natural death either in Ethiopia or in Macedonia. The stories of the Roman Catholic church that he died the death of a martyr on September 21 and of the Gr church that this occurred on November 10 are without any historical basis. Clem. Alex. (*Strom.*, iv.9) gives the explicit denial of Heracleon that Matthew suffered martyrdom. G. H. Schodde

MATTHEW, THE GOSPEL OF (**εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθθαῖον,** *euaggélion katá Maththaíon* [or **Ματθαῖον,** *Matthaíon*]):

1. Name of Gospel—Unity and Integrity
2. Canonicity and Authorship
3. Relation of Gr and Aram. Gospels
4. Contents, Character and Purpose
5. Problems of Literary Relation
6. Date of Gospel

Literature

1. Name of Gospel—Unity and Integrity

The "Gospel according to Matthew," i.e. the Gospel according to the account of Matthew, stands, according to traditional, but not entirely universal, arrangement, first among the canonical Gospels. The Gospel, as will be seen below, was unanimously ascribed by the testimony of the ancient church to the apostle Matthew, though the title does not of itself necessarily imply immediate authorship. The unity and integrity of the Gospel were never in ancient times called in question. Chs **1, 2,** particularly—the story of the virgin birth and childhood of Jesus—are proved by the consentient testimony of MSS, VSS, and patristic references, to have been an integral part of the Gospel from the beginning (see Virgin Birth). The omission of this section from the heretical Gospel of the Ebionites, which appears to have had some relation to our Gospel, is without significance.

The theory of successive redactions of Mt, starting with an Aram. Gospel, elaborated by Eichhorn and Marsh (1801), and the related theories of successive editions of the Gospel put forth by the Tübingen school (Baur, Hilgenfeld, Köstlin, etc), and by Ewald (Bleek supposes a primitive Gr Gospel), lack historical foundation, and are refuted by the fact that MSS and VSS know only the ultimate redaction. Is it credible that the churches should quietly accept redaction after redaction, and not a word be said, or a vestige remain, of any of them?

2. Canonicity and Authorship

(1) *Canonicity.*—The apostolic origin and canonical rank of the Gospel of Mt were accepted without a doubt by the early church. Origen, in the beginning of the 3d cent. could speak of it as the first of "the four Gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the church of God under heaven" (in Euseb., *HE*, VI, 25). The use of the Gospel can be traced in the apostolic Fathers; most distinctly in Barnabas, who quotes Mt **22** 14 with the formula, "It is written" (5). Though not mentioned by name, it was a chief source from which Justin took his data for the life and words of Jesus (cf Westcott, *Canon*, 91 ff), and apostolic origin is implied in its forming part of "the Memoirs of the Apostles," "which are called Gospels," read weekly in the assemblies of the Christians (*Ap.* i.66, etc). Its identity with our Mt is confirmed by the undoubted presence of that Gospel in the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, Justin's disciple. The testimony of Papias is considered below. The unhesitating acceptance of the Gospel is further decisively shown by the testimonies and use made of it in the works of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and by its inclusion in the Muratorian Canon, the Itala, Pesh, etc. See CANON OF NT; GOSPELS.

(2) *Authorship.*—The questions that cluster around the First Gospel have largely to do with the much-discussed and variously disputed statement concerning it found in Eusebius (*HE*, III, 39), cited from the much older work of Papias, entitled *Interpretation of the Words of the Lord.* Papias is the first who mentions Matthew by name as the author of the Gospel. His words are: "Matthew composed the Logia [λόγια, *lógia*, "words," "oracles"] in the Heb [Aram.] tongue, and everyone interpreted them as he was able." Papias cannot here be referring to a book of Matthew in which only the discourses or sayings of Jesus had been preserved, but which had not any, or only meager accounts of His deeds, which imaginary document is in so many critical circles regarded as the basis of the present Gospel, for Papias himself uses the expression τὰ λόγια, *tá lógia*, as embracing the story, as he himself says, in speaking of Mk, "of the things said or done by Christ" (Euseb., *HE*, III, 24; cf particularly T. Zahn, *Intro to NT*, sec. 54, and Lightfoot, *Supernatural Religion*, 170 ff). Eusebius further reports that after Matthew had first labored among his Jewish compatriots, he went to other nations, and as a substitute for his oral preaching, left to the former a Gospel written in their own dialect (III, 24). The testimony of Papias to Matthew as the author of the First Gospel is confirmed by Irenaeus (iii.3, 1) and by Origen (in Euseb., *HE*, V, 10), and may be accepted as representing a uniform 2d-cent. tradition. Always, however, it is coupled with the statement that the Gospel was originally written in the Heb dialect. Hence arises the difficult question of the relation of the canonical Gr Gospel, with which alone, apparently, the fathers were acquainted, to this alleged original apostolic work.

3. Relation of Gr and Aram. Gospels

One thing which seems certain is that whatever this Heb (Aram.) document may have been, it was not an original form from which the present Gr Gospel of Mt was tr^{d}, either by the apostle himself, or by somebody else, as was maintained by Bengel, Thiersch, and other scholars. Indeed, the Gr Mt throughout bears the impress of being not a tr at all, but as having been originally written in Gr, and as being less Hebraistic in the form of thought than some other NT writings, e.g. the Apocalypse. It is generally not difficult to discover when a Gr book of this period is a tr from the Heb or Aram. That our Mt was written originally in Gr appears, among other things, from the way in which it makes use of the OT, sometimes following the LXX, sometimes going back to the Heb. Particularly instructive passages in this regard are **12** 18–21 and **13** 14.15, in which the rendering of the Alexandrian tr would have served the purposes of the evangelist, but he yet follows more closely the original text, although he adopts the LXX wherever this seemed to suit better than the Heb (cf Keil's *Comm. on Mt*, loc. cit.).

The external evidences to which appeal is made in favor of the use of an original Heb or Aram. Mt in the primitive church are more than elusive. Eusebius (*HE*, V, 10) mentions as a report (λέγεται, *légetai*) that Pantaenus, about the year 170 AD, found among the Jewish Christians, probably of South Arabia, a Gospel of Mt in Heb, left there by Bartholomew; and Jerome, while in the Syrian Beroea, had occasion to examine such a work, which he found in use among the Nazarenes, and which at first he regarded as a composition of the apostle Matthew, but afterward declared not to be such, and then identified with the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*Evangelium secundum* or *juxta Hebraeos*) also called the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, or of the Nazarenes, current among the Nazarenes and Ebionites (*De Vir. Illustr.*, iii; *Contra Pelag.*, iii.2; *Comm.* on Mt **12** 13, etc; see GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS). For this reason the references by Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius to the Heb Gospel of Mt are by many scholars regarded as referring to this Heb Gospel which the Jewish Christians employed, and which they thought to be the work of the evangelist (cf for fuller details *RE*, XII, art. "Matthaeus der Apostel"). Just what the original Heb Mt was to which Papias refers (assuming it to have had a real existence) must, with our present available means, remain an unsolved riddle, as also the possible connection between the Gr and Heb texts. Attempts like those of Zahn, in his *Kommentar* on Mt, to explain readings of the Gr text through an inaccurate understanding of the imaginary Heb original are arbitrary and unreliable. There remains, of course, the possibility that the apostle himself, or someone under his care (thus Godet), produced a Gr recension of an earlier Aram. work.

The prevailing theory at present is that the Heb Matthaean document of Papias was a collection mainly of the discourses of Jesus (called by recent critics Q), which, in variant Gr translations, was used both by the author of the Gr Mt and by the evangelist Luke, thus explaining the common features in these two gospels (W. C. Allen, however, in his *Crit. and Exeget. Comm. on Mt*, disputes Lk's use of this supposed common source, Intro, xlvi ff). The use of this supposed Matthaean source is thought to explain how the Gr Gospel came to be named after the apostle. It has already been remarked, however, that there is no good reason for supposing that the "Logia" of Papias was confined to discourses. See further on "sources" below.

4. Contents, Character and Purpose

(1) *Contents and character.*—As respects contents, the Gospel of Mt can be divided into 3 chief parts: (1) preliminary, including the birth and early youth of the Lord (chs **1, 2**); (2) the activity of Jesus in Galilee (chs **3–18**); (3) the activity of Jesus in Judaea and Jerus, followed by His passion, death, and resurrection (chs **19–28**). In character, the Gospel, like those of the other evangelists, is only a chrestomathy, a selection from the great mass of oral tradition concerning the doings and sayings of Christ current in apostolic and early Christian circles, chosen for the special purpose which the evangelist had in view. Accordingly, there is a great deal of material in Mt

in common with Mk and Lk, although not a little of this material, too, is individualistic in character, and of a nature to vex and perplex the harmonist, as e.g. Matthew's accounts of the temptation, of the demoniacs at Gadara, of the blind man at Jericho (**4** 1–11; **8** 28–34; **20** 29–34); yet there is much also in this Gospel that is peculiar to it. Such are the following pericopes: chs **1, 2**; **9** 27–36; **10** 15. 37–40; **11** 28–30; **12** 11.12.15–21.33–38; **13** 24–30.36–52; **14** 28–31; **16** 17–19; **17** 24–27; **18** 15–35; **19** 10–12; **20** 1–16; **21** 10 f.14–16.28–32; **22** 1–14; **23** 8–22; **24** 42—**25** 46; **27** 3—10.62–66; **28** 11 ff. The principle of arrangement of the material is not chronological, but rather that of similarity of material. The addresses and parables of Jesus are reported consecutively, although they may have been spoken at different times, and material scattered in the other evangelists—esp. in Lk—is found combined in Mt. Instances are seen in the Sermon on the Mount (chs **5–7**), the "mission address" (ch **10**), the seven parables of the Kingdom of God (ch **13**), the discourses and parables (ch **18**), the woes against the Pharisees (ch **23**), and the grand eschatological discourses (chs **24, 25**) (cf with ‖ in the other gospels, on the relation to which, see below).

(2) *Purpose.*—The special purpose which the writer had in view in his Gospel is nowhere expressly stated, as is done, e.g., by the writer of the Fourth Gospel in Jn **20** 30.31, concerning his book, but it can readily be gleaned from the general contents of the book, as also from specific passages. The traditional view that Matthew wrote primarily to prove that in Jesus of Nazareth is to be found the fulfilment and realization of the Messianic predictions of the OT prophets and seers is beyond a doubt correct. The mere fact that there are about 40 proof passages in Mt from the OT, in connection even with the minor details of Christ's career, such as His return from Egypt (**2** 15), is ample evidence of this fact, although the proof manner and proof value of some of these passages are exegetical *cruces*, as indeed is the whole way in which the OT is cited in the NT (see QUOTATIONS, NT).

The question as to whether the Gospel was written for Jewish Christians, or for Jews not yet converted, is less important, as this book, as was the case probably with the Ep. of Jas, was written at that transition period when the Jewish and the Christian communions were not yet fully separated, and still worshipped together.

Particular indications as to this purpose of the Gospel are met with at the beginning and throughout the whole work; e.g. it is obvious in **1** 1, where the proof is furnished that Jesus was the son of Abraham, in whom all families of the earth were to be blessed (Gen **12** 3), and of David, who was to establish the kingdom of God forever (2 S **7**). The genealogy of Lk, on the other hand (**3** 23 ff), with its cosmopolitan character and purpose, aiming to show that Jesus was the Redeemer of the whole world, leads back this line to Adam, the common ancestor of all mankind. Further, as the genealogy of Mt is evidently that of Joseph, the foster and legal father of Jesus, and not that of Mary, as is the case in Lk, the purpose to meet the demands of the Jewish reader is transparent. The full account in Mt of the Sermon on the Mount, which does not, as is sometimes said, contain a "new program of the kingdom of God"—indeed does not contain the fundamental principles of the Gospel at all—but is the deeper and truly Bib. interpretation of the Law over against the superficial interpretation of the current Pharisaism, which led the advocates of the latter in all honesty to declare, "What lack I yet?" given with the design of driving the auditors to the gospel of graec and faith proclaimed by Christ (cf Gal **3** 24)—all this is only intelligible when we remember that the book was written for Jewish readers. Again the γέγραπται, *gégraptai*—i.e. the fulfilment of OT Scripture, a matter which for the Jew was everything, but for the Gentile was of little concern—appears in Mt on all hands. We have it e.g. in connection with the birth of Jesus from a virgin, His protection from Herod, His coming to Nazareth (**1** 22 f; **2** 5.6.15.17 f.23), the activity of John the Baptist (**3** 3; cf **11** 10), the selection of Galilee as the scene of Jesus' operations (**4** 14 ff), the work of Jesus as the fulfilment of the Law and Prophets (**5** 17), His quiet, undemonstrative methods (**12** 17 ff), His teaching by parables (**13** 35), His entrance into Jerus (**21** 4 f.16), His being arrested (**26** 54), the betrayal of Judas (**27** 9), the distribution of His garments (**27** 35). Throughout, as Professor Kübel says, the Gospel of Mt shows a "diametrical contrast between Christ and Pharisaism." Over against the false Messianic ideas and ideals of contemporary teachings among the Jews, Mt selects those facts from the teachings and deeds of Christ which show the true Messiah and the correct principles of the kingdom of God. In this respect the Gospel can be regarded as both apologetic and polemical in its aim, in harmony with which also is its vivid portraiture to the growing hostility of the Jews to Christ and to His teachings which, in the latter part of Mt, appears as intense as it does in John. Nowhere else do we find such pronounced denunciations of the Pharisees and their system from the lips of Jesus (cf **9** 11 ff; **12** 1 ff; **15** 1 ff; **16** 1 ff; and on particular points **5** 20 ff; **9** 13; **23** 23; see also **8** 12; **9** 34; **12** 24; **21** 43). It is from this point of view, as representing the antithesis to the narrow Pharisaic views, that we are to understand the writer's emphasis on the *universality* of the kingdom of Jesus Christ (cf **3** 1–12; **8** 10–12; **21** 33–44; **28** 18–20)—passages in which some have thought they discerned a contradiction to the prevailing Jewish strain of the Gospel.

5. Problems of Literary Relation

The special importance of the Gospel of Mt for the synoptic problem can be fully discussed only in the art. on this subject (see GOSPELS, THE SYNOPTIC), and in connection with Mk and Lk. The synoptic problem deals primarily with the literary relations existing between the first 3 Gospels. The contents of these are in many cases so similar, even in verbal details, that they must have some sources in common, or some dependence or interdependence must exist between them; on the other hand, each of the 3 Gospels shows so many differences and dissimilarities from the other two, that in their composition some independent source or sources—oral or written—must have been employed. In general it may be said that the problem itself is of little more than literary importance, having by no means the historical significance for the development of the religion of the NT which the Pentateuchal problem has for that of the OT. Nor has the synoptic problem any historical background that promises a solution as the Pentateuchal problem has in the history of Israel. Nothing save an analysis of the contents of these Gospels, and a comparison of the contents of the three, offers the scholar any material for the study of the problem, and as subjective taste and impressions are prime factors in dealing with materials of this sort, it is more than improbable, in the absence of any objective evidence, that the synoptic problem in general, or the question of the sources of Mt in particular, will ever be solved to the satisfaction of the majority of scholars. The hypothesis which at present has widest acceptance is the "two-source" theory, according to which

Mk, in its existing or some earlier form, and the problematical original Mt (Q), constitute the basis of our canonical Gospel.

In proof of this, it is pointed out that nearly the whole of the narrative-matter of Mk is taken up into Mt, as also into Lk, while the large sections, chiefly discourses, common to Mt and Lk are held, as already said, to point to a source of that character which both used. The difficulties arise when the comparison is pursued into details, and explanation is sought of the variations in phraseology, order, sometimes in conception, in the respective gospels.

Despite the prestige which this theory has attained, the true solution is probably a simpler one. Matthew no doubt secured the bulk of his data from his own experience and from oral tradition, and as the former existed in fixed forms, due to catechetical instruction, in the early church, it is possible to explain the similarities of Mt with the other two synoptics on this ground alone, without resorting to any literary dependence, either of Mt on the other two, or of these, or either of them, on Mt. The whole problem is purely speculative and subjective and under present conditions justifies a *cui bono?* as far as the vast literature which it has called into existence is concerned.

6. Date of Gospel

According to early and practically universal tradition Mt wrote his Gospel before the other three, and the place assigned to it in NT literature favors the acceptance of this tradition. Irenaeus reports that it was written when Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome (iii.1), and Euseb. states that this was done when Matthew left Pal and went to preach to others (*HE*, III, 24). Clement of Alexandria is responsible for the statement that the presbyters who succeeded each other from the beginning declared that "the gospels containing the genealogies [Mt and Lk] were written first" (Euseb., *HE*, VI, 14). This is, of course, fatal to the current theory of dependence on Mk, and is in consequence rejected. At any rate, there is the best reason for holding that the book must have been written before the destruction of Jerus in 70 AD (cf **24** 15). The most likely date for the Gr Gospel is in the 7th Christian decade. Zahn claims that Matthew wrote his Aram. Gospel in Pal in 62 AD, while the Gr Mt dates from 85 AD, but this latter date is not probable.

Literature.—Intro to the Comms. on Mt (Meyer, Alford, Allen [*ICC*], Broadus [Philadelphia, 1887], Morison, Plummer, Schaeffer in *Lutheran Commentary* [New York, 1895], etc); works on Intro to the NT (Salmon, Weiss, Zahn, etc); arts. in Bible Dicts. and Encs may be consulted. See also F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission;* Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Matthaei* and *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien;* Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae;* Westcott, *Intro to the Study of the Gospels;* Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion,* V, "Papias of Hierapolis" (this last specially on the sense of *Logia*). See also the works cited in Mark, Gospel of.

G. H. Schodde

MATTHIAS, ma-thī′as (**Ματθίας,** *Matthías,* or **Μαθθίας,** *Maththías;* מַתִּתְיָה, *Mattithyāh,* "given of Jeh"): Matthias was the one upon whom the lot fell when he, along with Joseph Barsabbas, was put forward to fill up the place in the apostleship left vacant by Judas Iscariot (Acts **1** 15–26). This election was held at Jerus, and the meeting was presided over by St. Peter. The conditions demanded of the candidates were that they should "have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was received up from us," and that the one chosen should "become a witness with us of his resurrection" (Acts **1** 21.22). The mode of procedure was by lot, and with prayer was the election made (cf Acts **1** 24).

Hilgenfeld identifies Matthias with Nathanael (cf Nathanael). He was traditionally the author of the "Gospel of Matthias," a heretical work referred to by Origen (*Hom. on Lk,* i), by Eusebius (*HE,* III, 25, 6) and by Hieronymus (*Proem in Matth.*). No trace of it is left. The gnostic Basilides (c 133 AD) and his son Isidor claimed to ground their doctrine in the "Gospel of Basilides" on the teaching Matthias received directly from the Saviour (Hippol., vii.20) (cf Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen,* 167). Various parts of the apocryphal "Contendings of the Apostles" deal with the imprisonment and blinding of Matthias by the Ethiopian cannibals, and his rescue by Andrew (cf Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles,* II, 163, 164, 267–88; see also Andrew). According to the *Martyrdom of St. Matthias* (Budge, II, 289–94) he was sent to Damascus, and died at Phalaeon, a city of Judaea. Other sources mention Jerus as the place of Matthias' ministry and burial.

C. M. Kerr

MATTITHIAH, mat-i-thī′a (מַתִּתְיָה, *mattithyāh,* or מַתִּתְיָהוּ, *mattithyāhū,* "gift of Jeh"):

(1) The Mattithiah of Neh **8** 4 (1st spelling) was one of those who stood at Ezra's right hand while he read the law (cf 1 Esd **9** 43). He may be the individual set over "things that were baked in pans" (**1** Ch **9** 31).

(2) One of those appointed by David to minister before the ark, and to "celebrate and to thank and praise Jeh, the God of Israel" (1 Ch **16** 4.5).

(3) One of those who had foreign wives (Ezr **10** 43). In 1 Esd **9** 35, "Mazitias."

(4) One of the Levites who ministered before the ark with harps (1 Ch **15** 18.21; **25** 3.21, 2d spelling).

Henry Wallace

MATTOCK, mat′ok: The tr of 3 Heb words: (1) מַחֲרֵשָׁה, *maḥărēshāh,* probably "a pickaxe" (1 S **13** 20.21; cf ver 21 m); (2) חֶרֶב, *ḥerebh,* "sword," "ax," "tool" (2 Ch **34** 6 AV, "with their mattocks," AVm "mauls," RV "in their ruins," RVm "with their axes"); (3) מַעְדֵּר, *ma'dēr,* "a hoe," "rake," "chopping instrument" (Isa **7** 25). Vines were usually grown on terraces on the hills of Pal, and then the mattock was in constant use. The usual mattock is a pick with one end broad, the other pointed.

MAUL, môl (מֵפִיץ, *mēphīç,* lit. "a breaker," "a club," "mace," "mattock"): A smashing weapon like the oriental war-club or the clubs always carried by the shepherds of Lebanon (Prov **25** 18; cf Jer **51** 20 m).

MAUZZIM, moz′ēm, mots′ēm (מָעֻזִּים, *mā'uzzīm,* "places of strength," "fortresses"): Many conjectures as to the meaning of this word and its context (Dnl **11** 38; cf vs 19.39) have been made. The LXX (uncertainly), Theodotion, and the Geneva Version render it as a proper name. Theodoret adopted Theodotion's reading and explained it as "Antichrist"! Grotius thought it a corruption of Ἄζιζος, *Ázizos,* the Phoen war-god, while Calvin saw in it the "god of wealth"! Perhaps the buzz of conjectures about the phrase is owing to the fact that in the first passage cited the word is preceded by *'Ĕlōah,* meaning God. The context of the passage seems clearly to make the words refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, and on this account some have thought that the god Mars—whose figure appears on a coin of Antiochus—is here referred to. All this is, however, little better than guesswork, and the RV tr, by setting the mind upon the general idea that the monarch referred to would trust in mere force, gives us, at any rate, the general sense, though it does not exclude the possibility of a reference to a particular deity. In vs 19 and 39, the word "Mauzzim" is simply trd "fortresses," and the idea conveyed is that the mental obsession of fortresses is equivalent to deifying them. A conjecture of Layard's (*Nineveh*, II, 456, n.), is, at any rate, worth referring to. HENRY WALLACE

MAW, mô (קֵבָה, *ḳēbhāh* [cf קֹבָה, *ḳōbhāh*, Nu **25** 8], כְּרֵשׂ, *kᵉrēs;* LXX **ἔνυστρον,** *énustron*): The first word means the maw or stomach of ruminants. It is derived from a root designating "hollowed out." It is mentioned alongside of the shoulder and the two cheeks of ox and sheep, which are the priest's share of any sacrifice brought by Israelites (Dt **18** 3). LXX, where *enustron* corresponds to Attic *ἤνυστρον, ḗnustron*, denotes the fourth stomach or abomasum, which was considered as a delicacy, and was almost a national dish of the Athenians, just as tripe is of the Londoners. The parallel form *ḳōbhāh* is used for the body of a woman, which is being transfixed by a spear thrust in Nu **25** 8. The last word *kᵉrēs* is found in a metaphorical sense: "[Nebuchadrezzar] hath, like a monster, swallowed me up, he hath filled his maw with my delicacies" (Jer **51** 34). H. L. E. LUERING

MAZITIAS, maz-i-tī'as (A, **Μαζιτίας,** *Mazitías*, B, **Ζειτίας,** *Zeitías*): One of those who had taken "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 35), identical with Mattithiah (Ezr **10** 43).

MAZZALOTH, maz'a-loth (The Planets). See ASTROLOGY, 9.

MAZZAROTH, maz'a-roth: The 12 constellations of the Zodiac. See ASTRONOMY, II, 12.

MAZZEBAH, maz-ē'ba, mats-ē'ba. See PILLAR.

MEADOW, med'ō: (1) עָרוֹת, *'ārōth*, "the meadows [AV "paper reeds"] by the Nile" (Isa **19** 7); מַעֲרֵה־גָבַע, *ma'ărēh-gābha'*, AV "meadows of Gibeah," RV "Maareh-geba," RVm "the meadow of Geba, or Gibeah" (Jgs **20** 33); from עָרָה, *'ārāh*, "to be naked"; cf Arab. عَرِيَ, *ariya*, "to be naked," عَرَاء, *'ara'â'*, "a bare tract of land." *'Ārōth* and *ma'ărēh* signify tracts bare of trees. (2) אָחוּ, *'āḥū*, in Pharaoh's dream of the kine, AV "meadow," RV "reed grass" (Gen **41** 2.18). *'Āḥū* is found also in Job **8** 11, AV and RV "flag," RVm "reed-grass." According to Gesenius, *'āḥū* is an Egyp word denoting the vegetation of marshy ground. (3) אָבֵל כְּרָמִים, *'ābhēl kᵉrāmīm*, "Abel-cheramim," RVm "The meadow of vineyards," AV "the plain [AVm "Abel"] of the vineyards" (Jgs **11** 33); "Abel-beth-maacah" (1 K **15** 20; 2 K **15** 29; cf 2 S **20** 14.15.18); "Abel-shittim" (Nu **33** 49; cf **25** 1; Josh **2** 1; **3** 1; Jgs **7** 22; Joel **3** 18; Mic **6** 5); "Abel-meholah" (Jgs **7** 22; 1 K **4** 12; **19** 16); "Abel-maim" (2 Ch **16** 4); "Abel-mizraim" (Gen **50** 11); "stone," AV "Abel," RVm "Abel," that is "a meadow" (1 S **6** 18); cf Arab. أَبَل, *'abal*, "green grass," and أَبَلَة, *'abalat*, "unhealthy marshy ground," from وَبَل, *wabal*, "to rain." ALFRED ELY DAY

MEAH, mē'a (מֵאָה, *mē'āh*, "hundred"). See HAMMEAH.

MEAL, mēl (אֹכֶל, *'ōkhel*): Denotes the portion of food eaten at any one time. It is found as a compound in Ruth **2** 14, "meal-time," lit. "the time of eating." See FOOD.

MEAL OFFERING. See SACRIFICE.

MEALS, mēlz, **MEAL-TIME:** Bread materials, bread-making and baking in the Orient are dealt with under BREAD (q.v.). For food-stuffs in use among the Hebrews in Bible times more specifically see FOOD. This article aims to be complementary, dealing esp. with the methods of preparing and serving food and times of meals among the ancient Hebrews.

The Book of Jgs gives a fair picture of the early formative period of the Heb people and their ways of living. It is a picture of semi-savagery—of the life and customs of free desert tribes. In 1 S we note a distinct step forward, but the domestic and cultural life is still low and crude. When they are settled in Pal and come in contact with the most cultured people of the day, the case is different. Most that raised these Sem invaders above the dull, crude existence of *fellahîn*, in point of civilization, was due to the people for whom the land was named (Macalister, *Hist of Civilization in Pal*). From that time on various foreign influences played their several parts in modification of Heb life and customs. A sharp contrast illustrative of the primitive beginnings and the growth of luxury in Israel in the preparation and use of foods may be seen by a comparison of 2 S **17** 28 f with 1 K **4** 22 f.

1. Cereals

I. Methods of Preparing Food.—The most primitive way of using the cereals was to pluck the fresh ears (Lev **23** 14; 2 K **4** 42), remove the husk by rubbing (cf Dt **23** 25 and Mt **12** 1), and eat the grain raw. A practice common to all periods, observed by *fellahîn* today, was to parch or roast the ears and eat them unground. Later it became customary to grind the grain into flour, at first by the rudimentary method of pestle and mortar (Nu **11** 8; cf Prov **27** 22), later by the hand-mill (Ex **11** 5; Job **31** 10; cf Mt **24** 41), still later in mills worked by the ass or other animal (Mt **18** 6, lit. "a mill-

Baking Bread on Stones.

stone turned by an ass"). The flour was then made into bread, with or without leaven (see LEAVEN).

Another simple way of preparing the grain was to soak it in water, or boil it slightly, and then, after drying and crushing it, to serve it as the dish called "groats" is served among western peoples.

The kneading of the dough preparatory to baking was done doubtless, as it is now in the East, by pressing it between the hands or by passing it from hand to hand; except that in Egypt, as the monuments show, it was put in "baskets" and trodden with the feet, as grapes in the wine press. (This is done in Paris bakeries to this day.) See BREAD; FOOD.

2. Vegetables

Lentils, several kinds of beans, and a profusion of vegetables, wild and cultivated, were prepared and eaten in various ways. The lentils were sometimes roasted, as they are today, and eaten like "parched corn." They were sometimes stewed like beans, and flavored with onions and other ingredients, no doubt, as we find done in Syria today (cf Gen **25** 29.34), and sometimes ground and made into bread (Ezk **4** 9; cf *ZDPV*, IX, 4). The wandering Israelites in the wilderness looked back wistfully on the cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions and garlic of Egypt (Nu **11** 5), and later we find all of these used for food in Pal. How many other things were prepared and used for food by them may be gathered from the Mish, our richest source of knowledge on the subject.

3. Meat

The flesh of animals—permission to eat which it would seem was first given to Noah after the deluge (Gen **1** 29 f; **9** 3 f)—was likewise prepared and used in various ways: (*a*) *Roasting* was much in vogue, indeed was probably the oldest of all methods of preparing such food. At first raw meat was laid upon hot stones from which the embers had been removed, as in the case of the "cake baken on the hot stones" (1 K **19** 6 RVm; cf Hos **7** 8, "a cake not turned"), and sometimes underneath with a covering of ashes. The *fish* that the disciples found prepared for them by the Sea of Galilee (Jn **21** 9) was, in exception to this rule, cooked on the live coals themselves. A more advanced mode of roasting was by means of a spit of green wood or iron (for baking in ovens, see FOOD). (*b*) *Boiling* was also common (see Gen **25** 29; Ex **12** 9, etc, ARV; EV more frequently "seething," "sod," "sodden"), as it is in the more primitive parts of Syria today. The pots in which the boiling was done were of earthenware or bronze (Lev **6** 28). When the meat was boiled in more water than was required for the ordinary "stew" the result was the *broth* (Jgs **6** 19 f), and the meat and the broth might then be served separately. The usual way, however, was to cut the meat into pieces, larger or smaller as the case might demand (1 S **2** 13; Ezk **24** 3 ff; cf Micah's metaphor, **3** 3), and put these pieces into the cooking-pot with water sufficient only for a stew. Vegetables and rice were generally added, though crushed wheat sometimes took the place of the rice, as in the case of the "savory meat" which Rebekah prepared for her husband from the "two kids of the goats" (Gen **27** 9). The seeds of certain leguminous plants were also often prepared by boiling (Gen **25** 29; 2 K **4** 38). (*c*) The Heb housewives, we may be sure, were in such matters in no way behind their modern kinswomen of the desert, of whom Doughty tells: "The Arab housewives make savory messes of any grain, seething it and putting thereto only a little salt and *samn* [clarified butter]."

4. Oil

Olive oil was extensively and variously used by the ancient Hebrews, as by most eastern peoples then, as it is now. (*a*) Oriental cooking diverges here more than at any other point from that of the northern and western peoples, oil serving many of the purposes of butter and lard among ourselves. (*b*) Oil was used in cooking vegetables as we use bacon and other animal fats, and in cooking fish and eggs, as also in the finer sorts of baking. See BREAD; FOOD; OIL. (*c*) They even mixed oil with the flour, shaped it into cakes and then baked it (Lev **2** 4). The "little oil" of the poor widow of Zerephath was clearly not intended for the lamps, but to bake her pitiful "handful of meal" (1 K **17** 12). (*d*) Again the cake of unmixed flour might be baked till almost done, then smeared with oil, sprinkled with anise seed, and brought by further baking to a glossy brown. A species of thin flat cakes of this kind are "the wafers anointed with oil" of Ex **29** 2, etc. (*e*) Oil and honey constituted, as now in the East, a mixture used as we use butter and honey, and are found also mixed in the making of sweet cakes (Ezk **16** 13.19). The taste of the manna is said in Ex **16** 31 to be like that of "wafers made with honey," and in Nu **11** 8 to be like "the taste of cakes baked with oil" (RVm).

II. Meals, Meal-Time, etc.—(1) It was customary among the ancient Hebrews, as among their contemporaries in the East in classical lands, to have but two meals a day. The "morning morsel" or "early snack," as it is called in the Talm, taken with some relish like olives, oil or melted butter, might be used by peasants, fishermen, or even artisans, to "break their fast" (see the one reference to it in the NT in Jn **21** 12.15), but this was not a true meal. It was rather ἄριστον πρωϊνόν, *áriston prōïnón* (Robinson, *BRP*, II, 18), though some think it the ἄριστον, *áriston*, of the NT (Edersheim, *LTJM*, II, 205, n. 3; cf Plummer, *ICC*, on Lk **11** 37). To "eat a meal," i.e. a full meal, in the morning was a matter for grave reproach (Eccl **10** 16), as early drinking was unusual and a sign of degradation (cf Acts **2** 15).

(2) The first meal (cf "meal-time," lit. "the time of eating," Ruth **2** 14; Gen **43** 16), according to general usage, was taken at or about noon when the climate and immemorial custom demanded a rest from labor. Peter's intended meal at Joppa, interrupted by the messengers of Cornelius, was at "the sixth hour," i.e. 12 M. It corresponded somewhat to our modern "luncheon," but the hour varied according to rank and occupation (*Shabbāth* **10***a*). The Bedawi take it about 9 or 10 o'clock (Burckhardt, *Notes*, I, 69). It is described somewhat fully by Lane in *Modern Egyptians*. To abstain from this meal was accounted "fasting" (Jgs **20** 26; 1 S **14** 24). Drummond (*Tropical Africa*) says his Negro bearers began the day's work without food.

Arab Meal.

(3) The second and main meal (NT, δεῖπνον, *deípnon*) was taken about the set of sun, or a little before or after, when the day's work was over and

the laborers had "come in from the field" (Lk **17** 7; **24** 29 f). This is the "supper time," the "great supper" of Lk **14** 16, the important meal of the day, when the whole family were together for the evening (Burckhardt, *Notes*, I, 69). It was the time of the feeding of the multitudes by Jesus (Mk **6** 35; Mt **14** 15; Lk **9** 12), of the eating of the Passover, and of the partaking of the Lord's Supper. According to Jewish law, and for special reasons, the chief meal was at midday—"at the sixth hour," according to Jos (*Vita*, 54; cf Gen **43** 16–25; 2 S **24** 15 LXX). It was Jeh's promise to Israel that they should have "bread" in the morning and "flesh" in the evening (Ex **16** 12), incidental evidence of one way in which the evening meal differed from that at noon. At this family meal ordinarily there was but one common dish for all, into which all "dipped the sop" (see Mt **26** 23; Mk **14** 20), so that when the food, cooked in this common stew, was set before the household, the member of the household who had prepared it had no further work to do, a fact which helps to explain Jesus' words to Martha, 'One dish alone is needful' (Lk **10** 42; Hastings *DCG*, s.v. "Meals").

(4) Sabbath banqueting became quite customary among the Jews (see examples cited by Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb et Talm* on Lk **14** 1; cf Edersheim, *LTJM*, II, 52, 437; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, II, 119, n.). Indeed it was carried to such an excess that it became proverbial for luxury. But the principle which lay at the root of the custom was the honor of the Sabbath (Lightfoot, op. cit., III, 149), which may explain Jesus' countenance and use of the custom (cf Lk **7** 36; **11** 37; **14** 7–14), and the fact that on the last Sabbath He spent on earth before His passion He was the chief guest at such a festive meal (Jn **12** 2). It is certain that He made use of such occasions to teach lessons of charity and religion, in one case even when His host was inclined to indulge in discourteous criticism (Lk **7** 39; **11** 38.45 f; cf Jn **12** 7 f). He seems to have withheld His formal disapproval of what might be wrong in tendency in such feasts because of the latent possibilities for good He saw in them, and so often used them wisely and well. It was on one of these occasions that a fellow-guest in his enthusiasm broke out in the exclamation, "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God" (Lk **14** 15), referring evidently to the popular Jewish idea that the Messianic kingdom was to be ushered in with a banquet, and that feasting was to be a chief part of its glories (cf Isa **25** 6; Lk **13** 29). See Banquet.

III. Customs at Meals.—In the earliest times the Hebrews took their meals sitting, or more probably squatting, on the ground like the Bedawi and *fellahîn* of today (see Gen **37** 25, etc), with the legs gathered tailor-fashion (*PEFS*, 1905, 124). The use of seats naturally followed upon the change from nomadic to agricultural life, after the conquest of Canaan. Saul and his messmates sat upon "seats" (1 S **20** 25), as did Solomon and his court (1 K **10** 5; cf **13** 20, etc). With the growth of wealth and luxury under the monarchy, the custom of reclining at meals gradually became the fashion. In Amos' day it was regarded as an aristocratic innovation (Am **3** 12; **6** 4), but two centuries later Ezekiel speaks of "a stately bed" or "couch" (cf Est **1** 6 RV) with "a table prepared before it" (Ezk **23** 41), as if it was no novelty. By the end of the 3d cent. BC it was apparently universal, except among the very poor (Jth **12** 15; Tob **2** 1). Accordingly, "sitting at meat" in the NT (EV) is everywhere replaced by "reclining" (RVm), though women and children still sat. They leaned on the left elbow (Sir **41** 19), eating with the right hand (see Lord's Supper). The various words used in the Gospels to denote the bodily attitude at meals, as well as the circumstances described, all imply that the Syrian custom of reclining on a couch, followed by Greeks and Romans, was in vogue (Edersheim, II, 207). Luke uses one word for it which occurs nowhere else in the NT (κατακλιθῆναι, *kataklithḗnai*, **7** 36; **14** 8; **24** 30; and κατακλίνειν, *kataklínein*, **9** 14.15), which Hobart says is the medical term for laying patients or causing them to lie in bed (*Medical Language of Luke*, 69). For costumes and customs at more elaborate feasts see Banquet; Dress. For details in the "minor morals" of the dinner table, see the classical passages (Sir **31** 12–18; **32** 3–12), in which Jesus ben-Sira has expanded the counsel given in Prov **23** 1 f; cf Kennedy in 1-vol *HDB*, s.v. "Meals."

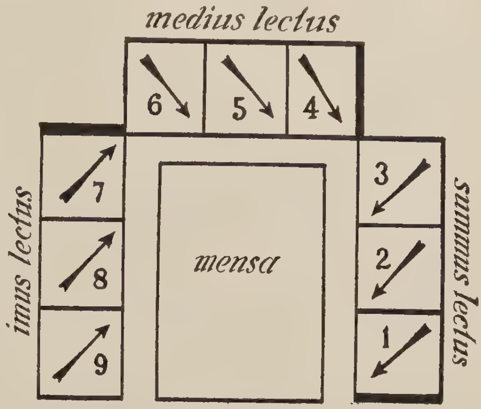
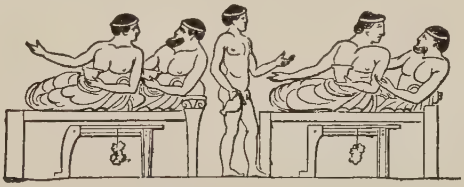


Table and Couches with Seats Numbered in Order of Rank.



Reclining on Couches.

Literature.—Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah;* O. Holtzmann, *Eine Untersuchung zum Leben Jesu*, ET, 206; B. Weiss, *The Life of Christ*, II, 125, n. 2; Plummer, *ICC*, "Luke," 159 f; Farrar, *Life of Christ; HDB, DCG*, 1-vol *HDB; EB; Jew Enc*, etc.

Geo. B. Eager

MEAN, mēn: The noun "meaning" (Dnl **8** 15 AV, RV "I sought to understand"; and 1 Cor **14** 11) is synonymous with "signification," but in 1 Macc **15** 4 AV it expresses "purpose" (RV "I am minded to land"). The noun "mean" in Heb always occurs in the pl., and is generally used in the sense of "agency," "instrument" (cf 1 K **10** 29, etc). RV very frequently changes AV: Wisd **8** 13, "because of her"; 2 Thess **2** 3, "in any wise"; Lk **8** 36, "how"; Prov **6** 26, "on account of"; Rev **13** 14, "by reason of" (cf also 2 Thess **3** 16; Jn **9** 21). He **9** 15 (AV "that by means of death") trs lit. "that a death having taken place," from γίνομαι, *gínomai*, "to become," "to happen." Acts **18** 21 AV, "I must by all means keep this feast," is omitted in RV in harmony with several cursives, the Vulg, and some other VSS.

The adj. "mean" is used in the sense of "common," "humble" (אָדָם, *'ādhām*, "man";

cf Isa **2** 9; **5** 15; **31** 8 omits "mean"). It is also used in the sense of "obscure" (Prov **22** 29, חָשֹׁךְ, *ḥāshōkh,* "obscure"; *ἄσημος, ásēmos,* lit. "without a mark," "unknown," Acts **21** 39). "Mean" is found in expressions like "in the meanwhile" (AV 1 K **18** 45, RV "little while"; Jn **4** 31; Rom **2** 15, RV "one with another"); "in the mean time" (1 Macc **11** 41 AV; Lk **12** 1); and "in the mean season" AV (1 Macc **11** 14; **15** 15). The advb. "meanly" is found (2 Macc **15** 38) in the sense of "moderately."

The vb. "mean" expresses purpose (Isa **3** 15; **10** 7; Gen **50** 20, etc). In some cases RV renders lit. tr: Acts **27** 2, "was about to sail" (AV "meaning to sail"); cf Acts **21** 13; 2 Cor **8** 13. In other instances the idea of "to mean" is "to signify," "to denote" (1 S **4** 6; Gen **21** 29; Mt **9** 13, etc). Lk **15** 26 tr^{s} lit. "what these things might be." In Ex **12** 26 the sense of "mean ye" is "to have in mind."

A. L. Breslich

MEANI, mė̆-ā′nī: AV=RV "Maani" (1 Esd **5** 31).

MEARAH, mė̆-ā′ra (מְעָרָה, *m*^{e}*‛ārāh;* omitted in LXX): A town or district mentioned only in Josh **13** 4, as belonging to the Zidonians. The name as it stands means "cave." If that is correct it may be represented by the modern village *Mogheirīyeh,* "little cave," not far from Sidon. Perhaps, however, we should find in the word the name of a Sidonian city, with the prep. מִן, *min,* that has suffered change in transcription. LXX reads "from Gaza"; but Gaza is obviously too far to the S.

MEASURE, mezh′ŭr, **MEASURES:** Several different words in the Heb and Gr are rendered by "measure" in EV. In Job **11** 9 and Jer **13** 25 it stands for מַד, *madh,* מִדָּה, *middāh,* and it is the usual rendering of the vb. מָדַד, *mādhadh,* "to measure," i.e. "stretch out," "extend," "spread." It is often used to render the words representing particular measures, such as ephah (Dt **25** 14.15; Prov **20** 10; Mic **6** 10); or kor (1 K **4** 22; **5** 11 [**5** 2 and **5** 25 Heb text]; 2 Ch **2** 10 [Heb text **2** 9]; **27** 5; Ezr **7** 22); or seah (Gen **18** 6; 1 S **25** 18; 1 K **18** 32; 2 K **7** 1.16.18); or *βάτος, bátos,* "bath" (Lk **16** 6). For these terms see Weights and Measures. It also renders מִדָּה, *middāh,* "measure of length" (Ex **26** 2); מְשׂוּרָה, *m*^{e}*sūrāh,* a liquid measure (Lev **19** 35; 1 Ch **23** 29; Ezk **4** 11.16); מִשְׁפָּט, *mishpāṭ,* "judgment" (Jer **30** 11; **46** 28); סַאסְּאָה, *ṣa'ṣ*^{e}*'āh,* a word of uncertain meaning, perhaps derived from seah (Isa **27** 8); שָׁלִישׁ, *shālīsh,* "threefold, large measure" (Ps **80** 5 [Heb text ver 6]; Isa **40** 12); תֹּכֶן, *tōkhēn,* and מַתְכֹּנֶת, *mathkōneth,* "weight" and that which is weighed, taken as measure (Ezk **45** 11). In Isa **5** 14 it stands for חֹק, *ḥoḳ,* "limit." In the NT, besides being the usual rendering of the vb. *μετρέω, metréō,* and of the noun *μέτρον, métron,* it is used for *χοῖνιξ, choínix,* a dry measure containing about a quart (Rev **6** 6).

H. Porter

MEASURING LINE (קַו, *ḳaw,* קָוֶה, *ḳeweh*): The usual meaning is simply line, rope or cord, as in Isa **28** 10.13, but the line was used for measurement, as is evident from such passages as 1 K **7** 23; Job **38** 5; Jer **31** 39. Whether the line for measuring had a definite length or not we have no means of knowing. In Isa **44** 13 it refers to the line used by the carpenter in marking the timber on which he is working, and in Zec **1** 16 it refers to the builder's line.

Figuratively: It signifies destruction, or a portion of something marked off by line for destruction, as in 2 K **21** 13; or for judgment, as in Isa **28** 17.

H. Porter

MEASURING REED (קְנֵה הַמִּדָּה, *ḳ*^{e}*nēh ha-middāh;* **κάλαμος,** *kálamos*): Used in Ezk **40** 5 ff; **42** 16; **45** 1; Rev **11** 1; **21** 15.16. The length of the reed is given as 6 cubits, each cubit being a cubit and a palm, i.e. the large cubit of 7 palms, or about 10 ft. See Cubit. Originally it was an actual reed used for measurements of considerable length, but came at last to be used for a measure of definite length, as indicated by the reference in Ezk (cf "pole" in Eng. measures).

MEAT, mēt (**βρῶμα,** *brōma,* **βρῶσις,** *brōsis*): In AV used for food in general, e.g. "I had my meat of herbs" (2 Esd **12** 51); "his disciples were gone away into the city to buy meat," RV "food" (Jn **4** 8). The Eng. word signified whatever is eaten, whether of flesh or other food.

MEAT OFFERING. See Sacrifice.

MEBUNNAI, mė̆-bun′ī, mė̆-bun′ȧ-ī (מְבֻנַּי, *m*^{e}*bhunnay,* "well-built"): One of David's "braves" (2 S **23** 27). In 2 S **21** 18 he is named "Sibbechai" (RV "Sibbecai"), and is there mentioned as the slayer of a Phili giant. The RV spelling occurs in 1 Ch **11** 29, the AV "Sibbechai" in **20** 4 (cf 2 S **21** 18); and in 1 Ch **27** 11 the RV spelling recurs, where this person is mentioned as captain of the 8th course of the 12 monthly courses that served the king *in rota.* Scribal error, and the similarity in Heb spelling of the two forms accounts for the difference in spelling. RV consistently tries to keep this right.

Henry Wallace

MECHERATHITE, mė̆-kē′rath-īt (מְכֵרָתִי, *m*^{e}*khērāthī,* "dweller in Mecharah"): Possibly this is a misreading of "Maachathite" (AV). It is the description of Hepher, one of David's valiant men (1 Ch **11** 36).

In the parallel list of 2 S **23**, esp. ver 34, the "Maachathite" is mentioned without name in the place in the list given to Hepher in 1 Ch **11** 36. The variations do not destroy the conviction that the list is virtually the same.

MECONAH, mė̆-kō′na (מְכֹנָה, *m*^{e}*khōnāh;* **Μαχνά,** *Machná*): A town apparently in the neighborhood of Ziklag, named only in Neh **11** 28, as reoccupied by the men of Judah after the Captivity. It is not identified.

MEDABA, med′a-ba: The Gr form of "Medeba" in 1 Macc **9** 36.

MEDAD, mē′dad (מֵידָד, *mēdhādh,* "affectionate"): One of the 70 elders on whom the spirit of the Lord came in the days of Moses enabling them to prophesy. Medad and one other, Eldad, began to prophesy in the camp, away from the other elders who had assembled at the door of the tabernacle to hear God's message. Joshua suggested that Eldad and Medad be stopped, but Moses interceded on their behalf, saying, "Would that all Jeh's people were prophets!" (Nu **11** 26–29). The subject-matter of their prophecy has been variously supplied by tradition. Cf the Pal Tgs ad loc., the apocalyptic Book of Eldad and Modad, and *Ba‛al ha-ṭūrīm* (ad loc.).

Ella Davis Isaacs

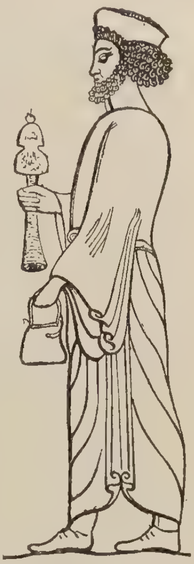
MEDAN, mē′dan (מְדָן, *m*^{e}*dhān,* "strife"): One of the sons of Abraham by Keturah (Gen **25** 2; 1 Ch **1** 32). The tribe and its place remain unidentified, and the conjecture that the name may be connected with the Midianites is unlikely from the fact that in the list of the sons of Abraham and Keturah Midian is mentioned alongside of Medan.

MEDEBA, med′ė̄-ba (מֵידְבָא, *mēdhᵉbhā′;* **Μαιδαβά,** *Maidabá,* **Μηδαβά,** *Mēdabá*): The name may mean "gently flowing water," but the sense is doubtful. This city is first mentioned along with Heshbon and Dibon in an account of Israel's conquests (Nu **21** 30). It lay in the *Mīshōr*, the high pastoral land of Moab. The district in which the city stood is called the *Mīshōr* or plain of Medeba in the description of the territory assigned to Reuben (Josh **13** 9), or the plain by Medeba (ver 16). Here the Ammonites and their Syrian allies put the battle in array against Joab, and were signally defeated (1 Ch **19** 7). This must have left the place definitely in the possession of Israel. But it must have changed hands several times. It was taken by Omri, evidently from Moab; and Mesha claims to have recovered possession of it (M S, ll. 7.8.29.30). It would naturally fall to Israel under Jeroboam II; but in Isa **15** 2 it is referred to as a city of Moab. It also figures in later Jewish history. John, son of Mattathias, was captured and put to death by the Jambri, a robber tribe from Medeba. This outrage was amply avenged by Jonathan and Simon, who ambushed a marriage party of the Jambri as they were bringing a noble bride from Gabbatha, slew them all and took their ornaments (1 Macc **9** 36 ff; *Ant*, XII, i, 2, 4). Medeba was captured by Hyrcanus "not without the greatest distress of his army" (*Ant*, XIII, ix, 1). It was taken by Jannaeus from the Nabataeans. Hyrcanus promised to restore it with other cities so taken to Aretas in return for help to secure him on the Judaean throne (ib, xv, 4; XIV, i, 4). Ptolemy speaks of it as a town in Arabia Petraea, between Bostra and Petra. Eusebius and Jerome knew it under its ancient name (*Onom*, s.v.). It became the seat of a bishropric, and is mentioned in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD), and in other ecclesiastical lists.

The ancient city is represented by the modern *Mādebā*, a ruined site with an Arab village, crowning a low hill, some 6 miles S. of Heshbon, with which it was connected by a Rom road. The ruins, which are considerable, date mainly from Christian times. The surrounding walls can be traced in practically their whole circuit. There is a large tank, now dry, measuring 108 yds. ×103 yds., and about 12 ft. in depth. In 1880 it was colonized by some Christian families from Kerak, among whom the Latins carry on mission work. In December, 1896, a most interesting mosaic was found. It proved to be a map of part of Pal and Lower Egypt of the time of Justinian. Unfortunately it is much damaged. An account of it will be found in *PEFS*, 1897, 213 ff, 239; 1898, 85, 177 ff, 251.

W. Ewing

MEDES, mēdz (מָדִי, *mādhī;* Assyr *Amadā, Madā;* Achaem. Pers *Māda;* **Μῆδοι,** *Mḗdoi* [Gen **10** 2; 2 K **17** 6; **18** 11; 1 Ch **1** 5; Ezr **6** 2; Est **1** 3.14.18.19; **10** 2; Isa **13** 17; **21** 2; Jer **25** 25; **51** 11.28; Dnl **5** 28; **6** 1.9.13.16; **8** 20; **9** 1; **11** 1]): Mentioned as Japhethites in Gen **10** 2, i.e. Aryans, and accordingly they first called themselves Ἄριοι, *Ā́rioi* (Herod. vii.62), in Avestic *Airya*= Skt. *Ārya*, "noble." They were closely allied in descent, language and religion with the Persians, and in secular history preceded their appearance by some centuries. Like most Aryan nations they were at first divided into small village communities each governed by its own chiefs (called in Assyr *ḥazanāti* by Assur-bani-pal: cf Herod. i.96). Ṡhalmaneser II mentions them (Nimrod Obelisk, i.121) about 840 BC. They then inhabited the modern *Ā'ẓarbāījān* (Media Atropatene). Rammānu-nirārī III of Assyria (Rawlinson, *WAI*, I, 35) declares that he (810–781 BC) had conquered "the land of the Medes and the land of Parsua" (Persis), as well as other countries. This probably meant only a plundering expedition, as far as Media was concerned. So also Assur-nirārī II (*WAI*, II, 52) in 749–748 BC overran Namri in Southwest Media. Tiglath-pileser IV (in Bab called Pulu, the "Pul" of 2 K **15** 19) and Sargon also overran parts of Media. Sargon in 716 BC conquered Kisheshin, Kharkhar and other parts of the country. Some of the Israelites were by him transplanted to "the cities of the Medes" (2 K **17** 6; **18** 11; the LXX reading Ὀρή, *Orḗ*, cannot be rendered "mountains" of the Medes here) after the fall of Samaria in 722 BC. It was perhaps owing to the need of being able to resist Assyria that about 720 BC the Medes (in part at least) united into a kingdom under Dēiokēs, according to Herodotus (i.98). Sargon mentions him by the name Dayaukku, and says that he himself captured this prince (715 BC) and conquered his territory two years later. After his release, probably, Dēiokēs fortified Ecbatana (formerly Ellippi) and made it his capital. It has been held by some that Herodotus confounds the Medes here with the Mandā (or Umman-Mandā, "hosts of the Mandā") of the inscriptions; but these were probably Aryan tribes, possibly of Scythian origin, and the names Mādā and Mandā may be, after all, identical. Esar-haddon in his 2d year (679–678 BC) and Assur-bani-pal warred with certain Median tribes, whose power was now growing formidable. They (or the Manda) had conquered Persis and formed a great confederacy. Under Kyaxarēs (Uvakhshatara—Dēiokēs' grandson, according to Herodotus), they besieged Nineveh, but Assur-bani-pal, with the assistance of the Ashguza (? the Ashkenaz of Gen **10** 3), another Aryan tribe, repelled them. The end of the Assyr empire came, however, in 606 BC, when the Mandā under their king Iribatukte, Mamiti-arsu "lord of the city of the Medes," Kastarit of the Armenian district of Kar-kassi, the Kimmerians (Gimirrā=Gomer) under Teushpā (Tēispēs, Chaishpish), the Minni (Mannā; cf Jer **51** 27), and the Babylonians under Nabu-pal-uṣur, stormed and destroyed Nineveh, as Nabu-nahid informs us. The last king of Assyria, Sin-šar-iškun (Sarakos), perished with his people.



Median Dress.

Herodotus says that Dēiokēs was succeeded by Phraortēs (Fravartish) his son, Phraortēs by his son Kyaxares; and the latter in turn left his kingdom to his son Astyagēs whose daughter Mandanē married Cambysēs, father of the great Cyrus. Yet there was no Median *empire* (such as he describes) then, or at least it did not embrace all the Aryan tribes of Western Asia, as we see from the inscriptions that in 606 BC, and even later, many of them were under kings and princes of their own (cf Jer **25** 25; **51** 11). Herodotus tells us they were divided into six tribes, of whom the Magi were one (Herod. i.101). Kyaxares warred for 5 years (590–585 BC) with the Lydians, the struggle being ended in May, 585, by the total eclipse of the sun foretold by Thales (Herod. i.74).

The alliance between the Medes and the Babylonians ended with Nebuchadnezzar's reign. His successor Nabu-nahid (555 BC) says that in that year the Medes under Astyages (Ishtuwegu) entered Mesopotamia and besieged Haran. Soon after, however, that dynasty was overthrown; for Cyrus the Persian, whom Nabu-nahid the first time he mentions him styles Astyages' "youthful slave" (*ardušu ṣaḥru*), but who was even then king of Anshan (Anzan), attacked and in 549 BC captured Astyages, plundered Ecbatana, and became king of the Medes. Though of Pers descent, Cyrus did not, apparently, begin to reign in Persia till 546 BC. Henceforth there was no Median empire distinguished from the Pers (nor is any such mentioned in Dnl, in spite of modern fancies). As the Medes were further advanced in civilization and preceded the Persians in sovereignty, the Gr historians generally called the whole nation "the Medes" long after Cyrus' time. Only much later are the Persians spoken of as the predominant partners. Hence it is a sign of early date that Daniel (**8** 20) speaks of "Media and Persia," whereas later the Book of Est reverses the order ("Persia and Media," Est **1** 3.14.18.19; **10** 2), as in the inscriptions of Darius at Behistūn.

Under Darius I, Phraortēs (Fravartish) rebelled, claiming the throne of Media as a descendant of Kyaxarēs. His cause was so powerfully supported among the Medes that the rebellion was not suppressed till after a fierce struggle. He was finally taken prisoner at Ragā (*Rai*, near Ṭehrān), brutally mutilated, and finally impaled at Ecbatana. After that Median history merges into that of Persia. The history of the Jews in Media is referred to in Dnl and Est. 1 Macc tells something of Media under the Syrian (**6** 56) and Parthian dominion (**14** 1–3; cf Jos, *Ant*, XX, iii). Medes are last mentioned in Acts **2** 9. They are remarkable as the first leaders of the Aryan race in its struggle with the Semites for freedom and supremacy.

W. St. Clair Tisdall

MEDIA, mē′di-a (מָדַי, *mādhay;* Achaem. Pers *Māda;* **Μηδία,** *Mēdía*): Lay to the W. and S.W. of the Caspian, and extended thence to the Zagrus Mountains on the W. On the N. in later times it was bounded by the rivers Araxes and Cyrus, which separated it from Armenia. Its eastern boundaries were formed by Hyrcania and the Great Salt Desert (now called the *Kavîr*), and it was bounded on the S. by Susiana. In earlier times its limits were somewhat indefinite. It included Atropatene (Armenian *Atrpatakan*, the name, "Fire-guarding," showing devotion to the worship of Fire) to the N., and Media Magna to the S., the former being the present *Ā'ẓarbāījān.* Near the Caspian the country is low, damp and unhealthy, but inland most of it is high and mountainous, Mt. Demāvand in the Alburz range reaching 18,600 ft. Atropatene was famed for the fertility of its valleys and table-lands, except toward the N. Media Magna is high; it has fruitful tracts along the course of the streams, but suffers much from want of water, though this was doubtless more abundant in antiquity. It contained the Nisaean Plain, famous for its breed of horses. The chief cities of ancient Media were Ecbatana, Gazaea, and Ragae. The Orontes range near Ecbatana is the present *Alvand.* Lake Spauta is now known as *Urmi* (Urumiah).

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MEDIAN, mē′di-an. See Darius; Medes; Media.

MEDIATION, mē-di-ā′shun, **MEDIATOR**, mē′-di-ā-tēr:

- I. Introductory
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    - 2. The Principle of Mediation
- II. Mediation in the OT
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    - 3. Epistles of Paul
        - (1) The Need of a Mediator
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        - (5) The Cosmic Aspect of Christ's Mediatorship
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        - (1) The Fourth Gospel
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        - (3) The Apocalypse
- V. Conclusion

Literature

I. Introductory.—(1) "Mediation" in its broadest sense may be defined as the act of intervening between parties at variance for the purpose of reconciling them, or between parties not necessarily hostile for the purpose of leading them into an agreement or covenant. Theologically, it has reference to the method by which God and man are reconciled through the instrumentality of some intervening process, act or person, and esp. through the atoning work of Jesus Christ. The term itself does not occur in Bib. literature. (2) The term "mediator" (= middleman, agent of mediation) is nowhere found in OT or Apoc (EV), but the corresponding Gr word *μεσίτης*, *mesítēs*, occurs once in LXX (Job **9** 33 AV, "Neither is there any daysman betwixt us," where "daysman" stands for Heb *mōkhīaḥ*, "arbitrator," ARV, ERVm "umpire" [see Daysman]; LXX has *ὁ μεσίτης ἡμῶν*, *ho mesítēs hēmōn*, "our mediator," as a paraphrase for Heb *bēnēnū*, "betwixt us"). Even in the NT, *mesitēs*, "mediator," occurs only 6 t, viz. Gal **3** 19.20 (of Moses), and 1 Tim **2** 5; He **8** 6; **9** 15; **12** 24 (of Christ).

1. The Terms

Though the actual terms are thus very rare, the principle of mediation is one of great significance in Bib. theology, as well as in the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy. It corresponds to a profound human instinct or need which finds expression in some form or other in most religions. It is an attempt to solve the problem raised by (1) the idea of the infinite distance which separates God from man and the universe, and (2) the deeply felt want of bringing them into a harmonious relation. The conception of mediation will differ, therefore, according to whether the distance to be surmounted is understood ethically or metaphysically. If it be thought of in an *ethical* or *religious* sense, that is, if the emphasis be laid on the fact of human sin as standing in the way of man's fellowship with God, then mediation will be the mode by which peaceful relations are established between sinful man and the absolutely righteous God. But if the antithesis of God and the world be conceived of *metaphysically*, i.e. be based on the ultimate nature of God and of the world conceived as essentially opposed to each other, then mediation will be the mode by which the transcendent God, without Himself coming into direct contact with the world, is able to produce effects in it through an intermediate agent (or agents). The latter conception (largely the result of an exaggerated Platonic dualism) exerted an important influence on later Jewish thought, and even on Christian theology, and will come briefly under our consideration. But in the

2. The Principle of Mediation

main we shall be concerned with the former view, as more in harmony with the development of Bib. theology which culminates in the NT doctrine of atonement. Mediation between God and man as presented in the Scriptures has 3 main aspects, represented respectively by the functions of the prophet, the priest, and the theocratic king. Here and there in the OT these tend to meet, as in Melchizedek the priest-king, and in the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isa, who unites the priestly function of sacrifice with the prophetic function of revealing the Divine will. But on the whole, these aspects of mediation in the OT run along lines which have no meeting-point in one person adequate to all the demands. In the NT they intersect in the person and work of Jesus Christ, who realizes in Himself the full meaning of the prophetic, priestly, and kingly ideals.

1. Negative Teaching in the OT

II. Mediation in the OT.—We do not find in the OT a fixed and final doctrine of mediation universally accepted as an axiom of religious thought, but only a gradual movement toward such a doctrine, under the growing sense of God's exaltation and of man's frailty and sinfulness. Such a passage as 1 S **2** 25 seems definitely to contradict the idea of mediation. Still more striking are the words of Job above referred to, "There is no umpire betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both," i.e. to enforce his decision (Job **9** 33), where the LXX paraphrases, "Would that there were a mediator and a reprover and a hearer between us both." The note of despair which characterizes this passage shows that Job has no hope that such an arbitrator between him and God is forthcoming. Yet the words give pathetic utterance to the deep inarticulate cry of humanity for a mediator. In this connection we should note the protests of prophets and psalmists against an unethical view of mediation by animal sacrifices (Mic **6** 6–8; Ps **40** 6–8, etc), and their frequent direct appeals to God for mercy without reference to any mediation (Ps **25** 7; **32** 5; **103** 8 ff, etc).

2. The Positive Teaching: Early Period

(1) *Mediatory sacrifice.*—In the patriarchal age, before the official priest had been differentiated from the rest of the community, the function of offering sacrifice was discharged by the head of the family or clan on behalf of his people, as by Noah (Gen **8** 20), Abraham (Gen **12** 7.8; **15** 9–11), Isaac (Gen **26** 24 f), Jacob (Gen **31** 54; **33** 20). So Job, conceived by the writer as living in patriarchal antiquity, is said to have offered sacrifices vicariously for his sons (Job **1** 5). Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem (Gen **14** 18–20), is a figure of considerable theological interest, inasmuch as he was taken by the author of Ps **110** as the forerunner of the ideal theocratic king who was also priest, and by the author of He as prototype of Christ's priesthood.

(2) *Intercessory prayer.*—Intercession is in all stages of thought an essential element in mediation. We have striking examples of it in Gen **18** 22–33; Job **42** 8–10.

(3) *The Mosaic covenant.*—In Moses we have for the first time a recognized national representative who acted both as God's spokesman to the people, and the people's spokesman before God. He alone was allowed to "come near unto Jeh," and to him Jeh spake "face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend" (Ex **33** 11). He went up to God and "reported the words of the people" to Him, as to a sovereign who cannot be approached save by his duly accredited minister (Ex **19** 8). We have a striking example of his intercessory mediation in the episode of the golden calf, when he pleaded effectively with God to turn from His wrath (Ex **32** 12–14), and even offered to "make atonement for" (*kippēr*, lit. "cover") their sin by confessing their sin before God, and being willing to be blotted out of God's book, so that the people might be spared (vs 30–32). Here we have already the germs of the idea of vicarious suffering for sin.

(4) *Intercessory mediation.*—Samuel is by Jeremiah classed with Moses as the chief representative of intercessory mediation (Jer **15** 1). He is reported as mediating by prayer between Israel and God, and succeeding in warding off the punishment of their sin (1 S **7** 5–12). On such occasions, prayer was wont to be accompanied by confessions of sins and by an offering to Jeh.

3. Prophetic Mediation

Samuel represents the transition from the ancient seer or soothsayer to *the prophetic order.* The prophet was regarded as the organ of Divine revelation, to consult whom was equivalent to "inquiring of God" (1 S **9** 9)—a commissioner sent by God (Isa **6** 8 f) to proclaim His will by word and action. In that capacity he was Jeh's representative among men, and so could speak in a tone of authority. Prophetic revelation is essential to the OT religion (cf He **1** 1), which by it stands distinguished from a mere philosophy or natural religion. God is not merely a passive object of human discovery, but one who actively and graciously reveals Himself to His chosen people through the medium of the authorized exponents of His mind and will. Thus in the main the prophet stands for the principle of mediation in its *man-ward* aspect. But the God-ward aspect is not absent, for we find the prophet mediating with God on behalf of men, making intercession for them (Jer **14** 19–22; Am **7** 2 f.5 f).

4. Priestly Mediation

Mediation is in a peculiar sense the function of *the priest.* In the main he stands for the principle in its *God-ward* aspect. Yet in the early period it was the man-ward aspect that was most apparent; i.e. the priest was at first regarded as the medium through which Jeh delivered His oracles to men, the human mouthpiece of supernatural revelation, giving advice in difficult emergencies by casting the sacred lot. Before the time of the first literary prophets, the association of the priests with the ephod and the lot had receded into the background (though the high priest theoretically retained the gift of interpreting the Divine will through the Urim and Thummim, Ex **28** 30; Lev **8** 8); but the power they lost with the oracle they gained at the altar. First they acquired a preferential status at the local sanctuaries; then, in the Deuteronomic legislation, where sacrifice is limited to the Jerus sanctuary, it is assumed that only Levite priests can officiate. Finally, in the Levitical system as set forth in the PC (which regulated Jewish worship in the post-exilic times), the Aaronic priests, now clearly distinguished from the Levites, have the sole privilege of immediate access to God in His sanctuary (Nu **4** 19.20; **16** 3–5). God's transcendence and holiness are now so emphasized that between Him and the sin-stained people there is almost an infinite chasm. Hence the people can only enjoy its ideal right of drawing nigh unto God and offering sacrifice to Him through the mediation of the official priesthood. The mediatorship of priests derived its authority, not from their moral purity or personal worth, but from the ceremonial purity which attached to their office. All priests are not on the same level. A process of graduated sanctity narrows down their number as the approach is made to the Most Holy Place, which symbolizes the presence chamber of Jeh. (1) Out of the sacred nation as a whole, the priestly tribe of Levi is elected and invested with a special sanctity to perform all the subordinate acts of service within the tabernacle (Nu **8** 19; **18** 6). (2) Within this sacred tribe, the members of the house of Aaron are set apart and invested with a still higher sanctity; they alone officiate at the altar in the Holy Place and expiate the guilt of the people by sacrifice and prayer, thus representing the people before God. Yet even they are only admitted to the proximate nearness of the Holy Place. (3) The gradation of the hierarchy is completed by the recognition of a single, supreme head of the priesthood—the high priest. He alone can enter the Holy of Holies, and that alone once a year, on the Day of Atonement, when he makes propitiation not only for himself and the priesthood, but for the entire congregation. The ritual of the Day of Atonement is the highest exercise of priestly mediatorship. On that day, the whole community has access to Jeh through their representative, the high priest, and through him offer atonement for their sins. Moreover, the rôle of the high priest as mediator is symbolized by his wearing the breastplate bearing the names of the children of Israel, whenever he goes into the Holy Place (Ex **28** 29).

Something must be said of the sacrificial system, through which alone the priest exercised his mediatorial functions. For his mediatorship did not depend on his direct personal influence with God, exercised, for instance, through intercessory prayer (intercession is not mentioned by P as a duty of the priest, though referred to by the prophets, Joel **2** 17; Mal **1** 9). It depended rather on an elaborate system of sacrifice, of which the priest was but an official agent. It was he who derived his authority from the system, rather than the system from him. The most characteristic features in the ritual of the PC are the sin offering (*ḥaṭṭā'th,* Lev **4**; **5**; **6** 24–30) and the guilt offering (*'āshām,* Lev **5–7, 14, 19**), which seem peculiar to P. These are meant to restore the normal relation of the people or of individuals to God, a relation which sin has disturbed. Hence these sacrifices, when duly administered by the priest, are distinctly mediatorial or reconciliatory in character, i.e. they make atonement for or "cover" (*kippēr*) the sin of the guilty community or individuals. This seems the case also, though in a far less degree, even with the burnt, peace, and meal offerings, which, though "not offered *expressly,* like the sin and guilt offerings, for the forgiveness of sin, nevertheless were regarded . . . . as 'covering,' or neutralizing, the offerer's unworthiness to appear before God, and so, though in a much less degree than the sin or guilt offering, as effecting propitiation" (Driver in *HDB,* IV, 132). We must beware, however, of reading the full NT doctrine of sin and propitiation into the sacrificial law. Two important points of difference may be noted: (1) The law does not provide atonement for all sins, but only for sins of ignorance or inadvertence, committed *within* the covenant. Deliberate sins fall outside the scope of priestly mediation. (2) While sin includes *moral* impurity, it must be admitted that the chief emphasis falls on *ceremonial* uncleanness, because it is only violation of *physical* sanctity that can be fully rectified by ritual ordinance. The law was essentially a civil code, and was not adequate to deal with inward sins. Thus the sacrificial system in itself is but a faint adumbration of the NT doctrine of Christ's high-priestly work, which has reference to sin in its widest and deepest meaning. Yet, in spite of these limitations, the priestly ritual was, as far as it went, an organized embodiment of the sin-consciousness, and so prepared the way for the coming of a perfect Mediator.

5. The Theocratic King: the Messiah

On another plane than that of the priest is the mediation of *the theocratic king.* Jeh was ideally the sole king of Israel. But He governed the people *mediately* through His vicegerent the theocratic king, the agent of His will. The king was regarded as "Jeh's anointed" (1 S **16** 6, etc), and his person as inviolable. He was the "visible representative of the invisible Divine King" (Riehm). The ideal of the theocratic king was most nearly represented by David, the man after Jeh's own heart (cf 1 S **13** 14). This fact led to Jeh's covenant-promise that David's house should constitute a permanent dynasty, and his throne be established forever (2 S **7** 5–17; cf Ps **89** 19–37). The indestructibility of the Davidic dynasty was the basal conviction on which the hope of a Messiah was built. It led to attention being further concentrated on *one* preëminent King in David's line, who should be the Divinely accredited representative of Jeh, and reign in His name. As a Divinely endowed human hero, the Messiah will possess attributes which will qualify Him to mediate between God and His people in national life and affairs, and so inaugurate the ideal age of peace and righteousness. He is portrayed esp. as the Royal Saviour of Israel, through whom the salvation of the people is mediated and justice administered (e.g. Isa **11** 1–10; **61** 1–3; Ps **72** 4.13; Jer **23** 5.6; **33** 15.16).

6. The Suffering Servant

In the wonderful figure of exilic prophecy, the *Suffering Servant of Jeh,* the principle of mediation is exemplified both in its man-ward and God-ward aspects. In its *man-ward* aspect, his mission is the prophetic one of being God's anointed messenger to men, His witness before the world (Isa **42** 6.19; **43** 10; **49** 2; **50** 4.5; **61** 1–3). But the profound originality of the conception of the Servant lies chiefly in the *God-ward* significance of his suffering (Isa **53**). The Servant suffered vicariously as an atonement for the sins of the people. His death is even said to be a "guilt-offering" (*'āshām,* ver 10), and he is represented as making "intercession for the transgressors" (ver 12). Here is the profoundest expression in the OT of the principle of mediatorship.

The substitution of voluntary, deliberate, *human* sacrifice for that of unwilling beasts elevates the sacrificial idea to a new ethical plane, and brings it into far more vital and organic relation to human life. The basis of the mediatorship of the Servant seems to be the principle of the solidarity or organic unity of the people, involving the ideal unity of the Servant and the people he represents. In the earlier servant-passages the Servant is identical with the whole nation (Isa **41** 8; **44** 1 f, and often), and the unity is therefore actual, not ideal merely. In other passages, however, they are clearly to be distinguished, for while the people as a whole is unfaithful to its mission, the Servant remains faithful and suffers for it. Whether in Isa **53** the Servant is the pious remnant of the people or is conceived of as an individual we need not here consider. In either case, the tie between the Servant and the whole nation is never completely broken; the idea of their mystical union is still the groundwork of the prophet's thought. In virtue of this ideal relation, the Servant is the representative of the nation before God, not in a mere official sense (as in the case of the priest), but on the ground of personal merit, as the true Israel, the embodiment of the national ideal. On that ground God can accept his suffering in lieu of the deserved penalty of the whole people. We have here a wonderful adumbration of the NT doctrine of atonement through the One Mediator, the Son of Man, the representative of the race. See SERVANT OF JEHOVAH.

7. Superhuman Agents of Mediation

In later Judaism, the growing sense of God's transcendence favored the tendency to introduce *supernatural intermediaries* between God and the world.

(1) *Angelic mediation.*—Not until post-exilic times did angels come to have theological significance. Previously, when God was anthropomorphically conceived as appearing periodically on

earth in visible form, the need of angelic mediation was not felt. The "angel" in early narrative (e.g. Gen **16** 7–11) did not possess abiding personality distinct from God, but was God Himself temporarily manifested in human form. But the more God came to be conceived as "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity," the greater was the need for mediation between God and the world, and even between God and His servant the prophet. In post-exilic writers there is an increasing disposition to fill up the gap between God and the prophet with superhuman beings. Thus Zechariah receives all Divine instruction through angels; and similarly Daniel receives explanations of his dreams. We do not in the OT hear of angels interceding with God (God-ward mediation), but only as intermediaries of revelation and of the Divine will (man-ward mediation). Modern Jewish scholars deny that Judaistic angelology implied that God was transcendent in the sense of being remote and out of contact with the world. So, e.g., Montefiore (*Hibbert Lectures*, 423–31), but even he admits a "natural disinclination to bring the Godhead downward to human conditions," and that "for supernatural conversations angels formed a convenient substitute for God" (p. 430). The doctrine of angels had no influence on the NT doctrine of mediation, which moves on the plane of the ethical, rather than on the basis of the merely physical transcendence of God.

(2) *Divine wisdom.*—Of more importance as a preparation for the theology of the NT is the doctrine of Wisdom, in which the Jews found "a middle term between the religion of Israel and the philosophy of Greece." In Prov **8** 22–31 Wisdom is depicted as an individual energy, God's elect Son, His companion and master-workman (ver 30) in creation, but whose chief delight is with the children of men. Though the personification is here purely ideal and poetical, and the ethical interest predominates over the metaphysical, yet we have in such a passage a clear proof of contact with Gr thought (esp. Platonism and Stoicism), and of the felt need of a mediator between God and the visible world. This mode of thought, linked to the Heb conception of the Divine Word as the efficient expression of God's thought and the medium of His activity (Isa **55** 11; Ps **33** 6; **107** 20), has left its mark on Philo's Logos-doctrine and on the NT Christology. See WISDOM.

III. In Semi- and Non-canonical Jewish Literature.—In the Apoc, the idea of mediation is for the most part absent. We have one or two references to angelic intercession (Tob **12** 12.15), a function not attributed to angels in the OT, but prominent in later apocalyptic literature (e.g. En **9** 10; **15** 2; **40** 6). The tradition of the agency of angels in the promulgation of the law is first found in the LXX of Dt **33** 2 (not in the Heb original), but was greatly amplified in rabbinical literature (Jos, *Ant*, XV, v, 3). In Wisd a bold advance is made toward the conception of Wisdom as a *personal* mediator of creation (esp. **7** 22–27). In later Judaism, the idea of the Word is further developed. The Tgs constantly refer the Divine activity to the *mēmᵉrā'* or "Word" of God, where the OT refers it to God directly, and speaks of it as Israel's Intercessor before God and as Redeemer. This usage seems to arise out of a reluctance to bring God into immediate contact with the world; hence God's self-manifestation is represented as mediated through a quasi-personal agent. The tendency finds its full development, however, not among the Jerus Jews, but among the Jews of Alexandria, esp. in Philo's Logos-doctrine. Deeply influenced by the Platonic dualism, Philo thought of God as pure Spirit, incapable of contact with matter, so that without mediation God could not act on the world. To fill up the great gap he conceived of intermediary beings which represented at once the Ideas of Plato, the active Powers of the Stoics, and the angels of the OT. The highest of these was the Divine Logos, the mediator between the inaccessible, transcendent Being and the material universe. On the one hand, in relation to the world, the Logos is the Mediator of creation and of revelation; on the other, in his God-ward activity, he is the representative of the world before God, its High Priest, Intercessor, and Paraclete. Yet Philo's Logos was probably nothing more than a high philosophical abstraction vividly imaged in the mind. In spite of Philo's influence on early Christian theology, and even perhaps on some NT writers, his doctrine of mediation moves on quite different lines from the central NT doctrine, which is concerned above all with the reconciliation of God and man on account of sin, and not with the metaphysical reconciliation of the absolute and the finite world. The Mediator of Philo is an abstraction of speculative thought; the Mediator of the NT is a concrete historical person known to experience. See PHILO JUDAEUS.

1. The Synoptic Gospels

IV. Mediation and Mediator in the NT.—The relatively independent lines of development which the conception of mediation has hitherto taken now meet and coalesce in Jesus Christ. The traditional division of Christ's mediatorial work into that of *prophet*, *priest* and *king* (very common since Calvin, but now often discarded) offers a convenient method of treating the subject, though we must avoid making the division absolute, as if Christ's work fell apart into three separate and independent functions. The unity of the work of salvation is preserved by the fact that "no one of the offices fills up a moment of time alone, but the others are always coöperative," although "Christ's mediatorial work puts now this, now that side in the foreground." "The triple division is of special value, because it sets in a vivid light the continuity between the OT theocracy and Christianity" (Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, ET, III, 385 ff). These three aspects of Christ's mediatorship can be distinguished in the Synoptics, although the formal distinction is the work of later analysis.

(1) *Christ as Prophet.*—It was in the character of Prophet that He mainly impressed the common mind, which was moved to inquire "Whence hath this man this wisdom?" and by His reply, "A prophet is not without honor," etc, He virtually accepts that title (Mt **13** 54.57). As Prophet, Christ is the mediator of revelation; through Him alone can men come to know God as Father (Mt **11** 27) and "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven" (**13** 11). In all His teaching we feel that He speaks within the center of truth, and hence can teach with authority and not as the scribes (**7** 29), who approach the truth from without. His teaching is part of His redemptive work, and not something extraneous to it, for the sin from which He redeems includes ignorance and error.

(2) *Christ as King.*—The official name "Christ" (=Messiah, the anointed King) refers primarily to His kingship. The Messianic hope had taught men to look forward to the rule of God on earth instituted and administered through His representative. Christ was the fulfilment of that hope. Though He held an attitude of reserve in the matter, there can be no doubt that He conceived of Himself as the Messiah (Mk **8** 27–30; **14** 16 f; cf His entry into Jerus as a triumphant king, **11** 1 ff; the inscription on the cross, **15** 26). But it is also clear that He fundamentally modified the Messianic idea, (*a*) by suffusing it with the thought of vicarious suffering, and (*b*) by giving it an ethical and spiritual rather than a national and official significance. The note of His kingship was that of authority (Mk **1** 27; **2** 10; Mt **7** 29; **28** 18) exercised in the realm of truth and conscience. His kingship includes the future as well as the present; He is the arbiter of human destiny (Mt **25** 31 ff).

(3) *Christ as Priest*, or, better, as *Redeemer* (the synoptists do not hint at the priestly analogy).—Our Lord often spoke of forgiveness without mentioning Himself as the one through whom it was mediated, as if it flowed directly from the gracious heart of the Father (cf the parables of Lk **15**). But there are other passages which emphasize the close connection of His person with men's redemption. Men's attitude to Him decides absolutely their relation to God (Mt **10** 32.40). Rest of soul is

mediated to the heavy laden through Him (Mt **11** 28–30). He claims authority on earth to forgive sins (Mk **2** 10). We have no evidence that He spoke definitely of His death until after Peter's confession at Caesarea (Mk **8** 31, "*began* to teach," etc), though we seem to have vague allusions earlier (e.g. the allegory of the bridegroom, Mk **2** 19.20). This may be partly due to conscious reserve, in accordance with the true pedagogical method by which He adapted His teaching to the progressive receptivity of His followers. But inasmuch as we must think of Him as subject to the ordinary laws of human psychology, the idea of His death must have been to Him a growth, matured partly by outward events, and partly by the development of His inner consciousness as the Suffering Messiah. In His later ministry, He frequently taught that He must suffer and die (Mk **9** 12.31; **10** 32 f; **12** 8; **14** 8 and ‖ passages; cf Mk **10** 38; Lk **12** 49 f). There are two important passages which expressly connect His death with His mediatorial work. The first is Mk **10** 45 ‖ Mt **20** 28, "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." The context shows that it was while the thought of His approaching death filled His mind that Our Lord uttered these words (cf Mk **10** 33. 38 f). As to the exact meaning of ransom (λύτρον, *lútron*) there are two circles of ideas with which it may be associated. (*a*) It may mean a sacrificial offering, representing Heb *kōpher* (lit. "covering," "propitiatory gift") which it translates several times in LXX (e.g. Ex **30** 12). Thus Ritschl defines it as "an offering which, because of its specific worth to God, is a protection or covering against sin" (*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, II, 68–88). (*b*) It may mean ransom price, the purchase-money paid for the emancipation of a slave. In LXX, *lutron* in most cases stands for some form of the roots *gā'al*, "to deliver," *pādhāh*, "to redeem" (e.g. Lev **25** 51; Nu **3** 51). Hence Wendt explains the "ransom" as the price by which Jesus redeemed His disciples from their bondage to suffering and death (*Teaching of Jesus*, II, 226 ff). This analogy certainly suits the context better than that drawn from the Levitical ritual, for it brings out the contrast between the *liberating* work of Christ and the *enslaving* work of those who "lord it over" men. We must not press the analogy in detail or seek here an answer to the question, who was the recipient of the ransom price (e.g. whether the devil, as many Fathers, notably Origen and Gregory of Nyssa; God, as Anselm and later theologians; the "eternal law of righteousness," as Dale). The purpose of the passage is primarily practical, not speculative. It is certainly pressing the figurative language of Jesus too far to insist that the ransom price is the exact quantitative equivalent of the lives liberated, or of the penalty they had deserved regarded as a debt. This is too prosaic and literalistic an interpretation of a passage which has its setting in the ethical rather than in the commercial realm, and which breathes a spirit closely akin to that of Isa **53**, where suffering and service are, as here, combined.

The other passage in which Christ definitely connects His mediatorship with His death is that which reports His words at the Last Supper (Mk **14** 22–24; Mt **26** 26–28; Lk **22** 19 f; cf 1 Cor **11** 24 f). The reported words are not identical in the several narratives. But even in their simplest form (in Mk), there is evidently a threefold allusion, to the paschal lamb, to the sacrifice offered by Moses at the ratification of the covenant at Sinai (Ex **24** 8), and to Jeremiah's prophecy of a new covenant (**31** 31–34). There can be little doubt that the paschal feast, though it does not conform in detail to any of the Levitical sacrifices, was regarded as a *sacrifice*, as is indicated by the blood ceremonial (Ex **12** 21–27). The blood of the covenant, too, is sacrificial; and, as we have seen, it is probable that all blood sacrifices, and not those of the sin and guilt offerings only, were associated with propitiatory power. Wendt denies that there is here any reference to sin and its forgiveness (*Teachings of Jesus*, II, 241 f). It must be admitted that the words in Mt "unto remission of sins," which have no counterpart in the other reports, are probably an explanatory expansion of the words actually uttered. But they are a true interpretation of their meaning, as is attested by the fact that the new covenant of Jeremiah's prophecy was one of forgiveness and justification (Jer **31** 34), and that Christ speaks of His blood as shed *for* others. And as the Passover signified deliverance from bondage to an earthly power (Egypt), so the Supper stands for forgiveness and deliverance from a spiritual power (sin). Clearly Christ here represents Himself as the Mediator of the new covenant, through whom men are to find acceptance with God, though the exact *modus operandi* of His sacrifice is not indicated.

The Synoptics give special prominence to those historical events which are most intimately associated with Christ's mediatorship—not only the agony in the garden and the crucifixion, but also the resurrection and ascension (which make possible His intercessory mediation in heaven).

2. Primitive Apostolic Teaching

(1) *The early speeches in Acts* reveal a primitive stage of theological reflection. Yet they are essentially Christocentric. (*a*) It is the Messianic Kingship of Christ that is chiefly emphasized. The main thesis is that Jesus is the Messiah (the "anointed one"; cf Acts **4** 27; **10** 38), and that His Messiahship was realized in the crucifixion and attested by the resurrection. An important feature is the use of the title "Servant" for Christ (**3** 13.26; **4** 27.30; cf **8** 30–35), in evident reference to the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isa. In the phrase, "thy holy *Servant* . . . . whom thou didst *anoint*," coming immediately after the Messianic quotation, "against the Lord, and against his Anointed" (**4** 26 f), we have a concise instance of that coalescing of the idea of the Messiah with that of the Suffering Servant which gave the Messianic idea an entirely new meaning. As Messiah, Jesus was the sole Mediator of salvation (**4** 12). (*b*) Another OT type which finds its fulfilment in Jesus is that of the "*prophet* like unto" Moses (**3** 22; **7** 37; cf Dt **18** 15.18). (*c*) But the *priestly* functions of Christ are not explicitly touched on. The questions are not faced, What is the God-ward significance of His death? How is it effective for man's salvation? It is rather the man-ward significance that is made explicit, i.e. Jesus as Messiah mediates salvation to men from His place of exaltation at the right hand of God. Yet the germs of a God-ward mediation are found in the identification of the Messiah with the Suffering Servant.

(2) *Epistles of James and Jude.*—In these epp. the doctrine of Christ's mediation does not occupy a prominent place. To James, Christianity is the culmination of Judaism. Christ's mediatorial functions are set forth more by way of presupposition than by explicit statement, and the whole weight is laid on the kingly and prophetic offices. The Messiahship of Jesus is assumed to such an extent that the title "Christ" has become part of the proper name, and His Lordship is also implied (**1** 1; **2** 1). Nothing definite is said of His function in salvation; it is God Himself who regenerates, but the medium of regeneration is "the word of truth," "the implanted word" (**1** 18.21), which

must refer to the word which Jesus had preached. This implies that Jesus as prophetic teacher is the Mediator of salvation. Nothing is said of the death on the cross or its saving significance. The Ep. of Jude assumes the Lordship of Christ, through whom God's Saviourhood works, and whose mercy results in eternal life (vs 4.21.25).

(3) *1 Peter.*—In 1 Pet we have the early apostolic teaching touched with Paulinism. The fact that salvation is mediated through the sufferings and death of Christ is now explicitly stated. Christ has suffered for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous (**3** 18). The suffering has significance both God-ward and man-ward. Relatively to God it is a sacrificial offering which opens up a way of access to Him; He suffered "that he might bring us to God" (**3** 18), and that through His representative priesthood the ideal "holy priesthood" of all God's people might be realized, for it is "through Jesus Christ" that men's "spiritual sacrifices" become "acceptable to God" (**2** 5). So the elect are sprinkled with the blood of Christ, i.e. brought into communion with God by His sacrifice (**1** 2). Relatively to man, it is a means of ransoming or liberating man from the bondage of sin. "Knowing that ye were redeemed [ἐλυτρώθητε, *elutrōthēte,* lit. "ransomed," from *lutron,* "ransom," an echo of Mk **10** 45] . . . . with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot" (**1** 18.19). The sacrificial language is simple and undeveloped, and it is not clear whether the figure of "lamb" implies a reference to the paschal lamb or to Isa **53** 7, or to both. The effect on man is, however, clear. Christ "bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed" (**2** 24; see the whole passage, vs 21–24, reminiscent of the figure of the Suffering Servant of Isa ch **53**).

3. Epistles of Paul

Christ's mediatorship stands at the very center of Paul's gospel; this in spite of the fact that only once does he apply the term "mediator" to Christ (1 Tim **2** 5), and that in the only other passage where he uses the word, he applies it to Moses, in a sense which might seem to be inconsistent with the idea of Christ's mediatorship, viz. where he discusses the relation of law to promise. The law was "ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not . . . . of one; but God is one" (Gal **3** 19.20).

This passage has had to undergo about 300 different interpretations. The view that the "mediator" here is Christ (Origen, Augustine and most of the Fathers, Calvin, etc) is clearly untenable. Modern exegetes agree that the reference is to Moses (cf Lev **26** 46, where LXX has "by the hand of Moses"; Philo calls Moses "mediator and reconciler," *De Vit. Moys,* iii.19), who, according to a rabbinical tradition, received the Law through the intermediation of angels (cf Acts **7** 53; He **2** 2). Nor is it likely that Paul meant the reader to realize the *glory* of the law and the solemnity of its ordination (Meyer). The point is rather the *inferiority* of the law to the evangelical promise to Abraham. Mediation implies at least two parties between whom it is carried on. The law was given by a double mediatorship, that of the angels and that of Moses, and was thus two removes from its Divine source. But in relation to the promise God stood alone, i.e. acted freely, unconditionally, independently, and for Himself alone. The promise is no agreement between two, but the free gift of the one God (so Schleiermacher, Lightfoot, etc). This is by no means a denial of the Divine origin of the law (Ritschl), for the mediation of angels and of Moses was Divinely authorized; but it does seem to make the method of mediation inferior to that of the *direct* communication of God's gracious will to man. Paul is not, however, treating of the principle of mediation in the abstract, but only that form of it which implies a contract between two parties. Christ is not Mediator in the same sense as Moses, for the free and unconditioned character of the forgiving grace which Christ mediates is by no means diminished by the fact of His mediation.

What, then, is Paul's positive teaching on Christ's Mediatorship?

(1) The *need* of a Mediator arises out of *the fact of sin.* Sin interrupts the harmonious relation between God and man. It results in a state of mutual alienation. On the one hand, man is in a state of enmity to God (Rom **5** 10; **8** 7; Col **1** 21). On the other hand, God is moved to righteous wrath in relation to the sinner (Rom **1** 18; **5** 9; Eph **5** 6; Col **3** 6). Hence the need of a mutual change of attitude, a removal of God's displeasure against the sinner as well as of the sinner's hostility to God. God could not restore man to favor by a mere fiat, without some public exhibition of Divine righteousness, and vindication of His character as not indifferent to sin (cf Rom **3** 25.26). Such exhibition demanded a Mediator.

(2) The *qualification* of Christ to be the Mediator depends on His intimate relation to both parties at variance.

(*a*) Christ's relation to *man:* Firstly, He is Himself a man, i.e. not merely "man" generically, but an *individual* man. The "one mediator between God and men" is "himself man, Christ Jesus" (1 Tim **2** 5), "born of a woman" (Gal **4** 4), "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom **8** 3, where the word "likeness" does not make "flesh" unreal, but qualifies "sinful"), i.e. bore to the eye the aspect of an ordinary man; secondly, He bore a *particular* relation to a section of humanity, the Jews (Rom **1** 3; **9** 5); thirdly, He bore a *universal* relation to mankind in general. He was more than an individual among many, like a link in a chain. He was the Second Adam, the archetypal, universal, representative Man, whose actions therefore had significance beyond Himself and were ideally the actions of humanity, just as Adam's act had, on a lower plane, a significance for the whole race (Rom **5** 12–21; 1 Cor **15** 22.45).

(*b*) His relation to *God:* Paul very frequently speaks of Christ as the "Son of God," and that in a unique sense. Moreover, He was the "image of God" (2 Cor **4** 4; Col **1** 15), and subsisted originally "in the form of God" (Phil **2** 6). He is set alongside with God over against idols (1 Cor **8** 5.6), and is coördinated with God in the benediction (2 Cor **13** 14). Clearly Paul sets Him in the Divine sphere over against all that is not God. Yet he assigns Him a certain subordination, and even asserts that His mediatorial kingship will come to an end, that God may be all in all (1 Cor **15** 24.28). But this cessation of His function as Mediator of salvation, when its end shall have been attained, cannot affect His Divine dignity, "since the mediatorial sovereignty which is now ceasing was not its cause, but its consequence" (B. Weiss, II, 396).

(3) The *means* of effecting the reconciliation was mainly *the death on the cross.* Paul emphasizes the mediating value of the death both on its objective (God-ward) side and on its subjective (man-ward) side. *First,* it is the *objective ground* of forgiveness and favor with God. On the basis of what Christ has done, God ceases to reckon to men their sins (2 Cor **5** 19). Paul's view of the death may be seen by considering some of his most characteristic expressions. (*a*) It is an act of *reconciliation.* This involves a change of attitude, not only in man, but in God, a relinquishing of the Divine wrath without which there can be no restoration of peaceful relations (though this is disputed by many, e.g. Ritschl, Lightfoot, Westcott, Beyschlag), but not a change of nature or of intention, for the Divine wrath is but a mode of the eternal love, and moreover it is the Father Himself who provides the means of reconciliation and undertakes to accomplish it (2 Cor **5** 19; cf Col **1** 20.21; Eph **2** 16). (*b*) It is an act of *propitiation* (Rom **3** 25, ἱλαστήριον, *hilastḗrion,* from ἱλάσκεσθαι, *hiláskesthai,* "to ren-

der favorable" or "propitious"). Here there is a clear though tacit reference to a change of attitude on God's part. He who was not formerly propitious to man was appeased through the death of Christ. Yet the propitiatory means are provided by God Himself, who takes the initiative in the matter ("whom *God* set forth," etc). (*c*) It is a *ransom.* The Mediator "gave himself a ransom for all" (1 Tim **2** 6). The idea of payment of a ransom price is clearly implied in the word "redemption" (Rom **3** 24; 1 Cor **1** 30; Eph **1** 7; Col **1** 14, ἀπολύτρωσις, *apolútrōsis,* from *lutron,* "ransom"). It is not alone the *fact* of liberation (Westcott, Ritschl), but also the *cost* of liberation that is referred to. Hence Christians are said to be "redeemed," "bought with a price" (Gal **3** 13; **4** 5; 1 Cor **6** 20; **7** 23; cf 1 Pet **1** 18 f). Yet the metaphor cannot be pressed to yield an answer to the question to whom the ransom was paid. All that can safely be said is that it expresses the tremendous cost of our salvation, viz. the self-surrendered life ("the blood") of Christ. (*d*) Strong *substitutionary* language is sometimes used, notably in Gal **3** 13 ("having become a curse for us") and in 2 Cor **5** 21 ("Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf"). But the sinless substitute is not regarded as actually punished (that would be a moral contradiction). His death was not penal substitution, but a substitute for penalty. It had the value to God of the punishment of sinners, in virtue of His oneness with the race. It was the recognition from within humanity of the sinfulness of sin, and expressed the Divine righteousness as fully as penalty would have done. The secret seems to be Christ's sympathetic love by which He identified Himself with man's sin and doom of death. (*e*) *Sacrificial* language is used, as in 1 Cor **5** 7; Eph **5** 2, and in the references to Christ's "blood." Not often, however, does Paul explicitly speak of the death in terms of the Levitical ritual, which would be less congenial to his mind than the prophetic conception of the Suffering Servant. Yet he does seem to regard the death of Christ as the culmination of all that the sacrifices of the OT had imperfectly realized. *Secondly,* the *subjective* aspect of Christ's work is emphasized quite as much as the objective. The death of Christ, being inwardly assimilated by faith, becomes to the believer the principle of ethical transformation, so that he may become worthy of the Divine favor which he now enjoys. As a result of his subjective identity with Christ through faith, the objective state of privilege is changed into actual liberation from sin (Gal **2** 20; **6** 14; Rom **6** 6.7; Col **3** 3).

(4) The *resurrection* and *exaltation* of Christ are essential to His mediatorial work (1 Cor **15** 17). It is not alone that the resurrection "proves that the death of Christ was not the death of a sinner, but the vicarious death of the sinless Mediator of salvation" (B. Weiss, I, 436), but that salvation cannot be realized except through communion with the living, glorified Christ, without which the subjective identity of the believer with Christ by which redemption is personally appropriated would not be possible (Gal **2** 20; Rom **6** 4.5; Phil **3** 10; Col **3** 1). The exaltation also makes possible His continuous heavenly intercession on our behalf (Rom **8** 34), which is the climax of His mediatorial activities.

(5) *The cosmic aspect* of Christ's mediatorship.—In his later epp. (esp. Col and Eph), Paul lays stress on Christ's mediatorial activity in creation and providence, though the germs of his later teaching are found in the earlier epp. (1 Cor **8** 6). He is resisting a kind of nascent gnostic dualism, according to which God could communicate with the world only through a hierarchy of intermediate powers. Against this he proclaims Christ as the one and only Mediator between God and the universe, having, on the one hand, a unique relation to God ("the image of the invisible God," Col **1** 15; in whom the fulness of God dwells, **1** 19; **2** 9), and, on the other hand, a unique relation to the world, as its creative agent, its immanent principle of unity, and its ultimate goal (**1** 15–17). Here the apostle shows affinity with the Logos-doctrine of Philo, though the differences are marked and fundamental. Corresponding to this wider view of Christ's person, there is a wide view of the reconciliation wrought through Him. It even extends to the world beyond man, and restores the broken harmony of the universe (Col **1** 20; Eph **1** 10).

4. The Epistle to the Hebrews

The main thesis of He is the absoluteness and finality of the gospel and its superiority over Judaism. The finality of Christianity depends on the fact that it has a perfect Mediator, who is the substance of which the various Jewish forms of mediation were types and shadows. He illustrates this by a series of contrasts between Christ and the mediators of the old system (by the application of principles and exegetical methods which reveal the influence of the school of Philo). In each contrast, Christ's superiority is based on His Sonship. (1) Christ is superior to the *prophets* as Mediator of revelation. The OT revelation was fragmentary and multiform, while now God speaks, not through many agents, but through One, and that one a Son. As Son He is the perfectly adequate expression of the Father. The author takes us at once to the high transcendental sphere of Christ's relations to God and the universe, in virtue of which He is God's Mediator in creation, providence, revelation and redemption (**1** 1–3). (2) He is superior to the *angels,* through whose mediation the law was given (**1** 4–14). (3) He is superior to *Moses,* the human agent in the giving of the law (**3** 1–6). (4) He is greater than *Aaron* the high priest, the people's representative before God. This leads to the central doctrine of the ep., the high-priesthood of Jesus. The following are the salient points in the elaborate treatment of this subject:

(1) *Christ's qualification for the high-priesthood* is twofold: (*a*) His participation in all human experience (except sin), which guarantees His power of sympathy. Every high priest, as men's representative before God, must be "taken from among men" (**5** 1). Hence the author lays great stress on the human nature and experiences of Christ (cf **2** 10.17.18; **4** 15; **5** 7.8). (*b*) His Divine appointment. Every priest must have a call from God. So Christ has been appointed priest, not indeed in the Aaronic line, but after the order of Melchizedek (**5** 1–10).

(2) *The nature of His priesthood,* its superiority to the Levitical priesthood.—The priests of the OT themselves needed atonement, for they were not sinless; Christ is holy, guileless, undefiled, and need not make atonement for His own sins. They were priests only for a time, and were many in number, for they were mortal; but He abideth forever, and His priesthood is eternal. They were dependent on the law of physical descent; He was a priest after the order of Melchizedek, whose priesthood did not depend on genealogy or pedigree, and who combined the functions of king with those of priest. In a word, their order was transient, temporary, shadowy; His belonged to the world of unchanging reality (ch **7**).

(3) *The realization of His high-priesthood.*—A high priest implies a sacrifice; hence Christ must "have somewhat to offer" (**8** 3). In the Levitical system, the priest and the sacrifice are distinct from

each other. But Christ offered not an external gift, but Himself. Much stress is laid on Christ's voluntary obedience (**5** 8; **10** 7), progressively attained through suffering, and culminating in the absolute surrender of His life ("blood") in death. His sacrifice harmonizes with the principle that "apart from shedding of blood there is no remission" (**9** 22), although the principle is lifted from the physical to the spiritual realm. In working this out, the author makes use of analogies drawn from three parts of the Levitical ritual. (*a*) Christ's death was a sin offering. He has offered one final sacrifice for sins (**10** 12.18). As priest, he has "made propitiation for the sins of the people" (**2** 17); as victim He was "once [for all] offered to bear the sins of many" (**9** 28). (*b*) The Sinaitic covenant (Ex **24** 8) is made use of. Christ is "the mediator of a new [better] covenant" (**8** 6; **9** 15; **12** 24), i.e. the agent interposing between God and man in the establishment of a new relationship analogous to Moses in the old covenant. Even the first covenant was dedicated with blood, and so the blood of the Son of God was "the blood of the covenant" (**10** 29; cf Mk **14** 24). On the double meaning of the word *diathḗkē* ("covenant," "testament"), the author bases a twofold argument for the necessity of Christ's death (**9** 15 ff). (*c*) The ritual of the Day of Atonement furnishes another analogy. As the high priest once a year entered the most holy place of the earthly people, so Christ has entered once for all the true spiritual sanctuary in heaven, and there He presents Himself to God as the Mediator able to make intercession for us with the Father (**9** 12.24–26; cf **7** 25). He is a ministering priest in the true tabernacle, the immediate presence of God (**8** 2). Thus the ascension and session make possible the culmination of the mediatorial work of Christ in the eternal sacrifice and intercession within the veil.

(4) *The man-ward efficacy of His mediatorship.*—The effect of Christ's death on man is described by the words "cleanse," "sanctify," "perfect" (**9** 14; **10** 10.14.29; **13** 12), words which have a ritualistic quite as much as an ethical sense, meaning the removal of the sense of guilt, dedication to God, and the securing of the privilege of full fellowship with Him. The ultimate blessing that comes to man through the work of Christ is the privilege of free, unrestricted access to God by the removal of the obstacle of guilt (**4** 16; **10** 19 ff).

5. The Johannine Writings

(1) *The Fourth Gospel.*—Aspects of Our Lord's teaching unassimilated by the other disciples, and therefore but meagerly touched on in the Synoptics, find prominence in the Gospel of Jn, but colored by his own meditations. Great emphasis is laid on the idea of *salvation by revelation* mediated through Jesus Christ. The historical revelation of God in the person and teaching of Jesus is the main subject of the Gospel. But in the Prologue we have the eternal background of the historical manifestation in the doctrine of the Logos, who, as Son in eternal fellowship with the Father, His mediator in creation, and the immanent principle of revelation in the world, is fitted to become God's Revealer in history (vs 11–18). His work on earth is to dispense light and life, knowledge of God and salvation. Through Him God gives to the world eternal life (**3** 16). He is the Water of Life (**4** 14; **7** 37), the Bread of Life (**6** 48 ff), the Light of the World (**8** 12); it is by inward appropriation of Him that salvation is mediated to men (**6** 52 ff). He is the perfect revealer of God, hence the only means of access to the Father (**14** 6.9). It is on salvation by illumination and communion, rather than on salvation by reconciliation and atonement that chief stress is laid. Sacrificial or propitiatory language is not used of Christ's death. Yet emphasis is laid on the voluntary and vicarious character of His death. He lays down His life of Himself (**10** 18); "The good shepherd layeth down his life for [=on behalf of] the sheep" (**10** 11; cf **15** 13). Christ's death was the supreme example of the law that self-sacrifice is necessary to the highest and most fruitful life (**12** 23 ff). In ch **17** we have a unique instance of Our Lord's intercessory prayer.

(2) *The epistles.*—In 1 Jn we find more explicit statements with regard to the connection between the death of Christ and sin. "The blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all sin" (**1** 7); "He was manifested to take away sins" (**3** 5); "If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father," i.e. a pleader who will mediate with God on our behalf, the ground of His intercessory efficacy being that He is the "propitiation for our sins" (**2** 2; **4** 10, a term which links the Johannine doctrine to that of Paul, though 1 Jn represents Christ Himself, and not merely His death on the cross, as the propitiation). This latter term shows that an objective value is attached to the atonement, as in some way neutralizing or making amends for sin in the eyes of God, yet in such a way as not to contradict the principles of righteousness (cf "Jesus Christ the righteous," **2** 1).

(3) *The Apocalypse* presents both aspects of Christ's mediation. On the one hand, He is associated with God in the government of the world and in judgment (**3** 21; **7** 10; **6** 16), holds the keys of death and Hades (**1** 18), is the Lord of lords and King of kings (**17** 14; **19** 16), and is the Mediator of creation (**3** 14). On the other hand, by His sacrificial act He represents men before God. The most characteristic expression of this is the title "the Lamb" (29 t). By His blood the guilty are cleansed and made saints, purchased unto God (**5** 9; **7** 14). The lamb is the symbol of the sacrificial love which is the heart of God's sovereignty (**5** 6). It is not clear whether the allusion in this title is to the paschal lamb or to the Suffering Servant pictured as a lamb led to the slaughter (Isa **53** 7), or to both. In any case it contains the idea of Christ's redemptive sacrifice, which is declared to be an essential part of God's eternal counsel (**13** 8 m, "the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of the world").

V. Conclusion.—Our inquiry will have shown how central and prominent is the idea of mediation throughout the Scriptures. We might even say it supplies the key to the unity of the Bible. In the OT the principle is given "in divers portions and in divers manners," but in the NT it converges in the doctrine of the person and work of the One final Mediator, the Son of God. Amid all the rich diversity of the various parts of the NT, there is one fundamental conception common to all, that of Christ as at once the interpreter of God to men and the door of access for men to God. Especially is Christ's self-sacrifice presented as the effective cause of our salvation, as a means of removing the guilt and sin which stand as a barrier in the way of God's purpose concerning man and of man's fellowship with God. There is a tendency in some influential writers of today to speak disparagingly of the doctrine of the one Mediator, on the ground that it injures the *direct* relationship of man with God (e.g. R. Eucken, *Truth of Religion*, 583 ff). Here we can reply only that the doctrine properly defined is attested in universal Christian experience, and that, so far from standing in the way of our personal approach to God, it is a simple historical fact that apart from the work of Jesus we would not enjoy that free access to Him which is now our privilege.

LITERATURE.—Besides the comms., such works on OT Theology as those of Oehler, Schultz, A. B. Davidson, and on NT Theology by B. Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, W. B. Stevens, Weinel; Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus;* A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity* and *The Ep. to the He;* J. Denney, *The Death of Christ;* Du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels, The Gospel according to St. Paul, High-Priesthood and Sacrifice.* For the idea of mediation in Jewish religion, Oesterley, *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation;* Toy, *Judaism and Christianity.* Much material on the Bib. doctrine may be found in such works as Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine;* Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung,* 3 vols (vols I and III, ET); Dale, *The Atonement;* McLeod Campbell, *The Nature of the Atonement;* F. D. Maurice, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice;* Moberly, *Atonement and Personality;* J. Scott Lidgett, *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement;* G. B. Stevens, *Christian Doctrine of Salvation;* arts. in *HDB, DCG,* and in this Encyclopaedia on "Mediation"; "Mediator"; "Atonement"; "Messiah"; "Propitiation"; "Prophets"; "Priests"; "Ransom"; "Reconciliation"; "Sacrifice"; Salvation," etc.

D. MIALL EDWARDS

MEDICINE, med'i-sin, med'i-s'n (גֵּהָה, *gēhāh,* תְּרוּפָה, *tᵉrūphāh,* רְפֻאָה, *rᵉphu'āh*): These words are used in the sense of a remedy or remedies for disease. In Prov **17** 22 AV, a merry heart is said to do good "like a medicine." There is an alternative reading in AVm, "to a medicine," RV "is a good medicine"; RVm gives another rendering, "causeth good healing," which is the form that occurs in the LXX and which was adopted by Kimchi and others. Some of the Tgs, substituting a *waw* for the first *h* in *gēhāh,* read here "doeth good to the body," thus making this clause antithetic to the latter half of the verse. In any case the meaning is that a cheerful disposition is a powerful remedial agent.

In the figurative account of the evil case of Judah and Israel because of their backsliding (Jer **30** 13), the prophet says they have had no *rᵉphu'āh,* or "healing medicines." Later on (Jer **46** 11), when pronouncing the futility of the contest of Neco against Nebuchadrezzar, Jeremiah compares Egypt to an incurably sick woman going up to Gilead to take balm as a medicine, without any benefit. In Ezekiel's vision of the trees of life, the leaves are said (AV) to be for medicine, RV reads "healing," thereby assimilating the language to that in Rev **22** 2, "leaves of the tree . . . . for the healing of the nations" (cf Ezk **47** 12).

Very few specific remedies are mentioned in the Bible. "Balm of Gilead" is said to be an anodyne (Jer **8** 22; cf **51** 8). The love-fruits, "mandrakes" (Gen **30** 14) and "caperberry" (Eccl **12** 5 m), myrrh, anise, rue, cummin, the "oil and wine" of the Good Samaritan, soap and sodic carbonate ("natron," called by mistake "nitre") as cleansers, and Hezekiah's "fig poultice" nearly exhaust the catalogue. In the Apoc we have the heart, liver and gall of Tobit's fish (Tob **6** 7). In the Egyp pharmacopoeia are the names of many plants which cannot be identified, but most of the remedies used by them were dietetic, such as honey, milk, meal, oil, vinegar, wine. The Bab medicines, as far as they can be identified, are similar. In the Mish we have references to wormwood, poppy, hemlock, aconite and other drugs. The apothecary mentioned in AV (Ex **30** 25, etc) was a maker of perfumes, not of medicines. Among the *fellahîn* many common plants are used as folk-remedies, but they put most confidence in amulets or charms, which are worn by most Palestinian peasants to ward off or to heal diseases. ALEX. MACALISTER

MEDITATION, med-i-tā'shun (הָגוּת, *hāghūth,* שִׂיחָה, *sīḥāh*): "Meditation" is the tr of *hāghūth,* from *hāghāh,* "to murmur," "to have a deep tone," hence "to meditate" (Ps **49** 3); of *hāghīgh,* "sighing," "moaning" (Ps **5** 1; see ver 2); of *higgāyōn,* "the murmur" or dull sound of the harp, hence *meditation* (Ps **19** 14, "Let . . . . the meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy sight"); of *sīᵃḥ,* "speech," "meditation" (Ps **104** 34, "Let my meditation be sweet unto him"); of *sīḥāh,* a "bowing down," "musing" (Ps **119** 97.99; 2 Esd **10** 5). "To meditate" is the tr of *hāghāh* (Josh **1** 8; Ps **1** 2; **63** 6; Isa **33** 18 AV); of *sūᵃḥ* (Gen **24** 63); of *sīᵃḥ* (Ps **119** 15.23, etc; **143** 5, AV "muse"; 1 Ch **16** 9; Ps **105** 2 m). In Apoc we have "to meditate" (Ecclus **14** 20, "Blessed is the man that shall meditate in wisdom," RVm "most authorities read come to an end" [*teleutḗsei*]; **39** 1, "meditateth in the law of the Most High" [*dianoéomai*]). The lack of meditation is a great want in our modern religious life. In the NT, we have "to meditate" (προμελετάω, *promeletáō,* "to take care beforehand"), Lk **21** 14, and 'meditate" (μελετάω, *meletáō,* "to take care"), 1 Tim **4** 15 AV (RV "be diligent"); cf Phil **4** 8; Col **3** 2. W. L. WALKER

MEDITERRANEAN, med-i-te-rā'nē-an, **SEA** (ἡ θάλασσα, *hē thálassa*): To the Hebrews the Mediterranean was *the* sea, as was natural from their situation.

Hence they speak of it simply as "the sea" (הַיָּם, *ha-yām*), e.g. Gen **49** 13; Nu **13** 29; **34** 5; Jgs **5** 17; or, again, it is "the great sea" (הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל, *ha-yām ha-gādhōl,* e.g. Nu **34** 6.7; Josh **9** 1; **15** 12.47; Ezk **47** 10.15.19.20; **48** 28); or, because it lay to the W. of Pal, as "the great sea toward the going down of the sun" (Josh **1** 4; **23** 4), and, since the west was regarded as the "back," in contrast to the east as the "front," as "hinder [or "western" RV, "uttermost" or "utmost" AV] sea" (הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן, *ha-yām ha-'aḥărōn*), Dt **11** 24; **34** 2; Zec **14** 8; Joel **2** 20, in the last two passages contrasted with "the former [AV, "eastern" RV] sea" (הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי, *ha-yām ha-ḳadhmōnī*), i.e. the Dead Sea. See FORMER. That portion of the Mediterranean directly W. of Pal is once (Ex **23** 31) referred to as "the sea of the Philis" (יָם פְּלִשְׁתִּים, *yām pᵉlishtīm*). AV has "sea of Joppa" (Ezr **3** 7) where RV correctly renders "to the sea, unto Joppa" (cf 2 Ch **2** 16). Similarly, AV "the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia" (Acts **27** 5) is better rendered "the sea which is off Cilicia and Pamphylia" (RV).

In the NT, references to the Mediterranean are common, esp. in the accounts of Paul's voyages, for which see PAUL. Jesus once (Mk **7** 24 ff) came to or near the sea.

The Mediterranean basin was the scene of most ancient civilizations which have greatly influenced that of the western world, excepting those whose home was in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates; and even these continually thrust themselves into it, so far as they could. As its name implies, it is an inland area, united to the Atlantic only by the narrow Straits of Gibraltar. In comparatively recent geological time it was also joined to the Red Sea, the alluvial deposits of the Nile, which have extended the line of the Delta, having with the aid of drifting desert sands subsequently closed the passage and joined the continents of Asia and Africa. The total length of the Mediterranean is about 2,300 miles, its greatest breadth about 1,080 miles, and its area about 1,000,000 sq. miles. It falls naturally into the western and eastern (Levant) halves, dividing at the line running from Tunis to Sicily, where it is comparatively shallow; the western end is generally the deeper, reaching depths of nearly 6,000 ft. On the N. it is intersected by the Italian and Balkan peninsulas, forming the Gulf of Lyons, the Adriatic and the Aegean. In ancient times these and other divisions of the Mediterranean bore specific names given by the Greeks and Romans, but from the nature of the case their limits were ill defined. The temperature of the Mediterranean is in summer warmer, in winter about the same as that of the

Atlantic. Its water has a slightly greater specific gravity, probably because of a larger proportionate evaporation. William Arthur Heidel

MEEDA, mē̇-ē′da. See Meedda.

MEEDDA, mē̇-ed′a (**Μεεδδά,** *Meeddá*, but Swete, **Δεδδά,** *Deddá*, following B; AV **Meeda**): The head of one of the families of Nethinim (temple slaves) who went up with Zerubbabel from the captivity (1 Esd **5** 32); identical with "Mehida" of Ezr **2** 52 and Neh **7** 54.

MEEKNESS, mēk′nes (עֲנָוָה, *‘ănāwāh;* **πραότης,** *praótēs*, **πραΰτης,** *praǘtēs*): "Meekness" in the OT (*‘ănāwāh*, *‘anwāh*) is from *‘ānāw*, "suffering," "oppressed," "afflicted," denoting the spirit produced under such experiences. The word is sometimes tr^{d} "poor" (Job **24** 4, RVm "meek"; Am **8** 4); "humble" (Ps **9** 12.18, RVm "meek"); "lowly" (Prov **3** 34; **16** 19, RV "poor," m "meek"). It is generally associated with some form of oppression. The "meek" were the special objects of the Divine regard, and to them special blessings are promised (Ps **22** 26, "The meek shall eat and be satisfied"; **25** 9, "The meek will he guide in justice; and the meek will he teach his way"; **37** 11, "The meek shall inherit the land"; **147** 6, "Jeh upholdeth the meek"; **149** 4, "He will beautify the meek with salvation," RVm "victory"; cf Isa **11** 4; **29** 19; **61** 1, "Jehovah hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek," RVm "poor"; Zeph **2** 3; Ps **45** 4, "because of [RVm "in behalf of"] truth and meekness and righteousness"). Of Moses it is said he "was very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth," notwithstanding the Divine revelations given him, and in the face of opposition (Nu **12** 3; cf 2 Cor **12** 1–6). Meekness is ascribed even to Jeh Himself (2 S **22** 36, "Thy gentleness [*‘ănāwāh*] hath made me great"; cf Ps **18** 36 [*‘ănwāh*], RVm "condescension"); men are exhorted to seek it (Zeph **2** 3, "Seek righteousness, seek meekness"; cf Prov **15** 1; **16** 14; **25** 15; Eccl **10** 4).

In the Apoc also "meekness" holds a high place (Ecclus **1** 27, "The fear of the Lord is wisdom and instruction: faith and meekness are his delight," RV "in faith and meekness is his good pleasure"; Ecclus **3** 19, "Mysteries are revealed unto the meek" [RV omits]; cf **10** 14).

"Meekness" in the NT (*praotēs*, *praǘtēs*) is not merely a natural virtue, but a Christian "grace"; it is one of the "fruits of the Spirit" (Gal **5** 23). The conception of meekness, as it had been defined by Aristotle, was raised by Christianity to a much higher level, and associated with the commonly despised quality of humility (see s.v.). It was the spirit of the Saviour Himself (Mt **11** 29): "I am meek [*práos*] and lowly in heart" (cf 2 Cor **10** 1, "by the meekness and gentleness of Christ"); it presupposes humility, flows from it, and finds expression in moderation (see s.v.). (See Trench, *Syn. of NT*, 145; WH, *NT Lexicon*, s.v.) Christians are exhorted to cherish it and show it in their relations to one another (Eph **4** 2; Col **3** 12; 1 Tim **6** 11; Tit **3** 2, "showing all meekness toward all men"); it ought to characterize Christian teachers or those in authority in "instructing [RV "correcting," m "instructing"] them that oppose themselves" (2 Tim **2** 25); the saving, "implanted" (RVm "inborn") word is to be received "with meekness" (Jas **1** 21); a man is to "show by his good life his works in meekness of wisdom" (**3** 13), and to give a reason for the hope that is in him, "with meekness and fear" (1 Pet **3** 15).

The interchangeableness of "meek" with "poor," etc, in the OT ought to be specially noted. Our Lord's opening of His ministry at Nazareth (Lk **4** 18, "He anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor"), and His message to John (Mt **11** 5, "The poor have good tidings preached to them") are in harmony therewith.

W. L. Walker

MEET, mēt, adj. (יָשָׁר, *yāshār;* **ἄξιος,** *áxios*): Various words are employed to express meetness, the sense of what is proper, worthy, or fit. We have *yāshār*, "straight," "upright," "right" (2 K **10** 3, "meetest"; Jer **26** 14, RV "right"); *yāshar* (Jer **27** 5, RV "right"); *yōsher* (Prov **11** 24, RVm "what is justly due"); *’ărīkh*, Aram. "meet" (Ezr **4** 14); *b^{e}nē*, "sons of" (Dt **3** 18, AV "meet for the war," m "Heb sons of power," RV "men of valor"); *kūn*, "to be right," etc (Ex **8** 26); *‘āsāh*, "to be made," "used" (Ezk **15** 5 *bis*, RVm "made into"); *çālē^{a}ḥ*, "to be good or fit for" (Ezk **15** 4, RV "profitable"); *rā’āh*, "seen," "looked out," "chosen" (Est **2** 9); *axios*, "worthy" (Mt **3** 8; Acts **26** 20, RV "worthy"; 1 Cor **16** 4; 2 Thess **1** 3); *díkaios*, "just," "right" (Phil **1** 7, RV "right"; 2 Pet **1** 13, RV "right"); *eúthetos*, "well set" (He **6** 7); *eúchrēstos*, "very useful," "profitable" (2 Tim **2** 21, "meet for the master's use"); *hikanós*, "sufficient" (1 Cor **15** 9); *hikanóō*, "to make sufficient" (Col **1** 12); *kalós*, "beautiful," "honest" (Mt **15** 26; Mk **7** 27); *deí*, "it behooveth" (Lk **15** 32; Rom **1** 27, RV "due"). For "meet" (supplied) (Jgs **5** 30), RV has "on"; for "Surely it is meet to be said unto God" (Job **34** 31), "For hath any said unto God?" In 2 Macc **9** 12, we have *dikaios*, RV "right."

W. L. Walker

MEGIDDO, mē̇-giḍ′ō, **MEGIDDON,** mē̇-gid′on (מְגִדּוֹ, *m^{e}ghiddō*, מְגִדּוֹן, *m^{e}ghiddōn;* **Μαγιδδώ,** *Magiddō̂*, **Μαγεδδών,** *Mageddō̂n*, **Μαγδώ,** *Magdō̂*): A royal city of the Canaanites, the king of which was slain by Joshua (Josh **12** 21). It lay within the territory of Issachar, but was one of the cities assigned to Manasseh (Josh **17** 11; 1 Ch **7** 29). Manasseh, however, was not able to expel the Canaanites, who therefore continued to dwell in that land. Later, when the children of Israel were waxen strong, the Canaanites were put to taskwork (Josh **17** 12 f; Jgs **1** 27 f). The host of Sisera was drawn to the river Kishon, and here, "by the waters of Megiddo," the famous battle was fought (**5** 19). By the time of Solomon, Israel's supremacy was unquestioned. Megiddo was included in one of his administrative districts (1 K **4** 12), and it was one of the cities which he fortified (**9** 15). Ahaziah, mortally wounded at the ascent of Gur, fled to Megiddo to die (2 K **9** 27). At Megiddo, Josiah, king of Judah, attempted to arrest Pharaoh-necoh and his army on their march to the Euphrates against the king of Assyria. Here the Egyp monarch "slew him . . . . when he had seen him," and from Megiddo went the sorrowful procession to Jerus with Josiah's corpse (2 K **23** 29 f; 2 Ch **35** 20 ff). The sad tale is told again in 1 Esd **1** 25 ff. "The mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon" became a poetical expression for the deepest and most despairing grief (Zec **12** 11). See also Armageddon.

The constant association of Megiddo with Taanach (*Tell Ta‘anek*) points to a position on the south edge of the plain of Esdraelon. In confirmation of this, we read (*RP*, 1st series, II, 35–47) that Thothmes III captured Megiddo, after having defeated the Palestinian allies who opposed him. He left his camp at Aruna (possibly *‘A̱r‘arah*), and, following a defile (possibly *Wādy ‘Ārah*), he approached Megiddo from the S. We should thus look for the city where the pass opens on the plain; and here, at *Khān el-Lejjūn*, we find extensive ruins on both sides of a stream which turns several mills before falling into the Kishon. We may identify the site with Megiddo, and the stream with "the waters of Megiddo." Pharaoh-necoh would naturally take the same line of march, and his advance could be nowhere more hopefully opposed than at *el-Lejjūn*. *Tell el-Mutasellīm*, a graceful mound hard by, on the edge of the plain, may have formed the acropolis of Megiddo.

In the last few years great preparations have been made by the University of Chicago for the complete excavation of the great mound of M. And already important finds have been announced. The most interesting and significant is what is believed to have been the stables for the horses of Solomon, when he organized his chariot and cavalry corps with horses imported from Egypt (2 Ch **1** 16–17; 2 Ch **9** 25).

The Khan here shows that the road through the pass from Esdraelon to the plain of Sharon and the coast was still much frequented in the Middle Ages.

W. Ewing

MEHETABEL, mḗ-het′a-bel, **MEHETABEEL**, mḗ-het′a-bēl (מְהֵיטַבְאֵל, *mᵉhēṭabh'ēl*, "whom God makes happy"):

(1) Daughter of Matred, wife of Hadad or Hadar, the 8th and apparently last of the kings of Edom (Gen **36** 39; 1 Ch **1** 50).

(2) Grandfather of that Shemaiah who played a treacherous part against Nehemiah at the suggestion of Tobiah and Sanballat, by trying to persuade Nehemiah to commit sacrilege (Neh **6** 10–13).

MEHIDA, mḗ-hī′da (מְחִידָא, *mᵉḥīdhā'*, "renowned"; "Meeda" [1 Esd **5** 32]): Ancestor and patronymic of a family of Nethinim who came back from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr **2** 52; Neh **7** 54).

MEHIR, mē′hẽr (מְחִיר, *mᵉḥīr*, "price," "hire"): A descendant of Judah, son of Chelub, nephew of Shuah (1 Ch **4** 11). Perug, a Chaldee name of equivalent meaning, is given for this person in the Tg of R. Joseph.

MEHOLATHITE, mḗ-hō′la-thīt (מְחוֹלָתִי, *mᵉḥōlāthī*): The gentile designation of Adriel, the son of Barzillai, who married Merab, the daughter of King Saul (1 S **18** 19; 2 S **21** 8), the name Michal in 2 S **21** 8 being doubtless a copyist's error. See Abel-meholah.

MEHUJAEL, mḗ-hū′jā-el (מְחוּיָאֵל, *mᵉḥūyā'ēl*, מְחִיָּאֵל, *mᵉḥīyā'ēl*, "smitten of God"): A descendant of Cain through Enoch and Irad (Gen **4** 18). The list in Gen **5** 12 ff is a working-over of the same material of genealogy by another hand at a different date of spelling (cf spelling of Chaucer and that of today). In that case, Mehalalel would be the correspondent name to Mehujael (see *Expos T*, X, 353).

MEHUMAN, mḗ-hū′man (מְהוּמָן, *mᵉhūmān* [Est **1** 10]): A eunuch of Ahasuerus, the first of the seven chamberlains.

MEHUNIM, mḗ-hū′nim (מְעוּנִים, *mᵉʿūnīm*). See Meunim.

ME-JARKON, mē-jär′kon (מֵי הַיַּרְקוֹן, *mē ha-yarḳōn*; **θάλασσα Ἱεράκων**, *thálassa Hierákōn*): The Heb may mean "yellow water." The phrase is lit. "the waters of Jarkon." LXX reads "and from the river, Jarkon and the boundary near Joppa." From this possibly we should infer a place called Jarkon in the lot of Dan; but no name resembling this has been found. The text (Josh **19** 46) is corrupt.

MEKONAH, mḗ-kō′na (מְכֹנָה, *mᵉkhōnāh*). See Meconah.

MELATIAH, mel-a-tī′a (מְלַטְיָה, *mᵉlaṭyāh*, "Jeh's deliverance"): A Gibeonite who assisted in building the wall of Jerus under Nehemiah (Neh **3** 7).

MELCHI, mel′kī (Tisch., Treg., WH, **Μελχεί**, *Melcheí*; *TR*, **Μελχί**, *Melchí*): The name of two ancestors of Jesus according to Lk's genealogy, one being in the 4th generation before Joseph, the husband of Mary, the other being in the 3d generation before Zerubbabel (Lk **3** 24.28).

MELCHIAH, mel-kī′a (מַלְכִּיָּה, *malkhīyah*, "Jeh's king"): A priest and father of Pashur (Jer **21** 1 AV); elsewhere and in RV called Malchiah and Malchijah (q.v.).

MELCHIAS, mel-kī′as (B, **Μελχείας**, *Melcheías*, B^{b}A, **-ίας**, *-ías*): Name of three men who had taken "strange wives":

(1) 1 Esd **9** 26 = "Malchijah" (Ezr **10** 25).

(2) 1 Esd **9** 32 = "Malchijah" (Ezr **10** 31).

(3) One of those who stood at Ezra's left hand when the law was read (1 Esd **9** 44) = "Malchijah" (Neh **8** 4), possibly identical with (1) or (2).

MELCHIEL, mel′ki-el (**Μελχιήλ**, *Melchiḗl*, B, **Μελχειήλ**, *Melcheiḗl*): The father of Charmis, one of the governors of Bethulia (Jth **6** 15). Other readings are Σελλήμ, *Sellḗm*, and Μοχισήλ, *Mochisḗl*.

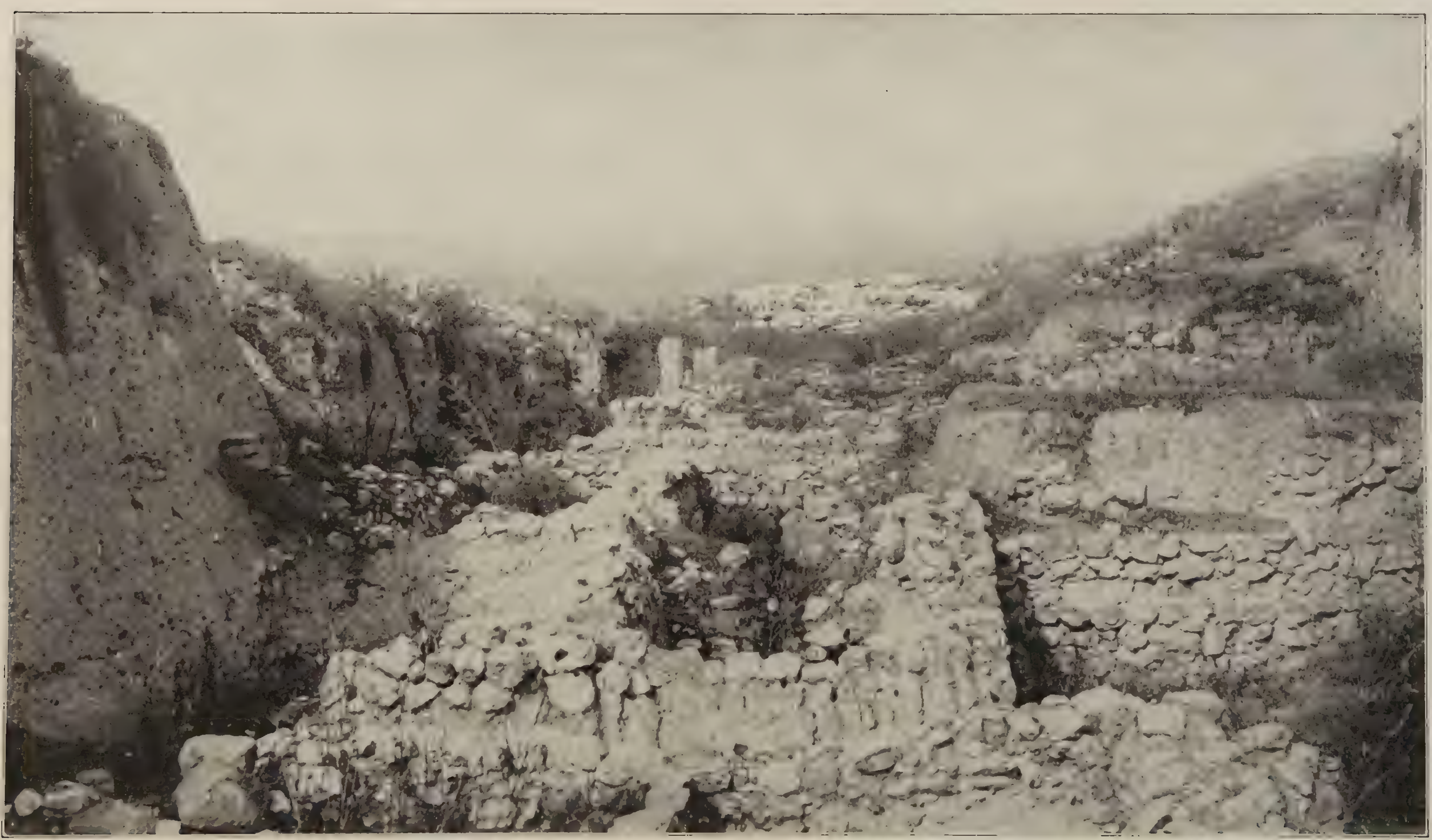
MELCHISHUA, mel-kī-shōō′a (מַלְכִּישׁוּעַ, *malkīshūᵃʿ*, "king's help"). See Malchishua.

MELCHIZEDEK, mel-kiz′ḗ-dek, and (AV in He) **MELCHISEDEC** (מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, *malkī-çedheḳ*, "Çedheḳ, or Çidhiḳ is my king" [Gen **14** 18 ff; Ps **110** 4]; **Μελχισέδεκ**, *Melchisédek* [He **5** 6.10; **6** 20; **7** 1.10.11.15.17]): The name is explained in He **7** 2 as "king of righteousness," with -ī as the old genitive ending; but the correct explanation is no doubt the one given above; cf Adoni-zedek in Josh **10** 1, where LXX with Jgs **1** 5–7 has Adoni-bezek. M. was king of Salem (= Jerus) and 'a priest unto 'Ēl 'Elyōn' (Gen **14** 18). He brought bread and wine to Abraham after the latter's victory over the kings, and also bestowed upon him the blessing of 'Ēl 'Elyōn. Abraham gave him "a tenth of all," i.e. of the booty probably, unless it be of all his possessions. Gen **14** 22 identifies Jeh with 'Ēl 'Elyōn, the title of the Deity as worshipped at Jerus; and so He **7** 1 ff, following LXX of Gen **14** 18 ff, calls M. "priest of God Most High," i.e. Jeh.

Skinner (*Gen*, 271, where Jos, *Ant*, XVI, vi, 2, and Asm M **6** 1 are cited) points out that the Maccabees were called "high priests of God most high." Hence some hold that the story of M. is an invention of Judaism, but Gunkel (*Gen*^{3}, 285 ff) maintains that he is a traditional, if not a historical, character.

Ps **110** 4 makes the king-priest who is addressed there a virtual successor of M., and the kings of Jerus might well, as Gunkel suggests, have been considered successors of M. in the same way that Charlemagne was regarded as the successor of the Caesars, and the latter as successors of the Pharaohs in Egypt. This leads naturally to an early date being ascribed to Ps **110**.

The thought of a priest after the order of M. is taken up by the author of He. He wanted to prove the claim of Christ to be called priest. It was impossible, even had he so wished, to consider Jesus as an Aaronic priest, for He was descended from the tribe of Judah and not from that of Levi (**7** 14). The words of Ps **110** 4 are taken to refer to Him



TRADITIONAL MEGIDDO—RUINS OF PALACE AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

(**5** 5 f), and in **7** 5 ff the order of M. is held to be higher than that of Aaron, for the superiority of M. was acknowledged by Abraham (*a*) when he paid tithes to M. and (*b*) when he was blessed by M., for "the less is blessed of the better." It might be added that Jesus can be considered a priest after the order of M. in virtue of His descent from David, if the latter be regarded as successor to M. But the author of He does not explicitly say this. Further, Aaron is only a "type" brought forward in He to show the more excellent glory of the work of Jesus, whereas M. is "made like unto the Son of God" (**7** 3), and Jesus is said to be "after the likeness of Melchizedek" (**7** 15).

He **7** 1 ff presents difficulties. Where did the author get the material for this description of M.? (1) M. is said to be "without father, without mother, [i.e.] without genealogy"; and (2) he is described as "having neither beginning of days nor end of life"; he "abideth a priest continually." The answer is perhaps to be had among the Am Tab, among which are at least 6, probably 8, letters from a king of Urusalim to Amenophis IV, king of Egypt, whose "slave" the former calls himself. Urusalim is to be identified with Jerus, and the letters belong to c 1400 BC. The name of this king is given as Abd-Khiba (or Abd-ḫiba), though Hommel, quoted by G. A. Smith, *Jerus*, II, 14, n. 7, reads Arad-Chîba. Zimmer, in *ZA*, 1891, 246, says that it can be read Abdiṭaba, and so Sayce (*HDB*, III, 335*b*) calls him ‘Ebhedh ṭōbh. The king tells his Egyp overlord, "Neither my father nor my mother set me in this place: the mighty arm of the king [or, according to Sayce, "the arm of the mighty king"] established me in my father's house" (Letter 102 in Berlin collection, ll. 9–13; also no. 103, ll. 25–28; no. 104, ll. 13–15; see, further, H. Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna;* Knudtzon, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, IV, 101 ff, 279 ff, cited by G. A. Smith, *Jerus*, II, 8, n. 1).

It thus becomes clear that possibly tradition identified M. with Abd-Khiba. At any rate the idea that M. was "without father, without mother, [i.e.] without genealogy" can easily be explained if the words of Abd-Khiba concerning himself can have been also attributed to M. The words meant originally that he acknowledged that he did not come to the throne because he had a claim on it through descent; he owed it to appointment. But Jewish interpretation explained them as implying that he had no father or mother. Ps **110** 4 had spoken of the king there as being "a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek," and this seems to have been taken to involve the perpetuity of M. also as priest. M. was then thought of as "having neither beginning of days" = "without father, without mother, without genealogy," and again as not having "end of life" = "abideth a priest continually." Hence he is "made like unto the son of God," having neither beginning of days nor end of life. We get another NT example of Jewish interpretation in Gal **4** 21 ff. We have no actual proof that M. is identical with Abd-Khiba; possibly the reference to the former as being "without father," etc, is not to be explained as above. But why should M., and he alone, of all the OT characters be thought of in this way?

Westcott, *He*, 199, has a suggestive thought about M.: "The lessons of his appearance lie in the appearance itself. Abraham marks a new departure. . . . . But before the fresh order is established we have a vision of the old in its superior majesty; and this, on the eve of disappearance, gives its blessing to the new."

On the references to M. in Philo see Westcott, op. cit., 201; F. Rendall, *He*, App., 58 ff; and esp. (with the passages and other authorities cited there) G. Milligan, *Theology of Ep. to the He*, 203 ff.

The conclusions we come to are: (1) There was a tradition in Jerus of M., a king in pre-Israelitish times, who was also priest to ’Ēl ‘Elyōn. This is the origin of Gen **14** 18 ff, where ’Ēl ‘Elyōn is identified with Jeh. (2) Ps **110** makes use of this tradition and the Psalmist's king is regarded as M.'s successor. (3) The Ep. to the He makes use of (*a*) Ps **110**, which is taken to be a prophecy of Christ, (*b*) of Gen **14** 18 ff, and (*c*) of oral tradition which was not found in the OT. It is this unwritten tradition that is possibly explained by the Am Tab. See, further, arts. by Sayce, Driver, and Hommel in *Expos T*, VII, VIII. See also JERUSALEM.

DAVID FRANCIS ROBERTS

MELEA, mē'lē-a, mel'ė-a (**Μελεᾶ,** *Meleá*): An ancestor of Jesus in Lk's genealogy (Lk **3** 31).

MELECH, mē'lek (מֶלֶךְ, *melekh*, "king"): Great-grandson of Jonathan, son of Saul, grandson of Mephibosheth or Meribbaal (1 Ch **8** 35; **9** 41).

MELICU, mel'i-kū (מְלִיכוּ, *m^elīkhū*, also מְלוּכִי *m^elūkhī*, "regnant"): Same as MALLUCHI (q.v.).

MELITA, mel'i-ta (**Μελίτη,** *Melítē*, Acts **28** 1): Is now generally identified with Malta. The former error in attributing the reference to the island of Meleda on the E. coast of the Adriatic Sea was due to the ancient practice of employing the term Adria to include the Ionian and Sicilian seas.

Malta is the largest of a group of islands including Gozo and the islets Comino, Cominotto and Filfla, lying about 56 miles from the southern extremity of Sicily, 174 from the mainland of Italy, and 187 from the African coast. Malta itself is 17½ miles long and 9¼ broad, and contains an area of 95 sq. miles. Its modern capital, Valetta, is situated in 35° 54′ N. lat. and 14° 31′ E. long.

The central position of Malta in the Mediterranean Sea gave it great importance as a naval station. It was probably at first a Phoen colony, and later passed under the influence, if not domination, of the Sicilian Greeks. But the Romans captured it from the Carthaginians in 218 BC (Livy xxi.51) and attached it definitely to the province of Sicily. Under Rom rule the inhabitants were famous for their industry, esp. in the production of textile fabrics, probably of native cotton. The celebrated *vestis melitensis* was a fine and soft material for dresses and for the covering of couches (Cicero *Verr.* ii.72.176; ii.74.183; iv.46.103; Diodorus v.12.22). At the time when Paul visited the island it would seem that the administration was intrusted to a deputy of the propraetor of Sicily, who is referred to as *prṓtos Melitaíōn* (Acts **28** 7; *CIG*, 5754), or *Melitensium primus omnium* (*CIL*, x, 7495) (see PUBLIUS). A bay 2½ miles N.W. of Valetta, the mouth of which is held by tradition to be the place where the vessel that bore Paul ran ashore, tallies admirably with the description of the locality in Acts. The Admiralty charts indicate places near the west side of the entrance to the bay, where the depth is first 20 ft. and then 15 ft., while the rush of the breakers in front of the little island of Salmoneta and behind it suit the reference to a place "where two seas met" (Acts **27** 41). The inlet is called the Bay of St. Paul. The topographical question has been exhaustively treated by Ramsay in *St. Paul the Traveller*.

GEORGE H. ALLEN

MELODY, mel'ō-di: זִמְרָה, *zimrāh*, a musical piece or song to be accompanied by an instrument (Isa **51** 3); an instrument of praise (Am **5** 23); נָגַן, *nāghan*, "to play on a stringed instrument," "Make sweet melody, sing many songs" (Isa **23** 16); *ψάλλω*, *psállō*, to celebrate the praises of God with music (Eph **5** 19). See MUSIC.

MELONS, mel′unz (אֲבַטִּחִים, *'ăbhaṭṭīḥīm;* cf Arab. *battikh,* the "water melon"; **πέπονες**, *pépones*): In Nu **11** 5, the melon is referred to as common in Egypt, and there can be no doubt that the variety indicated is the watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*) which is indigenous in tropical Africa. It has been cultivated in Egypt since the earliest times.

MELZAR, mel′zär (הַמֶּלְצַר, *ha-melçar;* LXX **'Αβιεσδρί**, *Abiesdrí,* Theod. B, **'Αμελσάδ**, *Hamelsád*): Possibly a transliteration of the Bab Amelu-uṣur, the officer to whom was intrusted the bringing-up of Daniel and his three companions (Dnl **1** 11 AV, RV "the steward," m "Heb Hammelzar"). It has been suggested that the name is not the name of a person, but denotes the office of guardian, like the Bab *maṣṣaru.* In this case the *l* would come by dissimulation from the first of the two ṣ sounds, which on its side has come from an assimilated *n*, the root being *naṣaru,* "to protect," "to guard."

R. DICK WILSON

MEM, mām, mem (מ, ם): The 13th letter of the Heb alphabet, transliterated in this Encyclopaedia as *m.* It came also to be used for the number 40. For name, etc, see ALPHABET.

MEMBER, mem′bẽr ([1] יֵצֶר, *yāçur;* **μέλος**, *mélos;* [2] שָׁפְכָה, *shāphᵉkhāh,* "membrum virile" [Dt **23** 1]): The first Heb word is derived from a root meaning "to knead," "to mold in clay," "to create." It therefore denotes any feature or part of the body. "So the tongue also is a little member, and boasteth great things" (Jas **3** 5). "The members" is equivalent with "the body" (which see; cf Ps **139** 16 AV). The members are not self-governing, but execute the orders of the mind, obeying either the lower nature in the commission of sin or iniquity, unrighteousness and uncleanness (Rom **6** 13.19), or following the higher nature, the Divine impulses in the fulfilling of the law of Christ (**6** 19).

By nature, the "law in my members" (Rom **7** 23) is opposed to the better nature (Jas **4** 1) until by "regeneration" (which see) this condition is changed, when the Spirit of Christ becomes the governing power, using our members, i.e. all our abilities, in the execution of His plans. This is not done while we remain passive, but only when we have actively presented or yielded our members to His service (Rom **6** 19). Therefore our bodies must not be desecrated by baser uses (1 Cor **6** 15.19.20). The Lord Jesus illustrates the severe discipline which is needed to subdue the members of even the regenerate to perfect submission under the higher law of the Spirit by the simile of the right eye, which is to be plucked out, and the right hand, which is to be cut off (Mt **5** 29.30), and St. Paul speaks of putting to death (AV "mortifying") the "members which are upon the earth" (Col **3** 5).

It is the difference in character and gifts of individual Christians which leads St. Paul to speak of the variety of members, which, though of manifold functions, are equally important to the completeness of the body. It is thus in the manifold variety of the body of Christ (1 Cor **12** 12–27; Eph **4** 16), and Christians being members of Christ, who is the head (Eph **1** 22; **4** 15; **5** 23), are members one of another (Rom **12** 5; Eph **4** 25).

In Dt **23** 1 the Israelitish Law against emasculation is referred to, and a religious disability is stated for the eunuch. Heathen Semites and other neighbors of Israel often castrated for religious purposes in the temple service of various divinities and for functions in princely palaces and harems. Heathen monarchs almost invariably had large numbers of these unfortunates, who frequently attained to positions of high power and responsibility. Herodotus states their frequent occurrence among the Persians (*Hist.* vi.32), and in the light of 2 K **20** 18 and Dnl **1** 3 it appears as not impossible that Daniel and his friends belonged to this class. In later years their existence is certain in Israel (1 S **8** 15 RVm; Jer **38** 7; Mt **19** 12). See also CONCISION; EUNUCH.

H. L. E. LUERING

MEMEROTH, mem′ē-roth (A, **Μαρερώθ**, *Marerôth;* B here omits Memeroth and two other names; AV **Meremoth**): A name in the genealogy of Ezra (1 Esd **8** 2)="Meraioth" in Ezr **7** 3, also "Marimoth" in 2 Esd **1** 2.

MEMMIUS, mem′i-us, **QUINTUS**, kwin′tus (**Κόιντος Μέμμιος**, *Kóintos Mémmios*): One of the 2 Rom legates who bore a letter to the Jews after their victory over Lysias 163 BC (2 Macc **11** 34). No Quintus Memmius is otherwise known to history, and no Memmius among the list of legates sent to Asia. Polybius (xxxi.18) mentions a Quintus and a Canuleius as sent to Egypt, 162 BC, and again (xxxiii.15) the same Quintus as sent as an ambassador to Rhodes, 153 BC. A Titus Memmius had been an envoy of the senate to Achaia and Macedonia before the date of this letter (Livy xliii.5). None of these is likely to be the one referred to in 2 Macc **11** 34, and it is possible that no such person was sent with the letter, which is spurious. See MANIUS.

S. ANGUS

MEMORIAL, mē-mō′ri-al, **MEMORY**, mem′ō-ri (אַזְכָּרָה, *'azkārāh,* זֵכֶר, *zēkher,* זֶכֶר, *zekher,* זִכָּרוֹן, *zikkārōn;* **μνημόσυνον**, *mnēmósunon*): "Memorial" as the tr of *'azkārāh* is a *sacrificial* term, that which brings the offerer into remembrance before God, or brings God into favorable remembrance with the offerer; it is used of the burning of a portion of the meal offering, RV (AV "meat-offering"); better, cereal offering, on the altar (Lev **2** 2, RV "*as* the memorial"; **2** 9.16; **5** 12, RV "as"; **24** 7; Nu **5** 26, RV "as"); as the tr of *zēkher* (*zekher*), *zikkārōn,* it is a memorial in the sense of a remembrance (*zēkher, zekher,* Ex **3** 15; the memorial [name] of Jeh); hence we have in RV "memorial name" for "remembrance" (Ps **30** 4 ARV; **97** 12, ERV "holy name," m "Heb memorial"; **102** 12; **135** 13; Isa **26** 8; Hos **12** 5, ERV "memorial"); for "memorial" (Est **9** 28; Ps **9** 6, ARV "remembrance"); *zikkārōn,* "a remembrance" (Ex **12** 14; **13** 9; Lev **23** 24; Nu **5** 15 [of the meal offering]; Josh **4** 7; Neh **2** 20; Zec **6** 14); the Passover feast was to be in this sense "a memorial . . . . for ever" (Ex **12** 14; **13** 9); so also the *shᵉmaʿ* (Dt **6** 4 f); "memorial" occurs in Wisd **4** 1 (*mnḗmē*), RV "memory"; **4** 19; Ecclus **45** 1 (*mnēmosunon*); **49** 1; 1 Macc **3** 7; **12** 53, RV "memorial."

"Memorial" occurs in the NT as the tr of *mnēmosunon,* "a token of remembrance" (Mt **26** 13; Mk **14** 9; Acts **10** 4, "Thy prayers and thine alms are gone up for a memorial before God," which suggests the sense in which "memorial" was used in the sacrificial ritual, and also the "better sacrifices" of the new dispensation).

Memory is the tr of *zēkher* (*zekher*) (Ps **109** 15; **145** 7; Prov **10** 7; Eccl **9** 5; Isa **26** 14, RV "remembrance"); it occurs also in 1 Macc **13** 29; 2 Macc **7** 20. *Katéchō,* "to have, or hold fast," is rendered in 1 Cor **15** 2 AV "keep in memory," m "hold fast," ARV "hold fast," ERV "hold it fast," i.e. the word preached to them.

W. L. WALKER

MEMPHIS, mem′fis: The ancient capital of Egypt, 12 miles S. of the modern Cairo.

1. Name

This Gr and Rom form of the name was derived from the Coptic form *Menfi* (now Arab. *Menf*), the abbreviation of the Egyp name *Men-nofer,* "the good haven." This name was applied to the pyramid of Pepy I, in the cemetery above the city; some have thought the city name to have been derived from the pyramid, but this is unlikely, as the city must have had a regular name before that. It may perhaps mean "the excellence of Mena," its founder. It appears still more shortened in Hos (**9** 6) as Moph (*mōph*), and in Isa (**19** 13), Jer (**2** 16), and Ezk (**30** 13) as Noph (*nōph*).

2. Political Position

The classical statements show that the city in Rom times was about 8 miles long and 4 miles wide, and the indications of the site agree with this. It was the sole capital of Egypt from the Ist to the XVIIth Dynasty; it shared supremacy with Thebes during the XVIIIth to XXVth Dynasties, and with Säis to the XXXth Dynasty. Alexandria then gradually obscured it, but the governor of Egypt signed the final capitulation to the Arabs in the old capital. While other cities assumed a political equality, yet commercially Memphis probably remained supreme until the Ptolemies.

Statue of Rameses II at Memphis.

3. The Founders and the City

The oldest center of settlement was probably the shrine of the sacred bull, Apis or Hapy, which was in the S. of the city. This worship was doubtless prehistoric, so that when the first king of all Egypt, Mena, founded his capital, there was already a nucleus. His great work was taking in land to the N., and founding the temple of the dynastic god Ptah, which was extended until its inclosure included as much as the great temple of Amon at Thebes, about 3 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide. To the N. of this was the sacred lake; beyond that, the palace and camp. Gradually the fashionable quarters moved northward in Egypt, in search of fresher air; the rulers had moved 10 miles N. to Babylon by Rom times, then to Fostat, then Cairo, and lastly now to Abbasiyeh and Kubkeh, altogether a shift of 18 miles in 8,000 years.

4. Archaeological Results

After the shrine of Apis the next oldest center is that of Ptah, founded by Mena. This was recently cleared in yearly sections by the British School, finding principally sculptures of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. The account of the north gate given by Herodotus, that it was built by Amenemhat III, has been verified by finding his name on the lintel. An immense sphinx of alabaster 26 ft. long has also been found. To the E. of this was the temple of the foreign quarter, the temple of King Proteus in Gr accounts, where foreign pottery and terracotta heads have been found. Other temples that are known to have existed in Memphis are those of Hathor, Neit, Amen, Imhotep, Isis, Osiris-Sokar, Khnumu, Bastel, Tahuti, Anubis and Sebek.

A large building of King Siamen (XXIst Dynasty) has been found S. of the Ptah temple. To the N. of the great temple lay the fortress, and in it the palace mound of the XXVIth Dynasty covered two acres. It has been completely cleared, but the lower part is still to be examined. The north end of it was at least 90 ft. high, of brickwork, filled up to half the height by a flooring raised on cellular brickwork. The great court was about 110 ft. square, and its roof was supported by 16 columns 45 ft. high.

The principal sights of Memphis now are the great colossus of Rameses II, the lesser colossus of the same, and the immense alabaster sphinx. The cemetery of the city is the most important in Egypt; it lies 2 miles to the W. on the desert, and is known as Saqqareh, from So-kar, the god of the dead. See SAQQAREH. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

MEMUCAN, mē̆-mū′kan (מְמוּכָן, *m^emūkhān;* derivation unknown but probably of Pers origin [Est **1** 14.16.21]): One of "the seven princes of Persia and Media, who saw the king's face, and sat first in the kingdom." Ahasuerus consults these men, as those "that knew law and judgment," as to the proper treatment of the rebellious Vashti. Memucan is the spokesman of the reply. He recommends Vashti's deposition so that "all the wives will give to their husbands honor, both to great and small." This advice is adopted and incorporated into a royal decree—with what success is not said.

MENAHEM, men′a-hem (מְנַחֵם, *m^enaḥēm,* "one who comforts"; **Μαναήμ**, *Manaēm;* 2 K **15** 14–22):

1. Accession and Reign

Son of Gadi and 16th king of Israel. He reigned 10 years. Menahem was probably the officer in charge of the royal troops in Tirzah, one of the king's residences, at the time of the murder of Zechariah by Shallum. Hearing of the deed, he brought up his troops and avenged the death of his master by putting Shallum to death in Samaria. He then seized the vacant throne. His first full year may have been 758 BC (others, as seen below, put later).

2. Early Acts

The country at this time, as depicted by Hosea and Amos, was in a deplorable condition of anarchy and lawlessness. Menahem, with a strong hand, enforced his occupation of the throne. One town only seems to have refused to acknowledge him. This was Tiphsah, a place 6 miles S.W. of Shechem, now the ruined village of *Khurbet Tafsah.* As Menahem is said to have attacked this inclosed city from Tirzah, lying to its N., it is probable that he took it on the way to Samaria, before proceeding to do battle with Shallum. If this was so, it is some explanation of the cruelty with which he treated its inhabitants (ver 16). One such instance of severity was enough. The whole kingdom was at his feet. He proved to be a strong and determined ruler, and during the 9 or 10 years of his governorship had no further internecine trouble to contend with.

3. Menahem and Assyria

But there was another source of disquiet. Assyria, under Pul, had resumed her advance to the W. and threatened the kingdoms of Palestine. Menahem resolved on a policy of diplomacy, and, rather than risk a war with the conqueror of the East, agreed to the payment of a heavy tribute of 1,000 talents of silver. To raise this sum he had to assess his wealthier subjects to the extent of 50 shekels each. As there are 3,000 shekels in a talent of silver, it is obvious that some 60,000 persons, "mighty men of wealth," must have been laid under contribution in this levy—an indication at once of the enormity of the tribute, and of the prosperity of the country at the time. However shortsighted the policy, its immediate purpose was attained, which was that the hand of the Assyrian king "might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand" (ver 19).

4. A Conflict of Dates

A difficulty attaches to the dates of this period. The Pul of 2 K **15** 19 and 1 Ch **5** 26 is now identified with Tiglath-pileser III, who took this title on ascending the throne of Assyria in 745 BC. In an inscription of Tiglath-pileser, Menahem appears as *Minehimmu Samarinâ* (Menahem the Samarian), together with *Raṣunnu* (Rezin) of Damascus and Hirûmu (Hiram) of Tyre. The date given to this inscription is 738 BC, whereas the last year we can give to Menahem is 749, or 10 years earlier.

5. Proposed Solutions

The chronological difficulty which thus arises may be met in one of two ways. Either the inscription, like that on the black obelisk of Kurkh (see JEHU), was written some years after the events to which it refers and contains records of operations in which Tiglath-pileser took part before he became king; or Pekah—who was on the throne of Israel in 738 (?)—is spoken of under the dynastic name Menahem, though he was not of his family. The former of these hypotheses is that which the present writer is inclined to adopt. (By others the dates of Menahem are lowered in conformity with the inscription; see CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT.)

6. Character

Menahem attempted no reformation in the national religion, but, like all his predecessors, adhered to the worship of the golden calves. On this account, like them, he incurs the heavy censure of the historian.

W. SHAW CALDECOTT

MENAN, mē′nan. See MENNA.

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN, mē′nē, mē′nē, tē′kel, ū-fär′sin, men′ā, men′ā, tek′el, ōō-fär′sin (מְנֵא מְנֵא תְּקֵל וּפַרְסִין, *m^{e}nē’ m^{e}nē’ t^{e}ḳēl ūpharṣīn;* Theod., **Μανή, θεκέλ, φαρές,** *Manē̇, thekél, pharés*): These are the words that, according to Daniel's reading, were inscribed on the walls of Belshazzar's palace and that caused the great commotion on the occasion of his last feast (Dnl **5** 25). As the only authority that we have for the reading is that of Daniel, it seems but fair that the interpretation of the terms be left to the person who gave us the text. According to his interpretation, there is a double sense to be found in the three different words of the inscription (Dnl **5** 26–28).

M^{e}nē’, which, however it is pointed, must be taken from the verb *m^{e}nāh* (Heb *mānāh;* Bab *manu*), is said to have indicated that God had numbered (the days of) Belshazzar's kingdom and finished it (or delivered it up). Both of these meanings can be shown to be proper to the √ *m^{e}nāh.*

T^{e}ḳēl, on the contrary, is interpreted as coming from two roots: the first, *t^{e}ḳal*, "to weigh," and the second, *ḳal*, "to be light or wanting" (Heb *ḳālal;* Bab *ḳalâlu*).

P^{e}rēṣ (or *parṣīn*) also is interpreted as coming from two roots: first, *p^{e}raṣ*, "to divide" (Heb *pāras* or *pārash;* Bab *pârasu*), and the second as denoting the proper name *Pāraṣ*, "Persia." Thus interpreted, the whole story hangs together, makes good sense, and is fully justified by the context and by the language employed. If the original text was in Bab, the signs were ambiguous; if they were in Aram., the consonants alone were written, and hence the reading would be doubtful. In either case, the inscription was apparent but not readable, except by Daniel with the aid of God, through whom also the seer was enabled to give the proper interpretation. That Daniel's interpretation was accepted by Belshazzar and the rest shows that the interpretation of the signs was reasonable and convincing when once it had been made. We see, therefore, no good reason for departing from the interpretation that the Book of Dnl gives as the true one.

As to the interpretation of the inscription, it makes no difference whether the signs represented a mina, a shekel, and two perases, as has been recently suggested by M. Clermont-Ganneau. In this case the meaning was not so apparent, but the puns, the play upon the sounds, were even better. We doubt, however, if it can be shown that *t^{e}ḳel* means *sheḳel.* On the old Aram. documents of Egypt and Assyria, it is with one exception spelled *sheḳel.* In the Tg of Onkelos, *sheḳel* is always rendered by *ṣela‘;* in the Pesh and Arab. VSS, by *mathḳal;* in the Samaritan Tg, by *mathḳal* (except only perhaps in Gen **23** 16, where we have *ethḳel*). In the Tg of Onkelos, wherever *tiḳlā’* occurs, it translates the Heb *beḳa‘* (Gen **24** 22 and Ex **38** 26 only). *M^{e}nē’*, to be sure, may have meant the mina, and *p^{e}rēṣ*, the half-mina. The *pārāsh* is mentioned in the inscription of Panammu and in an Aram. inscription on an Assyr weight. Besides this, it is found in the New Heb of the Mish. It is not found, however, in the Tg of Onkelos, nor in Syr, nor in the OT Heb; nor in the sense of half-shekel in the Aram. papyri. While, then, it may be admitted that Daniel may have read, "A mina, a mina, a shekel, and two half-minas," it is altogether unlikely, and there is certainly no proof that he did. Yet, if he did, his punning interpretations were justified by the usage of ancient oracles and interpreters of signs, and also by the event.

R. DICK WILSON

MENELAUS, men-ē-lā′us (**Μενέλαος,** *Menélaos*): According to the less likely account of Jos (*Ant,* XII, v, 1; XV, iii, 1; XX, x, 3), Menelaus was a brother of Jason and Onias III, and his name was really Onias. But it is very unlikely that there should be two brothers of the same name. The account of 2 Macc is more credible—that Menelaus was the brother of the notorious Simon who suggested to the Syrians the plundering of the temple; he was thus of the tribe of Benjamin (2 Macc **4** 23; cf with **3** 4) and not properly eligible to the high-priesthood. He was intrusted by Jason (171 BC), who had supplanted Onias, with contributions to the king of Syria, Antiochus Epiphanes, and by outbidding Jason in presents he secured the office of high priest for himself (**4** 23 f), 171 BC. Menelaus returned with "the passion of a cruel tyrant" to Jerus, and Jason fled. But as Menelaus failed to pay the promised amount, both he and Sostratus, the governor, were summoned to appear before the king. Lysimachus, the brother of Menelaus, was left at Jerus in the meantime as deputy high priest. The king was called from his capital to suppress an insurrection of Tarsus and Mallus. Menelaus took advantage of his absence to win over Andronicus, the king's deputy, by rich presents stolen from the temple. For this sacrilege Onias III sharply reproved him and fled to a sanctuary, Daphne, near Antioch. Andronicus was then further persuaded by Menelaus to entice Onias from his retreat and murder him (**4** 34 f)—an act against which both Jews and Greeks protested to the king on his return, and secured deserved punishment for Andronicus. Meanwhile, the oppression of Lysimachus, abetted by Menelaus, caused a bloody insurrection in Jerus, in connection with which a Jewish deputation brought an accusation against Menelaus on the occasion of Antiochus' visit to Tyre. Menelaus bribed Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, to win over the king to acquit himself and secure the execution of "those hapless men, who, if they had pleaded even before Scythians, would have been discharged uncondemned" (**4** 39 ff). Menelaus returned in triumph to his office. But Jason, taking advantage of Epiphanes' absence in

Egypt and a false rumor of his death, made a bloody but unsuccessful attempt upon the city, in order to secure his office again; his rival took refuge in the citadel. The king returned in fury, caused a three days' slaughter of the citizens, rifled the temple with Menelaus as guide, and left him as one of his agents to keep the Jews in subjection (2 Macc **5** 1 ff). He appears next and for the last time in the reign of Eupator in 162 BC. Lysias, the king's chancellor, accused him to the king as the cause of all the troubles in Judaea (2 Macc **13** 3–8). Eupator caused him to be brought to Beroea and there—before, according to 2 Macc, loc. cit., or after, according to Jos, *Ant*, XII, ix, 7, the invasion of Judaea by Eupator and Lysias—to be put to death by being flung from the top of a high tower into the ashes of which it was full—a fitting end for such a wretch. S. Angus

MENESTHEUS, mē̇-nes'thūs, mē̇-nes'thē̇-us (**Μενεσθεύς,** *Menestheús,* A, **Μενεσθεσέως,** *Menestheséōs*): The father of Apollonius, a general of Epiphanes (2 Macc **4** 21 and in 2 Macc **4** 4 RV, following a conjecture of Hort [Μενεσθέως, *Menesthéōs,* for μαίνεσθαι ἕως, *maínesthai héōs;* the latter is retained in Swete and Fritzsche]). "Son of Menestheus" is added to distinguish this Apollonius from "A. son of Thrasaeus" (2 Macc **3** 5) and "A. son of Gennaeus" (**12** 2). See Apollonius.

MENI, mē̆'nī: Destiny, a god of Good Luck, possibly the Pleiades (Isa **65** 11 m). See Astrology, 10; Gad.

MENNA, men'a (**Μεννά,** *Menná,* WH, Treg., Tisch.; **Μαϊνάν,** *Maïnán, TR;* AV **Menan**): An ancestor of Jesus, a great-grandson of David (Lk **3** 31).

MENUHAH, men-ū'hä (מְנוּחָה, *m^enūḥāh,* "place of rest"; AV **Menuchah,** men-ū'kä): Rendered in Jgs **20** 43 AV "with ease," RV "at their resting-place." Both, however, have a marginal suggestion which would make the word a place-name, which would then more naturally read "from Nuhah over against Gibeah," thus describing the ground over which the slaughter of the Benjamites occurred. In 1 Ch **8** 2 the word "Nohah" occurs as that of a Benjamite clan. The place intended is perhaps Manahath (q.v.).

MENUHOTH, men-ū'hoth (מְנֻחוֹת, *m^enuḥōth,* "dwellings"; AV מָנַחְתִּי, *mānaḥtī,* **Manahethites**): The first form is the RV transliterated in the name; the second form is AV retained by RV in the passages where the word occurs (1 Ch **2** 52; cf ver 54). The people here spoken of by AV as "half of the Manahethites" are mentioned as descendants of Salma (ver 54), while those mentioned as Menuhoth are mentioned as descendants of Judah through Shobal, father of Kiriath-jearim. Both words are from the same root. AV keeps the same designation for both passages, while RV has marked the difference in spelling by changing the first passage and following AV in the second. Both sections of the family belong to the clan Caleb, and it would seem that they became the dominant people in the otherwise unknown town of Manahath, so that it came to be regarded as belonging to Judah. It may be connected with the Menuchah (RV "Menuhah") suggested as a place-name in Jgs **20** 43 m. In the LXX between vs 59 and 60 of Josh ch **15** the names of 11 cities are inserted, among them being a Manocho whose Heb equivalent gives the word. It is difficult to identify, and the Vulg cuts the knot by translating "dimidium requietionum"! See Manahath.
Henry Wallace

MEONENIM, mē̇-on'ē̇-nim, mē̇-ō'nē̇-nim, **OAK OF:** (אֵלוֹן מְעוֹנְנִים, *'ēlōn m^e'ōn^enīm;* B, **'Ηλωνμαωνεμείν,** *Ēlōnmaōnemeín,* A, **δρυὸς ἀποβλεπόντων,** *druós apoblepóntōn;* AV **Plain of**): This was a sacred tree which apparently could be seen from the gate of Shechem (Jgs **9** 37). No doubt it took its name from the soothsayers who sat under it, practising augury, etc. Several times mention is made of sacred trees in the vicinity of Shechem (Gen **35** 4; Josh **24** 26; Jgs **9** 6, etc). Where this tree stood is not known. See Augurs' Oak.

MEONOTHAI, mē̇-on'ō̇-thī, mē̇-ō'nō̇-thī, mē-ō̇-nō'thī (מְעוֹנֹתַי, *m^e'ōnōthai,* "my dwellings"): A son of Othniel, nephew of Caleb (1 Ch **4** 14). Possibly, as AVm suggests, and the Vulg and Complutensian LXX say, vs 13.14 should read "the sons of Othniel, Hathath and Meonothai; and Meonothai begat Ophrah," etc. The latter may be founder of the town of that name.

MEPHAATH, mef'ā̇-ath, mē̇-fā'ath (מֵפַעַת and מֵיפַעַת, *mēpha'ath,* מוֹפַעַת, *mōpha'ath;* B, **Μαιφάαθ,** *Maiphááth,* **Μηφάαθ,** *Mēphááth*): A city of the Amorites in the territory allotted to Reuben, named with Kedemoth and Kiriathaim (Josh **13** 18), and given to the Merarite Levites (**21** 37; 1 Ch **6** 79). It appears again as a Moabite town in Jer **48** 21. It was known to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom*) as occupied by a Rom garrison, but the site has been lost.

MEPHIBOSHETH, mē̇-fib'ō̇-sheth (מְפִיבֹשֶׁת, *m^ephībhōsheth,* "idol-breaker," also Merib-baal [q.v.]; **Μεμφιβόσθε,** *Memphibósthe*):

(1) Son of Saul by his concubine Rizpah (q.v.), daughter of Aiah (2 S **21** 8). See also Armoni.

(2) Grandson of Saul, son of Jonathan, and nephew of Mephibosheth (1) (2 S **4** 4). He was 5 years old when his father and grandfather were slain. He was living in charge of a nurse, possibly because his mother was dead. Tidings of the disaster at Jezreel and the onsweep of the Philis terrified the nurse. She fled with her charge in such haste that a fall lamed the little prince in both feet for life. His life is a series of disasters, disappointments, and anxieties. It is a weary, broken, dispirited soul that speaks in all his utterances. The nurse carried him to Lo-debar among the mountains of Gilead, where he was brought up by Machir, son of Ammiel (2 S **9** 4). There he evidently married, for he had a son Mica when he returned later at David's request. When David had settled his own affairs and subdued his enemies, he turned his inquiries to Saul's household to see whether there were any survivors to whom he might show kindness for Jonathan's sake (2 S **9** 1). The search caused the appearance of Ziba, a servant of Saul's house (ver 2), who had meanwhile grown prosperous by some rapid process which can only be guessed at (vs 9.10). From him David learned about Mephibosheth, who was sent for. His humble bearing was consistent with his chronically broken spirit. David put Ziba's property (which had belonged to Saul) at Mephibosheth's disposal and made Ziba steward thereof. Mephibosheth was also to be a daily guest at David's table (2 S **9** 11–13). Seventeen years pass, during which Mephibosheth seems to have lived in Jerus. Then came Absalom's rebellion. David determined to flee, so distraught was he by the act of his son. At the moment of flight, in great depression and need, he was opportunely met by Ziba with food, refreshment and even means for travel. Naturally, the king inquired for Ziba's master. The treacherous reply was made (2 S **16** 1–4) that Mephibosheth

had remained behind for his own ends, hoping the people would give him, Saul's grandson, the kingdom. David believed this and restored to Ziba the property lost. Not till many days after did the lame prince get his chance to give David his own version of the story. He met David on his return from quelling Absalom's rebellion. He had not dressed his feet, trimmed his beard nor washed his clothes since the hour of David's departure (2 S **19** 24). At David's anxious request Mephibosheth told his story: his servant had deceived him; he wanted to go with David, had even asked for his beast to be saddled; but Ziba had left him, and had slandered him to the king. But he would not plead his cause any more; David is "as an angel of God"; whatever he decides will be well! (2 S **19** 26.27). Thus characteristically continued the speech of this lame, broken, humble man, son of a proud family (ver 28). David wearily settled the matter by dividing the property between the prince and his servant, the prince expressing utmost content that Ziba should take all so long as David remained friendly (vs 29.30). That David accepted Mephibosheth's explanation and was drawn out in heart toward the character of the broken man is shown by the fact that when some expiation from Saul's household was considered necessary to turn away the famine sent by an offended deity, Mephibosheth is spared when other members of Saul's household were sacrificed (2 S **21** 7). The character of Mephibosheth well illustrates the effect of continued disaster, suspicion and treachery upon a sensitive mind. Henry Wallace

MERAB, mē'rab (מֵרַב, *mērabh,* "increase"; **Μερόβ,** *Meröb*): The elder daughter of Saul (1 S **14** 49), promised, though not by name, to the man who should slay the Phili Goliath (1 S **17** 25). David did this and was afterward taken by Saul to court (1 S **18** 2), where he was detained in great honor. Merab was not, however, given to him as quickly as the incident would lead one to expect, and the sequel showed some unwillingness on the part of some persons in the contract to complete the promise. The adulation of the crowd who met David on his return from Phili warfare and gave him a more favorable ascription than to Saul (1 S **18** 6–16) awoke the angry jealousy of Saul. He "eyed David from that day and forward" (ver 9). Twice David had to "avoid" the "evil spirit" in Saul (ver 11). Saul also feared David (ver 12), and this led him to incite the youth to more dangerous deeds of valor against the Philis by a renewed promise of Merab. He will have David's life, but rather by the hand of the Philis than his own (ver 17). Merab was to be the bait. But now another element complicated matters—Michal's love for David (ver 20), which may have been the retarding factor from the first. At any rate Merab is finally given to Adriel the Meholathite (ver 19). The passage in 2 S **21** 8 doubtless contains an error—Michal's name occurring for that of her sister Merab—though the LXX, Jos, and a consistent Heb text all perpetuate it, as well as the concise meaning of the Heb word *Yāladh,* which is a physiological word for bearing children, and cannot be trᵈ "brought up." A Tg explanation reads: "The 5 sons of Merab (which Michal, Saul's daughter brought up) which she bare," etc. Another suggestion reads the word "sister" after Michal in the possessive case, leaving the text otherwise as it stands. It is possible that Merab died comparatively young, and that her children were left in the care of their aunt, esp. when it is said she herself had none (2 S **6** 23). The simplest explanation is to assume a scribal error, with the suggestion referred to as a possible explanation of it. The lonely Michal (2 S **6** 20–23) became so identified with her (deceased) sister's children that they became, in a sense, hers. Henry Wallace

MERAIAH, mḗ-rā'ya, mḗ-rī'a (מְרָיָה, *mᵉrāyāh,* "contumacious"): A priest in the time of Joiakim son of Jeshua, and head of the priestly house of Seraiah to which Ezra belonged (Neh **12** 12; cf Ezr **7** 1).

MERAIOTH, mḗ-rā'yoth, mḗ-rī'ōth (מְרָיוֹת, *mᵉrāyōth*): The name varies much in the Gr.

(1) A Levite, a descendant of Aaron (1 Ch **6** 6 f; Ezr **7** 3), called "Memeroth" in 1 Esd **8** 2; and "Marimoth" in 2 Esd **1** 2.

(2) The son of Ahitub and father of Zadok (1 Ch **9** 11).

(3) A priestly house of which, in the days of Joiakim, Helkai was head (Neh **12** 15). In ver 3 the name is given as "Meremoth."

MERAN, mē'ran. See Merran.

MERARI, mḗ-rā'rī (מְרָרִי, *mᵉrārī,* "bitter"; **Μαραρεί,** *Mararei*):

(1) The 3d son of Levi, his brothers, Gershon and Kohath, being always mentioned together with him (Gen **46** 11; Ex **6** 16 ff). He was among those 70 who went down to Egypt with Jacob (Gen **46** 8.11; cf ver 26 and Ex **1** 5).

(2) The family of Merari, descendants of above, and always—with one exception, for which see Merarites—spoken of as "sons of Merari" in numerous references, such as 1 Ch **6** 1.16.19.29, which only repeat without additional information the references to be found in the body of this article. We early find them divided into two families, the Mahli and Mushi (Ex **6** 19; Nu **3** 17.20.33). At the exodus they numbered, under their chief Zuriel, 6,200, and they were assigned the north side of the tabernacle as a tenting-place (Nu **3** 34.35), thus sharing in the honor of those who immediately surrounded the tabernacle—the south side being given to the Kohathites, the west to the Gershonites, and the east—toward the sun-rising—being reserved for Moses, Aaron and his sons (Nu **3** 23.29.35.38). To the Merarites was intrusted the care of the boards, bars, pillars, sockets, vessels, pins and cords of the tabernacle (Nu **3** 36.37; **4** 29–33). They and the Gershonites were "under the hand" of Ithamar, son of Aaron, the sons of Gershon having charge of the softer material of the tabernacles—curtains, covers, hangings, etc (Nu **3** 25.26). When reckoned by the number fit for service, i.e. between 30 and 50 years, the sons of Merari were 3,200 strong (Nu **4** 42–45). Because of the weight of the material in their charge they were allowed 4 wagons and 8 oxen for carriage (Nu **7** 8). In marching, when the tabernacle was taken down, the standard of Judah went first (Nu **10** 14); then followed the Merarites bearing the tabernacle (ver 17), and after them came the standard of Reuben (ver 18). After the settlement in Canaan they had 12 cities assigned them out of Gad, Reuben and Zebulun (Josh **21** 7.34–40; 1 Ch **6** 63.77–81), just as the other two branches of Levi's family had their 12 cities respectively assigned out of the other tribes (Josh **21**). The names of these Merarite cities are given (loc. cit.), and among them is Ramoth-gilead, one of the cities of refuge (ver 38). It is evident from 1 Ch **6** 44–47; **16** 41; **25** 1.3.6.9.11. 15.19.21 f; cf **15** 6.17–19 that they had charge under Ethan or Jeduthun of the temple music in the service. In David's time Asaiah was their chief (1 Ch **15** 6). Himself and 220 of the family helped David to bring up the Ark. David divided

the Levites into courses among the Gershonites, Kohathites and Merarites (1 Ch **23** 6; cf vs 21–23; **24** 26–30). The functions of certain Merarites are described in 1 Ch **26** 10–19. They also took part in cleansing the temple in Hezekiah's time (2 Ch **29** 12) as well as in the days of Josiah (2 Ch **34** 12), helping to repair the house of the Lord. Among the helpers of Ezra, too, we find some of them numbered (Ezr **8** 18.19). The family seems to have played a very important part in keeping steady and true such faithfulness as remained in Israel.

(3) The father of Judith (Jth **8** 1; **16** 7).

HENRY WALLACE

MERARITES, mē-rā′rīts (מְרָרִי, *m^{e}rārī*, "bitter"): The descendants of MERARI (q.v.), son of Levi. The only place where this form of the word occurs is Nu **26** 57. Elsewhere they are always referred to as "sons of Merari."

MERATHAIM, mer-a-thā′im (מְרָתַיִם, *m^{e}rāthayīm*, "double rebellion"): A name used for Babylon in Jer **50** 21. According to Delitzsch it may be equivalent to the Bab *Marratūn*, i.e. land by the *nar Marratu*, "the bitter river" (Pers Gulf) = Southern Babylonia (*OHL*, s.v.).

MERCHANDISE, mûr′chan-dīz ([1] עָמַר, *ʽāmar*, [2] סַחַר, *ṣaḥar*, [3] סָחַר, *ṣāḥar*, [4] סְחֹרָה, *ṣ^{e}ḥōrāh*, [5] רְכֻלָּה, *r^{e}khullāh*, [6] מַעֲרָב, *maʽărābh*, [7] מַרְכֹּלֶת, *markōleth;* [8] **ἐμπορία,** *emporía*, [9] **ἐμπόριον,** *empórion*, [10] **γόμος,** *gómos*): There seem to be 4 distinct meanings of the word according to RV, viz.: (1) The products, i.e. goods or things sold or exchanged, and so merchandise in the present-day usage: (*a*) *ṣaḥar* is tr^{d} thus in Prov **31** 18; Isa **23** 18; (*b*) *ṣāḥar* is tr^{d} thus in Isa **45** 14; these two are from a √ meaning to travel about as a peddler; (*c*) *r^{e}khullāh*, tr^{d} thus in Ezk **26** 12, from a √ meaning to travel for trading purposes; (*d*) *maʽărābh*, tr^{d} thus in Ezk **27** 9.27.33.34, from a √ meaning to intermix, to barter; (*e*) *markōleth*, tr^{d} thus in Ezk **27** 24 (the above 5 Heb words are all used to designate the goods or wares which were bartered); (*f*) *ʽāmar*, occurring in Dt **21** 14; **24** 7, tr^{d} in AV "make merchandise of," but in RV "deal with as a slave," or RVm "deal with as a chattel"; (*g*) *emporia*, tr^{d} "merchandise" in Mt **22** 5; (*h*) *emporion*, likewise in Jn **2** 16 (the same Gr word is used in 2 Pet **2** 3 for ARV "make merchandise of you"); (*i*) *gomos*, "merchandise," m "cargo."

(2) The process of trade itself, i.e. the business: *r^{e}khullāh* has in it the √ meaning of itinerant trading, and so in Ezk **28** 16 the correct tr is not "merchandise," as in AV, but "traffic," "abundance of thy traffic," i.e. doing a thriving business: "trade was good."

(3) The place of trading, i.e. emporium, mart, etc: *ṣ^{e}ḥōrāh* in Ezk **27** 15 is tr^{d} "mart." In Jn **2** 16 reference is made to the "house of merchandise."

(4) The profits of trading: In Prov **3** 14, *ṣaḥar* is tr^{d} "gaining." Referring to wisdom, "For the gaining of it is better than the gaining of silver, and the profit thereof than fine gold"; AV "merchandise."

WILLIAM EDWARD RAFFETY

MERCHANT, mûr′chant, **MERCHANTMAN,** mûr′chant-man. See COMMERCE; MERCHANDISE; TRADE.

MERCURY, mûr′kū-ri, **MERCURIUS,** mẽr-kū′ri-us: The tr of Ἑρμῆς, *Hermês*, in Acts **14** 12: "They called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercury, because he was the chief speaker." Hermes was the god of eloquence (and also of theft), the attendant, messenger and spokesman of the gods. The more commanding presence of Barnabas (cf 2 Cor **10** 10) probably caused him to be identified with Zeus (the Rom Jupiter), while his gift of eloquence suggested the identification of Paul with Hermes (the Rom Mercury). The temple of Jupiter was before Lystra, and to him the Lycaonians paid their chief worship. Cf the legend of Baucis and Philemon (Ovid, *Metam.* viii.611 f) and see HERMES; JUPITER; GREECE, RELIGION IN.

M. O. EVANS

MERCY, mûr′si, **MERCIFUL,** mûr′si-fŏŏl (חֶסֶד, *ḥeṣedh*, רָחַם, *rāḥam*, חָנַן, *ḥānan;* **ἔλεος,** *éleos*, **ἐλεέω,** *eleéō*, **οἰκτιρμός,** *oiktirmós*): "Mercy" is a distinctive Bible word characterizing God as revealed to men.

In the OT it is oftenest the tr of *ḥeṣedh*, "kindness," "loving-kindness" (see LOVINGKINDNESS), but *raḥămīm*, lit. "bowels" (the sympathetic region), and *ḥānan*, "to be inclined to," "to be gracious," are also frequently tr^{d} "mercy"; *eleos*, "kindness," "beneficence," and *eleeō*, "to show kindness," are the chief words rendering "mercy" in the NT; *oiktirmos*, "pity," "compassion," occurs a few times, also *oiktírmōn*, "pitiful," *eleḗmōn*, "kind," "compassionate," twice; *híleōs*, "forgiving," and *aníleōs*, "not forgiving," "without mercy," once each (He **8** 12; Jas **2** 13).

(1) *Mercy* is (*a*) an essential quality of God (Ex **34** 6.7; Dt **4** 31; Ps **62** 12, etc); it is His delight (Mic **7** 18.20; Ps **52** 8); He is "the Father of mercies" (2 Cor **1** 3), "rich in mercy" (Eph **2** 4), "full of pity, and merciful" (Jas **5** 11); (*b*) it is associated with forgiveness (Ex **34** 7; Nu **14** 18; 1 Tim **1** 13.16); (*c*) with His forbearance (Ps **145** 8, "Jeh is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great lovingkindness"; cf Rom **2** 4; **11** 32); (*d*) with His covenant (1 K **8** 23; Neh **1** 5), with His justice (Ps **101** 1), with His faithfulness (Ps **89** 24), with His truth (Ps **108** 4); mercy and truth are united in Prov **3** 3; **14** 22, etc (in Ps **85** 10 we have "Mercy and truth are met together"); (*e*) it goes forth to all (Ps **145** 9, "Jeh is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works"; cf ver 16, "Thou openest thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing," RVm "satisfiest every living thing with favor"); (*f*) it shows itself in pitying help (Ex **3** 7; Ezr **9** 9 f), supremely in Christ and His salvation (Lk **1** 50.54.58; Eph **2** 4); (*g*) it is abundant, practically infinite (Ps **86** 5.15; **119** 64); (*h*) it is everlasting (1 Ch **16** 34. 41; Ezr **3** 11; Ps **100** 5; **136** repeatedly).

(2) "Mercy" is used of man as well as of God, and is required on man's part toward man and beast (Dt **25** 4; Ps **37** 21; **109** 16; Prov **12** 10; Dnl **4** 27; Mic **6** 8; Mt **5** 7, "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy"; **25** 31–46; Lk **6** 36, "Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful"; **10** 30 f, the Good Samaritan; **14** 12–16; Jas **3** 17).

(3) In the NT "mercy" (*eleos*, usually the LXX tr of *ḥeṣedh*) is associated with "grace" (*cháris*) in the apostolical greetings and elsewhere. Trench points out that the difference between them is that the freeness of God's love is the central point of *charis*, while *eleos* has in view misery and its relief; *charis* is His free grace and gift displayed in the forgiveness of sins—extended to men as they are guilty; His *eleos* (is extended to them) as they are miserable. The lower creation may be the object of His mercy (*eleos*), but man alone of His grace (*charis*); he alone needs it and is capable of receiving it (*Synonyms of the NT*, 163 f).

(4) From all the foregoing it will be seen that mercy in God is not merely His pardon of offenders, but His attitude to man, and to the world generally, from which His pardoning mercy proceeds. The frequency with which mercy is enjoined on men is specially deserving of notice, with the exclusion of the unmerciful from sonship to the all-

merciful Father and from the benefits of His mercifulness. Shakespeare's question, "How canst thou hope for mercy rendering none?" is fully warranted by Our Lord's teaching and by Scripture in general; cf esp. the parable of the Unmerciful Servant (Mt **18** 21–35).

(5) As the rule, ARV has "lovingkindness" for "mercy" when *ḥeṣedh* is used of God, and "kindness" when it is used of men in relation to each other. "Compassion" (tr of *rāḥam*) is also in several instances substituted for "mercy" (Isa **9** 17; **14** 1; **27** 11; Jer **13** 14; **30** 18), also "goodness" (tr of *ḥeṣedh* referring to man) (Hos **4** 1; **6** 6).

W. L. Walker

MERCY-SEAT, mûr′si-sēt, **THE** (כַּפֹּרֶת, *kappōreth;* NT **ἱλαστήριον,** *hilastḗrion,* He **9** 5): The name for the lid or covering of the ark of the covenant (Ex **25** 17, etc). The OT term means "covering," then, like the NT word, "propitiatory" (cf *kippēr,* "to cover guilt," "to make atonement"). The ark contained the two tables of stone which witnessed against the sin of the people. The blood of sacrifice, sprinkled on the mercy-seat on the great day of atonement, intercepted, as it were, this condemning testimony, and effected reconciliation between God and His people. See Atonement; Atonement, Day of; Propitiation; Ark of Covenant. In Rom **3** 25, Jesus is said to be set forth as "a propitiation [lit. "propitiatory"], through faith, in his blood," thus fulfilling the idea of the mercy-seat (cf He **9** 5.7.11.12, etc).

W. Shaw Caldecott

MERED, mē′red (מֶרֶד, *meredh,* "rebellion"; LXX has at least four variants in 1 Ch **4** 17.18): A descendant of Judah through Caleb, and mentioned as a "son of Ezrah" (ver 17).

RV, rightly following the orthography of the Heb which has here *hē* (*h*) instead of *'āleph* (*a*), as in the name of the well-known Ezra, saves us from confusing this Ezrah with the other by giving him the correct terminal letter. Moreover, even if the question of spelling were waived, the absence of the mention of children in any known passages of the life of the scribe Ezra should settle the question, since this passage (ver 17) is associated with progeny.

A difficulty meets us in ver 18, where Mered is mentioned as taking to wife "Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh." That Pharaoh is not the proper name of some individual but the official title of Egypt's sovereign seems evident from the fact that AVm and RV text agree in translating the other wife of Mered as "the Jewess," rather than as a proper name Jehudijah, as if to distinguish the "Jewess" from the Egyptian. Probably "Hodiah" also is a corruption of Jehudijah in ver 19, and should be trᵈ again "the Jewess." Tgs and traditions have so changed and transposed and "interpreted" this passage that a sufficiently confused text has become worse confounded, and the only solid fact that emerges is that once a comparatively obscure Judahite (though the founder of several towns—Gedor, Soco, Eshtemoa, etc, ver 18) married an Egyp princess, whether as a captive or a freewoman we do not know. See Bithiah. Henry Wallace

MEREMOTH, mer′ĕ-moth, me-rē′moth (מְרֵמוֹת, *mᵉrēmōth,* "heights"; **Μερειμώθ,** *Mereimōth*):

(1) Son of Uriah (Ezr **8** 33), who was head of the 7th course of priests appointed by David (1 Ch **24** 10, Hakkoz=Koz; cf Neh **3** 4.21). The family of Koz were among those unable to prove their pedigree on the return from Babylon, and were therefore deposed as polluted (Ezr **2** 61.62). Meremoth's division of the family must, however, have been scatheless, for he is employed in the temple after the return as weigher of the gold and the vessels (Ezr **8** 33), a function reserved for priests alone (Ezr **8** 24–28). He takes a double part in the reconstruction under Nehemiah, first as a builder of the wall of the city (Neh **3** 4), then as a restorer of that part of the temple abutting on the house of Eliashib the priest (Neh **3** 21); "Marmoth" in 1 Esd **8** 62.

(2) A member of the house of Bani, and, like so many of that house, among those who married and put away foreign wives (Ezr **10** 36). He seems to be named Carabasion (!) in the corresponding list of 1 Esd **9** 34.

(3) The name occurs in Neh **10** 5 among those who "seal the covenant" with Nehemiah (Neh **10** 1). It may there be the name of an individual (in which case there were 4 of the name), or it may be a family name. Certainly a "Meremoth" came back under Zerubbabel 100 years before (Neh **12** 3), and the signatory in question may be either a descendant of the same name or a family representative. The name recurs later in the same list (Neh **12** 15) as "Meraioth" through a scribal error confusing the two Heb letters *yōdh* and *ḥōlem* for *mem.* A comparison of Neh **12** 1–3 and 12–15 shows clearly that it is the same person. Note that in ver 15 "Helkai" is the name of the contemporary leader.

(4) For Meremoth (1 Esd **8** 2 AV), see Memeroth. Henry Wallace

MERIBAH, mer′i-bä, me-rē′bä. See Massah and Meribah.

MERIB-BAAL, mer-ib-bā′al (מְרִיב־בַּעַל, *mᵉrībh-ba'al;* also מְרִי־בַעַל, *mᵉrī-bha'al,* "Baal contends"): The spelling varies in a single verse; 1 Ch **9** 40 contains the name twice: first, in the first form above; second, in the second form. The name is given also in 1 Ch **8** 34. It is the other name of Mephibosheth (2) (q.v.).

In Jer **11** 13 and Hos **9** 10 the terms "Baal" and "Bosheth" seem to stand in apposition, the latter form being a slightly contemptuous alternative rendered "shame." This is akin to other like changes, such as Esh-baal for Ish-bosheth, Jerub-besheth for Jerub-baal, etc. The change in the first part of the name could occur through a clerical confusion of aspirate *pē* and *rēsh* in Hebrew.

Henry Wallace

MERIBATH-KADESH, mer′i-bath-kā′desh, **MERIBOTH-KADESH,** mer′i-both-k. (Ezk **48** 28; **47** 19): The southern limit of Ezekiel's ideal land of Israel. See Meribah.

MERODACH, mĕ-rō′dak, mer′ō-dak (מְרֹדָךְ, *mᵉrōdhākh*): The supreme deity of the Babylonians (Jer **50** 2); the Nimrod of Gen **10** 8–12; and among the constellations, Orion. See Astronomy, II, 11; Babylonia and Assyria, Religion of; Nimrod.

MERODACH-BALADAN, mĕ-rō′dak-bal′a-dan, mer′ō-dak-b. (מְרֹאדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן, *mᵉrō'dhakh bal'ădhān;* **Μαρωδὰχ Βαλαδάν,** *Marōdách Baladán*): The son of Baladan, is mentioned in Isa **39** 1, as a king of Babylon who sent an embassy to Hezekiah, king of Judah, apparently shortly after the latter's illness, in order to congratulate him on his recovery of health, and to make with him an offensive and defensive alliance. This Merodach-baladan was a king of the Chaldaeans of the house of Yakin, and was the most dangerous and inveterate foe of Sargon and his son Sennacherib, kings of Assyria, with whom he long and bitterly contested the possession of Babylon and the surrounding provinces. M.-b. seems to have seized Babylon immediately after the death of Shalmaneser in 721 BC; and it was not till the 12th year of his reign that Sargon succeeded in ousting him. From that time down to the 8th campaign of Sennacherib, Sargon and his son pursued with relentless animosity M.-b. and his family until at last his son Nabushumishkun was captured and the whole family of M.-b. was apparently destroyed. According to the monuments, therefore, it was from a worldly point of view good politics for Hezekiah and his western allies to come to an understanding with M.-b. and the Aramaeans, Elamites, and others, who were confederated with him. From a strategical point of view, the weakness of the allied powers consisted in the fact that the Arabian desert lay between the eastern and western members of the confederacy, so that the Assyr kings were able to attack their enemies when they pleased and to defeat them in detail.

R. Dick Wilson

MEROM, mē′rom, **WATERS OF** (מֵי־מֵרוֹם, *mē-mērōm;* **ὕδωρ Μαρρών** or **Μερρών**, *hŭdōr Marrôn* or *Merrôn*): The place which was the scene of Joshua's victory over Jabin and his confederates (Josh **11** 7), commonly identified with Lake Huleh in the upper part of the Jordan valley, but with doubtful propriety. Jos says (*Ant*, V, i, 18) that the camp of the allies was at Beroth in upper Galilee, and that Beroth was not far from Kadesh, which is upon the summit of the Galilean hills. According to the Scriptural account, the pursuit was to Sidon and Hazor on the W. of the mountains (see Hazor), while the names of the confederates are those of places in lower Galilee and the maritime plain. It seems improbable that a force of chariots should be brought over to be hemmed in by the rugged mountains which border the narrow plain of Huleh on both sides, plains that are made still narrower by the swamps surrounding the lake (see Jordan Valley) in Joshua's time, when they were much larger than they are now after having been filled with the accumulation of sediment brought down by mountain streams for 3,000 years. Conder, with much reason, supposes the "waters of Merom" to be the perennial stream *Wâdy el-Melek*, near Shimrom-Merom (*Semûnieh*), 5 miles W. of Nazareth. Were Lake Huleh referred to, the proper phrase would be Sea (*yām*) of Merom, rather than waters (*mayim*).

Waters of Merom.

George Frederick Wright

MERONOTHITE, mḗ-ron′ṓ-thīt, mḗ-rō′nṓ-thīt (מֵרֹנֹתִי, *mērōnōthī,* √ meaning "fertility"): The designation of two persons in the OT:

(1) Jehdeiah, who was in charge of the royal asses under David (1 Ch **27** 30).

(2) Jadon who was among the repairers of the wall under Nehemiah (Neh **3** 7). No place of the name Meronoth can be identified. That Jadon worked on the wall near Gibeonites and Mizpahites affords no clear clue to the place, unless it be shown that there was some geographical rota in the wall repairers.

MEROZ, mē′roz (מֵרוֹז, *mērōz;* B, **Μηρώζ**, *Mērôz,* A, **Μαζώρ**, *Mazôr*): This name occurs only once in Scripture. The angel of the Lord is represented as invoking curses upon Meroz because the inhabitants "came not to the help of Jeh" on the day of Deborah and Barak's victory (Jgs **5** 23). It is a strange fate, shared with Chorazin, to be preserved from oblivion only by the record of a curse. The bitterness in the treatment of Meroz, not found in the references to any of the other delinquents, must be due to the special gravity of her offence. Reuben, Gilead and Dan were far away. This, however, is not true of Asher, who was also absent. Perhaps Meroz was near the field of battle and, at some stage of the conflict, within sight and hearing of the strife. If, when Zebulun "jeoparded their lives unto the death, and Naphtali, upon the high places of the field," they turned a deaf ear and a cold heart to the dire straits of their brethren, this might explain the fierce reproaches of Deborah.

Meroz may possibly be identified with *el-Murussus*, a mud-built village about 5 miles N.W. of *Beisān*, on the slopes to the N. of the Vale of Jezreel. If the Kedesh where Heber's tent was pitched be identical with *Ḳadish* to the W. of the Sea of Galilee, Sisera's flight, avoiding the Israelites in the neighborhood of Mt. Tabor, may have carried him past *el-Murussus*. If the inhabitants had it in their power to arrest him, but suffered him to escape (Moore, "Jgs," *ICC*, 163), such treachery to the nation's cause might well rouse the indignation of the heroic prophetess.

W. Ewing

MERRAN, mer′an (**Μερράν**, *Merrán;* AV **Meran**): Many identifications have been suggested on the assumption that the text as it stands is correct. Some of these are the Sidonian Meareh (Grotius), Marane, a city of which Pliny speaks as being near the Red Sea (Keil), and the desert of Mahrah in Arabia (Fritzsche). It is very probable, however, that the name represents an error in transcription from the original Sem text, confusing the ד with the ר, so that we should read Meddan, or Medan, i.e. Midian. The phrase will then run, "the merchants of Midian and Teman" (Bar **3** 23). The merchants of Midian are referred to in Gen **37** 28.

W. Ewing

MERUTH, mē′ruth. See Emmeruth.

MESALOTH, mes′a-loth (**Μεσσαλώθ**, *Messalôth,* **Μαισαλώθ**, *Maisalôth*): A place mentioned in the account of the march of Bacchides and Alcimus into Judah, as "in Arbela" (1 Macc **9** 2). If Arbela be identical with *Irbil* or *Irbid* on the southern lip of *Wādy el-Ḥamām*, W. of the Sea of Galilee, this fixes the locality; but no name resembling Mesaloth has been found.

MESECH, mē′sek. See Meshech.

MESHA, mē′sha:

(1) (מֵישָׁע, *mēshā‘;* B, Μαρισά, *Marisá,* A, Μαρισάς, *Marisás*): Caleb's firstborn son, the father of Ziph, probably the ancestor of the Ziphites (1 Ch **2** 42).

(2) (מֵישָׁא, *mēshā';* B, Μισά, *Misá,* A, Μωσά, *Mōsá*): A Benjamite, son of Shaharaim by his wife Hodesh, born in the land of Moab (1 Ch **8** 9).

(3) (מֵישַׁע, *mēsha‘;* Μωσά, *Mōsá*): A king of Moab. All the Bib. information regarding this monarch is contained in 2 K **3**. Here we gather that Mesha was contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah and Jehoram. He was tributary to Israel, his annual contribution consisting of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams. After the death of Ahab he asserted his independence. Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and

the king of Edom joined forces with Jehoram in an attempt to quell the rebellion. At the instance of Elisha, who accompanied the host, water was miraculously provided when the army of the allies was ready to perish of thirst. Mesha came out against them and fell upon the camp. His attack was repulsed with heavy slaughter, and the defeated king was chased by the victors until he took refuge in the great fortress of Kir-hareseth. A vigorous siege was begun. Seeing that his case was desperate, Mesha attempted, with 700 men, to break through the lines. Failing in this, he offered his firstborn as a burnt offering upon the wall. Then "there came great wrath upon Israel" (by which, probably, panic is meant), and the besiegers retired, leaving their conquest incomplete.

In his inscription—see Moabite Stone—Mesha gives an account of his rebellion, naming the places captured and fortified by him. It is not surprising that he says nothing of his defeat by Jehoram and his allies. There is, however, one serious discrepancy. The time Moab was under the supremacy of Israel, during the reign of Omri and half the reign of Ahab, he puts at 40 years. According to Bib. chronology, Omri and Ahab together reigned only 34 years. If, with Mesha, we deduct half the reign of Ahab, the period is reduced to 23 years. It is impossible to add to the length of either reign. So great a difference cannot be explained by the use of round numbers. Why Mesha should wish to increase the time of his people's subjection is not clear, unless, indeed, he thought in this way to magnify the glory of their deliverer.

In Mesha the sentiment of patriotism was wedded to some measure of military capacity. Judging by his inscription, he was also a deeply religious man according to his lights. Substitute "Jehovah" for "Chemosh," and his phraseology might be that of a pious Heb king. The sacrifice of his son is at once the mark of the heathen and an index of the strength of his devotion.

(4) (מֵשָׁא, *mēshā'; Μασσῆ, Massḗ*): This appears to mark the western boundary of the land occupied by the descendants of Joktan (Gen **10** 30). No certain identification is possible, but several more or less probable have been suggested: e.g. (*a*) The Gr Mesene, on the Pers Gulf, not far from the mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates; (*b*) the Syro-Arabian desert, called *Mashu* in the Assyr inscriptions; the name here, however, could hardly cover such a vast tract as this; more probably it denoted a place; (*c*) Dillmann would alter the vowels and identify it with *Massā'*, a branch of the Ishmaelite stock (Gen **25** 14; 1 Ch **1** 30). This, however, furnishes no clue to the locality, the territory of that tribe being also unidentified. W. Ewing

MESHACH, mē′shak (מֵישַׁךְ, *mēshakh*): Possibly the Sumerian form of the Bab *Ṣil-Asharidu*, "the shadow of the prince," just as Shadrach probably means "the servant of Sin," and Abednego the "servant of Ishtar." Meshach was one of the three Heb companions of Daniel, whose history is given in the first chapters of the Book of Dnl. See, further, under Shadrach.

MESHECH, mē′shek, **MESECH,** mē′sek (מֶשֶׁךְ, *meshekh*, "long," "tall"; **Μόσοχ,** *Mósoch*): Son of Japheth (Gen **10** 2; 1 Ch **1** 5; ver 17 is a scribal error for "Mash"; cf Gen **10** 22.23). His descendants and their dwelling-place (probably somewhere in the neighborhood of Armenia [Herod. iii.94]) seem to be regarded in Scripture as synonyms for the barbaric and remote (Ps **120** 5; cf Isa **66** 19, where Meshech should be read instead of "that draw the bow"). It is thought that the "Tibareni and Moschi" of the classical writers refer to the same people. Doubtless they appear in the annals of Assyria as enemies of that country under the names Tabali and Mushki—the latter the descendants of Meshech and the former those of Tubal to whom the term "Tibareni" may refer in the clause above. This juxtaposition of names is in harmony with practically every appearance of the word in Scripture. It is seldom named without some one of the others—Tubal, Javan, Gog and Magog. It is this which forms a good justification for making the suggested change in Isa **66** 19, where Meshech would be in the usual company of Tubal and Javan. Ezekiel mentions them several times, first, as engaged in contributing to the trade of Tyre (Tiras of Gen **10** 2?), in "vessels of brass" and—very significantly—slaves; again there is the association of Javan and Tubal with them (Ezk **27** 13); second, they are included in his weird picture of the under-world: "them that go down into the pit" (**32** 18.26). They are mentioned again with Gog and Magog twice as those against whom the prophet is to "set his face" (Ezk **38** 2.3; **39** 1). Henry Wallace

MESHELEMIAH, mē̇-shel-ē̇-mī′a (מְשֶׁלֶמְיָה, *mᵉshelemyāh*, "Jeh repays"): Father of Zechariah, one of the porters of the tabernacle (1 Ch **9** 21; **26** 1.2.9). In the latter passage Meshelemiah, with a final *u*, is credited with "sons and brethren, valiant men, 18." He is the "Shelemiah" of ver 14, the "Shallum" of 1 Ch **9** 17.19.31, and the "Meshullam" of Neh **12** 25.

MESHEZABEL, mē̇-shez′a-bel (מְשֵׁיזַבְאֵל, *mᵉshēzēbhᵉ'ēl*, "God a deliverer"; AV **Meshezabeel,** mē̇-shez′a-bēl):

(1) A priest, ancestor of Meshullam, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the wall of Jerus (Neh **3** 4).

(2) One of the chiefs of the people giving name to the family which sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh **10** 21).

(3) A descendant of Judah through Zerah, and father of Pethahiah (Neh **11** 24).

MESHILLEMITH, mē̇-shil′ē̇-mith (מְשִׁלֵּמִית, *mᵉshillēmīth*, "retribution"): A priest, son of Immer, ancestor, according to 1 Ch **9** 12, of Adaiah and Pashhur, and according to Neh **11** 13, of Amashai. In the latter passage this name is spelled Meshillemoth (q.v.).

MESHILLEMOTH, mē̇-shil′ē̇-moth, mē̇-shil′ē̇-mōth (מְשִׁלֵּמוֹת, *mᵉshillēmōth*, "recompense"):

(1) An Ephraimite ancestor of Berechiah, chief of the tribe in the reign of Pekah (2 Ch **28** 12).

(2) The "Meshillemith" of Neh **11** 13.

MESHOBAB, mē̇-shō′bab (מְשׁוֹבָב, *mᵉshōbhābh*): A Simeonite (1 Ch **4** 34). This name heads the list of those who, for the sake of wider pasture-lands, occupied a Hamitic settlement in the neighborhood of Gerar (MT Gedor [q.v.]), and a Maonite settlement in Edomite territory (1 Ch **4** 39–41). The latter event is dated in the days of Hezekiah (see Curtis, *Chron.*, in loc.).

MESHULLAM, mē̇-shul′am (מְשֻׁלָּם, *mᵉshullām*, "resigned" or "devoted"; cf Arab. *Muslim;* **Μεσολλάμ,** *Mesollám*): An OT name very common in post-exilic times.

(1) The grandfather of Shaphan (2 K **22** 3).
(2) A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch **3** 19).
(3) A Gadite (1 Ch **5** 13).
(4) (5) (6) Three Benjamites (1 Ch **8** 17; **9** 7.8).
(7) The father of Hilkiah (1 Ch **9** 11; Neh **11** 11).

(8) A priest, son of Meshillemith (1 Ch **9** 12); the parallel list (Neh **11** 13) omits the name.

(9) A Kohathite appointed by Josiah as one of the overseers to direct the repairs of the temple (2 Ch **34** 12).

(10) One of the chief men sent by Ezra to procure Levites to go up with him to Jerus (Ezr **8** 16; cf 1 Esd **8** 44).

(11) A Levite opposed to Ezra's regulations anent marriage with foreigners (Ezr **10** 15; 1 Esd **9** 14).

(12) One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 29; cf 1 Esd **9** 30).

(13) One of the repairers of the wall (Neh **3** 4.30). His daughter was married to Jehohanan, the son of Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh **6** 18).

(14) One of the repairers of the Old Gate (Neh **3** 6).

(15) A supporter of Ezra at the reading of the Law (Neh **8** 4).

(16) One of those who subscribed the Covenant (Neh **10** 20).

(17) A priest who subscribed the Covenant (Neh **10** 7).

(18) (19) Two priests at the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh **12** 13.16).

(20) A porter at the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh **12** 25).

(21) A processionist at the dedication of the wall of Jerus (Neh **12** 33). JOHN A. LEES

MESHULLEMETH, mḗ-shul′ḗ-meth (מְשֻׁלֶּמֶת, *m^{e}shullemeth*): The wife of King Manasseh and mother of Amon (2 K **21** 19). She is further designated "daughter of Haruz of Jotbah." This is the earliest instance of the birthplace being added to the designation of the queen mother. The name is properly the fem. of the frequently occurring MESHULLAM (q.v.).

MESOBAITE, mḗ-sō′ba-īt. See MEZOBAITE.

MESOPOTAMIA, mes-ō-pō-tā′mi-a. See SYRIA.

MESS, mes (מַשְׂאֵת, *mas'ēth*): Any dish of food *sent* (Lat *missum;* Fr. *messe*) to the table. It occurs in the OT in Gen **43** 34 (*bis*); 2 S **11** 8 EV, and in the NT in He **12** 16, translating *βρῶσις, brō̂sis.*

MESSENGER, mes′en-jẽr: The regular Heb word for "messenger" is מַלְאָךְ, *mal'ākh,* the Gr *ἄγγελος, ággelos.* This may be a human messenger or a messenger of God, an angel. The context must decide the right tr. In Hag **1** 13 the prophet is called God's messenger; Job **33** 23 changes AV to "angel" (m "messenger"); and Mal **3** 1 m, suggests "angel" instead of "messenger." The Mal passages **2** 7; **3** 1 (*bis*) have caused a great deal of comment. See MALACHI. The Gr *ἀπόστολος, apóstolos,* "apostle," is rendered "messenger" in 2 Cor **8** 23; Phil **2** 25; 1 S **4** 17 tr^s lit. from Heb בָּשַׂר, *bāsar,* "to tell good news," "he that brought the tidings." Gen **50** 16 reads "message" instead of "messenger." A. L. BRESLICH

MESSIAH, mḗ-sī′a (מָשִׁיחַ, *māshī^{a}ḥ;* Aram. מְשִׁיחָא, *m^{e}shīḥā';* LXX **Χριστός,** *Christós,* "anointed"; NT "Christ"):

1. Meaning and Use of the Term
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    (1) Isaiah
    (2) Jeremiah and Ezekiel
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LITERATURE

1. Meaning and Use of the Term

"Messias" (Jn **1** 41; **4** 25 AV) is a transcription of *Μεσσίας, Messías,* the Gr representation of the Aramaic. "Messiah" is thus a modification of the Gr form of the word, according to the Heb.

The term is used in the OT of kings and priests, who were consecrated to office by the ceremony of anointing. It is applied to the priest only as an adj.—"the anointed priest" (Lev **4** 3.5.16; **6** 22 [Heb 15]). Its substantive use is restricted to the king; he only is called "the Lord's anointed," e.g. Saul (1 S **24** 6.10 [Heb 7.11], etc); David (2 S **19** 21 [Heb 22]; **23** 1, "the anointed of the God of Jacob"); Zedekiah (Lam **4** 20). Similarly in the Pss the king is designated "mine," "thine," "his anointed." Thus also even Cyrus (Isa **45** 1), as being chosen and commissioned by Jeh to carry out His purpose with Israel. Some think the sing. "mine anointed" in Hab **3** 13 denotes the whole people; but the Heb text is somewhat obscure, and the reference may be to the king. The pl. of the subst. is used of the patriarchs, who are called "mine anointed ones" (Ps **105** 15; 1 Ch **16** 22), as being Jeh's chosen, consecrated servants, whose persons were inviolable.

It is to be noted that "Messiah" as a special title is never applied in the OT to the unique king of the future, unless perhaps in Dnl **9** 25 f (*māshī^{a}ḥ nāghīdh,* "Messiah-Prince"), a difficult passage, the interpretation of which is very uncertain. It was the later Jews of the post-prophetic period who, guided by a true instinct, first used the term in a technical sense.

The Messiah is the instrument by whom God's kingdom is to be established in Israel and in the world.

2. The Messianic Hope

The hope of a personal deliverer is thus inseparable from the wider hope that runs through the OT. The Jews were a nation who lived in the future. In this respect they stand alone among the peoples of antiquity. No nation ever cherished such strong expectations of a good time coming, or clung more tenaciously amid defeat and disaster to the certainty of final triumph over all enemies and of entrance upon a state of perfect peace and happiness. The basis of this larger hope is Jeh's covenant with Israel. "I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God" (Ex **6** 7). On the ground of this promise the prophets, while declaring God's wrath against His people on account of their sin, looked beyond the Divine chastisements to the final era of perfect salvation and blessedness, which would be ushered in when the nation had returned to Jeh.

The term "Messianic" is used in a double sense to describe the larger hope of a glorious future for the nation, as well as the narrower one of a personal Messiah who is to be the prominent figure in the perfected kingdom. It may be remarked that many writers, both prophetic and apocalyptic, who picture the final consummation, make no allusion whatever to a coming deliverer.

This art. will treat of the personal Messianic hope as it is found in the OT, in the pre-Christian age, and in the NT.

1. The Messianic King

I. The Messiah in the OT.—The chief element in the conception of the Messiah in the OT is that of the king. Through him as head of the nation Jeh could most readily work out His saving purposes. But the kingdom of Israel was a theocracy. In earlier times Moses, Joshua, and the judges, who were raised up by Jeh to guide His people at different crises in their history, did not claim to exercise authority apart from their Divine commission. Nor was the relation of Jeh to the nation as its real ruler in any way modified by the institution of the monarchy. It was by His Spirit that the king was qualified for the righteous government of the people, and by His power that he would become victorious over all enemies. The passage on which the idea of the Messianic king who would rule in righteousness and attain universal dominion was founded is Nathan's oracle to David in 2 S **7** 11 ff. In contrast to Saul, from whom the kingdom had passed away, David would never want a descendant to sit on the throne of Israel. How strong an impression this promise of the perpetuity of his royal house had made on David is seen in his last words (2 S **23**); and to this "everlasting covenant, and sure," the spiritual minds in Israel reverted in all after ages.

(1) *Isaiah.*—Isaiah is the first of the prophets to refer to an extraordinary king of the future. Amos (**9** 11) foretold the time when the shattered fortunes of Judah would be restored, while Hosea (**3** 5) looked forward to the reunion of the two kingdoms under David's line. But it is not till we reach the Assyr age, when the personality of the king is brought into prominence against the great world-power, that we meet with any mention of a unique personal ruler who would bring special glory to David's house.

The kings of Syria and Israel having entered into a league to dethrone Ahaz and supplant him by an obscure adventurer, Isaiah (**7** 10–17) announces to the king of Judah that while, by the help of Assyria, he would survive the attack of the confederate kings, Jeh would, for his disobedience, bring devastation upon his own land through the instrumentality of his ally. But the prophet's lofty vision, though limited as in the case of other seers to the horizon of his own time, reaches beyond Judah's distress to Judah's deliverance. To the spiritual mind of Isaiah the revelation is made of a true king, Immanuel, "God-with-us," who would arise out of the house of David, now so unworthily represented by the profligate Ahaz. While the passage is one of the hardest to interpret in all the OT, perhaps too much has been made by some scholars of the difficulty connected with the word *'almāh*, "virgin." It is the mysterious personality of the child to which prominence is given in the prophecy. The significance of the name and the pledge of victory it implies, the reference to Immanuel as ruler of the land in **8** 8 (if the present rendering be correct), as well as the parallelism of the line of thought in the prophecy with that of ch **9**, would seem to point to the identity of Immanuel with the Prince of the four names, "Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Father of Eternity, Prince of Peace" (**9** 6 RVm). These Divine titles do not necessarily imply that in the mind of the prophet the Messianic king is God in the metaphysical sense—the essence of the Divine nature is not a dogmatic conception in the OT—but only that Jeh is present in Him in perfect wisdom and power, so that He exercises over His people forever a fatherly and peaceful rule. In confirmation of this interpretation reference may be made to the last of the great trilogy of Isaianic prophecies concerning the Messiah of the house of David (**11** 2), where the attributes with which He is endowed by the Spirit are those which qualify for the perfect discharge of royal functions in the kingdom of God. See IMMANUEL.

A similar description of the Messianic king is given by Isaiah's younger contemporary Micah (**5** 2 ff), who emphasizes the humble origin of the extraordinary ruler of the future, who shall spring from the Davidic house, while his reference to her who is to bear him confirms the interpretation which regards the virgin in Isaiah as the mother of the Messiah.

(2) *Jeremiah and Ezekiel.*—After the time of Isaiah and Micah the throne of David lost much of its power and influence, and the figure of the ideal king is never again portrayed with the same definiteness and color. Zephaniah, Nahum, and Habakkuk make no reference to him at all. By the great prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, however, the hope of a Davidic ruler is kept before the people. While there are passages in both of these writers which refer to a succession of pious rulers, this fact should not dominate our interpretation of other utterances of theirs which seem to point to a particular individual. By Jeremiah the Messiah is called the "righteous Branch" who is to be raised unto David and be called "Jehovah [is] our righteousness," that is, Jeh as the one making righteous dwells in him (Jer **23** 5 f; cf **30** 9). In Ezk he is alluded to as the coming one "whose right it is" (**21** 27), and as Jeh's "servant David" who shall be "prince" or "king" forever over a reunited people (**34** 23 f; **37** 24). It is difficult to resist the impression which the language of Ezekiel makes that it is the ideal Messianic ruler who is here predicted, notwithstanding the fact that afterward, in the prophet's vision of the ideal theocracy, not only does the prince play a subordinate part, but provision is made in the constitution for a possible abuse of his authority.

(3) *Later prophets.*—After Ezekiel's time, during the remaining years of the exile, the hope of a preeminent king of David's house naturally disappears. But it is resuscitated at the restoration when Zerubbabel, a prince of the house of David and the civil head of the restored community, is made by Jeh of hosts His signet-ring, inseparable from Himself and the symbol of His authority (Hag **2** 23). In the new theocracy, however, the figure of the Messianic ruler falls into the background before that of the high priest, who is regarded as the sign of the coming Branch (Zec **3** 8). Still we have the unique prophecy of the author of Zec **9** 9, who pictures the Messiah as coming not on a splendid charger like a warrior king, but upon the foal of an ass, righteous and victorious, yet lowly and peaceful, strong by the power of God to help and save. There is no mention of the Messianic king in Joel or Mal; but references in the later, as in the earlier, Pss to events in the lives of the kings or the history of the kingdom prove that the promise made to David was not forgotten, and point to one who would fulfil it in all its grandeur.

2. Prophetic and Priestly Relations

The Messianic king is the central figure in the consummation of the kingdom. It is a royal son of David, not a prophet like unto Moses, or a priest of Aaron's line, whose personal features are portrayed in the picture of the future. The promise in Dt **18** 15–20, as the context shows, refers to a succession of true prophets as opposed to the diviners of heathen nations. Though Moses passed away there would always be a prophet raised up by Jeh to reveal His will to the people, so that they would never need to have recourse to heathen soothsayers. Yet while the prophet is not an ideal figure, being already fully inspired by the Spirit, prophetic functions are to this extent associated with the kingship, that the Messiah is qualified by the Spirit for the discharge of the duties of His royal office and makes known the will of God by His righteous decisions (Isa **11** 2–5).

It is more difficult to define the relationship of the priesthood to the kingship in the final era. They are brought into connection by Jeremiah (**30** 9.21) who represents the new "David" as possessing the priestly right of immediate access to Jeh, while the Levitical priesthood, equally with the Davidic kingship, is assured of perpetuity on the ground of the covenant (Jer **33** 18 ff). But after the restoration, when prominence is given to the high priest in the reconstitution of the kingdom, Joshua becomes the type of the coming "Branch" of the Davidic house (Zec **3** 8), and, according to the usual interpretation, receives the crown—a symbol of the union of the kingly and priestly offices in the Messiah (Zec **6** 11 ff). Many scholars, however, holding that the words "and the counsel of peace shall be between them both" can only refer to two persons, would substitute "Zerubbabel" for "Joshua" in ver 11, and read in ver 13, "there shall be a priest upon his right hand" (cf RV, LXX). The prophet's meaning would then be that the Messianic high priest would sit beside the Messianic king in the perfected kingdom, both working together as Zerubbabel and Joshua were then doing. There is no doubt, however, that the Messiah is both king and priest in Ps **110**.

3. The Servant of Jehovah

The bitter experiences of the nation during the exile originated a new conception, Messianic in the deepest sense, the Servant of Jeh (Isa chs **40–66**; chiefly **41** 8; **42** 1–7.19 f; **43** 8.10; **44** 1 f.21; **49** 3–6; **50** 4–9; **52** 13—**53**). As to whom the prophet refers in his splendid delineation of this mysterious being, scholars are hopelessly divided. The personification theory—that the Servant represents the ideal Israel, Israel as God meant it to be, as fulfilling its true vocation in the salvation of the world—is held by those who plead for a consistent use of the phrase throughout the prophecy. They regard it as inconceivable that the same title should be applied by the same prophet to two distinct subjects. Others admit that the chief difficulty in the way of this theory is to conceive it, but they maintain that it best explains the use of the title in the chief passages where it occurs. The other theory is that there is an expansion and contraction of the idea in the mind of the prophet. In some passages the title is used to denote the whole nation; in others it is limited to the pious kernel; and at last the conception culminates in an individual, the ideal yet real Israelite of the future, who shall fulfil the mission in which the nation failed.

What really divides expositors is the interpretation of **52** 13—**53**. The question is not whether this passage was fulfilled in Jesus Christ—on this all Christian expositors are agreed—but whether the "Servant" is in the mind of the prophet merely the personification of the godly portion of the nation, or a person yet to come.

May not the unity argument be pressed too hard? If the Messiah came to be conceived of as a specific king while the original promise spoke of a dynasty, is it so inconceivable that the title "Servant of Jeh" should be used in an individual as well as in a collective sense? It is worthy of note, too, that not only in some parts of this prophecy, but all through it, the individuality of the sufferer is made prominent; the collective idea entirely disappears. The contrast is not between a faithful portion and the general body of the people, but between the "Servant" and every single member of the nation. Moreover, whatever objections may be urged against the individual interpretation, this view best explains the doctrine of substitution that runs through the whole passage. Israel was Jeh's elect people, His messenger of salvation to the Gentiles, and its faithful remnant suffered for the sins of the mass; even "Immanuel" shared in the sorrows of His people. But here the "Servant" makes atonement for the sins of individual Israelites; by his death they are justified and by his stripes they are healed. To this great spiritual conception only the prophet of the exile attains.

It may be added that in the Suffering Servant, who offers the sacrifice of himself as an expiation for the sins of the people, prophetic activity and kingly honor are associated with the priestly function. After he has been raised from the dead he becomes the great spiritual teacher of the world—by his knowledge of God and salvation which he communicates to others he makes many righteous (**53** 11; cf **42** 1 ff; **49** 2; **50** 4); and as a reward for his sufferings he attains to a position of the highest royal splendor (**52** 15*b;* **53** 12*a;* cf **49** 7). See SERVANT OF JEHOVAH.

4. Transformation of the Prophetic Hope into the Apocalyptic

In the Book of Dnl, written to encourage the Jewish people to stedfastness during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Messianic hope of the prophets assumes a new form. Here the apocalyptic idea of the Messiah appears for the first time in Jewish literature. The coming ruler is represented, not as a descendant of the house of David, but as a person in human form and of superhuman character, through whom God is to establish His sovereignty upon the earth. In the prophet's vision (Dnl **7** 13 f) one "like unto a son of man," *k^{e}bhar 'ĕnāsh* (not, as in AV, "like the son of man"), comes with the clouds of heaven, and is brought before the ancient of days, and receives an imperishable kingdom, that all peoples should serve him.

Scholars are by no means agreed in their interpretation of the prophecy. In support of the view that the "one like unto a son of man" is a symbol for the ideal Israel, appeal is made to the interpretation given of the vision in vs 18.22.27, according to which dominion is given to "the saints of the Most High." Further, as the four heathen kingdoms are represented by the brute creation, it would be natural for the higher power, which is to take their place, to be symbolized by the human form.

But strong reasons may be urged, on the other hand, for the personal Messianic interpretation of the passage. A distinction seems to be made between "one like unto a son of man" and the saints of the Most High in ver 21, the saints being there represented as the object of persecution from the little horn. The scene of the judgment is earth, where the saints already are, and to which the ancient of days and the "one like unto a son of man" descend (vs 22.13). And it is in accordance with the interpretation given of the vision in ver 17, where reference is made to the four kings of the bestial kingdoms, that the kingdom of the saints, which is to be established in their place, should also be represented by a royal head.

It may be noted that a new idea is suggested by this passage, the preëxistence of the Messiah before His manifestation.

II. The Messiah in the Pre-Christian Age.—

1. Postprophetic Age

After prophetic inspiration ceased, there was little in the teaching of the scribes, or in the reconstitution of the kingdom under the rule of the high priests, to quicken the ancient hope of the nation. It would appear from the Apoc that while the elements of the general expectation were still cherished, the specific hope of a preëminent king of David's line had grown very dim in the consciousness of the people. In Ecclus (**47** 11) mention is made of a "covenant of kings and a throne of glory in Israel which the Lord gave unto David"; yet even this allusion to the everlasting duration of the Davidic dynasty is more of the nature of a historical statement than the expression of a confident hope.

2. Maccabean Times

In the earlier stages of the Maccabean uprising, when the struggle was for religious freedom, the people looked for help to God alone, and would probably have been content to acknowledge the political supremacy of Syria after liberty had been granted them in 162 BC to worship God according to their own law and ceremonial. But the successful effort of the Maccabean leaders in achieving political independence, while it satisfied the aspirations of the people generally "until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc **14** 41; cf **2** 57), brought religious and national ideals into conflict. The "Pious" (*ḥăṣīdhīm*), under the new name of Pharisees, now became more than ever devoted to the Law, and repudiated the claim of a Maccabean to be high priest and his subsequent assumption of the royal title, while the Maccabees with their political ambitions took the side of the aristocracy and alienated the people. The national spirit, however, had been stirred into fresh life. Nor did the hope thus quickened lose any of its vitality when, amid the strife of factions and the quarrels of the ruling family, Pompey captured Jerus in 63 BC. The fall of the Hasmonean house, even more than its ascendancy, led the nation to set its hope more firmly on God and to look for a deliverer from the house of David.

The national sentiment evoked by the Maccabees finds expression in the Apocalyptic lit. of the century and a half before Christ.

3. Apocalyptic Literature

In the oldest parts of the Sib Or (**3** 652–56) there occurs a brief prediction of a king whom God shall send from the sun, who shall "cause the whole earth to cease from wicked war, killing some and exacting faithful oaths from others. And this he will do, not according to his own counsel, but in obedience to the beneficent decrees of God." And in a later part of the same book (**3** 49) there is an allusion to "a pure king who will wield the sceptre over the whole earth for ever." It may be the Messiah also who is represented in the earlier part of the Book of En (**90** 37 f) as a glorified man under the symbol of a white bull with great horns, which is feared and worshipped by all the other animals (the rest of the religious community) and into whose likeness they are transformed.

But it is in the Ps Sol, which were composed in the Pompeian period and reveal their Pharisaic origin by representing the Hasmoneans as a race of usurpers, that we have depicted in clear outline and glowing colors the portrait of the Davidic king (Ps Sol **17** 18). The author looks for a personal Messiah who, as son of David and king of Israel, will purge Jerus of sinners, and gather together a holy people who will all be the "sons of their God." He shall not conquer with earthly weapons, for the Lord Himself is his King; he shall smite the earth with the breath of his mouth; and the heathen of their own accord shall come to see his glory, bringing the wearied children of Israel as gifts. His throne shall be established in wisdom and justice, while he himself shall be pure from sin and made strong in the Holy Spirit.

It is evident that in these descriptions of the coming one we have something more than a mere revival of the ancient hope of a preëminent king of David's house. The repeated disasters that overtook the Jews led to the transference of the national hope to a future world, and consequently to the transformation of the Messiah from a mere earthly king into a being with supernatural attributes. That this supernatural apocalyptic hope, which was at least coming to be cherished, exercised an influence on the national hope is seen in the Ps Sol, where emphasis is laid on the striking individuality of this Davidic king, the moral grandeur of his person, and the Divine character of his rule.

We meet with the apocalyptic conception of the Messiah in the Similitudes of Enoch (chs **37–71**) and the later apocalypses. Reference may be made at this point to the Similitudes on account of their unique expression of Messianic doctrine, although their pre-Christian date, which Charles puts not later than 64 BC, is much disputed. The Messiah who is called "the Anointed," "the Elect one," "the Righteous one," is represented, though in some sense man, as belonging to the heavenly world. His preëxistence is affirmed. He is the supernatural Son of Man, who will come forth from His concealment to sit as Judge of all on the throne of His glory, and dwell on a transformed earth with the righteous forever. For further details in the conceptions of this period, see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (JEWISH); ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OT.

III. The Messiah in the NT.—To the prevalence of the Messianic hope among the Jews in the time of Christ the Gospel records bear ample testimony. We see from the question of the Baptist that "the coming one" was expected (Mt **11** 3 and ‖), while the people wondered whether John himself were the Christ (Lk **3** 15).

1. The Jewish Conception

(1) *The Messiah as king.*—In the popular conception the Messiah was chiefly the royal son of David who would bring victory and prosperity to the Jewish nation and set up His throne in Jerus. In this capacity the multitude hailed Jesus on His entry into the capital (Mt **21** 9 and ‖); to the Pharisees also the Messiah was the son of David (Mt **22** 42). It would seem that apocalyptic elements mingled with the national expectation, for it was supposed that the Messiah would come forth suddenly from concealment and attest Himself by miracles (Jn **7** 27.31).

But there were spiritual minds who interpreted the nation's hope, not in any conventional sense, but according to their own devout aspirations. Looking for "the consolation of Israel," "the redemption of Jerus," they seized upon the spiritual features of the Messianic king and recognized in Jesus the promised Saviour who would deliver the nation from its sin (Lk **2** 25.30.38; cf **1** 68–79).

(2) *His prophetic character.*—From the statements in the Gospels regarding the expectation of a prophet it is difficult to determine whether the prophetic function was regarded as belonging to the Messiah. We learn not only that one of the old prophets was expected to reappear (Mt **14** 2; **16** 14 and ‖), but also that a preëminent prophet was looked for, distinct from the Messiah (Jn **1** 21.25; **7** 40 f). But the two conceptions of prophet and king seem to be identified in Jn **6** 14 f, where we are told that the multitude, after recognizing in Jesus the expected prophet, wished to take Him by force and make Him a king. It would appear that while the masses were looking forward to a temporal king, the expectations of some were molded by the image and promise of Moses. And to the woman of Samaria, as to her people, the Messiah was simply a prophet, who would bring the full light of Divine knowledge into the world (Jn **4** 25). On the other hand, from Philip's description of Jesus we would naturally infer that he saw in Him whom he had found the union of a prophet like unto Moses and the Messianic king of the prophetical books (Jn **1** 45).

(3) *The title "Son of God."*—It cannot be doubted that the "Son of God" was used as a Messianic title by the Jews in the time of Our Lord. The high priest in presence of the Sanhedrin recognized it as such (Mt **26** 63). It was applied also in its official sense to Jesus by His disciples: John the Baptist (Jn **1** 34), Nathanael (**1** 49), Mary (**11** 27), Peter (Mt **16** 16, though not in ‖). This Messianic use was based on Ps **2** 7; cf 2 S **7** 14. The title as given to Jesus by Peter in his confession, "the Son of the living God," is suggestive of something higher than a mere official dignity, although its full significance in the unique sense in which Jesus claimed it could scarcely have been apprehended by the disciples till after His resurrection.

(1) *His claim.*—The claim of Jesus to be the Messiah is written on the face of the evangelic history. But while He accepted the title, He stripped

2. Attitude of Jesus to the Messiahship

it of its political and national significance and filled it with an ethical and universal content. The Jewish expectation of a great king who would restore the throne of David and free the nation from a foreign yoke was interpreted by Jesus as of one who would deliver God's people from spiritual foes and found a universal kingdom of love and peace.

(2) *His delay in making it.*—To prepare the Jewish mind for His transformation of the national hope Jesus delayed putting forth His claim before the multitude till His triumphal entry into Jerus, which, be it noted, He made in such a way as to justify His interpretation of the Messiah of the prophets, while He delayed emphasizing it to His disciples till the memorable scene at Caesarea Philippi when He drew forth Peter's confession.

(3) *"The Son of Man."*—But he sought chiefly to secure the acceptance of Himself in all His lowliness as the true Messianic king by His later use of His self-designation as the "Son of Man." While "Son of Man" in Aram., *bar nāshā'*, may mean simply "man," an examination of the chief passages in which the title occurs shows that Jesus applied it to Himself in a unique sense. That He had the passage in Dnl in His mind is evident from the phrases He employs in describing His future coming (Mk **8** 38; **13** 26 and ||; **14** 62 and ||). By this apocalyptic use of the title He put forward much more clearly His claim to be the Messiah of national expectation who would come in heavenly glory. But He used the title also to announce the tragic destiny that awaited Him (Mk **8** 31). This He could do without any contradiction, as He regarded His death as the beginning of His Messianic reign. And those passages in which He refers to the Son of Man giving His life a ransom "for many" (Mt **20** 28 and ||) and going "as it is written of him" (Mt **26** 24 and ||), as well as Lk **22** 37, indicate that He interpreted Isa **53** of Himself in His Messianic character. By His death He would complete His Messianic work and inaugurate the kingdom of God. Thus by the help of the title "Son of Man" Jesus sought, toward the close of His ministry, to explain the seeming contradiction between His earthly life and the glory of His Messianic kingship.

It may be added that Our Lord's use of the phrase implies what the Gospels suggest (Jn **12** 34), that the "Son of Man," notwithstanding the references in Dnl and the Similitudes of Enoch (if the pre-Christian date be accepted), was not regarded by the Jews generally as a Messianic title. For He could not then have applied it, as He does, to Himself before Peter's confession, while maintaining His reserve in regard to His claims to be the Messiah. Many scholars, however, hold that the "Son of Man" was already a Messianic title before Our Lord employed it in His conversation with the disciples at Caesarea Philippi, and regard the earlier passages in which it occurs as inserted out of chronological order, or the presence of the title in them either as a late insertion, or as due to the ambiguity of the Aramaic. See SON OF MAN.

3. The Christian Transformation

The thought of a suffering Messiah who would atone for sin was alien to the Jewish mind. This is evident from the conduct, not only of the opponents, but of the followers of Jesus (Mt **16** 22; **17** 23). While His disciples believed Him to be the Messiah, they could not understand His allusions to His sufferings, and regarded His death as the extinction of all their hopes (Lk **18** 34; **24** 21). But after His resurrection and ascension they were led, by the impression His personality and teaching had made upon them, to see how entirely they had misconceived His Messiahship and the nature and extent of His Messianic kingdom (Lk **24** 31; Acts **2** 36.38 f). They were confirmed, too, in their spiritual conceptions when they searched into the ancient prophecies in the light of the cross. In the mysterious form of the Suffering Servant they beheld the Messianic king on His way to His heavenly throne, conquering by the power of His atoning sacrifice and bestowing all spiritual blessings (Acts **3** 13.18–21.26; **4** 27.30; **8** 35; **10** 36–43).

4. New Elements Added

(1) *Future manifestation.*—New features were now added to the Messiah in accordance with Jesus' own teaching. He had ascended to His Father and become the heavenly king. But all things were not yet put under Him. It was therefore seen that the full manifestation of His Messiahship was reserved for the future, that He would return in glory to fulfil His Messianic office and complete His Messianic reign.

(2) *Divine personality.*—Higher views of His personality were now entertained. He is declared to be the Son of God, not in any official, but in a unique sense, as coequal with the Father (Jn **1** 1; Rom **1** 4.7; 1 Cor **1** 3, etc). His preëxistence is affirmed (Jn **1** 1; 2 Cor **8** 9); and when He comes again in his Messianic glory, He will exercise the Divine function of Universal Judge (Acts **10** 42; **17** 30 f, etc).

(3) *Heavenly priesthood.*—The Christian conception of the Messianic king who had entered into His glory through suffering and death carried with it the doctrine of the Messianic priesthood. But it took some time for early Christian thought to advance from the new discovery of the combination of humiliation and glory in the Messiah to concentrate upon His heavenly life. While the preaching of the first Christians was directed to show from the Scriptures that "Jesus is the Christ" and necessarily involved the ascription to Him of many functions characteristic of the true priest, it was reserved for the author of the Ep. to the He to set forth this aspect of His work with separate distinctness and to apply to Him the title of our "great high priest" (He **4** 14). As the high priest on the Day of Atonement not only sprinkled the blood upon the altar, but offered the sacrifice, so it was now seen that by passing into the heavens and presenting to God the offering He had made of Himself on earth, Jesus had fulfilled the high-priestly office.

5. Fulfilment in Jesus

Thus the ideal of the Heb prophets and poets is amply fulfilled in the person, teaching and work of Jesus of Nazareth. Apologists may often err in supporting the argument from prophecy by an extravagant symbolism and a false exegesis; but they are right in the contention that the essential elements in the OT conception—the Messianic king who stands in a unique relation to Jeh as His "Son," and who will exercise universal dominion; the supreme prophet who will never be superseded; the priest forever—are gathered up and transformed by Jesus in a way the ancient seers never dreamed of. As the last and greatest prophet, the suffering Son of Man, and the sinless Saviour of the world, He meets humanity's deepest longings for Divine knowledge, human sympathy, and spiritual deliverance; and as the unique Son of God, who came to reveal the Father, He rules over the hearts of men by the might of eternal love. No wonder that the NT writers, like Jesus Himself, saw references to the Messiah in OT passages which would not be conceded by a historical interpretation. While recognizing the place of the old covenant in the history of salvation, they sought to discover in the light of the fulfilment in Jesus the meaning of the OT which the Spirit of God intended to convey, the Divine, saving thoughts which constitute its essence. And to us, as to the early Christians, "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy" (Rev **19** 10). To Him, hidden in the bosom of the ages, all the scattered rays of prophecy pointed; and from Him, in His revealed and risen splendor, shine forth upon the world the light and power of God's love and truth. And through the history and experience of His people He is bringing to larger realization the glory and passion of Israel's Messianic hope.

LITERATURE.—Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah;* Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah;* Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy;* Delitzsch, *Messianic Prophecies;* von Orelli, *OT Prophecy;* A. B. Davidson, *OT Prophecy;* Schultz, *OT Theology;* Schürer, *HJP*, div II, vol II, sec. 29, "The Messianic Hope"; Westcott, *Intro to the Study of the Gospels*, ch ii, "The Jewish Doctrine of Messiah"; Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, book II, ch v, "What Messiah Did the Jews Expect?"; E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah;* Fairweather, *The Background of the Gospels;* arts. in *DB*, *HDB*, *EB*, *DCG*. For further list see Riehm and Schürer; see also APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

JAMES CRICHTON

METAL, met′al (חַשְׁמַל, *ḥashmal;* **ἤλεκτρον,** *ēlektron;* AV **amber**; Ezk **8** 2, RVm "amber"): The substance here intended is a matter of great uncertainty. In Egypt bronze was called *ḥesmen*, which may be connected with the Heb *ḥashmal;* the Gr *ēlektron* too has generally been accepted as an alloy of gold or silver or other metals, but this is far from certain. Professor Ridgeway (*EB*, I, cols. 134–36) has conclusively shown, however, that amber was well known in early times and that there is nothing archaeologically improbable in the reading of AV.

Amber is a substance analogous to the vegetable resins, and is in all probability derived from extinct coniferous trees. The best or yellow variety was obtained by the ancients from the coasts of the Baltic where it is still found more plentifully than elsewhere. A red amber has been found in South Europe and in Phoenicia. From earliest times amber has been prized as an ornament; Homer apparently refers to it twice. Amber bracelets and necklaces are highly prized by the Orientals—esp. Jewesses—today, and they are credited with medicinal properties. See ELECTRUM; STONES, PRECIOUS.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

METALLURGY, met′al-ûr-ji: There are numerous Bib. references which describe or allude to the various metallurgical operations. In Job **28** 1 occurs זָקַק, *zāḳaḳ*, tr$^{\text{d}}$ "refine," lit. "strain." This undoubtedly refers to the process of separating the gold from the earthy material as pictured in the Egyp sculptures (Thebes and Beni Hassan) and described by Diodorus. The ore was first crushed to the size of lentils and then ground to powder in a handmill made of granite slabs. This powder was spread upon a slightly inclined stone table and water was poured over it to wash away the earthy materials. The comparatively heavy gold particles were then gathered from the table, dried, and melted in a closed crucible with lead, salt and bran, and kept in a molten condition for 5 days, at the end of which time the gold came out pure.

The alloying of gold and silver with copper, lead or tin, and then removing the base metals by cupellation is used **figuratively** in Ezk **22** 18.22 to denote the coming judgment of Jeh. Again in Isa **1** 25 it indicates chastening. The fact that the prophets used this figure shows that the people were familiar with the common metallurgical operations. See REFINER. JAMES A. PATCH

METALS, met′alz (Lat *metallum*, "metal," "mine"; Gr **μέταλλον,** *métallon*, "mine"): The metals known by the ancients were copper, gold, iron, lead, silver and tin. Of these copper, gold and silver were probably first used, because, occurring in a metallic state, they could be separated easily from earthy materials by mechanical processes. Evidence is abundant of the use of these three metals by the people of remotest antiquity. Lead and tin were later separated from their ores. Tin was probably used in making bronze before it was known as a separate metal, because the native oxide, cassiterite, was smelted together with the copper ore to get bronze. Because of the difficulties in getting it separated from its compounds, iron was the last in the list to be employed. In regard to the sources of these metals in Bible times we have few Bib. references to guide us. Some writers point to Dt **8** 9, "a land whose stones are iron," etc, as referring to Pal. Pal can be disregarded, however, as a source of metals, for it possesses no mineral deposits of any importance. If it was expected that Israel would possess Lebanon also, then the description would be more true. There is some iron ore which was anciently worked, although present-day engineers have declared it not to be extensive enough to pay for working. There is a little copper ore (chalcopyrite, malachite, azurite). In the Anti-Lebanon and Northern Syria, esp. in the country E. of Aleppo now opened up by the Bagdad Railroad and its branches, there are abundant deposits of copper. This must have been the land of Nuhašše referred to in the Am Tab. If Zec **6** 1 is really a reference to copper, which is doubtful, then the last-mentioned source was probably the one referred to. No doubt Cyprus (Alasia in Am Tab [?]) furnished the ancients with much copper, as did also the Sinaitic peninsula.

Tarshish is mentioned (Ezk **27** 12) as a source of silver, iron, tin, and lead. This name may belong to Southern Spain. If so it corresponds to the general belief that the Phoenicians brought a considerable proportion of the metals used in Pal from that country. Havilah (Gen **2** 11), Ophir (1 K **10** 11), Sheba (Ps **72** 15) are mentioned as sources of gold. These names probably refer to districts of Arabia. Whether Arabia produced all the gold or simply passed it on from more remote sources is a question (see GOLD).

From the monuments in Egypt we learn that that country was a producer of gold and silver. In fact, the ancient mines and the ruins of the miners' huts are still to be seen in the desert regions of upper Egypt. In the Sinaitic peninsula are deposits of copper, lead, gold, and silver. The most remarkable of the ancient Egyp mines are situated here (*J. Sarabit el Khadîm*, *U. Sidreh*, *W. Magharah*). The early Egyp kings (Sneferu, Amenemhat II, and others) not only mined the metals, but cut on the walls of the mines inscriptions describing their methods of mining. Here, as in upper Egypt, are remains of the buildings where miners lived or carried out their metallurgical operations. It is hardly to be conceived that the large deposits of lead (galena) in Asia Minor were unworked by the ancients. No nearer deposits of tin than those in Southeastern Europe have yet been found. (For further information on metals see separate articles.)

JAMES A. PATCH

METAL WORKING. See CRAFTS, 10; MINING.

METE, mēt (מָדַד, *mādhadh*): "To measure," either with a utensil of dry measure, as in Ex **16** 18, or to measure with a line or measure of length, as in Ps **60** 6; **108** 7; Isa **40** 12. In Isa **18** 2.7 it is the rendering of *ḳaw*, *ḳaw*, lit. "line-line," i.e. measuring line, referring to the Ethiopians as a nation that measured off other peoples for destruction and trod them down, as in RV. It is regarded by some as signifying strength, being cognate with the Arab. قوي, *ḳawî*, "strong." For **mete** of

Mt **7** 2 and ‖ passages in Mk **4** 24; Lk **6** 38, see Measure. H. Porter

METERUS, mē̇-tē′rus. See Baiterus.

METEYARD, mēt′yärd (מִדָּה, *middāh,* "a measure," Lev **19** 35): Has this meaning in AV and RV, but in ARV, "measures of length."

METHEG-AMMAH, mē-theg-am′a, meth-eg-am′a (מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה, *methegh hā-'ammāh,* "bridle of the metropolis"; LXX **τὴν ἀφορισμένην,** *tḗn aphorisménēn*): It is probable that the place-name M. in 2 S **8** 1 AV should be rendered as in RV, "the bridle of the mother city," i.e. Gath, since we find in the ‖ passage in 1 Ch **18** 1 גַּת וּבְנֹתֶיהָ, *gath ūbhenōthehā,* "Gath and her daughters," i.e. daughter towns. The LXX has an entirely different reading: "and David took the tribute out of the hand of the Philis," showing that they had a different text from what we now have in the Heb. The text is evidently corrupt. If a place is intended its site is unknown, but it must have been in the Phili plain and in the vicinity of Gath. H. Porter

METHUSAEL, mē̇-thū′sā̇-el. See Methushael.

METHUSELAH, mē̇-thū′sē̇-la, me-thū′se-la (מְתוּשֶׁלַח, *methūshelaḥ,* "man of the javelin"): A descendant of Seth, the son of Enoch, and father of Lamech (Gen **5** 21 ff; 1 Ch **1** 3; Lk **3** 37). Methuselah is said to have lived 969 years; he is therefore the oldest of the patriarchs and the oldest man. It is doubtful whether these long years do not include the duration of a family or clan.

METHUSHAEL, mē̇-thū′shā̇-el (מְתוּשָׁאֵל, *methūshā'ēl*): A descendant of Cain, and father of Lamech in the Cainite genealogy (Gen **4** 18). The meaning of the name is doubtful. Dillmann suggested "suppliant *or* man of God."

MEUNIM, mē̇-ū′nim (AV **Mehunim**). See Maon.

MEUZAL, mē̇-ū′zal (מְאוּזָּל, *me'ūzāl,* or מֵאוּזָּל, *mē'ūzāl*): A word which occurs only in AVm of Ezk **27** 19. The rendering in AV text is "going to and fro," in RV text "with yarn," but in RVm, in agreement with *BDB* and most modern authorities, Meuzal is regarded as a proper noun with a prefixed preposition, and is rendered "from Uzal." See Uzal.

ME-ZAHAB, mez′a-hab, me-zā′hab (מֵי זָהָב, *mē zāhābh,* "waters of gold"; B, **Μαιζοώβ,** *Maizoṓb,* A, **Μεζοόβ,** *Mezoób*): Grandfather of Mehetabel, the wife of Hadar, the last-mentioned "duke" of Edom descended from Esau (Gen **36** 39). The Jewish commentators made much play with this name. Abarbanel, e.g., says he was "rich and great, so that on this account he was called Mezahab, for the gold was in his house as water." The name, however, may denote a place, in which case it may be identical with Dizahab.

MEZARIM, mez′a-rim (**NORTH**). See Astronomy, II, 13, (1).

MEZOBAITE, mē̇-zō′ba-īt (הַמְּצֹבָיָה, *ha-meçōbhāyāh*): The designation of Jaasiel, one of David's heroes (1 Ch **11** 47).

MIAMIN, mī′a-min. See Mijamin; Miniamin.

MIBHAR, mib′här (מִבְחָר, *mibhḥār,* "choice"[?]): According to 1 Ch **11** 38, the name of one of David's heroes. No such name, however, occurs in the ‖ passage (2 S **23** 36). A comparison of the two records makes it probable that *mibhḥar* is a corruption of *miççōbhāh*="from Zobah," which completes the designation of the former name, Nathan of Zobah. The concluding words of the verse, *Ben-Hagrī*="the son of Hagri," will then appear as a misreading of *Bānī ha-gādhī*="Bani, the Gadite," thus bringing the two records into accord.

MIBSAM, mib′sam (מִבְשָׂם, *mibhsām,* "perfume"[?]):

(1) A son of Ishmael (Gen **25** 13; 1 Ch **1** 29).

(2) A Simeonite (1 Ch **4** 25).

MIBZAR, mib′zär (מִבְצָר, *mibhçār,* "a fortress"): An Edomite chief, AV "duke" (Gen **36** 42; 1 Ch **1** 53). According to Eusebius, Mibzar is connected with Mibsara, a considerable village subject to Petra and still existing in his time. Cf Holzinger and Skinner in respective comms. on Gen.

MICA, mī′ka (מִיכָא, *mīkhā'*): A variant of the name Micah, and probably like it a contracted form of Micaiah (q.v.). In AV it is sometimes spelled "Micha."

(1) A son of Merib-baal or Mephibosheth (2 S **9** 12, AV "Micha"). In 1 Ch **8** 34, he is called "Micah."

(2) The son of Zichri (1 Ch **9** 15). In Neh **11** 17 (AV "Micha"), he is designated "the son of Zabdi," and in Neh **12** 35, his name appears as "Micaiah [AV "Michaiah"], the son of Zaccur."

(3) One of the signatories of the Covenant (Neh **10** 11, AV "Micha"). John A. Lees

MICAH, mī′ka (מִיכָה, *mīkhāh,* contracted from מִיכָיָהוּ, *mīkhāyāhū,* "who is like Jeh?"; B, **Μειχαίας,** *Meichaías,* A, **Μιχά,** *Michá;* sometimes in AV spelled **Michah**):

(1) The chief character of an episode given as an appendix to the Book of Jgs (Jgs **17, 18**). Micah, a dweller in Mt. Ephraim, was the founder and owner of a small private sanctuary with accessories for worship (**17** 1–5), for which he hired as priest a Judaean Levite (**17** 7–13). Five men sent in quest of new territory by the Danites, who had failed to secure a settlement upon their own tribal allotment, visited Micah's shrine, and obtained from his priest an oracle favoring their quest (**18** 1–6). They then went on until they reached the town of Laish in the extreme N., and deeming it suitable for their purpose, they returned to report to their fellow-tribesmen. These at once dispatched thither 600 armed men, accompanied by their families (**18** 7–12). Passing Micah's abode, they appropriated his idols and his priest, and when their owner pursued, he was insulted and threatened (**18** 13–26). They took Laish, destroyed it with its inhabitants and rebuilt it under the name of Dan. There they established the stolen images, and appointed Micah's Levite, Jonathan, a grandson of Moses (AV "Manasseh"), priest of the new sanctuary, which was long famous in Israel (**18** 27–31).

The purpose of the narrative is evidently to set forth the origin of the Danite shrine and priesthood. A few peculiarities in the story have led some critics—e.g., Moore, "Judges," in *ICC* and "Judges" in *SBOT;* Budde, *Richter*—to regard it as composite. Wellhausen, however, considers that the peculiarities are editorial and have been introduced for the purpose of smoothing or explaining the ancient record. Most authorities are agreed that the story is nearly contemporary with the events which it narrates, and that it is of the highest value for the study of the history of Israelitish worship. See also Judges; Dan; Priesthood.

(2) A Reubenite, whose descendant Beerah was carried into exile by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch **5** 5).

(3) A son of Merib-baal (1 Ch **8** 34 f; **9** 40 f). See Mica, (1).

(4) A Kohathite Levite (1 Ch **23** 20; **24** 24 f).

(5) The father of Abdon, one of Josiah's messengers to the prophetess Huldah (2 Ch **34** 20). In the ‖ passage (2 K **22** 12), the reading is "Achbor the son of Micaiah," AV "Michaiah."

(6) A Simeonite mentioned in the Book of Jth (Jth **6** 15).

(7) The prophet, called, in Jer **26** 18 (Heb), "Micaiah the Morashtite." See special article.

(8) The son of Imlah. See Micaiah, (7).

John A. Lees

1. Name and Person

MICAH (מִיכָה, *mīkhāh;* **Μειχαίας**, *Meichaías;* an abbreviation for Micaiah [Jer **26** 18], and this again of the longer form of the word in 2 Ch **17** 7; cf 1 K **22** 8): The name signifies "who is like Jeh?"; cf Michael, equal to "who is like El?" (i.e. God). As this name occurs not infrequently, he is called the "Morashtite," i.e. born in Moresheth. He calls his native city, in **1** 14, Moresheth-gath, because it was situated near the Phili city of Gath. According to Jerome and Eusebius, this place was situated not far eastward from Eleutheropolis. The prophet is not to be confounded with Micah ben Imla, in 1 K **22** 8, an older prophet of the Northern Kingdom.

2. Time of Micah

According to Jer **26** 18, Micah lived and prophesied in the reign of Hezekiah; according to Mic **1** 1, he labored also under Jotham and Ahaz. This superscription has, it must be said, great similarity to Isa **1** 1 and is probably of a later date. Yet the contents of his first discourse confirm the fact that he prophesied, not only before the destruction of Samaria, but also before the reformation of Hezekiah (cf Mic **1** 5). Accordingly, ch **1** is probably a discourse spoken already under Ahaz, and chs **2** to **5** under Hezekiah. No mention is any longer made of Samaria in chs **2** to **5**. This city has already been destroyed; at any rate, is being besieged. Accordingly, these discourses were pronounced after the year 722 BC, but earlier than 701 BC, as the reformation of Hezekiah had not yet been entirely completed. It is impossible to date exactly these discourses, for this reason, that all the separate sentences and addresses were afterward united into one well-edited collection, probably by Micah himself. The attacks that have been made by different critics on the authenticity of chs **4** and **5** have but a poor foundation. It is a more difficult task to explain the dismal picture of the conditions of affairs as described in chs **6** and **7** as originating in the reign of Hezekiah. For this reason, scholars have thought of ascribing them to the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz. But better reasons speak for placing them in the degenerate reign of Manasseh. There is no reason for claiming that Micah no longer prophesied in the times of this king. It is true that a number of critics declare that Micah did not write these chapters, esp. the so-called psalm in **7** 7–20, which, it is claimed, clearly presupposes the destruction of Jerus (**7** 11)! But it is a fact that Micah did really and distinctly predict this destruction and the exile that followed this event in **3** 12; and accordingly he could in this concluding hymn very easily have looked even beyond this period.

3. Relation to Isaiah

Micah is, then, a younger contemporary of Isaiah, and, like the latter, he prophesied in Judah, perhaps also in Jerus. To the writings of this great prophet his book bears a close resemblance both in form and in contents, although he did not, as was the case with Isaiah, come into personal contact with the kings and make his influence felt in political affairs. The statement in Mic **4** 1 ff is found almost literally in Isa **2** 2 ff. Opinions differ as to who is to be credited with the original, Isaiah or Micah. In the latter, the passage seems to suit better into the connection, while in Isa **2** it begins the discourse abruptly, as though the prophet had taken it from some other source. However, Mic **4** 4 f is certainly a sentence added by Micah, who, accordingly, was not the first to formulate the prophecy itself. It is possible that both prophets took it from some older prophet. But it is also conceivable that Isaiah is the author. In this case, he placed this sentence at the head of his briefer utterances when he composed his larger group of addresses in chs **2–4**, for the purpose of expressing the high purposes which God has in mind in His judgments.

4. Contents of the Prophecies

Micah combats in his discourses, as does Isaiah, the heathenish abuses which had found their way into the cult, not only in Samaria, but also in Judah and Jerus, and which the reformation of Hezekiah could counteract only in part and not at all permanently (cf **1** 5–7; **5** 11–13; **6** 7.16). Further, he rebukes them for the social injustice, of which particularly the powerful and the great in the land were guilty (**2** 1 ff; **3** 2 f.10 f); and the dishonesty and unfaithfulness in business and in conduct in general (cf **6** 10 ff; **7** 2 ff). At all times Micah, in doing this, was compelled to defend himself against false prophets, who slighted these charges as of little importance, and threatened and antagonized the prophet in his announcements of impending evil (cf **2** 5 ff.11 ff). In pronounced opposition to these babblers and their predictions of good things, Micah announces the judgment through the enemies that are approaching, and he even goes beyond Isaiah in the open declaration that Jerus and the temple are to be destroyed (**3** 12; **4** 10; **5** 1). The first-mentioned passage is also confirmed by the event reported in Jer **26** 17 ff. The passage **4** 10, where in a surprising way Babylon is mentioned as the place of the exile, is for this reason regarded as unauthentic by the critics, but not justly. Micah predicts also the deliverance from Babylon and the reëstablishment of Israel in Jerus, and declares that this is to take place through a King who shall come forth from the deepest humiliation of the house of David and shall be born in Bethlehem, and who, like David, originally a simple shepherd boy, shall later become the shepherd of the people, and shall make his people happy in peace and prosperity. Against this King the last great onslaught of the Gentiles will avail nothing (**4** 11–13; **5** 4 ff). As a matter of course, he will purify the country of all heathen abuses (**5** 9 ff). In the description of this ruler, Micah again agrees with Isaiah, but without taking the details from that prophet.

5. Form of the Prophecies

The form of the prophecies of Micah, notwithstanding their close connection with those of his great contemporary, has nevertheless its unique features. There is a pronounced formal similarity between Mic **1** 10 ff and Isa **10** 28 ff. Still more than is the case in Isaiah, Micah makes use of the names of certain places. Witty references, which we can understand only in part, are not lacking in this connection; e.g. Lachish, the "city of horses," is made the object of a play on words. (Recently in the ruins of this city a large wall has been unearthed.) The style of Micah is vigorous and vivid. He loved antitheses. It is a peculiarity of his style that he indulges in dramatic interruptions and answers; e.g. **2** 5.12; **3** 1; **6** 6–8; **7** 14 f. He also loves historical references; as e.g. **1** 13.15; **5** 5; **6** 4 f.6.16; **7** 20. He makes frequent use of the image of the shepherd, **2** 12; **3** 2 f; **4** 6; **5** 3 ff; **7** 14. The fact that these peculiarities appear in all parts of his little book is an argument in favor of its being from one author. He is superior to Isaiah in his tendency to idyllic details, and esp. in a deeper personal sympathy, which generally finds expression in an elegiac strain. His lyrical style readily takes the form of a prayer or of a psalm (cf ch **7**).

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C. VON ORELLI

MICAIAH, mī-kā′ya, mī-kī′a (מִיכָיְהוּ, *mīkhāyāhū*, "who is like Jeh?"; **Μειχαίας**, *Meichaías*): A frequently occurring OT name occasionally contracted to MICA or MICAH (q.v.). In AV it is usually spelled "Michaiah."

(1) The mother of Abijah (2 Ch **13** 2, AV "Michaiah"). The ‖ passage (1 K **15** 2; cf 2 Ch **11** 20) indicates that Michaiah here is a corruption of MAACAH (q.v.) (so LXX).

(2) The father of Achbor (2 K **22** 12, AV "Michaiah"). See MICAH, (5).

(3) A prince of Judah sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch **17** 7, AV "Michaiah").

(4) The son of Zaccur, a priestly processionist at the dedication of the wall (Neh **12** 35, AV "Michaiah").

(5) A priestly processionist at the dedication of the wall (Neh **12** 41; wanting in LXX).

(6) The canonical prophet. See MICAH, (7), and special article.

(7) The son of Imlah, the chief character of an important episode near the end of the reign of Ahab (1 K **22** 4–28 ‖ 2 Ch **18** 3–27). In the Heb, his name appears once in the contracted form "Micah" (2 Ch **18** 14). Ahab had suggested to his visitor, Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, that they should undertake a joint campaign against Ramoth-gilead. Jehoshaphat politely acquiesced, but asked that the mind of Jeh should first be ascertained. Ahab forthwith summoned the official prophets, to the number of 400, into the royal presence. Obsequious to their master, they, both by oracular utterance and by the symbolic action of their leader, Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, gave the king a favorable answer. Their ready chorus of assent seems to have made Jehoshaphat suspicious, for he pleaded that further guidance be sought. Micaiah, for whom Ahab, then, with evident reluctance, sent, at first simply repeated the favorable response of the 400; but adjured by the king to speak the whole truth, he dropped his ironical tone, and in sad earnest described a vision of disaster. Ahab endeavored to lessen the effect of this oracle by pettishly complaining that Micaiah was always to him a prophet of evil. The latter thereupon related an impressive vision of the heavenly court, whence he had seen a lying spirit dispatched by Jeh to the prophets in order to bring about Ahab's delusion and downfall. In answer to a rude challenge from Zedekiah, who acted as spokesman for the 400, Micaiah confidently appealed to the issue for proof of the truth of his prediction, and was promptly committed to prison by the king.

The narrative is exceedingly vivid and of the utmost interest to students of Israelitish prophecy. Several of its details have given rise to discussion, and the questions: How far were the prophet's visions objective? How far did he admit the inspiration of his opponents? Is the Divine action described consistent with the holy character of Jeh? have occasioned difficulty to many. But their difficulty arises largely either because of their Christian viewpoint, or because of their hard and mechanical theory of prophetic inspiration. Micaiah's position was a delicate one. Foreboding or foreseeing disaster, he did his best to avert it. This he could do only by weaning the king from the influence of the 400 time-serving prophets. He sought to gain his end; first, by an ironical acquiescence in their favorable answer; then, by a short oracle forecasting disaster esp. to Ahab; and, these means having failed, by discrediting in the most solemn manner the courtly prophets opposed to him. Thus regarded, his vision contains no admission of their equal inspiration; rather is it an emphatic declaration that these men were uttering falsehood in Jeh's name, thereby endangering their country's safety and their king's life. Their obsequious time-service made them fit forerunners of the false prophets denounced by Jeremiah (Jer **23** 9–40) and by Ezekiel (Ezk **13** 1–15). The frank anthropomorphism of the vision need be no stumbling-block if allowed to drop into its proper place as the literary device of a prophet intensely conscious of his own inspiration and as whole-heartedly patriotic as those opposed to him.

The record ends very abruptly, giving no account of Micaiah's vindication when at length the course of events brought about the fulfilment of his prediction. The closing words, "Hear, ye peoples, all of you" (1 K **22** 28 ‖ 2 Ch **18** 27), a quotation of Mic **1** 2, are an evident interpolation by some late scribe who confused the son of Imlah with the contemporary of Isaiah.

For fuller treatment see *EB*, *HDB*, and comms. on K and Ch.

JOHN A. LEES

MICE, mīs. See MOUSE.

MICHA, mī′ka, **MICHAH,** mī′ka. See MICA; MICAH.

MICHAEL, mī′kȧ-el, mī′kel (מִיכָאֵל, *mīkhā'ēl*, "who is like God?" **Μιχαήλ**, *Michaḗl*):

(1) The father of Sethur the Asherite spy (Nu **13** 13).

(2) (3) Two Gadites (1 Ch **5** 13.14).

(4) A name in the genealogy of Asaph (1 Ch **6** 40 [Heb 25]).

(5) A son of Izrahiah of Issachar (1 Ch **7** 3).

(6) A Benjamite (1 Ch **8** 16).

(7) A Manassite who ceded to David at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 20).

(8) The father of Omri of Issachar (1 Ch **27** 18).

(9) A son of King Jehoshaphat (2 Ch **21** 2).

(10) The father of Zebediah, an exile who returned with Ezra (Ezr **8** 8 ‖ 1 Esd **8** 34).

(11) "The archangel" (Jude ver 9). Probably also the unnamed archangel of 1 Thess **4** 16 is Michael. In the OT he is mentioned by name only in Dnl. He is "one of the chief princes" (Dnl **10** 13), the "prince" of Israel (**10** 21), "the great prince" (**12** 1); perhaps also "the prince of the host" (**8** 11). In all these passages Michael appears as the heavenly patron and champion of Israel; as the watchful guardian of the people of God against all foes earthly or devilish. In the uncanonical apocalyptic writings, however, Jewish angelology is further developed. In them Michael frequently appears and exercises functions similar to those which are ascribed to him in Dnl. He is the first of the "four presences that stand before God"—Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel or Phanuel (En **9** 1; **40** 9). In other apocryphal books and even elsewhere in En, the number of archangels is given as 7 (En **20** 1–7; Tob **12** 15; cf also Rev **8** 2). Among the many characterizations of Michael the following may be noted: He is "the merciful and long-suffering" (En **40** 9; **68** 2.3),

"the mediator and intercessor" (Asc Isa, Lat VS **9** 23; Test. XII P, Levi **5**; Dan **6**). It is he who opposed the devil in a dispute concerning Moses' body (Jude ver 9). This passage, according to most modern authorities, is derived from the apocryphal Asm M (see Charles's ed, 105–10). It is Michael also who leads the angelic armies in the war in heaven against "the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan" (Rev **12** 7 ff). According to Charles, the supplanting of the "child" by the archangel is an indication of the Jewish origin of this part of the book.

The earlier Protestant scholars usually identified Michael with the preincarnate Christ, finding support for their view, not only in the juxtaposition of the "child" and the archangel in Rev **12**, but also in the attributes ascribed to him in Dnl (for a full discussion see Hengstenberg, *Offenbarung*, I, 611–22, and an interesting survey in English by Dr. Douglas in Fairbairn's *BD*). JOHN A. LEES

MICHAH, mī′ka. See MICAH.

MICHAIAH, mī-kā′ya, mī-kī′a. See MICAIAH.

MICHAL, mī′kal (מִיכַל, *mīkhāl*, contracted from מִיכָאֵל, *mīkhā'ēl*, "Michael" [q.v.]; **Μελχόλ**, *Melchól*): Saul's younger daughter (1 S **14** 49), who, falling in love with David after his victory over Goliath (1 S **18** 20), was at last, on the payment of double the dowry asked, married to him (1 S **18** 27). Her love was soon put to the test. When Saul in his jealousy sent for David, she was quick to discern her husband's danger, connived at his escape, and not only outwitted and delayed the messengers, but afterward also soothed her father's jealous wrath (1 S **19** 11–17). When David was outlawed and exiled, she was married to Palti or Paltiel, the son of Laish of Gallim (1 S **25** 44), but was, despite Palti's sorrowful protest, forcibly restored to David on his return as king (2 S **3** 14–16). The next scene in which she figures indicates that her love had cooled and had even turned to disdain, for after David's enthusiastic joy and ecstatic dancing before the newly restored Ark of the Covenant, she received him with bitter and scornful mockery (2 S **6** 20), and the record closes with the fact that she remained all her life childless (2 S **6** 23; cf 2 S **21** 8 where Michal is an obvious mistake for Merab). Michal was evidently a woman of unusual strength of mind and decision of character. She manifested her love in an age when it was almost an unheard-of thing for a woman to take the initiative in such a matter. For the sake of the man whom she loved too she braved her father's wrath and risked her own life. Even her later mockery of David affords proof of her courage, and almost suggests the inference that she had resented being treated as a chattel and thrown from one husband to another. The modern reader can scarce withhold from her, if not admiration, at least a slight tribute of sympathy. JOHN A. LEES

MICHEAS, mī-kē′as (**MICHAEAS**): In 2 Esd **1** 39 = the prophet Micah.

MICHMAS, mik′mas (מִכְמָס, *mikhmāṣ;* B, **Μαχμάς**, *Machmás*, A, **Χαμμάς**, *Chammás*): The form of the name "Michmash" found in Ezr **2** 27; Neh **7** 31. In 1 Esd **5** 21 it appears as MACALON (q.v.).

MICHMASH, mik′mash (מִכְמָשׁ, *mikhmāsh;* **Μαχμάς**, *Machmás*): A town in the territory of Benjamin, apparently not of sufficient importance to secure mention in the list of cities given in Josh **18** 21 ff. It first appears as occupied by Saul with 2,000 men, when Jonathan, advancing from Gibeah, smote the Phili garrison in Geba (1 S **13** 2). To avenge this injury, the Philis came up in force and pitched in Michmash (ver 5). Saul and Jonathan with 600 men held Geba, which had been taken from the Phili garrison (ver 16). It will assist in making clear the narrative if, at this point, the natural features of the place are described.

Pass of Michmash.

Michmash is represented by the mod. *Mukhmās*, about 7 miles N. of Jerus. From the main road which runs close to the watershed, a valley sloping eastward sinks swiftly into the great gorge of *Wâdy es-Suweinīṭ*. The village of *Mukhmās* stands to the N. of the gorge, about 4 miles E. of the carriage road. The ancient path from Ai southward passes to the W. of the village, goes down into the valley by a steep and difficult track, and crosses the gorge by the pass, a narrow defile, with lofty, precipitous crags on either side—the only place where a crossing is practicable. To the S. of the gorge is Geba, which had been occupied by the Philis, doubtless to command the pass. Their camp was probably pitched in a position E. of *Mukhmās*, where the ground slopes gradually northward from the edge of the gorge. The place is described by Jos as "upon a precipice with three peaks, ending in a small, but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them like bulwarks to prevent the attack of the enemy" (*Ant*, VI, vi, 2). Conder confirms this description, speaking of it as "a high hill bounded by the precipices of *Wâdy es-Suweinīṭ* on the S., rising in three flat but narrow mounds, and communicating with the hill of *Mukhmās*, which is much lower, by a long and narrow ridge." The Philis purposed to guard the pass against approach from the S. On the other hand they were not eager to risk an encounter with the badly armed Israelites in a position where superior numbers would be of little advantage. It was while the armies lay thus facing each other across the gorge that Jonathan and his armor-bearer performed their intrepid feat (**14** 1 ff). See BOZEZ; SENEH.

It will be noted that the Philis brought their chariots to Michmash (1 S **13** 5). In his ideal picture of the Assyr advance on Jerus, Isaiah makes the invader lay up his baggage at Michmash so that he might go lightly through the pass (**10** 28). A company of the men of Michmash (see MICHMAS) returned with Zerubbabel from exile (Ezr **2** 27; Neh **7** 31). Michmash produced excellent barley. According to the Mish, "to bring barley to Michmash" was equivalent to our Eng. "to carry coal to Newcastle." Michmash was the seat of government under Jonathan Maccabaeus (1 Macc **9** 73).

The modern village is stone-built. There are rock-cut tombs to the N. Cisterns supply the water. There are foundations of old buildings, large stones, and a vaulted cistern. W. EWING

MICHMETHAH, mik′mē̇-tha (הַמִּכְמְתָה, *ha-mikhmᵉthāh;* B, Ἱκασμών, *Hikasmōn*, A, Μαχθώθ, *Machthōth*): A place named in defining the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh **16** 6; **17** 7). It is said to lie "before," i.e. to the E. of Shechem. In the name itself, the meaning of which is obscure, there is nothing to guide us. The presence of the art., however ("*the* Michmethah"), suggests that it may not be a proper name, but an appellative, applying to some feature of the landscape. Conder suggests the plain of *Makhneh,* which lies to the E. of *Nāblus* (Shechem), in which there may possibly be an echo of the ancient name.

MICHRI, mik′rī (מִכְרִי, *mikhrī*): A Benjamite dweller in Jerus (1 Ch **9** 8).

MICHTAM, mik′tam. See PSALMS.

MIDDAY, mid′dā (מַחֲצִית הַיּוֹם, *maḥăçīth ha-yōm,* צָהֳרַיִם, *çohŏrayim;* ἡμέρα μέση, *hēméra mésē*): The Heb *maḥăçīth ha-yōm* (Neh **8** 3) and the Gr *hēmeras mesēs* (Acts **26** 13) are strictly the middle of the day, but the Heb *çohŏrayim* is a dual form from צֹהַר, *çōhar,* meaning "light," hence light or brightness, i.e. the brightest part of the day (1 K **18** 29). See NOON.

MIDDIN, mid′in (מִדִּין, *middīn;* in *GB,* Αἰνών, *Ainōn,* "springs"): One of the six cities in the wilderness of Judah (Josh **15** 61). There are not many possible sites. The Heb name may possibly survive in *Kh. Mird,* a very conspicuous site with many ancient cisterns overlooking the plateau *el Bukeaʿ,* above which it towers to a height of 1,000 ft.; it is the *Mons Mardes* of early Christian pilgrims; the existing remains are Byzantine. It is a site of great natural strength and was clearly once a place of some importance. The Gr reading *Ainōn,* "place of springs," suggests the neighborhood of the extensive oasis of *ʿAin Feshkhah* at the northwest corner of the Dead Sea where there are at *Kh. Kumrân* remains of buildings and a rock-cut aqueduct. See *PEF,* III, 210, 212, Sh XVIII.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

MIDDLE WALL. See PARTITION.

MIDIAN, mid′i-an, **MIDIANITES,** mid′i-an-īts (מִדְיָן, *midhyān,* מִדְיָנִים, *midhyānīm;* Μαδιάμ, *Madiám,* Μαδιηναῖοι, *Madiēnaíoi*):

1. The Seed of Abraham to the Time of the Judges

Midian was a son of Abraham by his concubine Keturah. To him were born 5 sons, Ephah, Epher, Hanoch, Abida and Eldaah (Gen **25** 2.4; 1 Ch **1** 32 f). Bearing gifts from Abraham, he and his brothers, each with his own household, moved off from Isaac into "the east country" (Gen **25** 6). The first recorded incident in the history of the tribe is a defeat suffered "in the field of Moab" at the hands of Hadad, king of Edom. Of this nothing beyond the fact is known (**36** 35; 1 Ch **1** 46). The Midianites next appear as merchantmen traveling from Gilead to Egypt, with "spicery and balm and myrrh," with no prejudice against a turn of slave-dealing (Gen **37** 25 ff). Moses, on fleeing from Egypt, found refuge in the land of Midian, and became son-in-law of Jethro, the priest of Midian (Ex **2** 15.21). In Midian Moses received his commission to Israel in Egypt (**4** 19). A Midianite, familiar with the desert, acted as guide ("instead of eyes") to the children of Israel in their wilderness wanderings (Nu **10** 29 ff). The friendly relations between Israel and Midian, which seem to have prevailed at first, had been ruptured, and we find the elders of Midian acting with those of Moab in calling Balaam to curse Israel (**22** 4–7). Because of the grievous sin into which they had seduced Israel on the shrewd advice of Balaam, a war of vengeance was made against the Midianites in which five of their chiefs perished; the males were ruthlessly slain, and Balaam also was put to death (**25** 15.17; **31** 2 ff). We next hear of Midian as oppressing Israel for 7 years. Along with the Amalekites and the children of the East they swarmed across the Jordan, and their multitudinous beasts swept up the produce of the earth. Overwhelming disaster befell this horde at the onset of Gideon's chosen men. In the battle and pursuit "there fell a hundred and twenty thousand men that drew sword"; their kings, Zebah and Zalmunna, and their princes, Oreb and Zeeb, sharing the common fate (Jgs **6**–**8**). Echoes of this glorious victory—"the day of Midian"—are heard in later lit. (Ps **83** 9; Isa **9** 4; **10** 26; Hab **3** 7).

2. The Kenite Branch

The Kenites appear to have been a branch of the Midianites. Jethro could hardly have attained the dignity of the priesthood in Midian had he been of alien blood (Jgs **1** 16). See KENITES. Again, the tribesmen are named indifferently Ishmaelites and Midianites (Gen **37** 25.28.36; Jgs **8** 22.24). They must therefore have stood in close relations with the descendants of Hagar's son.

3. Modern Arabs

The representations of Midian in Scripture are consistent with what we know of the immemorial ways of Arabian tribes, now engaged in pastoral pursuits, again as carriers of merchandise, and yet again as freebooters. Such tribes often roam through wide circles. They appear not to have practised circumcision (Ex **4** 25), which is now practically universal among the Arabs. The men wore golden ornaments, as do the modern nomads (Jgs **8** 24 ff).

4. Historical References

The name of "Midian" is not found in Egyp or Assyr documents. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* 304) suggests that Ephah (Gen **25** 4) may be identical with Ḫayapa of the cuneiform inscriptions. If this is correct the references point to the existence of this Midianite tribe in the N. of *el-Ḥijāz* in the times of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon (745–705 BC). Isaiah speaks of Midian and Ephah apparently as separate tribes, whose dromedaries bear gold and frankincense to Zion (**60** 6); but he gives no hint of the districts they occupied. The tribe of *Ghifār,* found in the neighborhood of Medina in Mohammed's day, Knobel would identify with Epher, another of Midian's sons.

5. Territory

No boundaries can now be assigned to "the land of Midian." It included territory on the W. as well as on the E. of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba (Ex **4** 19). It lay between Edom and Paran (1 K **11** 18). In the time of the Judges their district seems to have extended northward to the E. of Gilead (**8** 10).

A trace of the ancient name is found in that of *Madyan,* a place mentioned by the Arab. geographers, with a plentiful supply of water, now called *Maghāir Shoʿaib.* It lies E. of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, some miles from the coast, almost opposite the point of the Sinaitic peninsula. The name *Shoʿaib,* given by Mohammed to Jethro, may here be due to ancient Midianite tradition.

W. EWING

MIDIANITISH, mid′i-an-īt-ish, **WOMAN** (הַמִּדְיָנִית, *ha-midhyānīth,* "the Midianitess"): The designation given to the daughter of Zur, Cozbi, whom Zimri the son of Salu brought into the camp of Israel (Nu **25** 6–18). Both were of noble parentage (**25** 14.15). The majority of the people strongly resented this act of profanation (**25** 6). A pestilence was raging in the camp, and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, in an outburst of zeal pursued the two delinquents and slew them by a spear-thrust through their bodies (**25** 8). He obtained as a reward the immediate staying of the plague and the promise of perpetual priesthood to his family (**25** 8.13). JOHN A. LEES

MIDNIGHT, mid′nīt (חֲצוֹת לַיְלָה, *ḥăçōth laylāh*, "middle of the night" [Ex **11** 4; Job **34** 20; Ps **119** 62], חֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה, *ḥăçī ha-laylāh*, "the half of the night" [Ex **12** 29; Jgs **16** 3; Ruth **3** 8], תּוֹךְ הַלַּיְלָה, *tōkh ha-laylāh*, "the division of the night" and hence the middle point [1 K **3** 20]; **μέσης νυκτός**, *mésēs nuktós* [Mt **25** 6], or **μέσον τῆς νυκτός**, *méson tē̂s nuktós*, "the middle of the night" [Acts **27** 27], **μεσονύκτιος**, *mesonúktios*, "midnight"; WH, *mesonúktion* [Acts **16** 25, etc]): In the period before the exile midnight does not seem to have been very accurately determined. The division of the night was into three watches, the middle one of which included midnight. In NT times the four-watch division was used where midnight must have been more or less accurately determined. See TIME; WATCH. H. PORTER

MIDRASH, mid′rash (מִדְרָשׁ, *midhrāsh*): The Heb word corresponding to AV "story" and RV "commentary" in 2 Ch **13** 22; **24** 27. A *midrash* is properly a story developed for purposes of edification. See COMMENTARY.

MIDWIFE, mid′wīf (מְיַלֶּדֶת, *meyalledheth*): Those who in patriarchal times attended mothers at childbirth are so named in Gen **35** 17; **38** 28; Ex **1** 15–22. Such attendants were probably then (1 S **4** 20), as they usually are now, the older female relatives and friends of the mother. The duties which they had to perform are enumerated in Ezk **16** 4: division of the cord, washing the infant in water, salting with salt and swathing in swaddling clothes. During the Egyp bondage there were two midwives who attended the Heb women; from their names, they were probably Hebrews, certainly they were not Egyptians. From this passage it appears that they used a certain double-round form of birthstool called *'obhnāyim*, concerning which there are several rabbinical comments. It probably was like the *kurû elwiládeh*, or "birth-seat," still used by the Egyp *fellahîn*. I have not found any record of its use among the Palestinian *fellahîn*. There is a curious passage in the Talm (*Ṣōṭāh* **2***b*) in which it is said that the two midwives had different duties, Shiphrah being the one who dressed the infant, Puah, the one who whispered to it. One Jewish commentator on this supposes that Puah used artificial respiration by blowing into the child's mouth. The midwives must have had considerable skill, as a case like that of Tamar required some amount of operative manipulation.

The Eng. word means originally the woman who is "with the mother" (cf "the women that stood by," in 1 S **4** 20), but very early became applied to those who gave skilled assistance, as in Raynold's *Birth of Mankind*, 1565. ALEX. MACALISTER

MIGDAL-EDER, mig-dal-ē′dẽr. See EDER.

MIGDAL-EL, mig′dal-el (מִגְדַּל־אֵל, *mighdal-'ēl;* B, **Μεγαλααρείμ**, *Megalaareím*, A, **Μαγδαλιηωράμ**, *Magdaliēōrám*): The name, which means "tower of God," occurs between Iron and Horem in the list of the fenced cities of Naphtali (Josh **19** 38). *Onom* places it 9 miles from Dora (*Ṭanṭūrah*), on the way to Ptolemais, which points to *Athlīt*. But this is far from the territory of Naphtali. It is probably to be identified with either *Khirbet Mejdel*, 3 miles N. of *Ḳedes*, or *Mejdel Islim*, 5 miles farther to the N.W.

MIGDAL-GAD, mig′dal-gad (מִגְדַּל־גָּד, *mighdal-gadh*, "tower of Gad"): One of a group of 16 cities of Judah situated in the "lowland" (Josh **15** 37). Of these, only Lachish, Eglon, Beth-dagon and Naamah have been identified with any certainty. This would indicate a site in the Phili plain, and the modern flourishing town of *Mejdel*, 2½ miles N.E. of Ashkelon, appears to be a possible identification. It is the most important town in the district which is named after it *Nahiet el-Mejdel*. It must, however, be admitted that it is difficult to see how Judah could have held a site so close to the great Phili strongholds. It is very probable that *Mejdel* ("tower") is the tower mentioned in Jos, *BJ*, III, ii, 3, as close to Ashkelon, and it or Migdal-gad (or both if they are the same sites) may be identical with the Magtal of the Am Tab (Petrie, *Hist. Egypt*, II, 329). For Mejdel see *PEF*, II, 410, Sh XVI. E. W. G. MASTERMAN

MIGDOL, mig′dol, mig′dōl (מִגְדּוֹל, *mighdōl;* **Μαγδώλον**, *Magdôlon*): This name ("the tower") is applied to two places on the east frontier of Egypt.

1. Ex 14:2; Nu 33:7

(1) In Ex **14** 2; Nu **33** 7, the Heb camp, on the march from Etham after they had "turned" (apparently to the S.), is defined as 'facing Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon.' It is thus to be sought (see EXODUS) W. of the Bitter Lakes, and may have been a watch-tower on the spur of *Jebel 'Ataḳah*. Israel was supposed to be "entangled in the land," and shut in in the "wilderness," between this range and the Bitter Lakes, then forming the head of the Red Sea. The exact site is unknown. In about 385 AD, St. Silvia, traveling from Clysma (Suez), was shown the sites above mentioned on her way to Heroöpolis, but none of these names now survive.

2. Jer 44:1; 46:14

(2) In Jer **44** 1; **46** 14, a Migdol is noticed with Memphis, and with Tahpanhes (LXX "Taphnas"), this latter being supposed to be the Daphnai of Gr writers, now *Tell Defeneh*, W. of *Ḳanṭarah*. The same place is probably intended in Ezk **29** 10; **30** 6 (cf vs 15–18), the borders of Egypt being defined as reaching "from Migdol to Syene" (see RVm), as understood by the LXX translators. The Antonine Itinerary places Migdol 12 miles S. of Pelusium, and the site appears to have been at or near *Tell es Samût*, the Egyp name, according to Brugsch (*Hist*, II, 351), being Samut. This Migdol was thus apparently a "watchtower" on the main road along the coast from Pal, which is called (Ex **13** 17) "the way of the land of the Philis," entering Egypt near Daphnai.

These sites not identical.—We are specially told that this was not the route taken at the exodus, and this Migdol cannot therefore be the same as (1), though Brugsch, in consequence of a theory as to the exodus which has not been accepted by other scholars, has confused the two sites, as apparently does the Antonine Itinerary when placing Pithom on the same route leading to Zoan. Brugsch (*Geography*, III, 19) supposes the Egyp town name *Pa-Ma'kāl* (with the determinative for "wall" added) to stand for Migdol, but the prefix *Pa* ("city") seems to show that this word is purely native, and not Sem, to say nothing of philological objections. This town may, however, have lain in the required direction, according to a scribe's report of the time of Seti II (or about 1230 BC).

As much confusion has been created by quoting this report as illustrative of the exodus, the actual words according to Brugsch's tr may be given (*Hist*, II, 132): "I set out from the hall of the royal palace on the 9th day of Epiphi, in the evening, after the two servants. I arrived at the fortress Thuku (*T-k-u*) on the 10th of Epiphi. I was informed that the men had resolved to take their way toward the S. On the 12th I reached Khetam. There I was informed that grooms who had come from the neighborhood [of the "sedge city"] reported that the fugitives had already passed the rampart (*Anbu* or "wall"), to the N. of the Ma'ktāl of King Seti Minepthah." As to the position of this "wall," see Shur.

C. R. Conder

MIGRON, mig′ron (מִגְרוֹן, *mighrōn;* **Μαγών,** *Magōn*):

(1) A place in the uttermost part of Geba—which read here instead of Gibeah—marked by a pomegranate tree, where Saul and his 600 men encamped over against the Philis, who were in Michmash (1 S **14** 2). Jos describes the distress of Saul and his company as they sat on a high hill (*bounós hupsēlós*) viewing the widespread desolation wrought by the enemy. There is, however, nothing to guide us as to the exact spot. Many suppose that the text is corrupt; but no emendation suggested yields any satisfactory result. The place was certainly S. of Michmash.

(2) (B, **Μαγεδώ,** *Magedō*, A, **Μαγεδδώ,** *Mageddō*): The Migron of Isa **10** 28 is mentioned between Aiath (Ai) and Michmash. If the places are there named in consecutive order, this Migron must be sought to the N. of Michmash. It may with some confidence be located at *Makrūn*, a ruined site to the N. of the road leading from Michmash to Ai.

There is nothing extraordinary in two places having the same name pretty close to each other. The two Beth-horons, although distinguished as upper and lower, are a case in point. So also are the two Bethsaidas. There is therefore no need to try to identify the two with one another, as some (e.g. Robertson Smith in *Journal of Philol.*, XIII, 62 ff) have attempted to do with no success.

W. Ewing

MIJAMIN, mij′a-min (מִיָּמִין, *mīyāmīn;* AV **Miamin**):

(1) One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr **10** 25). He is also called Maelus (1 Esd **9** 26).

(2) The one to whom fell the lot for the 6th priestly course (1 Ch **24** 9). His family returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua (Neh **12** 5).

(3) A signatory of the Covenant (Neh **10** 7).

MIKLOTH, mik′loth, mik′lōth (מִקְלוֹת, *miḳlōth*):

(1) A Benjamite, son of Jeiel (1 Ch **8** 32; **9** 37.38). A comparison of the two passages shows that the name Mikloth has been dropped at the end of 1 Ch **8** 31.

(2) An officer designated "the ruler," appointed in the priestly course for the 2d month (1 Ch **27** 4).

MIKNEIAH, mik-nē′ya, mik-nī′a (מִקְנֵיָהוּ, *miḳnēyāhū*): A Levite doorkeeper (1 Ch **15** 18).

MILALAI, mil-a-lā′ī, mil′a-lī (מִלֲלַי, *milălay*): A Levite musician (Neh **12** 36).

MILCAH, mil′ka (מִלְכָּה, *milkāh;* **Μελχά,** *Melchá*):

(1) Daughter of Haran, wife of Nahor, and grandmother of Rebekah (Gen **11** 29; **22** 20–23; **24** 15.24.47).

(2) Daughter of Zelophehad (Nu **26** 33; **27** 1; **36** 11; Josh **17** 3). Many recent authorities are of opinion that Milcah is an abbreviation of Bethmilcah, and is a geographical rather than a personal name.

MILCOM, mil′kom, mil′kōm. See Molech.

MILDEW, mil′dū (יֵרָקוֹן, *yērāḳōn;* LXX usually **ἴκτερος,** *íkteros*, lit. "jaundice"): In the 5 passages where it occurs it is associated with *shiddāphōn*, "blasting" (Dt **28** 22; 1 K **8** 37; 2 Ch **6** 28; Am **4** 9; Hag **2** 17). In Jer **30** 6, the same word is tr^{d} "paleness," the yellow color of one with abdominal disease. The root-meaning is "greenish yellow"; cf the Arab. يَرْقَان, *yarḳān*, meaning both "jaundice" and "blight." Mildew or "rust" in corn is due to a special fungus, *Puccinia graminis*, whose life is divided between the barberry and cereals. Many other varieties of fungi which flourish upon other plants are also designated "mildew." See Blasting. E. W. G. Masterman

MILE, mīl (**μίλιον,** *mílion*, Lat *mille passus, milia passuum*): A thousand paces, equal to 1,618 Eng. yds. (Mt **5** 41). See Weights and Measures.

MILETUS, mī-lē′tus (**Μίλητος,** *Mílētos*): A famous early Ionian Gr city on the coast of Caria, near the mouth of the Meander River, which, according to Acts **20** 15—**21** 1, and 2 Tim **4** 20 (AV "Miletum"), Paul twice visited. In the earliest times it was a prominent trading post, and it is said that 75 colonies were founded by its merchants. Among them were Abydos, Cyzicus and Sinope. In 494 BC, the city was taken by the Persians; it was recovered by Alexander the Great, but after his time it rapidly declined, yet it continued to exist until long after the Christian era. In the history of early Christianity it plays but a little part. The Meander brings down a considerable amount of sediment which it has deposited at its mouth, naturally altering the coast line. The gulf into which the river flows has thus been nearly filled with the deposit. In the ancient gulf stood a little island called Lade; the island now appears as a mound in the marshy malarial plain, and *Palatia*, the modern village which stands on the site of Miletus, is 6 miles from the coast. Without taking into account the great changes in the coast line it would be difficult to understand Acts **20** 15–21, for in the days of Paul, Ephesus could be reached from Miletus by land only by making a long détour about the head of the gulf. To go directly from one of these cities to the other, one would have been obliged to cross the gulf by boat and then continue by land. This is what Paul's messenger probably did. The direct journey may now be made by land. Miletus has been so ruined that its plan can no longer be made out. Practically the only remaining object of unusual interest is the theater, the largest in Asia Minor, which was not built in a hollow of the hillside, as most ancient theaters were, but in the open field. E. J. Banks

MILK, milk (חָלָב, *ḥālābh;* **γάλα,** *gála;* Lat *lac* [2 Esd **2** 19; **8** 10]): The fluid secreted by the mammary glands of female mammals for the nourishment of their young. The word is used in the Bible of that of human beings (Isa **28** 9) as well as of that of the lower animals (Ex **23** 19). As a food it ranked next in importance to bread (Ecclus **39** 26). Pal is frequently described as a land "flowing with milk and honey" (Ex **3** 8.17; Nu **13** 27; Dt **6** 3; Josh **5** 6; Jer **11** 5; Ezk **20** 6.15). Milk was among the first things set before the weary traveler (Gen **18** 8). In fact, it was considered a luxury (Jgs **5** 25; Cant **5** 1). The people used the milk of kine and also that of sheep (Dt **32** 14), and esp. that of goats (Prov **27** 27). It was received in pails (*‘ăṭīnīm,* Job **21** 24), and kept in leather bottles (*nō’dh,* Jgs **4** 19), where it turned sour quickly in the warm climate of Pal before being poured out thickly like a melting substance (*nāthakh;* cf Job **10** 10). Cheese of various kinds was made from it (*g^ebhīnāh* and *ḥărîçē he-ḥālābh,* lit. "cuts of milk"); or the curds (*ḥem’āh*) were eaten with bread, and possibly also made into butter by churning (Prov **30** 33). See Food, II. It is possible that milk was used for seething other substances; at least the Israelites were strictly forbidden to seethe a kid in its mother's milk (Ex **23** 19; **34** 26; Dt **14** 21), and by a very general interpretation of these passages Jews have come to abstain from the use of mixtures of meat and milk of all kinds.

Figuratively the word is used (1) of abundance (Gen **49** 12); (2) of a loved one's charms (Cant **4** 11); (3) of blessings (Isa **55** 1; Joel **3** 18); (4) of the (spiritual) food of immature people (1 Cor **3** 2; He **5** 12.13); (5) of purity (1 Pet **2** 2).

Nathan Isaacs

MILL, mil, **MILLSTONE,** mil'stōn (רֵחֶה, *rēḥeh;* **μύλος,** *múlos,* **μυλών,** *mulōn*): The two most primitive methods of grinding grain were (1) by pounding it in a mortar, and (2) by rubbing it between two stones. In Nu **11** 8 both methods are mentioned as used for rendering the manna more fit for cooking. Numerous examples of both mill and mortar have been found in ancient excavations. Bliss and Macalister in their excavations at Gezer and other places have found specimens of what is called the saddle-quern or mill, which consists of two stones. The "nether" stone, always made of hard lava or basalt from the district of the Hauran, was a large heavy slab varying in length from $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to $2\frac{3}{4}$ ft., and in width from 10 in. to $1\frac{1}{3}$ ft. Its upper surface was hollowed out slightly, which made it look a little like a saddle and may have suggested the name of "riding millstone" applied by the Hebrews to the upper stone which rested on it (Jgs **9** 53). The "upper stone" or "rider" was much smaller, 4 in. to 8 in. long and $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 6 in. wide, and of varying shapes. This could be seized with the two hands and rubbed back and forth over the nether stone much the same as clothes are scrubbed on a wash-board. Such a stone could be used as a weapon (Jgs **9** 53; 2 S **11** 21), or given as a pledge (Dt **24** 6).

Women at a Modern Mill.

Macalister goes so far as to say that "the rotary hand-quern in the form used in modern Pal and in remote European regions, such as the Hebrides, is quite unknown throughout the whole history, even down to the time of Christ" (*Excavations at Gezer*). The same writer, however, describes some mills belonging to the 3d and 4th Sem periods which are much like the present rotary quern, except smaller (4 in. to 6 in. in diameter), and with no provision for a turning handle. Schumacher describes these as paint grinders. The only perforated upper millstones found in the excavations at Gezer belong to the early Arab. period.

If the above assertions are substantiated then we must alter somewhat the familiar picture of the two women at the mill (Mt **24** 41), commonly illustrated by photographs of the mills still used in modern Pal. These latter consist of two stone discs each 18 in. to 20 in. in diameter, usually made of Hauran basalt. The upper one is perforated in the center to allow it to rotate on a wooden peg fixed in the nether stone, and near the circumference of the upper stone is fixed a wooden handle for turning it. The grain to be ground is fed into the central hole on the upper stone and gradually works down between the stones. As the grain is reduced to flour, it flies out from between the stones on to a cloth or skin placed underneath the mill. To make the flour fine it is reground and sifted. Larger stones 4 ft. to 5 ft. in diameter, working on the principle of the handmill, are still used for grinding sesame seed. These are turned by asses or mules. Another form of mill, which is possibly referred to in Mt **18** 6; Mk **9** 42; Rev **18** 21.22, consisted of a conical nether stone on which "rode" a second stone like a hollowed-out capstan. The upper stone was probably turned with handspikes in much the same way as an old-fashioned ship's capstan was turned. The material to be ground was fed into the upper cone which formed the hopper and from which it was delivered to the grinding surfaces between the "rider" and the nether stone. This form of mill must have been known in late Bib. times, because many examples of the upper stone dating from the Gr-Rom period have been found. One may be seen in the museum of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût. Another large one lies among the ruins at Petra, etc. In Mt **18** 6; Mk **9** 42, the mill is described as a *μύλος ὀνικός, múlos onikós,* lit. a mill turned by an ass, hence a great millstone. It is not at all unlikely that the writers have confused the meaning of *ὄνος, ónos* (חֲמוֹר, *ḥămōr*), a term commonly applied to the upper millstone of a handmill, thinking it referred instead to the animal which turned the mill. This explanation would make Christ's words of condemnation more applicable. The upper millstone of a handmill would be more than sufficient to sink the condemned, and the punishment would be more easily carried out. A few years from now handmills will have disappeared from the Syrian households, for the more modern gristmills turned by water or other motor power are rapidly replacing them. See Crafts, II, 8.

Figuratively: (1) Of firmness and undaunted courage (Job **41** 24). "The heart of hot-blooded animals is liable to sudden contractions and expansions, producing rapid alternations of sensations; not so the heart of the great saurians" (Canon Cook ad loc.). (2) To "grind the face of the poor" (Isa **3** 15) is cruelly to oppress and afflict them. (3) The ceasing of the sound of the millstone was a sign of desolation (Jer **25** 10; Rev **18** 22).

James A. Patch

MILLENNIUM (POSTMILLENNIAL VIEW). See Eschatology of the NT.

MILLENNIUM, mi-len'i-um **(PREMILLENNIAL VIEW):**

Divergent Views—Scope of Article
I. The Teaching of Jesus
    The Millennium Not before the Advent
    (1) Parable of the Wheat and Tares
    (2) Parable of the Pounds
II. Teaching of the Apostles
    1. Expectation of the Advent
    2. Possibility of Survival—Its Implications
    3. Prophecy of "Man of Sin"
    4. No Room for Millennium
    5. Harmony of Christ and Apostles
Literature

Divergent Views—Scope of Article

The great majority of evangelical Christians believe that the kingdom of God shall have universal sway over the earth, and that righteousness and peace and the knowledge of the Lord shall everywhere prevail. This happy time is commonly called the Millennium, or the thousand years' reign. Divergent views are entertained as to how it is to be brought about. Many honest and faithful men hold that it will be introduced by the agencies now at work, mainly by the preaching of the gospel of Christ and the extension of the church over the world. An increasing number of men equally honest teach that the Millennium will be established by the visible advent of the Lord Jesus Christ. The aim of this brief article is to set forth some of the Scriptural grounds on which this latter view rests. No reference will be made to objections, to counter-objections and interpretations; the single point, namely, that the Millennium succeeds the second coming of Jesus Christ, that it does not precede it, will be rigidly adhered to. Those who hold this view believe that neither Christ nor His apostles taught, on fair principles of interpretation, that the Millennium must come before His advent.

The Millennium Not before the Advent

I. The Teaching of Jesus.—The Lord Jesus said nothing about world-wide conversion in His instructions to His disciples touching their mission (Mt **28** 19.20; Mk **16** 15; Lk **24** 46–48; Acts **1** 8). They were to be His witnesses and carry His message to the race, but He does not promise the race will receive their testimony, or that men will generally accept His salvation. On the contrary, He explicitly forewarns them that they shall be hated of all men, that sufferings and persecutions shall be their lot, but if they are faithful to the end their reward will be glorious. But world-wide evangelism does not mean world-wide conversion. The universal offer of salvation does not pledge its universal acceptance. In His instructions and predictions the Lord does not let fall a hint that their world-wide mission will result in world-wide conversion, or that thereby the longed-for Millennium will be ushered in. But there is a time to come when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters the sea, when teaching shall no longer be needed, for all shall know Him from the least to the greatest. Our dispensation, accordingly, cannot be the last, for the effects stated in *that* are not contemplated in the instructions and the results of *this*. To the direct revelation of Christ on the subject we now turn. In two parables He explicitly announces the general character and the consummation of the gospel age, and these we are briefly to examine.

(1) *Parable of the Wheat and Tares* (*Mt* ***13*** *24–30.36–43*).—Happily we are not left to discover the meaning and scope of this parable. We enjoy the immense advantage of having Our Lord's own interpretation of it. Out of His Divine explanation certain most important facts emerge: (*a*) The parable covers the whole period between the first and second advents of the Saviour. The Sower is Christ Himself. He began the good work; He opened the new era. (*b*) The field is the world. Christ's work is no longer confined to a single nation or people as once; it contemplates the entire race. (*c*) His people, the redeemed, begotten by His word and Spirit, are the good seed. Through them the gospel of His grace is to be propagated throughout the whole world. (*d*) The devil is also a sower. He is the foul counterfeiter of God's work. He sowed the tares, the sons of the evil one. (*e*) The tares are not wicked men in general, but a particular class of wicked brought into close and contaminating association with the children of God. "Within the territory of the visible church the tares are deposited" (Dr. David Brown). It is the corruption of Christendom that is meant, a gigantic fact to which we cannot shut our eyes. (*f*) The mischief, once done, cannot be corrected. "Let both grow together until the harvest." Christendom once corrupted remains so to the end. (*g*) The harvest is the consummation of the age. This is the culmination of our age; it terminates with the advent and judgment of the Son of God. He will send forth His angels who will "gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire. . . . Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."

Here, then, we have the beginning, progress and consummation of our age. Christ Himself introduced it, and it was distinguished for its purity and its excellence. But the glorious system of truth was soon marred by the cunning craftiness of Satan. No after-vigilance or earnestness on the part of the servants could repair the fatal damage. They were forbidden to attempt the removal of the tares, for by so doing they would endanger the good grain, so intermixed had the two become! The expulsion of the tares is left for angels' hands in the day of the harvest. This is Our Lord's picture of our age: a Zizanian field wherein good and bad, children of God and children of the evil one, live side by side down to the harvest which is the end. In spite of all efforts to correct and reform, the corruption of Christendom remains, nay, grows apace. To expel the vast crop of false doctrine, false professors, false teachers, is now as it has been for centuries an impossibility. Christ's solemn words hold down to the final consummation, "Let both grow together until the harvest." In such conditions a millennium of universal righteousness and knowledge of the Lord seems impossible until the separation takes place at the harvest.

(2) *Parable of the Pounds* (*Lk* ***19*** *11–27*).—Jesus was on His last journey to Jerus, and near the city. The multitude was eager, expectant. They supposed the Kingdom of God was immediately to appear. The parable was spoken to correct this mistake and to reveal certain vital features of it. "A certain nobleman went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return." There is little difficulty in grasping the main teaching of this suggestive narrative. The nobleman is the Lord Jesus Christ Himself; the far country is heaven; the kingdom He goes to receive is the Messianic kingdom, for the victorious establishment of which all God's people long and pray. The servants are those who sustain responsible relation to the Lord because of the trust committed to them. The rebellious citizens are those who refuse subjection to His will and defy His authority. His return is His second coming. The parable spans the whole period between His ascension and His advent. It measures across our entire age. It tells of Christ's going away, it describes the conduct of His servants and of the citizens during His absence; it foretells His return and the reckoning that is to follow. Mark the words, "And it came to pass, when he was come back again, having received the kingdom." It is in heaven He receives the investiture of the kingdom (Rev **5** 6). It is on earth that He administers it. The phrase, "having received the kingdom," cannot by any dexterity of exegesis be made to denote the end of time or the end of the Millennium, or of His receiving it at the end of the world; it is then He

delivers it up to God, even the Father (1 Cor **15** 24–28).

The order and sequence of events as traced by the Lord disclose the same fact made prominent in the parable of the Wheat and Tares, namely, that during the whole period between His ascension and His return there is no place for a Millennium of world-wide righteousness and prosperity. But Scripture warrants the belief that such blessedness is surely to fill the earth, and if so, it must be realized after Christ's second coming.

1. Expectation of the Advent

II. Teaching of the Apostles.—There is no unmistakable evidence that the apostles expected a thousand years of prosperity and peace during Christ's absence in heaven. In Acts **1** 11 we read that the heavenly visitants said to the apostles, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking into heaven?" This attitude of the men of Galilee became the permanent attitude of the primitive church. It was that of the uplifted gaze. Paul's exultant words respecting the Thessalonians might well be applied to all believers of that ancient time, that they "turned unto God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven" (1 Thess **1** 9.10). It is the prominent theme of the NT epp. In the NT it is mentioned 318 t. One verse in every thirty, we are told, is occupied with it. It is found shining with a glad hope in the first letters Paul wrote, those to the Thessalonians. It is found in the last he wrote, the second to Timothy, gleaming with the bright anticipation of the crown he was to receive at the Redeemer's appearing. James quickens the flagging courage, and reanimates the drooping spirits of believers with this trumpet peal: "Be ye also patient; establish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord is at hand" (**5** 8). Peter exhorts to all holy conversation and godliness by the like motive: "Looking for and hastening the coming of the day of God" (2 Pet **3** 12 m). Amid the deepening gloom and the gathering storms of the last days, Jude (ver 14) cheers us with the words of Enoch, the seventh from Adam, 'Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon . . . . the ungodly.' John closes the Canon with the majestic words, "Behold, he cometh with the clouds," "Behold, I come quickly." These men, speaking by the Spirit of the living God, know there can be no reign of universal righteousness, no deliverance of groaning creation, no redemption of the body, no binding of Satan, and no Millennium while the tares grow side by side with the wheat; while the ungodly world flings its defiant shout after the retiring nobleman, "We will not have this man to reign over us"; and while Satan, that strong, fierce spirit, loose in this age, deceives, leads captive, devours and ruins as he lists. Therefore the passionate longing and the assurance of nearing deliverance at the coming of Christ fill so large a place in the faith and the life of the primitive disciples.

2. Possibility of Survival—Its Implications

In 1 Thess **4** 17 Paul speaks of himself and others who may survive till the Lord's coming: "Then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air" (cf 1 Cor **15** 51.52).

This implies fairly that the apostle did not know that long ages would elapse between his own day and Christ's advent. There was to his mind the possibility of His coming in his lifetime; in fact, he seems to have an expectation that he would not pass through the gates of death at all, that he would live to see the Lord in His glorious return, for the day and the hour of the advent is absolutely concealed even from inspired men. The inference is perfectly legitimate that Paul and his fellow-disciples did not anticipate that a thousand years should intervene between them and the coming.

3. Prophecy of "Man of Sin"

Furthermore, the Thessalonians had fallen into a serious mistake (2 Thess **2** 1–12). By a false spirit, or by a forged ep. as from Paul, they were led to believe that "the day of the Lord is *now* present" (ERV), ver 2. The apostle sets them right about this solemn matter. He assures them that some things must precede that day, namely, "the falling away," or apostasy, and the appearing of a powerful adversary whom he calls "the Man of Sin," and describes as "the Son of Perdition." Neither the one nor the other of these two, the apostasy and the Man of Sin, was then present. But the road was fast getting ready for them. There was the "mystery of lawlessness" already at work at the time, and although a certain restraint held it in check, nevertheless when the check was removed it would at once precipitate the apostasy, and it would issue in the advent of the Man of Sin, and he should be brought to nought by the personal coming of Jesus Christ. This appears to be the import of the passage.

Here was the appropriate place to settle forever for these saints and for all others the question of a long period to intervene before the Saviour's advent. How easy and natural it would have been for Paul to write, "Brethren, there is to be first a time of universal blessedness for the world, the Millennium, and after that there will be an apostasy and the revelation of the Man of Sin whom Christ will destroy by the brightness of His coming." But Paul intimated nothing of the sort. Instead, he distinctly says that the mystery of lawlessness is already working, that it will issue in "the falling away," and then shall appear the great adversary, the Lawless One, who shall meet his doom by the advent of Christ. The mystery of lawlessness, however, is held in restraint, we are told. May it not be possible that the check shall be taken off, then the Millennium succeed, and after that the apostasy and the Son of Perdition? No, for its removal is immediately followed by the coming of the great foe, the Antichrist. For this foe has both an apocalypse and a parousia like Christ Himself. Hence, the lifting of the restraint is sudden, by no means a prolonged process.

4. No Room for Millennium

The apostle speaks of the commencement, progress, and close of a certain period. It had commenced when he wrote. Its close is at the coming of Christ. What intervenes? The continuance of the evil secretly at work in the body of professing Christians, and its progress from the incipient state to the maturity of daring wickedness which will be exhibited in the Man of Sin. This condition of things fills up the whole period, if we accept Paul's teaching as that of inspired truth. There appears to be no place for a Millennium within the limits which the apostle here sets. The only escape from this conclusion, as it seems to us, is, to deny that the coming of Christ is His actual, personal second coming. But the two words, *epipháneia* and *parousía,* which elsewhere are used separately to denote His advent, are here employed to give "graphic vividness" and certainty to the event, and hence they peremptorily forbid a figurative interpretation. The conclusion seems unavoidable that there can be no Millennium on this side of the advent of Christ.

5. Harmony of Christ and Apostles

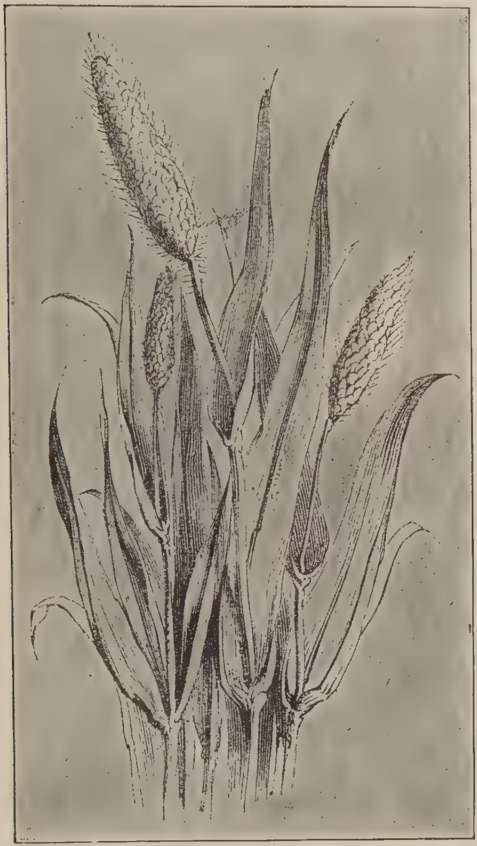
Our Lord's Olivet prophecy (Mt **24**, **25**; Mk **13**; Lk **21**) accords fully with the teaching of the apostles on the subject. In that discourse He foretells wars, commotions among the nations, Jerusalem's capture and the destruction of the temple, Israel's exile, Christians persecuted while bearing their testimony throughout the world, cosmic convulsions, unparalleled tribulation and sufferings which terminate only with His advent. From the day this great prophecy was spoken down to the hour of His actual coming He offers no hope of a Millennium. He opens no place for a thousand years of blessedness for the earth.

These are some of the grounds on which Bib. students known as Premillennialists rest their belief touching the coming of the Lord and the Millennial reign.

Literature.—Premillenarian: H. Bonar, *The Çoming of the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus;* Wood, *The Last Things;* Guinness, *The Approaching End of the Age;* Seiss, *The Last Times;* Gordon, *Ecce Venit; Premillennial Essays;* Peters, *The Theocratic Kingdom;* West, *The Thousand Years in Both Testaments;* Trotter, *Plain Papers on Prophetic Subjects;* Brookes, *Maranatha;* Andrews, *Christianity and Antichristianity;* Kellogg, *Prediction and Fulfilment.*

William G. Moorehead

MILLET, mil′et, mil′it (דֹּחַן, *dōḥan;* **κέγχρος,** *kégchros*): One of the ingredients of the prophet's bread (Ezk **4** 9). The Arab. equivalent is *dukhn,* the common millet, *Panicum miliaceum,* an annual grass 3 or 4 ft. high with a much-branched nodding panicle. Its seeds are as small as mustard seeds and are used largely for feeding small birds, but are sometimes ground to flour and mixed with other cereals for making bread. The Italian millet, *setaria Italica,* known as Bengal grass, is also called in Arab. *dukhn,* and has a similar seed. A somewhat similar grain, much more widely cultivated as a summer crop, is the Indian millet—also called "Egyp maize"—the *Sorghum annuum.* This is known as *dhurah* in Arab., and the seed as *dhurah beiḍâ,* "white dourra." It is a very important crop, as it, like the common millet, grows and matures without any rain. It is an important breadstuff among the poor.



Millet (*Sorghum vulgare*).

Both the common millet and the dourra were cultivated in Egypt in very ancient times; the Heb *dōḥan* was certainly the first, but may include all three varieties. E. W. G. Masterman

1. OT References

MILLO, mil′ō (מִלּוֹא, *millō′,* generally interpreted to mean a "filling," e.g. a solid tower or an earth embankment; in Jgs **9** 6.20; 2 K **12** 20, we get בֵּית מִלּוֹא, *bēth millō′,* tr^d^ in EV "House of Millo," which Winckler thinks may have been the original Jebusite temple-shrine of Jerus [see Beth-millo]; LXX reads **Βηθμααλών,** *Bēthmaalôn,* also *Maalôn* and *oíkos Maallôn*): It is generally supposed that "The Millo" was some kind of fortress or other defence, but many speculations have been made regarding its position. In 2 S **5** 9, we read that David built round about from the Millo and inward, or (in LXX) "he fortified it, the city, round about from the Millo and his house" (cf 1 Ch **11** 8). In connection with Solomon's strengthening of the fortifications, there are several references to Millo. In 1 K **9** 15, Solomon raised a levy "to build the house of Jeh, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerus," etc; in ver 24, "Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the city of David unto her house which Solomon had built for her: then did he build Millo"; in 1 K **11** 27, Solomon "built Millo, and repaired the breach of the city of David his father." At a later time Hezekiah "took courage, and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without, and strengthened Millo in the city of David" (2 Ch **32** 5; 2 K **12** 20); Joash was slain by his servants "at the house of Millo, on the way that goeth down to Silla," but possibly this may have been in Shechem (cf Jgs **9** 6).

2. Identical with the Akra Site

The mention of the site in the days of David and the reference to it in connection with the city of David (1 K **11** 27) point to some part of the southeastern hill S. of the temple. It is suggestive that Millo is in LXX always tr^d^ by "Akra." It seems to the present writer very probable that it was a fortress crowning the hill on which at a later time stood the Syrian Akra, which hill, if we are to believe Jos (*BJ,* V, iv, 1, etc), was cut down because its commanding situation dominated the temple. This hill cannot have been the site of Zion afterward known as "David's Burg" (City of David), because the tombs of the Judaean kings were within its walls, and that alone would have made the complete leveling of the site impossible, but whereas the Jebusite fortress was probably not far from Gihon, this fortified summit may have been, as Watson suggests for the Akra, as far north as where the present *Al Aḳsa* mosque is situated. In David's time it may have been an isolated and detached fort guarding the north approach, but if it was originally a Jebusite high place (Winckler) partly of sun-dried brick like similar constructions in Babylonia, the account of its being leveled would be much more credible. The importance of this site in the days of Solomon is fully explicable if this was the citadel guarding the newly built temple and royal palaces.

Dr. G. A. Smith is inclined to think that Millo may have been a fortress "off the south end of Ophel, to retain and protect the old pool," and Vincent suggests that the site of Millo is that now occupied by the great causeway connecting the Western and Eastern hills along which runs the *ṭarīḳ bāb es silsileh.* E. W. G. Masterman

MILLSTONE, mil′stōn. See Mill.

MINA, mī′na. See Maneh.

MINCING, min′sing (טָפַף, *ṭāphaph*): "Taking short steps," "walking trippingly." Only in Isa **3** 16, "walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling [a jingling of the metal anklets] with their feet." Cf *OHL.*

MIND, mīnd (νοῦς, *noús,* διάνοια, *diánoia,* σύνεσις, *súnesis*): We look in vain in the OT and NT for anything like scientific precision in the employment of terms which are meant to indicate mental operations.

1. No Precision in the Terms Used

In the OT *lēbh* is made to stand for the various manifestations of our intellectual and emotional nature. We are often misled by the different renderings in the different versions, both early and late.

Sometimes *nephesh* or "soul" is rendered by "mind" (Dt **18** 6 AV, "desire of his soul" or "mind"); sometimes *rūaḥ* or "spirit" (Gen **26** 35, "grief of mind," *rūaḥ*). Here Luther renders the term *Herzeleid* ("grief of heart"), and the Vulg *animum.* Sometimes *lēbh* is used, as in Isa **46** 8, "bring it to mind" (lit. "heart"), or in Ps **31** 12, "I am forgotten as a dead man out of mind" (lit. "heart"), as in LXX, *kardía,* and in Vulg, *a corde,* Luther, *im Herzen,* new Dutch tr, *uit de gedachtenis* (i.e. "memory").

In the Apoc this precision is equally lacking. Thus we read in Wisd **9** 15, "For the corruptible body [*sôma*] presseth down the soul [*psuchḗ*] and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind [*nous*] that museth upon many things." But these distinctions are alien to the letter and spirit of revelation, a product of the Gr and not of the Heb mind.

In the NT the words *nous* and *dianoia* are used, but not with any precision of meaning.

Here too several terms are rendered by the same word. Thus the Heb *rūaḥ* is rendered by *nous* in 1 Cor **2** 16 ("*mind* of the Lord," with reference to Isa **40** 13, where "*rūaḥ YHWH* [Jeh]" occurs). *Nous* evidently means here the organ of spiritual perception—a word borrowed from the LXX, where it is sometimes made to stand for *lēbh* (Job **7** 17; Isa **41** 22); sometimes for *rūaḥ* (Isa **40** 13). In Lk **24** 45—the solitary text, where *nous* occurs in the Gospels—it is rendered "understanding" in AV, "mind" in RV.

2. Ethical Sense

For a true solution we must turn to the Epp. of Paul, where the word frequently occurs in an ethical sense—sometimes in connection with (sinful) flesh as in Col **2** 18, "puffed up by his fleshly mind," sometimes in direct contrast to it, as in Rom **7** 25, 'with my mind I serve the law of God; with the flesh the law of sin.' In Tit **1** 15 it is brought into parallelism with conscience ("Their mind and their conscience are defiled"). Phrases like "a reprobate mind," "corrupted in mind" occur elsewhere (Rom **1** 28; 1 Tim **6** 5). From this state of "reprobation" and "corruption" man must be saved. Hence the necessity of complete transformation and renewal of the inner man (Rom **12** 2), "transformed by the renewing of your mind [*nous*]."

3. *Dianoia* and *Nous*

Another word, with possibly a deeper meaning, is sometimes employed, viz. *dianoia,* which lit. means "meditation," "reflection." It is found as synonymous with *nous* in a good sense, as e.g. in 1 Jn **5** 20 (He "hath given us an understanding, that we know him that is true"). Evidently the sense here is the same as in Rom **12** 2, a renovated mind capable of knowing Christ. It may also bear a bad sense, as in Eph **4** 18, where the Gentiles are represented as having "a darkened understanding," or in parallelism with *sárx:* "the desires of the flesh and of the mind" (Eph **2** 3), and with *nous:* 'walking in vanity of mind [*nous*] and a darkened understanding [*dianoia*]' in Eph **4** 18. At times also "heart" and "mind" are joined to indicate human depravity (Lk **1** 51: "He hath scattered the proud in the imagination [*dianoia*] of their heart"). It is interesting also to know that the Great Commandment is rendered in Mt **22** 37—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy *heart,* and with all thy *soul* [*psuchē*], and with all thy *understanding* [*dianoia*] [EV "mind"]"—though Mk has two renderings in one of which *dianoia* occurs, and in the other *sunesis* (Mk **12** 30.33), though possibly without any psychological refinement of meaning, for the term *sunesis* occurs elsewhere in conjunction with *pneumatikós* ("spiritual understanding," Col **1** 9). It also stands alone in the sense of an "understanding enlightened from above" (2 Tim **2** 7 AV: "The Lord give thee understanding [*sunesis*] in all things"). The history of these terms is interesting, but not of great theological significance.

4. The Great Commandment

It seems to us that Godet's interpretation of the Great Commandment in Lk **10** 27 is somewhat far-fetched. He considers the *heart* as "the central focus from which all rays of the moral life go forth, and that in their three principal directions: the powers of feeling, or the affections, *nephesh* ('soul') in the sense of feeling; the active powers, the impulsive aspirations, the *might* ('with all thy *might*'), the will; and in the intellectual powers, analytical or contemplative, *dianoia* ('with all thy *mind*'). The difference between the heart, which resembles the trunk and the three branches, feeling, will, understanding, is emphatically marked in the Alexandrian variation, by the substitution of the preposition *en* ('in') for *ek* ('with,' 'from') in the three last members. Moral life proceeds *from* the heart and manifests itself *without,* in the three forms of *activity.* The impulse God-ward proceeds *from* the heart, and is realized in the life *through* the will, which consecrates itself actively to the accomplishment of His will; and *through* the mind, which pursues the track of His thought in all His works" (Godet, *Comm. on the Gospel of Lk,* II, 38, 39).

J. I. Marais

MINE, mīn, **MINING,** mīn′ing: In Job **28** 1–11 we have the only Bib. reference to mines. The writer very likely derived his information either from personal observation or from a description by an eyewitness, of the mining operations of Sinai (see Metals). No traces of ancient mines have yet been found in Pal and Syria. What metals were taken out came from the superficial strata. The mines of Upper Egypt have already been mentioned. Burton and other travelers in Northern Arabia and the Red Sea country have found there evidences of ancient mining operations.

The usual Egyp method of mining was to follow the vein from the surface as far as it was practicable with tools corresponding to our pick and hoe, hammer and chisel. The shafts frequently extended into the ground a distance of 180 to 200 ft. The rock when too hard to be dug out was first cracked by having fires built on it. The metal-bearing stone was carried in baskets to the surface, where the crushing and separating took place. The mining operations were performed by an army of slaves who were kept at their work day and night, driven with the lash until they died, when their places were taken by others. See Metals; Crafts, II, 10.

James A. Patch

MINERALS, min′ẽr-alz. See Metals; Stones, Precious.

MINGLED PEOPLE, min′g'ld pē′p'l (**MIXED MULTITUDE**):

(1) "Mixed multitude" occurs in Nu **11** 4 as a tr of אֲסַפְסֻף, *'ăṣaphṣuph,* "collection," "rabble." The same phrase in Ex **12** 38; Neh **13** 3 is the rendition of עֵרֶב, *'ērebh.* "Mingled people" is used also to translate *'ērebh,* and is found in Jer **25** 20.24; **50** 37; Ezk **30** 5, and in 1 K **10** 15 RV (AV "Arabia"; cf ARVm). In the last case both revised VSS have followed the pointing of the MT, and this pointing alone distinguishes "mingled people" (*'ērebh*) from "Arabia" (*'ărābh*); in the unpointed text both words are equally ערב. Now "the traffic of the merchants, and of all the kings of the mingled people, and of the governors of the country" is very awkward, and the correction into "Arabia," as in the MT (and EV) of the ‖ 2 Ch **9** 14, is indicated. Probably the same change should

be made in Ezk **30** 5, reading "Ethiopia, and Put, and Lud, and Arabia, and Cub." A similar textual confusion seems to be responsible for either "and all the kings of Arabia" or "and all the kings of the mingled people" in Jer **25** 24. On all these verses see the comms.

(2) In Jer **25** 20; **50** 37, "mingled people" is a term of contempt for the hybrid blood of certain of Israel's enemies. Something of this same contempt may be contained in Ex **12** 38, where a multitude of non-Israelitish camp-followers are mentioned as accompanying the children of Israel in the exodus, and in Nu **11** 4 it is this motley body that seduced Israel to sin. But who they were, why they wished or were permitted to join in the exodus, and what eventually became of them or of their descendants is a very perplexing puzzle. In Neh **13** 3, the "mixed multitude" consists of the inhabitants of Pal whom the Jews found there after the return from the exile (see SAMARIA). In accord with the command of Dt **23** 3–5, the Jews withdrew from all religious intercourse whatever had been established with these.

NOTE.—The Heb noun for "mingled people" may or may not be connected with the vb. tr^d "mingle" in Ezr **9** 2; Ps **106** 35; Dnl **2** 43. On this see the lexicons.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON

MINIAMIN, min′ya-min, mi-nī′a-min (מִנְיָמִין, *minyāmīn*):

(1) A Levite who assisted Kore, the son of Imnah, in the distribution of the freewill offerings (2 Ch **31** 15).

(2) A priestly family of the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh **12** 17), probably = MIJAMIN (2).

(3) A priestly participant in the ceremony of the dedication of the wall (Neh **12** 41).

MINISH, min′ish (AV and ERV Ex **5** 19; Ps **107** 39; ERV Isa **19** 6; Hos **8** 10): The vb. "minish," "make small," is now obsolete, being replaced by its derivative "diminish" (cf ARV in all vs above).

MINISTRY, min′is-tri:

I. THE WORD "MINISTRY"
   Use of the Word in This Article
II. TWO KINDS OF MINISTRY
   1. The Prophetic Ministry
      (1) Apostles
      (2) Prophets
      (3) Teachers
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III. THREEFOLD CONGREGATIONAL MINISTRY
   1. Insistence on Organization
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LITERATURE

I. The Word "Ministry."—The common NT term for the ministry is *diakonía* (διακονία), and along with it we find *diákonos* (διάκονος), "minister," *ho diakonōn* (ὁ διακονῶν), "he who ministers," and *diakoneín* (διακονεῖν), "to minister." All these words have a very extensive application within the NT and are by no means restricted to denote service within the Christian church; even when so restricted the words are used in a great variety of meanings: e.g. (1) discipleship in general (Jn **12** 26); (2) service rendered to the church because of the "gifts" bestowed (Rom **12** 7; 1 Cor **12** 5), and hence all kinds of service (Acts **6** 2; Mt **20** 26); (3) specifically the "ministry of the Word" (Eph **4** 12), and most frequently the "apostleship" (Acts **1** 17; **20** 24; **21** 19; Rom **11** 13, etc); (4) such services as feeding the poor (Acts **6** 1; **11** 29; **12** 25), or organizing and providing the great collection for the poor saints at Jerus (Rom **15** 25; 2 Cor **8** 4.19, etc); (5) such services as those rendered by Stephanas (1 Cor **16** 15), by Archippus (Col **4** 17), by Tychicus (Eph **6** 21; Col **4** 7), etc.

Use of the Word in This Article

In this art. the word has to do with the guidance and government of a united community, fellowship, or brotherhood of men and women whose inward bond of union was the sense of fellowship with Jesus their Risen Lord. In all ages of Christianity the call to become the follower of Jesus, while it is the deepest of all personal things and comes to each one singly, never comes solitarily. The devout soul must share his experiences with those like-minded, and the fellowship thus formed must be able to take outward shape, which cannot fail to render necessary some sort of rule and guidance. The very thought of the church with articulate expression of a common faith, administration of the sacraments, meetings and their right conduct, aid given to the spiritual and bodily needs of their fellow-members, implies a ministry or executive of some kind. To endeavor to explain what was the character of the ministry of the Christian church in the earliest centuries of its existence and how it came into being is the aim of this article.

II. Two Different Kinds of Ministry.—The earliest fact we have about the organization of the Christian church is given in Acts **6**, where we are told that "seven" men were appointed to what is called a "ministry of tables" (*diakoneín trapézais*), which is distinguished from the "ministry of the word" (*diakonía toú lógou*). This distinction between two different kinds of "ministry" which appears at the very beginning is seen to exist all through the apostolic church and beyond it into the sub-apostolic. It can be traced in the Epp. of St. Paul and in other parts of the NT. It is seen in the *Didache*, in the *Pastor of Hermas*, in the *Epp.* of Barnabas, in the *Apology* of Justin Martyr, in the writings of Irenaeus and elsewhere. (For a full list of authorities, cf Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, II, ii, 111 ff.) The one ministry differs from the other in function, and the distinction depends on a conception to be afterward examined—that of "gifts." The common name, in apostolic and sub-apostolic literature, for the members of the one kind of ministry is "those who speak the Word of God" (*laloúntes tón lógon toú Theoú*). Modern writers have called it the *charismatic*, but perhaps the better term is the *prophetic ministry;* while to the other class belong all the names which are given to denote office-bearers in the local churches. The two existed side by side. The great practical distinction between them was that the members of the former were in no sense office-bearers in any one Christian community; they were not elected or appointed to any office; they were not set apart for duties by any ecclesiastical ceremony. The "Word" came to them and they were compelled by inward impulsion to speak the message given them to deliver. Some were wanderers; others confined themselves to their own community. They were responsible to no ecclesiastical authority. Churches were encouraged to test them and their message; for the "gift" of discerning whether a so-called prophet spoke a truly Divine message was always presupposed to be within the local church. But once accepted they took a higher place than the office-bearers, they presided at the Lord's Supper, and their judgment in cases of discipline could overbear ordinary ecclesiastical rules. The contest of Cyprian with the "confessors" at Carthage was the last stage of the long struggle which arose in the 2d cent. between the two ministries. Out of the other kind of ministry came, by ordinary development, all the various kinds of ecclesiastical organization which now exist. Its members were office-bearers in the strictest sense of the word; they were selected to do ecclesiastical work in a given community, they were set apart for it in a special way, and they were responsible to the church for its due performance.

But it is important to remember that while the two kinds of ministries are thoroughly distinct from each other, the same individuals might belong to both kinds. The "prophetic gift" might fall on anyone, private member or office-bearer alike. Office-holding did not prevent the "gift." Polycarp, office-bearer at Smyrna, was a prophet; so was Ignatius of Antioch, and many others. The "gift" of speaking the Word of God was a personal and not an official source of enlightenment.

1. The Prophetic Ministry

In the *prophetic ministry* we find a threefold division—*apostles*, *prophets* and *teachers*. Some would add a fourth, *evangelists*, i.e. men like the apostles in all respects save in having seen the Lord in the flesh. The distinction may hold good for the apostolic period, though that appears to be very doubtful; it disappears utterly in the sub-apostolic; evangelist and apostle seem to be one class. This triple division may be traced through early Christian literature from 1 Cor down to the *Clementine Homilies*, which can scarcely be earlier than 200 AD. It is hardly possible to define each class in any mechanical fashion; speaking generally, the first were the missionary pioneers whose message was chiefly to the unconverted, while to the second and third classes belonged exhortation and instruction within the Christian communities.

(1) *Apostles.*—In the NT and in the other lit. of the early church the word "apostle" is used in a narrower and in a wider sense, and it is the more extensive use of the word which denotes the first division of the prophetic ministry. The Lord selected the Twelve, "whom also he named apostles" (Mk **3** 14, RVm), to be trained by personal fellowship with Him and by apprentice mission work among the villages of Galilee for that proclamation of His gospel which was to be their future life-work. Two things strictly personal and excluding every thought of successors separated the "Eleven" from all other men: long personal fellowship with Jesus in the inner circle of His followers, and their selection by Himself while still in the flesh. They were the "Apostles" in the narrow sense of the word. But the name was given to many others. Matthias, who had enjoyed personal intercourse with Jesus both before and after the resurrection, was called by the disciple company, confirmed by decision of the lot, to the same 'service and sending forth' (*diakonía kaí apostolḗ*) (Acts **1** 25). Paul was called by the Lord Himself, but in vision and inward experience, and took rank with those before mentioned (Rom **1** 1 ff; Gal **2** 7–9). Others, called apostles, are mentioned by name in the NT. Barnabas is not only an apostle but is recognized to have rank equal to the "Eleven" (Acts **14** 14; Gal **2** 7–9). The correct rendering of the text (Rom **16** 7) declares that Andronicus and Junias were apostles who had known Christ before Paul became a believer. Chrysostom, who thinks that Junias or Junia was a woman, does not believe that her sex hindered her from being an apostle. Silas or Silvanus and Timothy, on the most natural interpretation of the passage, are called apostles by St. Paul in 1 Thess **1** 1.6. The title can hardly be denied to Apollos (1 Cor **4** 6.9). St. Paul praises men, whom he calls "the apostles of the churches," and declares them to be "the glory of Christ" (2 Cor **8** 23 m). One of them, Epaphroditus, is mentioned by name—"your apostle," says Paul writing to the Christians of Philippi (Phil **2** 25 m); and there must have been many others. "Apostles" are distinguished from the "Twelve" by St. Paul in the rapid summary he gives of the appearances of Jesus after the resurrection (1 Cor **15** 5.7). Besides those true apostles the NT mentions others who are called "false apostles" (2 Cor **11** 13), and the church of Ephesus is praised for using its "gift" of discrimination to reject men who "call themselves apostles, and they are not" (Rev **2** 2). This wider use of the word has descended to the present day; "apostles" or "holy apostles" is still the name for missionaries and missioners in some parts of the Greek church. The double use of the word to denote the "Twelve" or the "Eleven" is seen in the sub-apostolic age in the *Didache*, which recognizes the narrower use of the word in its title ("The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"), and in the text portrays the itinerant missionaries to whom the name in its widest use belonged.

Those "apostles," to whatever class they belonged, had one distinguishing characteristic: they had chosen as their life-work to be the missionary pioneers of the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ. They were all engaged in aggressive work, and were distinguished from others not so much by what they were as by what they did. They were wanderers with no fixed place of residence. The requirements of their work might make them abide for long periods in some center (as did Paul at Corinth and at Ephesus, or some of the "Eleven" at Jerus), but they had no permanent home life. As the earlier decades passed, their numbers increased rather than diminished. They are brought vividly before us in such writings as the *Didache*. They were to be highly honored, but as severely tested. They were not expected to remain longer than three days within a Christian community, nor to fare softly when there (*Did.*, ii.4–6). The vindication of their call was what they were able to accomplish, and to this St. Paul, the greatest of them, appeals over and over again.

(2) *Prophets.*—Prophets had been the religious guides of Israel of old, and the spirit of prophecy had never entirely died out. John the Baptist (Mt **11** 9), Simeon (Lk **2** 25.26), and Anna (Lk **2** 36) had the gift in the days of Christ. It was natural for the Sam woman to believe that the stranger who spoke to her by the well was a prophet (Jn **4** 19). The reappearance of prophecy in its old strength was looked on as a sign of the nearness of the coming of the Messiah. Jesus Himself had promised to send prophets among His followers (Mt **10** 41; **23** 34; Lk **11** 49). The promise was fulfilled. Christian prophets appeared within the church from its beginning. Nor were they confined to communities of Jewish Christians; prophecy appeared spontaneously wherever Christianity spread. We are told of prophets in the churches of Jerus and Caesarea where the membership was almost purely Jewish; at Antioch where Jews and Gentiles united to make one congregation; and everywhere throughout the gentile churches—in Rome, Corinth, Thessalonica and in the Galatian churches (Acts **11** 27; **15** 32; **21** 9.10; Rom **12** 6.7; 1 Cor **14** 32.36.37; 1 Thess **5** 20; Gal **3** 3–5). Prophets are mentioned by name—Agabus (Acts **11** 28; **21** 10), Symeon and others at Antioch (Acts **13** 1), Judas and Silas in Jerus (Acts **15** 32). Nor was the "gift" confined to men; women prophesied—the four daughters of Philip among others (Acts **21** 9). From the earliest times down to the close of the 2d cent. and later, an uninterrupted stream of prophets and prophetesses appeared in the Christian churches. The statements of NT writers, and esp. of St. Paul, imply that prophets abounded in the earliest churches. St. Paul, for example, expected the prophetic gift to appear in every Christian community. He

recognized that they had a regular place in the meeting for public worship (1 Cor **14**); he desired that every member in the Corinthian church should possess the "gift" and cultivate it (1 Cor **14** 1.5.39); he exhorted the brethren at Thessalonica to 'cherish prophesyings' (1 Thess **5** 20), and those in Rome to make full use of prophecy (Rom **12** 6). If he criticized somewhat severely the conduct of the "prophets" in the Corinthian church, it was to teach them how to make full use of their "gift" for the right edifying of the brethren.

Prophecy was founded on revelation; the prophets were men esp. "gifted" with spiritual intuition and magnetic speech. Sometimes their "gift" took the form of ecstasy, but by no means always; St. Paul implies that prophets have a real command of and can control their utterances. Sometimes their message came to them in visions, such as we find in the Apocalypse and in Hermas; but this was not a necessary means. The prophets spoke as they were moved, and the Spirit worked on them in various ways.

The influence of those prophets seems to have increased rather than diminished during the earlier decades of the 2d cent. While the duty of the apostle was to the unbelievers, Jewish or heathen, the sphere of the activity of the prophet was within the Christian congregation. It was his business to edify the brethren. Prophets had a recognized place in the meeting for the public worship of the congregation; if one happened to be present at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper, he presided to the exclusion of the office-bearers, and his prayers were expected to be extempore (*Did.*, x.7); he had special powers when matters of discipline were discussed, as is plain from a great variety of evidence from Hermas down to Tertullian. From St. Paul's statements it seems that the largest number of the prophets he speaks of were members of the communities within which they used their "gift" of prophecy; but many of the more eminent prophets traveled from community to community edifying each. When such wandering prophets, with their wives and families, dwelt for a time in any Christian society, preaching and exhorting, it was deemed to be the duty of that society to support them, and regulations were made for such support. According to the *Didache* (ch xiii): "Every true prophet who shall settle among you is worthy of his support. . . . . Every first-fruit then of the products of the winepress and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets. . . . . In like manner also when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the first of it and give it to the prophets; and of money and clothing and every possession take the first as may seem right to thee, and give according to the commandment." Only, the receivers were to be *true* prophets. Each congregation had to exercise the "gift" of discrimination and sift the true from the false; for "false" prophets confronted the true in early Christianity as well as in the old Judaism.

(3) *Teachers.*—While the third class of the prophetic ministry, the teachers, is found joined to the other two both in the NT and in sub-apostolic lit., and while St. Paul assigns a definite place for their services in the meeting for edification (1 Cor **14** 26), we hear less about them and their work. They seem, however, to have lingered much longer in active service in the early church than did the apostles and the prophets.

2. The Local Ministry

As has been said, the first notice we have of organization within a local church is in Acts **6**, where at the suggestion of the apostles *seven men* were selected to administer the charity of the congregation.

The conception that "the Seven" were a special order of office-bearers, *deacons*, is a comparatively late suggestion. These men are nowhere called deacons; the official designation is "The Seven." It may be that the appointment of those men was only a temporary expedient, but it is more probable that "the Seven" of Acts **6** are the *elders* of Acts **11**; for we find those "elders" performing the duties which "the Seven" were appointed to fulfil. If so, we have in Acts **6** the narrative of the beginnings of local organization as a whole. When we turn to the expansion of Christian communities outside Jerus, we have no such distinct picture of beginnings; but as all the churches in Pal evidently regarded the society in Jerus as the mother church, it is likely that their organization was the same. Acts tells us that Paul and Barnabas left behind them at Derbe, Lystra and Iconium societies of brethren with "elders" at their head. The word used suggests an election by popular vote and was probably the same as had been used in the selection of the "Seven" men.

When we examine the records of the distinctively Pauline churches, there is not much direct evidence for the *origins* of the ministry there, but a great deal about the existence of some kind of rule and rulers. For one thing, we can see that these churches had and were encouraged to have feelings of independence and of self-government; a great deal is said about the possession of "gifts" which imply the presence and power of the Spirit of Jesus within the community itself. We find names applied to men who, if not actually office-bearers, are at least leaders and perform the functions of office-bearers—*proïstámenoi, poímēnes, epískopoi, diákonoi*—and where special designations are lacking a distinction is always drawn between those who obey and those who are to be obeyed. In all cases those leaders or ministers are mentioned in the plural.

It may be said generally that about the close of the 1st cent. every Christian community was ruled by a body of men who are sometimes called *presbyters* (elders), sometimes but more rarely *bishops* (overseers), and whom modern church historians are inclined to call presbyter-bishops. Associated with them, but whether members of the same court or forming a court of their own it is impossible to say, were a number of assistant rulers called *deacons*. See BISHOP; CHURCH GOVERNMENT; DEACON; ELDER. The court of elders had no president or permanent chairman. There was a twofold not a threefold ministry. During the 3d cent., rising into notice by way of geographical distribution rather than in definite chronological order, this twofold congregational ministry became threefold in the sense that one man was placed at the head of each community with the title of pastor or bishop (the titles are interchangeable as late as the 4th cent. at least). In the early centuries those local churches, thus organized, while they never lacked the sense that they all belonged to one body, were independent self-governing communities preserving relations to each other, not by any political organization embracing them all, but by fraternal fellowship through visits of deputies, interchange of letters, and in some indefinite way giving and receiving assistance in the selection and setting apart of pastors.

Origins of local ministry.—The question arises, How did this organization come into being? We may dismiss, to begin with, the idea once generally accepted among the Reformed churches, that the Christian society simply took over and made use of the synagogue system of organization (Vitringa, *De synagoga vetere*). The points common to both reveal a superficial resemblance, but no more. The distinctive differences are great. When we add to them the decisive statement of Epiphanius (*Haeresis*, xxx.18), that the Jewish Christians (Judaizing) organized their communities with *archons* and an *archisynagogos* like the Jewish synagogues of the Dispersion and unlike the Christian churches, all the evidence makes it impossible to believe that the earliest Christian organization was simply taken over from the Jewish. On the other hand, there is little evidence that the apostles (the Twelve and St. Paul) received a special commission from Our Lord, to appoint and ordain the office-bearers of the earliest Christian communities, so exclusive that there could be no legitimate organization without this apostolic authority and background. We find, on the contrary, the church in Rome exercising all the disciplinary functions of a congregation without this apostolic ecclesiastical rule supposed to be essential. Even in the mother-church in Jerus, the congregational meeting exercised rule over the apostles themselves, for we find apostles summoned before it and examined on their conduct (Acts **11** 1–4). The whole question demands the recognition of several facts:

(1) Evidence abounds to show that the local churches during the apostolic and sub-apostolic age were self-governing communities and that the real background of the ministry was not apostolic authority but the congregational meeting. Its representative character and its authority are seen in the apostolic and sub-apostolic lit. from St. Paul to Cyprian.

(2) The uniquely Christian correlation of the three conceptions of leadership, service and "gifts"; leadership depended on service, and service was possible by the possession and recognition of special "gifts" which were the evidence of the presence and power of the Spirit of Jesus within the community. These "gifts" gave the church a Divine authority to exercise rule and oversight apart from any *special* apostolic direction.

(3) The general evidence existing to show that there was a gradual growth of the principle of association from looser to more compact forms of organization (Gayford, art. "Church" in *HDB;* also Harnack, *Expos*, 1887, January to June, 322–24), must not be forgotten; only one must remember that in young communities the growth is rapid.

(4) We must also bear in mind that the first Christians were well acquainted with various kinds of social organization which entered into their daily life and which could not fail to suggest how they might organize their new societies.

Examples occur readily: (*a*) Every Jewish village community was ruled by its "seven wise men," and it is probable that the appointment of the "Seven" in the primitive Jewish church was suggested by familiarity with this example of social polity. (*b*) It was and is an almost universal oriental usage that the "next of kin" to the founder was recognized, after the founder's death, to be the head of the new religious community founded, and this usage accounts for the selection of James, the eldest male surviving relative of Our Lord, to be the recognized and honored head of the church in Jerus. James has been called the first bishop; but when we read in Eusebius (*HE*, III, 11, 1.2; 32.4; IV, 22, 4; III, 20, 1–8) how his successors were chosen, the term seems inappropriate. A succession in the male line of the kindred of Jesus, where the selection to office is mainly in the hands of a family council, and where two (James and Zoker) can rule together, has small analogy to episcopal rule. (*c*) The relation of "patron" to "client," which in one form or other had spread throughout the civilized world, is suggested by a series of kindred words used to denote rulers in local churches. We find *proistámenoi* (προϊστάμενοι), *prostátis* (προστάτις), *prostátēs* (προστάτης), *proestṓs* (προεστώς), in various writers, and the last was used as late as the middle of the 2d cent. to denote ministry in the Rom church (Rom **12** 8; **16** 2; 1 Thess **5** 12; Hermas, *Pastor. Vis.* 2, 4; Justin, *Apol*, i.65). (*d*) The Rom empire was honeycombed with "gilds," some recognized by law, most of them without legal recognition and liable to suppression. These confraternities were of very varied character—trades unions, burial clubs, etc, but a large proportion were for the purpose of practising special religious rites. The Jewish synagogues of the Dispersion seemed to have been enrolled among those confraternities, and certainly appeared to their heathen neighbors to be one kind of such private associations for the practice of a religion which had been legalized. Many scholars have insisted that the gentile Christian churches simply copied the organization of such confraternities (Renan, *Les Apôtres;* Heinrici, *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theol.*, 1876–77); Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*). There must have been some external resemblances. Pliny believed that the Christian churches of Bithynia were illicit confraternities (*Ep.* 96; cf Lucian, *Peregrinus Proteus*). They had, in common with the churches, a democratic constitution; they shared a "common meal" at stated times; they made a monthly collection; they were ruled by a committee of office-bearers; and they exercised a certain amount of discipline over their members. Multitudes of Christians must have been members of such confraternities, and many continued to be so after accepting Christianity (Cyprian, *Ep.*, lxvii. 6).

But while the Christian churches may have learned much about the general principles of associated life from all those varied forms of social organization, it cannot be said that they copied any one of them. The primitive Christian societies organized themselves independently in virtue of the new moral and social life implanted within them; and though they may have come to it by various paths, they all in the end arrived at one common form—a society ruled by a body of office-bearers who possessed the "gifts" of government and of subordinate service embodied in the offices of presbyter and deacon.

III. The Threefold Congregational Ministry.—During the 2d cent. the ministry was subject to a change. The ruling body of office-bearers in every congregation received a permanent president, who was called *the* pastor or bishop, the latter term being the commoner. The change came gradually. It provoked no strong opposition. By the beginning of the 3d cent. it was everywhere accepted.

When we seek to trace the causes why the college of elders received a president, who became the center of all the ecclesiastical life in the local church and the one potent office-bearer, we are reduced to conjecture. This only can be said with confidence, that the change began in the East and gradually spread to the West, and that there are hints of a gradual evolution (Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, 180, 183–85). Scholars have brought forward many reasons for the change; the need for an undivided leadership in times of danger from external persecution or from the introduction of gnostic speculations which disturbed the faith of the members; the convenience of being represented to other local churches by one man who could charge himself with the administration of the external affairs of the congregation; the need of one man to preside at the solemn and crowning act of worship, the administration of the Lord's Supper; the sense of congregational unity implied in the possession of one leader—each or all are probable ways in which the churches were influenced in making this change in their ministry.

This threefold congregational ministry is best seen in the Epp. of Ignatius of Antioch. They portray a Christian community having at its head a bishop, a presbyterium or session of elders, and a body of deacons. These form the ministry or office-bearers of the congregation to whom obedience is due. Nothing is to be done without the consent of the bishop, neither love-feast, nor sacrament, nor anything congregational. The ruling body is a court where the bishop sits as chairman surrounded by his council or session of elders; and the one is helpless without the other, for if the bishop be the lyre, the elders are the chords, and both are needed to produce melody. Ignatius compares the bishop to Jesus, and the elders to the apostles who surrounded Him. There is no trace of sacerdotalism, apostolic succession, one-man government, diocesan rule in those letters of Ignatius; and what they portray is unlike any form of diocesan episcopacy.

1. Insistence on Organization under a Ministry

It is interesting to remark how all throughout the 3d cent. and later every body of Christians, even if consisting of fewer than twelve families, is instructed to organize itself into a church under a ministry of office-bearers, consisting of a bishop or pastor, at least two elders and at least three deacons. Should the bishop be illiterate—for character more than erudition determined his choice—the congregation was told to elect a reader, and provision was made for a ministry of women. It was possible to obey such instructions, because the ministry of the early church received no stipends. The ministry were office-bearers, to whom ecclesiastical obedience was due in virtue of their call and election and their being set apart by prayer, and *perhaps* by laying on of hands, for sacred office; but they were at the same time merchants, artisans, or engaged in other secular callings, and supported themselves. Buildings, set apart for public worship, did not exist until the very close of the 2d cent., and then only in a few populous centers in towns which had felt persecution but slightly. The only property which a church possessed, besides its copies of the Scriptures, its congregational records and perhaps a place of burial, were the offerings which were presented by members of the congregation, mostly in kind, after the Eucharist; and these offerings were distributed to the poor of the congregation. If office-bearers received a share, it was only on account of their poverty and because they were on the roll of widows, orphans and helpless poor.

This threefold congregational ministry has been called by some scholars "monarchical episcopacy," a title as high-sounding as it is misleading. The kingdom over which those so-called monarchs presided might and often did consist of less than twelve families, and their rule was fenced in with many restrictions. We can collect from the Epp. of Ignatius what were the powers and what the limitations (*Ep. to Polycarp*) of the bishop. He administered the finances of the church; he was president of the court of Elders; he had the right to call and presumably to preside over the court of discipline; and he had the regulation of the sacraments in his hands. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether he, or even he in conjunction with the elders, could excommunicate; that appears to have remained in the hands of the congregational meeting. The bishop might convoke the congregational meeting for the purpose, but it belonged to the meeting and not to the bishop to appoint delegates and messengers to other churches; and the meeting had the power to order the bishop to go on such a mission.

(1) *Aid given in selecting a bishop.*—From what has been said it is plain that the selection of a bishop became one of the most important acts a congregation was called upon to perform. Accordingly, provision was made for its assistance. It is declared in the Apostolic Canons that if a congregation contains fewer than twelve men competent to vote at the election of a bishop, neighboring, "well-established" churches are to be written to in order that three men may be sent to assist the congregation in selecting their pastor (*Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, 7, 8). This is evidently the origin of what afterward became the custom and later a law, that the consecration of a bishop required the presence of three neighboring bishops—a rule which has given occasion to the saying that "all Christendom becomes Presbyterian on a consecration day." This custom and rule, which in its beginnings was simply practical assistance given to a weak by stronger congregations, came to bear the meaning that the bishop thus consecrated was an office-bearer in the church universal as well as the pastor of a particular congregation. It is also more than probable that this practice of seeking assistance in an emergency is the germ out of which grew the Synod—the earliest recorded synods being congregational meetings assisted in times of difficulty by advice of experienced persons from other churches.

(2) *Bishops and presbyters.*—When a small group of villagers had been won to Christianity through the efforts of the Christian congregation in a neighboring town, they commonly were disinclined to separate from it, and came from their villages into town to join in the public worship. "On the day called Sunday," says Justin Martyr, "all who live in the city and in the country gather together into one place" (*Ap.*, i.67). The earliest collections of canons show that the bishop was able in time of absence or sickness to delegate his duties to elders or even to deacons; and this enabled him, when occasion for it arose, to be, through his office-bearers, the pastor of several congregations. We can see the same process at work more clearly in large towns where the number of Christians had become very large. The bishop was always held to be the head of the Christian community, however large, in one place. He was the pastor; he baptized; he presided at the Holy Supper; he admitted catechumens to the full communion of the brotherhood. By the middle of the 3d cent. the work in most large towns was more than one man could do. No record exists of the number of members belonging to the Rom church at this time, but some idea of its size may be obtained from the fact that it had more than 1,500 persons on its poor-roll; and before the close of the century the Rom Christians worshipped in over 40 separate places of meeting. It is obvious that one man could not perform the whole pastoral duties for such a multitude, and that most of the pastoral work must have been delegated to the elders or presbyters. The unity of the pastorate was for long strictly preserved by the custom that the bishop consecrated the communion elements in one church, and these were carried round to the other congregations. The bishop was thus the pastor in every congregation; the elders and deacons belonged to the whole Christian community; they served all the congregations and were not attached to one distinctively. In Alexandria, on the other hand, something like a parochial system gathered round the bishop, for individual presbyters were set over the separate congregations within the city. But always and without exception the original pastoral status of the bishop was preserved by the fact that one portion of the pastoral duties was invariably left in his hands—the rite of confirmation whereby catechumens were admitted to full communion.

2. Multiplication of Orders and the Growth of a Hierarchy

The middle of the 3d cent. witnessed two changes in the ministry of the church. One was a multiplication of orders and the other the growth of a hierarchy; and while many causes went to produce these changes it can hardly be doubted that they were at least partly due to the imitation of pagan religious organization. Although we find the distinction between those who are to be obeyed and those who are to obey clearly laid down in the Epp. of St. Paul, we do not find a common term in general use to denote the former class until the beginning of the 3d cent. In the west the word was *ordo*, and in the east *clerus*, from which come our "orders" and "clergy." *Ordo* was the designation for the municipality in towns or for the committee which presided over a confraternity; and *clerus* denoted rank or class. The introduction of ministerial stipends and the implication that a paid ministry was expected to give its whole time to the service of the church made the distinction between clergy and laity more emphatic. When we investigate the matter, it is evident that the fact that the clergy are paid complicates the question; for the earliest lists are evidently those who are entitled to share in the funds of the church, and widows and orphans figure as members of the *ordo* or *clerus*. Setting this disturbing element aside we find that the earliest division of the ministry in the 3d cent. is into bishops, presbyters and deacons (all congregational); but bishops and presbyters are sometimes said to form the special *ordo ecclesiasticus*. The earliest addition to those three orders is the reader, and there follows soon the subdeacon. Then come such persons as exorcists, acolyths, singers, door-keepers and even grave-diggers; and to such the name "minor orders" is given. All are included within the clergy, all receive a proportionate share of the revenues of the congregational funds. The presence of bishops, presbyters and deacons needs no explanation. Readers, as we have seen, were needed at first to assist illiterate bishops or pastors; their retention and the insertion of exorcists have been plausibly accounted for by the idea that they represented the absorption of the old prophetic ministry. But in instituting the other minor orders the Christian church evidently copied the pagan temple usages where persons who performed corresponding services were included among the temple ministry and had due share of the temple revenues. In the institution of a graded hierarchy including metropolitans and patriarchs, the churches probably followed the example of the great pagan organization called forth by the imperial cult of the *Divi* and *Divae* (Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, 335 ff). As Mommsen remarks, "The conquering Christian church took its hierarchic weapons from the arsenal of the enemy."

IV. Synods.—Synods to begin with were essentially democratic assemblies. They were, in their primitive form, congregational meetings assisted in times of emergency by delegates (not necessarily bishops) from "well-established churches," and they grew to be the instrument by which churches grouped round one center became united into one compact organization. The times were not democratic, and gradually the presence of the laity and even of presbyters and deacons and their combined assent to the decisions of the assembly became more and more a matter of form and gradually ceased altogether. The synods consisted exclusively of bishops and became councils for registering their decisions; and this implied that each local church was fully and completely represented by its pastor or bishop, who had become very much of an autocrat, responsible, not to his congregation nor even to a synod, but to God alone. Before the end of the 3d cent. and onward, synods or councils had become a regular part of the organization of the whole church, and the membership was confined to the bishops of the several churches included within the group. It was natural that such assemblies should meet in the provincial capitals, for the roads converged to the cities which were the seats of the Rom provincial administration. A synod required a chairman, and various usages obtained about the natural chairman. At first the oldest bishop present was placed in the chair, and this continued long to be the practice in several parts of the empire. Gradually it became the habit to put into the chair the bishop of the town in which the council met, and this grew to a prescriptive right. It was then that the bishops of the towns which were the meeting-places of synods came to be called metropolitans. The title was for long one of courtesy only and did not carry with it any ecclesiastical rank and authority. But by the middle of the 4th cent. the metropolitans had acquired the right to summon the synods and even to exercise some authority over the bishops of the bounds, esp. in the matter of election and consecration. When Christianity was thoroughly established as the religion of the empire, the more important bishops secured for themselves the civil precedence and privileges which had belonged to the higher priests of the abandoned Imperial Cult, and the higher ranks of the Christian ministry came into the possession of a lordship strangely at variance with their earlier position of service.

LITERATURE.—C. Vitringa, *De synagoge vetere libri tres*, Leucopetrae (Weissenfels), 1726; Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, 1708–32; Bannermann, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Church;* Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia;* Lightfoot, *Comm. on the Ep. to the Phil* (dissertation on the ministry); Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Church*, and arts. on "Orders" in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities;* Harnack, *Expos* for January to June, 1887, and *Entstehung u. Entwicklung der Kirchenverfassung . . . . in d. zwei ersten Jahrhunderten* (1910) (ET *The Constitution and Law of the Church*); Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries;* Schmiedel, art. "Ministry" in *EB;* Gayford, art. "Church" in *HDB*.

T. M. LINDSAY

MINNI, min'ī (מִנִּי, *minnī*): A kingdom mentioned in Jer **51** 27, along with Ararat and Ashkenaz, as assailants of Babylon. It is identified with the Minnai of the Assyr inscriptions, in close relation with, or part of, Armenia.

MINNITH, min'ith (מִנִּית, *minnīth;* B, **ἄχρις Ἀρνῶν**, *áchris Arnôn*, A, **εἰς Σεμωειθ**, *eis Semōeíth*): After Jephthah defeated the Ammonites, he is said to have smitten them from Aroer "until thou come to Minnith" (Jgs **11** 33). *Onom* mentions a place called Maanith, 4 Rom miles from Heshbon, on the road to Philadelphia (*'Ammān*), and locates Abel-cheramim, which is mentioned with Minnith, 7 miles from Philadelphia, without indicating the direction. Some travelers have spoken of a Menjah, 7 miles E. of Heshbon, but of this place Tristram (*Land of Moab*, 140) could find no trace. The same place appears to be mentioned in Ezk **27** 17 as supplying wheat, which figures in the trade between Judah and Tyre. There are really no reliable data on which to suggest an identification, while there are grave reasons to suspect the integrity of the text.

W. EWING

MINSTREL, min'strel. See MUSIC.

MINT, mint (**ἡδύοσμον**, *hēdúosmon*): Mentioned (Mt **23** 23; Lk **11** 42) as one of the small things which were tithed. The cultivated variety (*Mentha piperita*), "peppermint," was doubtless primarily intended, but the wild *M. silvestris* or horsemint, which flourishes all over the mountains of Pal, is probably included.

MIPHKAD, mif'kad, **GATE OF** (שַׁעַר הַמִּפְקָד, *sha'ar ha-miphkādh;* RV "Hammiphkad" [Neh **3** 31]): A gate in, or near, the north end of the east wall of Jerus, rebuilt under Nehemiah. Its exact position is uncertain. See JERUSALEM.

MIRACLE, mir'a-k'l:

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LITERATURE.

I. Nature of Miracle.—"Miracle" is the general term for the wonderful phenomena which accompanied the Jewish and Christian revelation, esp. at critical moments, and which are alleged to have been continued, under certain conditions, in the history of the Christian church. The miracle proper is a work of God (Ex **7** 3 ff; Dt **4** 34.35, etc; Jn **3** 2; **9** 32.33; **10** 38; Acts **10** 38, etc); but as supernatural acts miracles are recognized as possible to evil agencies (Mt **24** 24; 2 Thess **2** 9; Rev **13** 14; **16** 14, etc).

1. General Idea

The Bib. idea of miracle as an extraordinary work of God, generally though not invariably ("providential" miracles—see below, II, 6), transcending the ordinary powers of Nature, wrought in connection with the ends of revelation, is illustrated by the terms used to describe miracles in the OT and NT. One class of terms brings out the unusual, exceptional, and striking character of the works, as פֶּלֶא, *pele'*, נִפְלָאוֹת, *niphlā'ōth* (Ex

2. Biblical Terms Employed

3 20; **15** 11, etc), *τέρας, téras*, lit. "a portent" (in pl. Mt **24** 24; Acts **2** 22.43, etc); another lays stress on the *power* displayed in them, as גְּבוּרָה, *g*^{e}*bhūrāh, δύναμις, dúnamis* (in pl. "mighty works," RVm "powers," Mt **11** 20.21.23; **13** 54; **14** 2; 2 Cor **12** 12, etc); a third gives prominence to their *teleological* significance—their character as "signs," as אוֹת, *'ōth* (pl. RV "signs," Nu **14** 22; Dt **11** 3, etc), *σημεῖον, sēmeíon* (pl. RV "signs," Jn **2** 11.23, and frequently; Acts **4** 16.22; **6** 8; Rev **13** 14, etc). Another OT word for "wonder" or "miracle" is מוֹפֵת, *mōphēth* (Ex **7** 9; Dt **29** 3). See, further, below, III, 4.

II. Miracle in the NT.—The subject of miracles has given rise to much abstract discussion; but it is best approached by considering the actual facts involved, and it is best to begin with the facts nearest to us: those which are recorded in the NT.

1. Miracles in Gospel History

Our Lord's ministry was attended from first to last by events entirely beyond the ordinary course of Nature. He was born of a Virgin, and His birth was announced by angels, both to His mother, and to the man to whom she was betrothed (Mt and Lk). He suffered death on the cross as an ordinary man, but on the third day after His crucifixion He rose from the tomb in which He was buried, and lived with His disciples for 40 days (Acts **1** 3), eating and drinking with them, but with a body superior to ordinary physical conditions. At length He ascended to the heavens, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. But besides these two great miracles of His birth and His resurrection, Jesus was continually performing miracles during His ministry. His own words furnish the best description of the facts. In reply to the question of John the Baptist, His predecessor, He said, "Go and tell John the things which ye hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preached to them" (Mt **11** 4.5). Specimens of these miracles are given in detail in the Gospel narratives; but it is a mistake to consider the matter, as is too often done, as though these particular miracles were the only ones in question. Even if they could be explained away, as has often been attempted, there would remain reiterated statements of the evangelists, such as St. Matthew's that He "went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness among the people" (**4** 23), or St. Luke's "And a great number of the people from all Judaea and Jerus, and the seacoast of Tyre and Sidon, who came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases; and they that were troubled with unclean spirits were healed. And all the multitude sought to touch him; for power came forth from him, and healed them all" (**6** 17–19).

2. Special Testimony of St. Luke

It must be borne in mind that if there is any assured result of modern criticism, it is that these accounts proceed from contemporaries and eyewitnesses, and with respect to the third evangelist there is one unique consideration of great import. The researches of Dr. Hobart have proved to the satisfaction of a scholar like Harnack, that St. Luke was a trained physician. His testimony to the miracles is therefore the nearest thing possible to the evidence which has often been desired—that of a man of science. When St. Luke, e.g., tells us of the healing of a fever (**4** 38.39), he uses the technical term for a violent fever recognized in his time (cf Meyer, in loc.); his testimony is therefore that of one who knew what fevers and the healing of them meant. This consideration is esp. valuable in reference to the miracles recorded of St. Paul in the latter part of Acts. It should always be borne in mind that they are recorded by a physician, who was an eyewitness of them.

3. Trustworthiness of Evidence in Gospels and Acts

It seems to follow from these considerations that the working of miracles by Our Lord, and by St. Paul in innumerable cases, cannot be questioned without attributing to the evangelists a wholesale untrustworthiness, due either to wilful, or to superstitious misrepresentation, and this is a supposition which will certainly never commend itself to a fair and competent judgment. It would involve, in fact, such a sweeping condemnation of the evangelists, that it could never be entertained at all except under one presupposition, viz. that such miraculous occurrences, as being incompatible with the established laws of Nature, could not possibly have happened, and that consequently any allegations of them must of necessity be attributed to illusion or fraud.

III. Miracle and Laws of Nature.—This, in fact, is the prejudgment or prejudice which has prompted,

1. Prejudgment of Negative Criticism

either avowedly or tacitly, the great mass of negative criticism on this subject, and if it could be substantiated, we should be confronted, in the Gospels, with a problem of portentous difficulty.

2. Sir George Stokes Quoted

On this question of the abstract possibility of miracles, it seems sufficient to quote the following passage from the Gifford Lectures for 1891 of the late eminent man of science, Professor Sir George Stokes.

On p. 23 Professor Stokes says: "We know very well that a man may in general act uniformly according to a certain rule, and yet for a special reason may on a particular occasion act quite differently. We cannot refuse to admit the possibility of something analogous taking place as regards the action of the Supreme Being. If we think of the laws of Nature as self-existent and uncaused, then we cannot admit any deviation from them. But if we think of them as designed by a Supreme Will, then we must allow the possibility of their being on some particular occasion suspended. Nor is it even necessary, in order that some result out of the ordinary course of Nature should be brought about, that they should even be suspended; it may be that some different law is brought into action, whereby the result in question is brought about, without any suspension whatever of the laws by which the ordinary course of Nature is regulated. . . . . It may be that the event which we call a miracle was brought about, not by any suspension of the laws in ordinary operation, but by the superaddition of something not ordinarily in operation, or, if in operation, of such a nature that its operation is not perceived."

3. Effects on Nature of New Agencies

Only one consideration need be added to this decisive scientific statement, viz. that if there be agencies and forces in existence outside the ordinary world of Nature, and if they can under certain circumstances interpose in it, they must necessarily produce effects inconsistent with the processes of that world when left to itself. Life under the surface of the water has a certain course of its own when undisturbed; but if a man standing on the bank of a river throws a stone into it, effects are produced which must be as unexpected and as unaccountable as a miracle to the creatures who live in the stream. The nearness of two worlds which are absolutely distinct from one another receives, indeed, a striking illustration from the juxtaposition of the world above the water and the world below its surface. There is no barrier between them; they are actually in contact; yet the life in them is perfectly distinct. The spiritual world may be as close to us as the air is to the water, and the angels, or other ministers of God's will, may as easily, at His word, interpose in it as a man can throw a stone into the water. When a stone is thus thrown, there is no suspension or modification of any law; it is simply that, as Sir George Stokes supposes in the case of a miracle, a new agency has interposed.

4. Agreement with Biblical Idea and Terms

This, indeed, is the main fact of which miracles are irresistible evidence. They show that some power outside Nature, some *supernatural* power, has intervened. They are exactly described by the three words in the NT already mentioned. They are *terata*, "prodigies" or "wonders"; they are also *dunameis, virtutes*, "powers," or "manifestation of powers"; and finally they are *sēmeia*, "signs." The three conceptions are combined, and the source of such manifestations stated with them, in a pregnant verse of He: "God also bearing witness with them, both by signs and wonders, and by manifold powers, and by gifts of the Holy Spirit, according to his own will" (**2** 4).

5. J. S. Mill on Miracle

The words of J. S. Mill on the question of the possibility of miracles may also be quoted. Dealing with the objection of Hume in his *Essay on Miracles*, Mill observes: "In order that any alleged fact should be contradictory to a law of causation, the allegation must be, not simply that the cause existed without being followed by the effect, for that would be no uncommon occurrence; but that this happened in the absence of any adequate counteracting cause. Now in the case of an alleged miracle, the assertion is the exact opposite of this. It is that the effect was defeated, not in the absence, but in consequence, of a counteracting cause, namely, a direct interposition of an act of the will of some being who has power over Nature; and in particular of a Being, whose will being assumed to have endowed all the causes with the powers by which they produce their effects, may well be supposed able to counteract them. A miracle (as was justly remarked by Brown) is no contradiction to the law of cause and effect; it is a new effect, supposed to be produced by the introduction of a new cause. Of the adequacy of that cause, if present, there can be no doubt; and the only antecedent improbability which can be ascribed to the miracle is the improbability that any such cause existed" (*System of Logic*, II, 161–62).

6. Miracle as Connected with Command

There is, however, one other important characteristic of miracles—of those at least with which we are concerned—viz. that they occur at the command, or at the prayer, of the person to whom they are attributed. This is really their most significant feature, and the one upon which their whole evidential value depends. One critic has compared the fall of the fortifications of Jellalabad, on a critical occasion, with the fall of the walls of Jericho, as though the one was no more a miracle than the other. But the fall of the walls of Jericho, though it may well have been produced by some natural force, such as an earthquake, bears the character of a miracle because it was predicted, and was thus commanded by God to occur in pursuance of the acts prescribed to Joshua. Similarly the whole significance of Our Lord's miracles is that they occur at His word and in obedience to Him. "What manner of man is this," exclaimed the disciples, "that even the winds and the sea obey him?" (Mt **8** 27).

1. Miracles as Proofs of Revelation

IV. Evidential Value of Miracle.—This leads us to the true view of the value of miracles as proofs of a revelation. This is one of the points which has been discussed in far too abstract a manner. Arguments have been, and still are, constructed to show that there can be no real revelation without miracles, that miracles are the proper proof of a revelation, and so on. It is always a perilous method of argument, perhaps a presumptuous one, to attempt to determine whether God could produce a given result in any other way than the one which He has actually adopted. The only safe, and the sufficient, method of proceeding is to consider whether as a matter of fact, and in what way, the miracles which are actually recorded do guarantee the particular revelation in question.

2. Miracles of Christ in This Relation

Consider Our Lord's miracles in this light. Assuming, on the grounds already indicated, that they actually occurred, they prove beyond doubt that He had supreme command over Nature; that not only the winds and the sea, but the human soul and body obeyed him, and in the striking words of the Eng. service for the Visitation of the Sick, that He was "Lord of life and death, and of all things thereto pertaining, as youth, strength, health, age, weakness and sickness." This is the grand fact which the miracles establish. They are not like external evidence, performed in attestation of a doctrine. They are direct and eloquent evidence of the cardinal truth of our faith, that Our Lord possessed powers which belong to God Himself. But they are not less direct evidence of the special office He claimed toward the human race—that of a Saviour. He did not merely work wonders in order that men might believe His assertions about Himself, but His wonderful works, His powers—*virtutes*—were direct evidence of their truth. He proved that He was a Saviour by doing the works of a Saviour, by healing men and women from their diseases of both body and soul. It is well known that salvation in the true sense, viz. saving men out of evils and corruptions into which they have fallen, is an idea which was actually introduced into the world by the gospel. There was no word for it in the Rom language. The ancients know of a *servator*, but not of a *salvator*. The essential message of the miracles is that they exhibit Our Lord in this character—that of one who has alike the will and the power to save. Such is Our Lord's own application of them in His answer, already quoted, to the disciples of John the Baptist (Mt **11** 4.5).

3. Miracles Part of Revelation

It is therefore an extraordinary mistake to suppose that the evidence for our faith would not be damaged if the miracles were set aside. We should lose the positive evidence we now possess of Our Lord's saving power. In this view, the miracles are not the mere proofs of a revelation; they are themselves the revelation. They reveal a Saviour from all human ills, and there has been no other revelation in the world of such a power. The miracles recorded of the apostles have a like effect. They are wrought, like St. Peter's of the impotent man, as evidence of the living power of the Saviour (Acts **3, 4**). "Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even in him doth this man stand here before you whole. . . . And in none other is there salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved" (**4** 10.12). In a word, the miracles of the NT, whether wrought by Our Lord or by His apostles, reveal a new source of power, in the person of Our Lord, for the salvation of men. Whatever interference they involve with the usual order of Nature is due, not to any modification of that order, but to the intervention of a new force in it. The nature of that force is revealed by them, and can only be ascertained by observation of them. A man is known by his words and by his deeds, and to these two sources of revelation, respecting His person and character, Our Lord expressly appealed. "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do them, though ye believe not me, believe the works: that ye may know and understand that the Father is in me, and I in the Father" (Jn **10** 37.38).

It is therefore a mistake to try to put the evidence of the miracles into a logically demonstrative argument. Paley stated the case too much in this almost anathematized form.

> "It is idle," he said, "to say that a future state had been discovered already. It had been discovered as the Copernican system was; it was one guess among many. He alone discovers who proves; and no man can prove this point but the teacher who testifies by miracles that his doctrine comes from God" (*Moral and Polit. Philosophy*, book V, ch ix, close).

Coleridge, in the *Aids to Reflection*, criticizes the above and puts the argument in a juster and more human form.

> "Most fervently do I contend, that the miracles worked by Christ, both as miracles and as fulfilments of prophecy, both as signs and as wonders, made plain discovery, and gave unquestionable proof, of His Divine character and authority; that they were to the whole Jewish nation true and appropriate evidences, that He was indeed come who had promised and declared to their forefathers, *Behold your God will come with vengeance, even God, with a recompense! He will come and save you.* I receive them as proofs, therefore, of the truth of every word which He taught who was Himself the Word: and as sure evidences of the final victory over death and of the life to come, in that they were manifestations of Him who said: *I am the resurrection and the life!*" (note prefatory to Aphorism CXXIII).

This seems the fittest manner in which to contemplate the evidence afforded by miracles.

1. Analogy with NT Miracles

V. Miracles in the OT.—If the miracles ascribed to Our Lord and His apostles are established on the grounds now stated, and are of the value just explained, there can be little difficulty in principle in accepting as credible and applying the miracles of the OT. They also are obviously wrought as manifestations of a Divine Being, and as evidences of His character and will.

2. The Mosaic Miracles

This, e.g., was the great purpose of the miracles wrought for the deliverance of the people of Israel out of Egypt. The critical theories which treat the narrative of those events as "unhistorical" are, I am convinced, unsound. If they could be established, they would deprive us of some of the most precious evidences we possess of the character of God. But, in any case, the purpose to which the alleged miracles are ascribed is of the same character as in the case of the NT miracles. "For ask now," says Moses, "of the days that are past . . . . whether there hath been any such thing as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it? Did ever a people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live? Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation, by trials, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by an outstretched arm, and by great terrors, according to all that Jeh your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes? Unto thee it was showed, that thou mightest know that Jeh he is God; there is none else besides him" (Dt **4** 32-35). The God of the Jews was, and is, the God manifested in those miraculous acts of deliverance. Accordingly, the Ten Commandments are introduced with the declaration: "I am Jeh thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," and on this follows: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Ex **20** 2.3). Without these miracles, the God of the Jews would be an abstraction. As manifested in them, He is the living God, with a known character, "a just God and a Saviour" (Isa **45** 21), who can be loved with all the heart, and soul, and mind, and strength.

3. Subsequent Miracles

The subsequent miracles of Jewish history, like those wrought by Elijah, serve the same great end, and reveal more and more both of the will and the power of God. They are not mere portents, wrought as an external testimony to a doctrine. They are the acts of a living Being wrought through His ministers, or with their coöperation, and He is revealed by them. If the miracles of the NT were possible, those of the OT were possible, and as those of the NT reveal the nature and will of Christ, by word and deed, so those of the OT reveal the existence, the nature, and the will of God. Nature, indeed, reveals God, but the miracles reveal new and momentous acts of God; and the whole religious life of the Jews, as the Pss show, is indissolubly bound up with them. The evidence for them is, in fact, the historic consciousness of a great and tenacious nation.

4. Prophecy as Miracle

It should be added that the Jewish Scriptures embody one of the greatest of miracles—that of prophecy. It is obvious that the destiny of the Jewish people is predicted from the commencement, in the narrative of the life of Abraham and onward. There can, moreover, be no question that the office of the Christ had been so distinctly foreshadowed in the Scriptures of the OT that the people, as a whole, expected a Messiah before He appeared. Our Lord did not, like Buddha or Mohammed, create a new office; He came to fill an office which had been described by the prophets, and of which they had predicted the functions and powers. We are told of the Saviour, "And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" (Lk **24** 27). That, again, is a revelation of God's nature, for it reveals Him as "knowing the end from the beginning," and as the Ruler of human life and history.

1. Probability of Such Miracles

VI. Ecclesiastical Miracles.—Some notice, finally, must be taken of the question of what are called ecclesiastical miracles. There seems no sufficient reason for assuming that miracles ceased with the apostles, and there is much evidence that in the early church miraculous cures, both of body and soul, were sometimes vouchsafed. There were occasions and circumstances when the manifestation of such miraculous power was as appropriate as testimony of the living power of Christ, as in the scenes in the Acts. But they were not recorded under inspired guidance, like the miracles of the Apostolic Age, and they have in many cases been overlaid by legend.

2. Pascal Quoted

The observation in Pascal's *Thoughts* eminently applies to this class of miracles: "It has appeared to me that the real cause [that there are so many false miracles, false revelations, etc] is that there are true ones, for it would not be possible that there should be so many false miracles unless there were true, nor so many false religions unless there were one that is true. For if all this had never been, it is impossible that so many others should have believed it. . . . . Thus instead of concluding that there are no true miracles since there are so many false, we must on the contrary say that there are true miracles since there are so many false, and that false miracles exist only for the reason that there are true; so also that there are false religions only because there is one that is true" (*On Miracles*).

VII. Miracle in Works of Grace.—It has lately been argued with much earnestness and force in Germany, particularly by J. Wendland, in his *Miracles and Christianity*, that belief in miracles is indispensable to our apprehension of a real living God, and to our trust in His saving work in our own souls. The work of grace and salvation, indeed, is all so far miraculous that it requires the influence upon our nature of a living power above that nature. It is not strictly correct to call it miraculous, as these operations of God's Spirit are now an established part of His kingdom of grace. But they none the less involve the exercise of a like supernatural power to that exhibited in Our Lord's miracles of healing and casting out of devils; and in proportion to the depths of man's Christian life will he be compelled to believe in the gracious operation on his soul of this Divine interposition.

On the whole, it is perhaps increasingly realized that miracles, so far from being an excrescence on Christian faith, are indissolubly bound up with it, and that there is a complete unity in the manifestation of the Divine nature, which is recorded in the Scriptures.

LITERATURE.—Trench, *Notes on the Miracles;* Mozley, *Bampton Lectures* (Mozley's argument is perhaps somewhat marred by its too positive and controversial tone, but, if the notes be read as well as the Lectures, the reader will obtain a comprehensive view of the main controversies on the subject); A. B. Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels.* For modern German views see J. Wendland, *Miracles and Christianity;* Christlieb, *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief.* Paley's *Evidences* and Butler's *Analogy* may profitably be consulted. On continuance of miracles, see Bushnell, *Nature and the Supernatural,* ch xiv. and Christlieb, as above, Lecture V.

H. WACE

MIRACLES, GIFT OF. See SPIRITUAL GIFTS; MIRACLE.

MIRAGE, mė̄-räzh′ (שָׁרָב, *shārābh,* "heat-mirage"; Arab. سَرَاب, *sarāb,* from vb. سَرَب, "to go forth," "to flow"; hence "flowing of water"): "The glowing sand shall become a pool, and the thirsty ground springs of water" (Isa **35** 7); AV has "parched ground" and RVm "mirage." The same Heb word is also used in Isa **49** 10, "Neither shall the heat [m "mirage"] nor sun smite them." These are the only uses of the word in the Scriptures, although mirages are very common in the drier parts of the country. However, the context in both cases seems to justify the tr usually given, rather than "mirage."

ALFRED H. JOY

MIRE, mīr. See CHALKSTONE; CLAY; MARSH.

MIRIAM, mir′i-am (מִרְיָם, *miryām;* LXX and the NT **Μαριάμ,** *Mariám;* EV of the NT "Mary"):

(1) Daughter of Amram and Jochebed, and sister of Aaron and Moses. It is probable that it was she who watched the ark of bulrushes in which the child Moses was laid (Ex **2** 4). She associated herself with her brothers in the exodus, is called "the prophetess," and led the choir of maidens who sang the triumph-song after the crossing of the Red Sea (Ex **15** 20 f). Along with Aaron, she opposed Moses at Hazeroth (Nu **12** 1–5). She was smitten with leprosy in punishment, but on Aaron's intercession was pardoned and healed (Nu **12** 10–15). She died and was buried at Kadesh (Nu **20** 1). In the Deuteronomic Law respecting leprosy, Miriam is mentioned as a warning to the Israelites (Dt **24** 8 f). In Mic **6** 4, she is referred to along with Moses and Aaron as a leader of God's people.

(2) Son (or daughter) of Jether (1 Ch **4** 17). The latter half of the verse is in its present situation unintelligible; it should probably follow ver 18 (see Curtis, *Chron.*, in loc.).

JOHN A. LEES

MIRMAH, mûr′ma (מִרְמָה, *mirmāh,* "deceit"): A Benjamite (1 Ch **8** 10).

MIRROR, mir′ẽr. See LOOKING-GLASS.

MISAEL, mis′ȧ-el, mī′sȧ-el (A, **Μισαήλ,** *Misaḗl,* B, **Μεισαήλ,** *Meisaḗl*):

(1) One of those who stood on Ezra's left hand as he expounded the Law (1 Esd **9** 44 = "Mishael," Neh **8** 4).

(2) In Three ver 66 (LXX Dnl **3** 88), for "Mishael," one of Daniel's companions in captivity.

MISAIAS, mi-sā′yas, mi-sī′as: RVm = "Masias."

MISCHIEF, mis′chif: The word, in the sense of "hurt" or "evil" befalling, plotted against, or done to, anyone, represents a variety of Heb terms (e.g. *'āṣōn,* AV Gen **42** 4; **44** 29; Ex **21** 22; *ra'*, 1 S **23** 9; 2 S **16** 8; 1 K **11** 25, etc; *'āmāl,* Ps **7** 14.16; **10** 7.14; Prov **24** 2, etc). Sometimes RV changes the word, as to "evil" (Ex **32** 12.22); in Acts **13** 10, to "villany" (ῥαδιουργία, *rhadiourgía*).

In RV Apoc the word is used for κακά, *kaká,* "evils," Ad Est **13** 5 (cf Sir **19** 28); κακία, *kakía,* "evil," 1 Macc **7** 23; and Lat *malum,* "evil," 2 Esd **15** 56. "Mischievous" is used, Ad Est **14** 19, for πονηρεύομαι, *ponēreúomai,* "to be evil." The use in AV Apoc is considerably more extended (Sir **11** 33; **19** 27; **27** 27, etc).

JAMES ORR

MISGAB, mis′gab (הַמִּשְׂגָּב, *ha-misgābh;* B, **Ἀμάθ,** *Amáth,* A, **τὸ κραταίωμα,** *tó krataíōma*): Named with Nebo and Kiriathaim in the denunciation of doom against Moab (Jer **48** 1). No trace of any name resembling this has been found. Possibly we should take it, not as a place-name, but as an appellation of some strong fortress, perhaps of Kir-moab itself. The term is elsewhere trᵈ "high fortress" (Isa **25** 12, etc).

MISHAEL, mish′ȧ-el, mī′shȧ-el (מִישָׁאֵל, *mīshā'ēl,* perhaps = "who is equal to God?"):

(1) A Kohathite, 4th in descent from Levi (Ex **6** 22). He and his brother Elzaphan carried out Moses' order to remove from the sanctuary and the camp the corpses of Nadab and Abihu (Lev **10** 4 f).

(2) A supporter of Ezra at the reading of the Law (Neh **8** 4).

(3) The Heb name of one of Daniel's 3 companions (Dnl **1** 6.7.11.19; **2** 17). His Bab name was MESHACH (q.v.).

MISHAL, mī′shal (מִשְׁאָל, *mish'āl*): A town in the territory of Asher (Josh **19** 26, AV "Misheal," Μαασά, *Maasá*), assigned to the Gershonite Levites (**21** 30; B, Βασσελλάν, *Bassellán,* A, Μασαάλ, *Masaál* = "Mashal" of 1 Ch **6** 74). *Onom* (s.v. "Masan") places it near Carmel by the sea. It is not identified.

MISHAM, mī′sham (מִשְׁעָם, *mish'ām*): A Benjamite, son of Elpaal (1 Ch **8** 12).

MISHEAL, mish′ė̄-al. See MISHAL.

MISHMA, mish′ma (מִשְׁמָע, *mishmā'*):
(1) A son of Ishmael (Gen **25** 14; 1 Ch **1** 30).
(2) A Simeonite (1 Ch **4** 25).

MISHMANNAH, mish-man′a (מִשְׁמַנָּה, *mishmannāh*): A Gadite warrior who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch **12** 10).

MISHNA, mish′na. See TALMUD.

MISHNEH, mish′ne (הַמִּשְׁנֶה, *ha-mishneh;* 2 K **22** 14; 2 Ch **34** 22, AV "college," RV "second quarter," m "Heb Mishneh"; Zeph **1** 10, AV "the second," RV "second quarter," m "Heb Mishneh"): A part of Jerus, apparently not far from the FISH GATE (q.v.) and the MAKTESH (q.v.). The tr "college" is due to Tg Jon on 2 K **22** 14. The

RV interpretation of Mishneh is connected with the belief that Hezekiah, when he built "the other wall without" (1 Ch **32** 5), made the second wall on the N. There seems little evidence of this (see JERUSALEM, VI, 11), and the "second" may refer to the district of the city on the west hill or perhaps to the hill itself. See COLLEGE.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN

MISHOR, mī'shor. See PLAIN, and also note in *HDB*, III, 309.

MISHRAITES, mish'rȧ-īts (הַמִּשְׁרָעִי, *ha-mishrā'ī*): One of the families of Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch **2** 53).

MISPAR, mis'pär (מִסְפָּר, *miṣpār*): An exile who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr **2** 2). AV spells the name "Mizpar." In the ‖ verse of Neh it appears as "Mispereth" (Neh **7** 7).

MISPERETH, mis'pē̇-reth (מִסְפֶּרֶת, *miṣpereth*). See MISPAR.

MISREPHOTH-MAIM, miz-rē̇-fōth-mā'im (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם, *misr^e^phōth mayim;* LXX **Μασερών,** *Maserṓn,* **Μασερὲθ Μεμφωμαίμ,** *Maserḗth Memphōmaím*): A place to which Joshua chased the various tribes, which were confederated under Jabin, after their defeat at the waters of Merom (Josh **11** 8). It follows the mention of great Sidon, as though it was a place in the same region but farther from the point of departure. In Josh **13** 6, it is also mentioned in connection with the Sidonians, as though it was included in their territory, so it must have been in the coast district, or Phoenicia, which was in that period dominated by Sidon. The Canaanites who were among the tribes forming the hosts of Jabin would naturally seek refuge among their brethren in Sidon and its territory. They fled across the hill country which lies between the waters of Merom and the coast, but as Sidon is situated considerably to the N. of Merom, some would seek the coast by a more southerly route, and we may look for Misrephoth-maim there. Dr. Thomson (*LB*, II, 266–67, ed 1882) locates it at *Ras el-Musheirifeh,* some 13 miles S. of Tyre, where there was a stronghold, and where the fugitives might find refuge (see LADDER OF TYRE). Though the name hardly suggests Misrephoth-maim, the identification may be accepted until some better one is found.

H. PORTER

MIST (אֵד, *'ēdh;* **ἀχλύς,** *achlús,* **ὁμίχλη,** *homíchlē*): Mist is caused by particles of water vapor filling the air until it is only partially transparent. Mist and haze produce much the same effect, the one being due to moisture in the atmosphere and the other to dust particles. Mist or fog is not common on the plains of Pal and Syria at sea-level, but is of almost daily occurrence in the mountain valleys, coming up at night and disappearing with the morning sun (Wisd **2** 4). It is nothing else than a cloud touching the land. In the account of creation, "there went up a mist from the earth," giving a description of the warm humid atmosphere of the carboniferous ages which agrees remarkably with the teaching of modern science (Gen **2** 6). The word is used **fig.** in Acts **13** 11 to describe the shutting-out of light. Those who bring confusion and uncertainty are compared to "mists driven by a storm" (2 Pet **2** 17). See VAPOR.

ALFRED H. JOY

MISTRESS, mis'tres (בַּעֲלָה, *ba'ălāh,* גְּבֶרֶת, *g^e^bhereth*): Is the tr of *ba'ălāh,* "lady," "owner" (1 K **17** 17; Nah **3** 4); in 1 S **28** 7, "a woman that hath a familiar spirit" is lit. "the mistress of a familiar spirit"; of *g^e^bhereth* (Gen **16** 4.8.9; 2 K **5** 3; Ps **123** 2; Prov **30** 23; Isa **24** 2); in Isa **47** 5.7, we have AV and ERV "lady," ARV "mistress."

MITE, mīt (**λεπτόν,** *leptón*): The smallest copper or bronze coin current among the Jews. They were first struck by the Maccabean princes with Heb legends, and afterward by the Herods and the Rom procurators with Gr legends. The "widow's mite" mentioned in Mk **12** 42 and Lk **21** 2 was probably of the first kind, since those with Gr legends were regarded as unlawful in the temple service. According to Mk, the *lepton* was only half a *kodrántēs* (Lat *quadrans*), which would indicate a value of about one-fourth of a cent or half an Eng. farthing. See MONEY.

H. PORTER

MITHKAH, mith'ka (מִתְקָה, *mithḳāh,* "sweetness"; AV **Mithcah**): Name given owing to sweetness of pasture or water. A desert camp of the Israelites between Terah and Hashmonah (Nu **33** 28 f). See WANDERINGS OF ISRAEL.

MITHNITE, mith'nīt (הַמִּתְנִי, *ha-mithnī*): Designation of Jehoshaphat, one of David's officers (1 Ch **11** 43).

MITHRADATES, mith-ra-dā'tēz (A, **Μιθραδάτης,** *Mithradátēs,* B, **Μιθριδάτης,** *Mithridátēs;* AV **Mithridates**):

(1) The treasurer of Cyrus to whom the king committed the vessels which had been taken from the temple and who delivered them to the governor, Sanabassar (1 Esd **2** 11 = "Mithredath" of Ezr **1** 8).

(2) Apparently another person of the same name —one of the commissioners stationed in Samaria who wrote a letter to Artaxerxes persuading him to put a stop to the rebuilding of Jerus (1 Esd **2** 16 = "Mithredath" of Ezr **4** 7).

S. ANGUS

MITHREDATH, mith'rē̇-dath (מִתְרְדָת, *mithr^e^dhāth;* Pers = "gift of Mithra" or "consecrated to Mithra"):

(1) The Pers treasurer through whom Cyrus restored the sacred vessels to the returning Jewish exiles (Ezr **1** 8).

(2) A Persian, perhaps an official, who was associated with Bishlam and Tabeel in corresponding with Artaxerxes concerning the restoration of Jerus (Ezr **4** 7). In 1 Esd **2** 11.16, the name is written MITHRADATES (q.v.).

MITRE, mī'tẽr: In AV this word renders two Heb words, both of which, however, come from the same stem, viz. צָנַף, *çānaph,* "to coil" or "to wrap round." In Ex **28,** a mitre (RVm "turban") is enumerated among Aaron's articles of dress, which were to be made by tailors of recognized skill. On the forefront of the mitre was a "plate of pure gold" with the words "Holy to Jehovah" (i.e. consecrated to Jehovah) inscribed upon it. This gold plate was fastened to the mitre by a blue ribbon. The material of the mitre was fine linen or silk. The word for the headtire (AV "bonnet") of the ordinary priest was a different word. Ezekiel uses the word in connection with Zedekiah (**21** 26); the prophet associated *regal* and *priestly* functions with the throne. It is possible, however, that the two sentences—"remove the mitre," and "take off the crown"— refer to the degradation of the priesthood and of the throne which the downfall of Jerus will involve. The LXX varies between *kidaris* and *mitra,* the former word being used in Sir **45** 12.

T. LEWIS

MITYLENE, mit-i-lē′nē, mit-i-lyē′nyē (**Μιτυλήνη,** *Mitulḗnē*, or **Μυτιλήνη,** *Mutilḗnē*, as usually on coins):

1. Importance and History In antiquity the most important city of the Asiatic Aeolians and of the island of Lesbos. It had 2 harbors and strong fortresses. The city was noted for its high culture and for its zeal for art and science from the earliest times. The island, under the leadership of Mitylene, revolted in 428 BC from the Athenian confederacy. The city was besieged by the Athenians and finally taken. The inhabitants of Mitylene were treated with great severity; the walls were dismantled, and the city was deprived of its power on the sea. In the time of Alexander the Great, Mitylene suffered most through the Persians, and later by the occupation of the Macedonians, but afterward regained its power and prosperity, and still later was favored by the Rom emperors, being made a free city by Pompey.

In the Middle Ages, the name Mitylene was applied to the whole island. The present capital, often called simply Castro, has a large castle built on the site of the ancient acropolis (in 1373). The city was conquered by the Turks in 1462. It contains 14 mosques, 7 churches, and has a population of about 15,000.

On his third missionary journey, Paul traveled to the Hellespont from Philippi, thence through the

2. Paul's Visit Troad by land to Assos on the southern side—where extensive excavations were carried on in 1881 by an American archaeological expedition—thence by ship to Mitylene (Acts **20** 14), where he spent the night. Leaving Lesbos, he sailed southward to a point opposite the island of Chios (Acts **20** 15). There is no record that a Christian church had been established in Mitylene at this time.

Literature.—Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, 121, 134 f, 136; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 291 ff.

J. E. Harry

MIXED, mikst, **MULTITUDE,** mul′ti-tūd. See Mingled People.

MIZAR, mī′zär, **THE HILL** (הַר מִצְעָר, *har miç‘ār;* **ὄρος μικρός,** *óros mikrós*): The name of a mountain found only in Ps **42** 6; "I remember thee from the land of Jordan, and the Hermons, from the hill Mizar." The term may be taken as an appellative meaning "littleness," and the phrase *mēhar miç‘ār* would then mean "from the little mountain," i.e. the little mountain of Zion. Some scholars think that the *m* in *mēhar* may have arisen from dittography, and that we should read, "from the land of Jordan, and the Hermons, O thou little mountain [of Zion]." G. A. Smith discusses the question in a note (*HGHL*, 477). He suggests that certain names found in the district (*za‘ūrā, wādy za‘ārah*, and *Khirbet Mazārā*) may be a reminiscence of the name of a hill in the district called *Miç‘ār;* and surely none other would have been put by the Psalmist in apposition to the Hermons. Cheyne says: "To me this appendage to *Hermonim* seems a poetic loss. Unless the little mountain has a symbolic meaning I could wish it away." I cannot see this: the symbolic meanings suggested for *Hermonim* and *Miç‘ār* are all forced, and even if we got a natural one, it would be out of place after the literal *land of Jordan*. To employ all as proper names is suitable to a lyric. No identification is at present possible.

W. Ewing

MIZPAH, miz′pä, **MIZPEH,** miz′pe: This name is pointed both ways in the Heb, and is found usually with the article. The meaning seems to be "outlook" or "watchtower." It is natural, therefore, to look for the places so named in high positions, commanding wide prospects.

(1) (הַמִּצְפָּה, *ha-miçpāh* [Gen **31** 49; Jgs **11** 11.34], מִצְפָּה, *miçpāh* [Hos **5** 1], מִצְפֵּה גִלְעָד, *miçpēh ghil‘ādh* [Jgs **11** 29]; **Μασσηφά,** *Massēphá*, **τὴν σκοπιάν,** *tḗn skopián*, and other forms): It seems probable that the same place is intended in all these passages, and that it is identical with Ramath-mizpeh of Josh **13** 26. It is the place where Jacob and Laban parted in Mt. Gilead; consequently it lay to the N. of Mahanaim. Here was the home of Jephthah, to which he returned after the defeat of the Ammonites, only to realize how his rash vow had brought desolation to his house. It was taken by Judas Maccabaeus, who destroyed the inhabitants and burned the city (1 Macc **5** 35). Identifications have been suggested with *Ṣūf*, *Jerash*, and *Kal‘at er-Rabaḍ;* but these seem all to lie S. of any possible site for Mahanaim. A ruined site was discovered by Dr. Schumacher (*M und NPDV*, 1897, 86), with the name *Maṣfā*, which is just the Arab. equivalent of the Heb *Miçpāh*. It lies some distance to the N.W. of *Jerash* and claims consideration in any attempt to fix the site of Mizpah.

(2) (אֶרֶץ הַמִּצְפָּה, *’ereç ha-miçpāh* [Josh **11** 3], בִּקְעַת מ׳, *biḳ‘ath miçpeh* [ver 8]; **Μασσευμάν,** *Masseumán*, **Μασσηφάθ,** *Massēpháth*, and other forms): The "land of Mizpah" and the "valley of Mizpah" may be taken as applying to the same district. It lay on the southwest slopes of Hermon N.E. of the Waters of Merom. The site must be looked for on one of the heights in the region indicated, from which a wide view is obtained. *Muṭallah*, a Druze village standing on a hill to the N. of *‘Abil*, and E. of *Nahr el-Ḥasbāny*, was suggested by Robinson. The present writer agrees with Buhl (*GAP*, 240) that the ancient castle above *Banias*, *Kal‘at eṣ-Ṣubeibeh*, occupies a more likely position.

(3) (מִצְפֶּה, *miçpeh;* **Μασφά,** *Masphá*): A town in the Shephelah of Judah named with Dilan, Joktheel and Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*). *Onom* mentions a *Maṣfa* in the neighborhood of Eleutheropolis, to the N. The identification proposed by Van de Velde and Guérin would suit this description. They would locate Mizpeh at *Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh*, about 7½ miles N.W. of *Beit Jibrîn*, "a conspicuous hill with a glittering white cliff rising like an isolated block above the adjacent country" (*PEFS*, 1903, 276). Many identify this site with Gath, but the name and character of the place point rather to identification with Mizpeh, the *Blanche Guarde* or *Alba Specula* of the Middle Ages.

(4) (הַמִּצְפָּה, *ha-miçpāh;* **Μασσημά,** *Massēmá*, **Μασφά,** *Masphá*): A town in the territory of Benjamin (Josh **18** 26). Hither came the men of Israel to deal with the Benjamites after the outrage on the Levite's concubine (Jgs **20** 1.3; **21** 1.5.8). At Mizpah, Samuel gathered his countrymen. While there crying to God in their distress, they were attacked by the Philis, whom they defeated with great slaughter (1 S **7** 5, etc). Here also Saul, the son of Kish, was chosen king, after which Samuel told the people the "manner of the kingdom" (**10** 17, etc). Mizpah was fortified by Asa, king of Judah, with materials which Baasha, king of Israel, had used to fortify Ramah (1 K **15** 22; 2 Ch **16** 6). When Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerus and made Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, governor of the remnant of the people left in the land of Judah, the governor's residence was fixed at Mizpah (2 K **25** 23). Here he was joined by Jeremiah, whom Nebuzaradan, captain of the Bab guard, had set free. At Mizpah, Ishmael, son of Nathaniah, treacherously slew Gedaliah and many who were with him. Two days later he murdered a company of pilgrims, throwing their dead bodies into the great cistern which Asa had made when

strengthening the place against possible attack by Baasha of Samaria. He then made prisoners of the people, including the king's daughters, and attempted to convey them away to the Ammonites, an attempt that was frustrated by Johanan, son of Kareah (Jer **40, 41**). Mizpah was the scene of memorable assembly in a day of sore anxiety for Judah, when Judas Maccabaeus called the warriors of Judah together for counsel and prayer (1 Macc **3** 46). From this passage we also learn that the place was an ancient sanctuary—"for in Mizpah there was a place of prayer aforetime for Israel."

Mizpah.

It has been proposed to identify Mizpah with *Tell Nasbeh*, a site on the watershed S. of *Bīreh*. Dean Badé has established that this was a great fortress in the time of Jer and has found an Israelite sanctuary here within 7 miles of Jerus. The identification should be decided by the excavations of this year 1929 (Badé, *Excavations at Tell en Nasbeh*). But Jer **41** 10, as very cleverly urged by some, may be taken as decisive against this identification. Ishmael departed to go *east*. From *Tell Nasbeh* this would never have brought him to the great waters that are in Gibeon (*PEFS*, 1898, 169, 251; 1903, 267). A more probable identification is with *Neby Samwīl*, a village on high ground 4½ miles N.W. of Jerus, the traditional burying-place of Samuel. It is 2,935 ft. above sea-level, and 500 ft. higher than the surrounding land. Here the pilgrims coming up by way of Beth-horon from Jaffa, the ancient route, first saw the Holy City. The mosque of the village was formerly a church, dating from Crusading times; and here the tomb of Samuel is shown. If this is the ancient Mizpah, a very slight détour to the N. would bring Ishmael to the great waters that are in Gibeon, *el-Jīb* (Gibeon) being only a mile and a quarter distant.

(5) (מִצְפֵּה מוֹאָב, *miçpēh mō'ābh*, "Mizpeh of Moab"; **Μασηφά,** *Masēphá*): A town in Moab to which David took his parents for safety during Saul's pursuit of him (1 S **22** 3). It is possibly to be identified with Kir-moab, the modern *Kerak*, whither David would naturally go to interview the king. But there is no certainty. Possibly we should read "Mizpah" instead of "the hold" in ver 5.

(6) In 2 Ch **20** 24, probably we should read "Mizpah" instead of "watch-tower": *ha-miçpeh la-midhbār* would then point to a Mizpeh of the Wilderness to be sought in the district of Tekoa (ver 20).

W. Ewing

MIZPAR, miz'pär. See Mispar.

MIZRAIM, miz'rā-im (מִצְרַיִם, *miçrayīm*): (1) A son of Ham, and ancestor of various peoples, Ludim, Anamim, etc (Gen **10** 6.13; 1 Ch **1** 8.11). See Table of Nations.

(2) The name of Egypt. See Egypt.

The land of Ham.—חָם, *ḥām*, was another name for the land of Egypt. It occurs only in Ps **105** 23.27; **106** 22; Ps **78** 51 probably refers to the land of Ham, though it may refer to the children of Ham. The origin and significance of this name are involved in much obscurity. Two improbable etymologies and one probable etymology for Ham as a name of Egypt have been proposed, and the improbable ones very much urged: (1) Ham is often thought to be a Heb appropriation of the Egyp name "Kemt," a name for the "black land" as distinguished from "deshert," the red land of the desert which surrounded it. This etymology is very attractive, but phonetically very improbable to say the least. (2) Ham has sometimes been connected *directly* with חָם, *ḥām*, the second son of Noah whose descendants under the name Miçraim occupied a part of Northeastern Africa. But as there is no trace of this name among the Egyptians and no use of it in the historical books of the OT, this can hardly be said to be a probable derivation of the word. (3) There is a third proposed etymology for Ham which connects it ultimately but *indirectly* with Ham, the second son of Noah. Some of the earliest sculptures yet found in Egypt represent the god Min (Měnū; cf *Koptos* by Professor Petrie). This god seems also to have been called Khem, a very exact Egyp equivalent for חָם, *ḥām*, the second son of Noah and the ancestor of the Hamitic people of Egypt. That Ham the son of Noah should be deified in the Egyp pantheon is not surprising. The sensuality of this god Min or Khem also accords well with the reputation for licentiousness borne by Ham the son of Noah. These facts suggest very strongly a trace in Egyp mythology of the actual history of the movements of Hamitic people. (4) While the preceding division (3) probably states the real explanation of the early name of Egypt, it still remains to be noted that the use of the name Ham by the Psalmist may be entirely poetic. Until it be found that the name Ham was applied to Egypt by other writers of that period it will ever be in some measure unlikely that the Psalmist was acquainted with the mythological use of the name Ham in Egypt, and so, in equal measure, probable that he meant nothing more than to speak of the land of the descendants of Ham the son of Noah. See also Ham, Land of.

M. G. Kyle

MIZZAH, miz'a (מִזָּה, *mizzāh*, "strong," "firm"): Grandson of Esau, one of the "dukes" of Edom (Gen **36** 13.17; 1 Ch **1** 37).

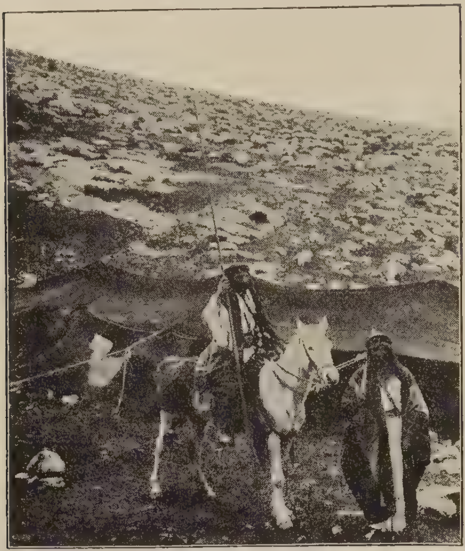
MNASON, nā'son, m'nā'son (**Μνάσων,** *Mnásōn*): All that we know of Mnason is found in Acts **21** 16. (1) He accompanied Paul and his party from Caesarea on Paul's last visit to Jerus; (2) he was a Cyprian; (3) "an early disciple," an early convert to Christianity, and (4) the one with whom Paul's company was to lodge. The "Western" text of this passage is very interesting. Blass, following D, Syr, reads, for "bringing," etc, "And they brought us to those with whom one should lodge, and when we had come into a certain village we stayed with Mnason a Cyprian, an early disciple, and having departed thence we came to Jerus and the brethren," etc. Meyer-Wendt, Page and Rendell render the accepted text, "bringing us to the house of Mnason," etc. However, giving the imperf. trans of *anebaínomen*, "we were going up" to Jerus (ver 15), we might understand that the company lodged with Mnason on the 1st night of their journey to Jerus, and not at the city itself. "Ver 15, they set about the journey; ver 16, they lodged with Mnason on the introduction of the Caesarean disciples; ver 17, they came to Jerus" (*Expos Gr Test.*, in loc.).

S. F. Hunter

MOAB, mō'ab, **MOABITES,** mō'ab-īts (**Moab,** מוֹאָב, *mō'ābh*, Moabite Stone, מאב; Gr [LXX] **Μωάβ,** *Mōáb*, **ἡ Μωαβεῖτις,** *hē Mōabeítis*, **-βῖτις,** *bítis;* **Moabite,** מוֹאָבִי, *mō'ābhī;* **Moabites,** בְּנֵי מוֹאָב, *b^enē mō'ābh*):

1. The Land

Moab was the district E. of the Dead Sea, extending from a point some distance N. of it to its southern end. The eastern boundary was indefinite, being the border of the desert which is irregular. The length of the territory was about 50 miles and the average width about 30. It is a high tableland, averaging some 3,000 ft. above the level of the Mediterranean and 4,300 ft. above that of the Dead Sea. The aspect of the land, as one looks at it from the western side of the Dead Sea, is that of a range of mountains with a very precipitous frontage, but the elevation of this ridge above the interior is very slight. Deep chasms lead down from the tableland to the Dead Sea shore, the principal one being the gorge of the river Arnon, which is about 1,700 ft. deep and 2 or more miles in width at the level of the tableland, but very narrow at the bottom and with exceedingly precipitous banks. About 13 miles back from the mouth of the river the gorge divides, and farther back it subdivides, so that several valleys are formed of diminishing depth as they approach the desert border. These are referred to in Nu **21** 14 as the "valleys of the Arnon." The "valley of Zered" (Nu **21** 12), which was on the southern border, drops down to the southern end of the Dead Sea, and although not so long or deep as the Arnon, is of the same nature in its lower reaches, very difficult to cross, dividing into two branches, but at a point much nearer the sea. The stream is not so large as the Arnon, but is quite copious, even in summer. These gorges have such precipitous sides that it would be very difficult for an army to cross them, except in their upper courses near the desert where they become shallow. The Israelites passed them in that region, probably along the present Hajj road and the line of the Mecca Railway. The tableland is fertile but lacks water. The fountains and streams in the valleys and on the slopes toward the Dead Sea are abundant, but the uplands are almost destitute of flowing water. The inhabitants supply themselves by means of cisterns, many of which are ancient, but many of those used in ancient times are ruined. The population must have been far greater formerly than now. The rainfall is usually sufficient to mature the crops, although the rain falls in winter only. The fertility of the country in ancient times is indicated by the numerous towns and villages known to have existed there, mentioned in Scripture and on the M S, the latter giving some not found elsewhere. The principal of these were: Ar (Nu **21** 15); Ataroth, Dibon, Jazer, Nimrah, Nebo (**32** 3); Beth-peor (Dt **3** 29); Beth-diblaim, Bozrah, Kerioth (Jer **48** 22–24); Kir (Isa **15** 1); Medeba, Elealeh, Zoar (Isa **15** 2.4.5); Kirheres (**16** 11); Sibmah (Josh **13** 19); in all some 45 place-names in Moab are known, most of the towns being in ruins. Kir of Moab is represented in the modern *Kerak*, the most important of all and the government center of the district. *Madeba* now represents the ancient Medeba, and has become noted for the discovery of a mediaeval map of Pal, in mosaic, of considerable archaeological value. Rabbath-moab and Heshbon (modern *Rabba* and *Hesbân*) are miserable villages, and the country is subject to the raids of the Bedawin tribes of the neighboring desert, which discourages agriculture. But the land is still good pasture ground for cattle and sheep, as in ancient times (Nu **32** 3.4).



Bedawin of Moab.

2. The People

The Moabites were of Sem stock and of kin to the Hebrews, as is indicated by their descent from Lot, the nephew of Abraham (Gen **19** 30–37), and by their language which is practically the same as the Heb. This is clear from the inscription on the M S, a monument of Mesha, king of Moab, erected about 850 BC, and discovered among the ruins of Dibon in 1868. It contains 34 lines of about 9 words each, written in the old Phoen and Heb characters, corresponding to the Siloam inscription and those found in Phoenicia, showing that it is a dialect of the Sem tongue prevailing in Pal. The original inhabitants of Moab were the Emim (Dt **2** 10), "a people great . . . . and tall, as the Anakim." When these were deposed by the Moabites we do not know. The latter are not mentioned in the Am Tab and do not appear on the Egyp monuments before the 14th cent. BC, when they seem to be referred to under the name of Ruten, or Luten or Lotan, i.e. Lot (Paton, *Syria and Pal*); *Muab* appears in a list of names on a monument of Rameses III of the XXth Dynasty. The country lay outside the line of march of the Egyp armies, and this accounts for the silence of its monuments in regard to them.

3. Religion

The chief deity of Moab was Chemosh (כְּמוֹשׁ, *k*^{e}*mōsh*), frequently mentioned in the OT and on the M S, where King Mesha speaks of building a high place in his honor because he was saved by him from his enemies. He represents the oppression of Moab by Omri as the result of the anger of Chemosh, and Mesha made war against Israel by command of Chemosh. He was the national god of Moab, as Molech was of Ammon, and it is pretty certain that he was propitiated by human sacrifices (2 K **3** 27). But he was not the only god of Moab, as is clear from the account in Nu **25**, where it is also clear that their idolatrous worship was corrupt. They had their Baalim like the nations around, as may be inferred from the place-names compounded with Baal, such as Bamoth-baal, Beth-baal-meon and Baal-peor.

4. History

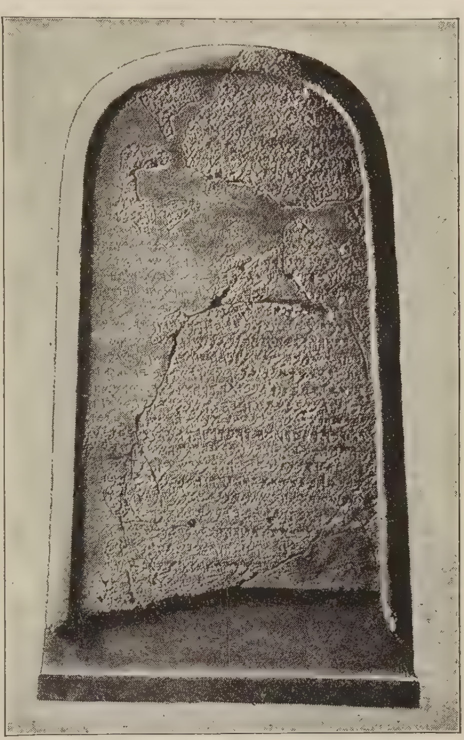
We know scarcely anything of the history of the Moabites after the account of their origin in Gen **19** until the time of the exodus. It would seem, however, that they had suffered from the invasions of the Amorites, who, under their king Sihon, had subdued the northern part of Moab as far as the Arnon (Nu **21** 21–31). This conquest was no doubt a result of the movement of the Amorites southward, when they were pressed by the great wave of Hittite invasion that overran Northern Syria at the end of the 15th and the early part of the 14th cents. BC. An inscription of Rameses II on the base of a statue at Luxor boasts of the conquest of Moab. This corroborates the existence of Moab as a nation a little before the Exodus (Kyle, *Recueil de Traveaux,* Vol. XXX). They did not at first disturb the Moabites in the S., but passed around on the eastern border (Dt **2** 8.9) and came into conflict with the Amorites in the N. (Nu **21** 21–26), defeating them and occupying the territory (vs 31–32). But when Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab, saw what a powerful people was settling on his border, he made alliance with the Midianites against them and called in the aid of Balaam, but as he could not induce the latter to curse them he refrained from attacking the Israelites (Nu **22, 24**). The latter, however, suffered disaster from the people of Moab through their intercourse with them (Nu **25**). Some time before the establishment of the kingdom in Israel the Midianites overran Moab, as would appear from the passage in Gen **36** 35, but the conquest was not permanent, for Moab recovered its lost territory and became strong enough to encroach upon Israel across the Jordan. Eglon of Moab oppressed Israel with the aid of Ammon and Amalek (Jgs **3** 13–14), but Eglon was assassinated by Ehud, and the Moabite yoke was cast off after 18 years. Saul smote Moab, but did not subdue it (1 S **14** 47), for we find David putting his father and mother under the protection of the king of Moab when persecuted by Saul (1 S **22** 3.4). But this friendship between David and Moab did not continue. When David became king he made war upon Moab and completely subjugated it (2 S **8** 2). On the division of the kingdom between Rehoboam and Jeroboam the latter probably obtained possession of Moab (1 K **12** 20), but it revolted and Omri had to reconquer it (M S), and it was tributary to Ahab (2 K **1** 1). It revolted again in the reign of Ahaziah (2 K **1** 1; **3** 5), and Moab and Ammon made war on Jehoshaphat and Mt. Seir and destroyed the latter, but they afterward fell out among themselves and destroyed each other (2 Ch **20**). Jehoshaphat and Jehoram together made an expedition into Moab and defeated the Moabites with great slaughter (2 K **3**). But Mesha, king of Moab, was not subdued (ver 27), and afterward completely freed his land from the dominion of Israel (M S). This was probably at the time when Israel and Judah were at war with Hazael of Damascus (2 K **8** 28.29). Bands of Moabites ventured to raid the land of Israel when weakened by the conflict with Hazael (2 K **13** 20), but Moab was probably subdued again by Jeroboam II (2 K **14** 25), which may be the disaster to Moab recounted in Isa **15**. After Mesha we find a king of the name of Salamanu and another called Chemosh-nadab, the latter being subject to Sargon of Assyria. He revolted against Sennacherib, in alliance with other kings of Syria and Pal and Egypt, but was subdued by him, and another king, Mutsuri, was subject to Esarhaddon. These items come to us from the Assyr monuments. When Babylon took the place of Assyria in the suzerainty, Moab joined other tribes in urging Judah to revolt but seems to have come to terms with Nebuchadnezzar before Jerus was taken, as we hear nothing of any expedition of that king against her. On the war described in Jth, in which Moab (**1** 12, etc) plays a part, see Judith.

At a later date Moab was overrun by the Nabathaean Arabs who ruled in Petra and extended their authority on the east side of Jordan even as far as Damascus (Jos, *Ant*, XIII, xv, 1,2). The Moabites lost their identity as a nation and were afterward confounded with the Arabs, as we see in the statement of Jos (XIII, xiii, 5), where he says that Alexander (Jannaeus) overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites and the Gileadites. Alexander built the famous stronghold of Machaerus in Moab, on a hill overlooking the Dead Sea, which afterward became the scene of the imprisonment and tragical death of John the Baptist (Jos, *BJ*, VII, vi, 2; *Ant*, XVIII, v, 2; Mk **6** 21–28). It was afterward destroyed by the Romans. Kir became a fortress of the Crusaders under the name of Krak (*Kerak*), which held out against the Moslems until the time of Saladin, who captured it in 1188 AD. See Cities of the Plain.

Literature.—Comms. on the passages in the OT relating to Moab, and histories of Israel; Paton, *Early History of Syria and Pal;* Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, esp. Assyria and Babylonia; Conder, *Heth and Moab;* G. A. Smith, *HGHL;* the Moabite Stone; Josephus; Kyle, *Explorations at Sodom.*

H. Porter

MOABITE STONE: A monument erected at Dibon (*Dhibân*) by Mesha, king of Moab (2 K **3** 4.5), to commemorate his successful revolt from Israel and his conquest of Israelitish territory. It was discovered, August 19, 1868, by a German missionary, Rev. V. Klein, who unfortunately took neither copy nor squeeze of it. It was 3 ft. 10 in. high and 2 ft. broad, with a semicircular top. The Berlin Museum entered into negotiations for the purchase of it, but while these were proceeding slowly, M. Clermont-Ganneau, then dragoman of the French consulate at Jerus, sent agents to take squeezes and tempt the Arabs to sell it for a large sum of money. This led to interference on the part of the Turkish officials, with the result that in 1869 the Arabs lighted a fire under the Stone, and by pouring cold water on it broke it into pieces which they carried away as charms. M. Clermont-Ganneau, however, succeeded in recovering a large proportion of these, and with the help of the squeezes was able to rewrite the greater part of the inscription. The last and most definitive edition of the text was published by Professors Smend and Socin in 1886 from a comparison of the fragments of the original (now in the Louvre) with the squeezes (in Paris and Bâle) and photographs.



Moabite Stone.
(*PEF* Photo.)

The following is (with some unimportant corrections) Dr. Neubauer's tr of the inscription, based upon Smend and Socin's text: "(1) I [am] Mesha, son of Chemosh-melech, king of Moab, the Dibonite. (2) My father reigned over Moab 30 years and I reigned (3) after my father. I have made this monument [or high place] for Chemosh at Qorḥah, a monument of salvation, (4) for he saved me from all invaders [or kings], and let me see my desire upon all my enemies. Omri (5) was king of Israel, and he oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his (6) land. His son [Ahab] followed him and he also said: I will oppress Moab. In my days [Chemosh] said: (7) I will see [my desire] on him and his house, and Israel surely shall perish for ever. Omri took the land of (8) Medeba [Nu **21** 30], and [Israel] dwelt in it during his days and half the days of his son, altogether 40 years. But Chemosh [gave] it back (9) in my days. I built Baal-Meon [Josh **13** 17] and made therein the ditches [or wells]; I built (10) Kirjathaim [Nu **32** 37]. The men of Gad dwelt in the land of Ataroth [Nu **32** 3] from of old, and the king of Israel built there (11) [the city of] Ataroth; but I made war against the city and took it. And I slew all the [people of] (12) the city, for the pleasure of Chemosh and of Moab, and I brought back from them the Arel [אראל] of Dodah [דודה] and bore (13) him before Chemosh in Qerioth [Jer **48** 24]. And I placed therein the men of Sharon and the men (14) of Mehereth. And Chemosh said unto me: Go, seize Nebo of Israel and (15) I went in the night and fought against it from the break of dawn till noon; and I took (16) it, slew all of them, 7,000 men and [boys?], women and [girls?], (17) and female slaves, for to Ashtar-Chemosh I devoted them. And I took from thence the Arels [אראלי] (18) of Yahweh and bore them before Chemosh. Now the king of Israel had built (19) Jahaz [Isa **15** 4], and he dwelt in it while he waged war against me, but Chemosh drove him out from before me. And (20) I took from Moab 200 men, all chiefs, and transported them to Jahaz which I took (21) to add to Dibon. I built Qorḥah, the Wall of the Forests and the Wall (22) of the Ophel, and I built its gates and I built its towers. And (23) I built the House of Moloch, and I made sluices for the water-ditches in the midst (24) of the city. And there was no cistern within the city of Qorḥah, and I said to all the people: Make for (25) yourselves every man a cistern in his house. And I dug the canals [or conduits] for Qorḥah by means of the prisoners (26) from Israel. I built Aroer [Dt **2** 36], and I made the road in Arnon. And (27) I built Beth-Bamoth [Nu **26** 19] for it was destroyed. I built Bezer [Dt **4** 43], for in ruins (28) [it was. And all the chiefs?] of Dibon were 50, for all Dibon is loyal, and I (29) placed 100 [chiefs?] in the cities which I added to the land; I built (30) [Beth]-Mede[b]a [Nu **21** 30] and Beth-diblathaim [Jer **48** 22], and Beth-Baal-Meon [Jer **48** 23], and transported the shepherds [?] (31) . . . . [with] the flock[s] of the land. Now in Ḥoronaim [Isa **15** 5] there dwelt [the children ?] . . . . (32) . . . . [and] Chemosh said unto me: Go down, make war upon Ḥoronaim. So I went down [and made war (33) upon the city, and took it, and] Chemosh dwelt in it during my days. And I went up [?] from thence; I made . . . . (34) . . . And I . . . ."

The Bib. character of the language of the inscription will be noticed as well as the use of "forty" to signify an indefinite period of time. As in Israel, no goddess seems to have been worshipped in Moab, since the goddess Ashtoreth is deprived of the feminine suffix, and is identified with the male Chemosh (Ashtar-Chemosh). Dodah appears to have been a female divinity worshipped by the side of Yahweh; the root of the name is the same as that of David and the Carthaginian Dido. The *Arels* were "the champions" of the deity (Assyr *qurart*), trd "lion-like men" in AV (2 S **23** 20; cf Isa **33** 7). There was an Ophel in the Moabite capital as well as at Jerus.

The alphabet of the inscription is an early form of the Phoenician, and resembles that of the earliest Gr inscriptions. The words are divided from one another by dots, and the curved forms of some of the letters (*b*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*) presuppose writing with ink upon papyrus, parchment or potsherds.

The revolt of Mesha took place after Ahab's death (2 K **3** 5). At the battle of Qarqar in 854 BC, when the Syrian kings were defeated by Shalmaneser II, no mention is made of Moab, as it was included in Israel. It would seem from the inscription, however, that Medeba had already been restored to Mesha, perhaps in return for the regular payment of his tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams with their wool (2 K **3** 4).

Literature.—Clermont-Ganneau, *La stèle de Mésa*, 1870; Ginsburg, *Moabite Stone*, 1871; R. Smend and A. Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, 1886; A. Neubauer in *Records of the Past*, 2d ser., II, 1889; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898, 4–83, 415.

A. H. Sayce

MOABITESS, mō'ab-īt-es, mō-ab-ī'tes (מוֹאֲבִיָּה, *mō'ăbhīyāh*): A woman, or in pl. women, of Moab. The term is applied to Ruth (**1** 22; **2** 2.6.21; **4** 5.10); to some of Solomon's wives (1 K **11** 1); and to Shimrith, whose son shared in the murder of King Joash (2 Ch **24** 26). See Moab.

MOADIAH, mō-a-dī'a. See Maadiah.

MOCHMUR, mok'mur, **THE BROOK** (**ὁ χείμαρρος Μοχμούρ**, *ho cheímarrhos Mochmoúr*): The torrent bed in a valley on which stood Chusi, not far from Ekrebel (Jth **7** 18). The latter may be identified with *'Aḳrabeh,* E. of *Nāblus*. *Wâdy Makhfūrīyeh* runs to the S. of *'Aḳrabeh,* and probably represents the ancient Mochmur.

MOCK, mok, **MOCKER,** mok'ẽr, **MOCKING,** mok'ing (הָתַל, *hāthal*, לָעַג, *lā'agh*, **ἐμπαίζω**, *empaízō*): **To mock** is the tr of *hāthal*, "to play upon," "mock," "deride" (Jgs **16** 10.13.15; 1 K **18** 27, "Elijah mocked them"; Job **13** 9 *bis*, RV "deceiveth," "deceive," m "mocketh," "mock"); of *lā'agh*, "to stammer" or "babble in mimicry," "to mock" or "scorn" (2 Ch **30** 10; Neh **4** 1; Job **11** 3; **21** 3; Prov **1** 26; **17** 5; **30** 17; Jer **20** 7). Other words are *çāḥaḳ*, "to laugh," etc (Gen **19** 14; **21** 9; **39** 14.17); *ḳālaş*, "to call out," or "cry after," "to scoff" or "mock at" (2 K **2** 23; Ezk **22** 5); *sāḥaḳ*, "to laugh," "mock" (Job **39** 22; Lam **1** 7); *lūç*, "to scorn" (Prov **14** 9); *s^{e}ḥōḳ*, "laughter," "derision" (Job **12** 4); *empaizō*, "to treat as a child," "mock" (Mt **2** 16; **20** 19; **27** 29.31.41; Lk **14** 29, etc); *diachleuázō*, "to mock," "laugh," etc (Acts **2** 13; **17** 32); *muktērízō*, "to sneer at," "mock," lit. "to turn up the nose" (Gal **6** 7, "God is not mocked," "will not let himself be mocked"); ἐπιγελάω, *epigeláō*, "laugh" (Job **2** 8; 1 Macc **7** 34; cf 2 Macc **7** 39; **8** 17).

Mocker, *hăthūlīm*, "deceivers," "mockers" (Job **17** 2); *lūç* (Prov **20** 1; Isa **28** 22 AV); *lā'ēgh*, "stammering," "mocking" (Ps **35** 16; cf Isa **28** 11); *sāḥaḳ* (Jer **15** 17); *empaíktēs*, "a mocker," "scoffer," lit. "sporting as children" (Jude ver 18; cf 2 Pet **3** 3).

Mocking is the tr of *ḳallāşāh*, "mocking," "derision" (Ezk **22** 4); of *empaigmós* (LXX for *ḳallāşāh*) (He **11** 36; Wisd **12** 25; Ecclus **27** 28, "mockery"; 2 Macc **7** 7, "mocking-stock," RV "the mocking"; ver

10, "made a mocking-stock" [*empaizō*]); of μῶκος, *mṓkos* (Ecclus **33** 6).

For "mocked of" (Job **12** 4) RV has "a laughing-stock to"; for "mockers" (Isa **28** 22), ERV "scorner," ARV "scoffer"; for "the mockers" (Jer **15** 17), "them that made merry"; for "scorneth" (Prov **19** 28), "mocketh at"; for "As one man mocketh another, do ye so mock him?" (Job **13** 9), "As one deceiveth a man will ye deceive him?" (m "mocketh," "mock"); "mock" for "laugh" (Job **9** 23); for "There shall come in the last days scoffers" (2 Pet **3** 3), "In the last days [m "Gr in the last of the days"] mockers shall come with mockery" (*empaigmonḗ empaíktai*).

W. L. Walker

MODAD, BOOK OF ELDAD AND. See Eldad and Modad, Book of.

MODERATELY, mod′ẽr-āt-li (לִצְדָקָה, *liç*^{e}*dhāķāh*): "Moderately" is the AV tr of *liç*^{e}*dhāķāh*, "righteousness" (Joel **2** 23, "for he hath given you the former rain moderately," m "according to righteousness," RV "in just measure," m "in [or for] righteousness"). In Phil **4** 5 AV, *tóe pieikés* is tr^{d} moderation: "Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand," RV "forbearance," m "or gentleness"; cf 2 Cor **10** 1. The proper meaning of this word has been the subject of considerable discussion; *epieíkeia* is tr^{d} "clemency" (Acts **24** 4), "gentleness" (of Christ) (2 Cor **10** 1); *epieikḗs* is "gentle" (1 Tim **3** 3; Tit **3** 2; Jas **3** 17; 1 Pet **2** 18).

Trench says (*Synonyms of the NT*, 151): "It expresses exactly that moderation which recognizes the impossibility cleaving to formal law, of anticipating and providing for all cases that will emerge and present themselves to it for decision; which, with this, recognizes the danger that ever waits upon the assertion of *legal* rights, lest they should be pushed into *moral* wrongs, lest the '*summum jus*' should in practice prove the '*summa injuria*,' which therefore, pushes not its own rights to the uttermost, but going back in part or in the whole from these, rectifies and redresses the injustices of justice. It is thus more truly just than strict justice would have been; no Latin word exactly and adequately renders it; *clementia* sets forth one side of it, *aequitas* another, and perhaps *modestia* (by which the Vulg tr^{s} it in 2 Cor **10** 1) a third; but the word is wanting which should set forth all these excellences reconciled in a single and higher one." Its archetype and pattern, he points out, is found in God, who does not stand upon or assert strict rights in His relations to men.

Lightfoot has "forbearance": "Let your gentle and forbearing spirit be recognized by all men. The judgment is drawing nigh." Hastings prefers "considerateness" or "sweet reasonableness" (*HDB*, III, 413); "'Gentleness' and 'forbearance' are too passive. The 'considerateness' of the Bible, whether applied to God or man, is an active virtue. It is the Spirit of the Messiah Himself, who will not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax, and it is the spirit of every follower who realizes that 'the Lord is at hand.'" The want of this "considerateness" too often mars our religious life and spoils its influence.

W. L. Walker

MODERATION, mod-ẽr-ā′shun (**τὸ ἐπιεικές**, *tó epieikés*): The word occurs once in AV, Phil **4** 5.

MODIN, mō′din (**Μωδέειν**, *Mōdéein*, **Μωδεΐν**, *Mōdeín*, **Μωδεεΐμ**, *Mōdeeím*, and other forms; in the Talm it is called מוֹדִעִים, *mōdhī'īm*, and מוֹדִיעִית, *mōdhī'īth* [Neubauer, *Géographie du Talm*, 99]): This place owes its interest to the part it played in the history of the Maccabees. It was the ancestral home of their family (1 Macc **2** 17.70). Hither Mattathias, a priest of the sons of Joarib, retired when he had seen with a burning heart "the blasphemies that were committed in Judah and in Jerus" under the orders of Antiochus Epiphanes. But the king's officer followed him, and by offers of the king's friendship and great rewards sought to seduce the people into idolatry. This only fed the indignation of Mattathias, and when a Jew went forward to sacrifice, Mattathias slew him on the altar together with the king's officer. From such a step there could be no going back. Thus began the patriotic enterprise which, led by the old priest's heroic sons, was destined to make illustrious the closing days of the nation's life (1 Macc **2** 1 ff; *Ant*, VI, i, 2; *BJ*, I, i, 3). Mattathias, his wife and sons were all buried in Modin (1 Macc **2** 70; **9** 19; **13** 25-30; *Ant*, XII, xi, 2; XIII, vi, 6). Near Modin Judas pitched his camp, whence issuing by night with the watchword "Victory is God's," he and a chosen band of warriors overwhelmed the army of Antiochus Eupator (2 Macc **13** 14). In Modin Judas and John, the sons of Simon, slept before the battle in which they defeated Cendebaeus (1 Macc **16** 4).

Of the impressive monument erected by Simon over the tombs of his parents and brethren Stanley (*Hist of the Jewish Church*, III, 318) gives the following account: "It was a square structure surrounded by colonnades of monolith pillars, of which the front and back were of white polished stone. Seven pyramids were erected by Simon on the summit, for the father and mother and four brothers who now lay there, with the seventh for himself when his time should come. On the faces of the monuments were bas-reliefs, representing the accoutrements of sword and spear and shield 'for an eternal memorial' of their many battles. There were also sculptures of ships—no doubt to record their interest in that long seaboard of the Phili coast, which they were the first to use for their country's good. A monument at once so Jewish in idea and so gentile in execution was worthy of the combination of patriotic fervor and high philosophic enlargement of soul which raised the Maccabean heroes so high above their age." Guérin (*La Samarie*, II, 401; *Galilée*, I, 47) thought he had discovered the remains of this monument at *Khirbet el-Gharbāwi* near *Medyeh*, in 1870. In this, however, he was mistaken, the remains being of Christian origin.

Various identifications have been proposed. *Ṣōbā*, about 6 miles W. of Jerus, was for a time generally accepted. Robinson (*BR*, III, 151 f) suggested *Lāṭrūn*. There is now a consensus of opinion in favor of *el-Medyeh*, a village to the E. of *Wâdy Mulaki*, 13 miles W. of Bethel. It occupies a strong position in the hills 6 miles E. of Lydda, thus meeting the condition of *Onom* which places it near Lydda. The identification was suggested by Dr. Sandreczki of Jerus in 1869. From *el-Medyeh* itself the sea is not visible; but to the S. rises a rocky height, *er-Rās*, which commands a wide view, including the plain and the sea. The latter is 16 miles distant. If the monument of Simon stood on *er-Rās*, which from the rock cuttings seems not improbable, it would be seen very clearly by overlooking from the sea, esp. toward sunset (1 Macc **13** 29). About ¼ mile W. of *el-Medyeh* are tombs known as *Ķubūr el-Yehūd*, one bearing the name of *Sheikh el-Gharbāwi*, whose name attaches to the ruins. This is the tomb referred to above.

W. Ewing

MOETH, mō′eth (**Μωέθ**, *Mōéth*): Called "son of Sabannus," one of the Levites to whom, with the priest Mermoth, the silver and gold brought by Ezra from Babylon were committed (1 Esd **8** 63) ="Noadiah" of Ezr **8** 33, but there styled "son of Binnui."

MOLADAH, mol′a-da, mō̂-lā′da (מוֹלָדָה, *mō-lādhāh;* **Μωλαδά**, *Mōladá*): A place in the far south (*Negebh*) of Judah, toward Edom (Josh **15** 26), reckoned to Simeon (**19** 2; 1 Ch **4** 28). It was repeopled after the captivity (Neh **11** 26). It is mentioned always in close proximity to Beersheba. Moladah is probably identical with Malatha, a city in Idumaea to which Agrippa at one time withdrew himself (Jos, *Ant*, XVIII, vi, 2). The site of this latter city has by Robinson and others been considered to be the ruins and wells of *Tell el-Milḥ*, some 13 miles to the E. of Beersheba and some 7 miles S.W. of Arad. The chief difficulty is the statement of Eusebius and Jerome that Malatha was "by Jattir," i.e. *'Attir;* if this is correct the *Tell el-Milḥ* is impossible, as it is 10 miles from *'Attir,* and we have no light at all on the site. See SALT, CITY OF. For *Tell el-Milḥ* see *PEF,* III, 415–16, Sh XXV. E. W. G. MASTERMAN

MOLE, mōl ([1] תִּנְשֶׁמֶת, *tinshemeth,* AV "mole," RV "chameleon"; LXX **ἀσπάλαξ,** *aspálax* = **σπάλαξ,** *spálax,* "mole," Vulg *talpa,* "mole" [Lev **11** 30]; [2] חֹלֶד, *ḥōledh,* EV "weasel"; LXX **γαλῆ,** *galḗ,* "weasel" or "pole-cat"; cf Arab. خُلْد, *khuld,* "mole-rat" [Lev **11** 29]; [3] חֲפַרְפֵּרוֹת, *ḥăphar-pērōth,* EV "moles"; from חָפַר, *ḥāphar,* "to dig"; cf Arab. حَفَرَ, *ḥafar,* "to dig," and פֵּרָה, *pērāh,* "mole" or "rat," for פְּאֵרָה, *pᵉ'ērāh,* from √ פָּאַר, *pā'ar,* "to dig"; cf Arab. فَأْرَة, *fa'rat,* or فَارَة, *fârat,* "rat," "mouse," from √ فَأَرَ, *fa'ar,* "to dig"; LXX **τοῖς ματαίοις,** *toís mataíois,* "vain, idle, or profane persons" [Isa **2** 20]): (1) *Tinshemeth* is the last of 8 unclean "creeping things" in Lev **11** 29.30. The word occurs also in Lev **11** in 18 and Dt **14** 16, trᵈ AV "swan," RV "horned owl," LXX *πορφυρίων, porphuríōn,* "coot" or "heron." See CHAMELEON. (2) *Ḥōledh* is the first in the same list. The word occurs nowhere else, and is trᵈ "weasel" in EV, but comparison with the Arab. *khuld* has led to the suggestion that "mole-rat" would be a better tr. See WEASEL. (3) In Isa **2** 20, "In that day men shall cast away their idols . . . . to the moles and to the bats," *ḥăphar-pērōth,* variously written as one word or two, is trᵈ "moles" in EV, but has given rise to much conjecture.

The European "mole," *Talpa europea,* is extensively distributed in the temperate parts of Europe and Asia, but is absent from Syria and Pal, its place being taken by the mole-rat, *Spalax typhlus.* The true mole belongs to the *Insectivora,* and feeds on earth-worms and insect larvae, but in making its tunnels and nests, it incidentally injures gardens and lawns. The mole-rat belongs to the *Rodentia,* and has teeth of the same general type as those of a rat or squirrel, large, chisel-shaped incisors behind which is a large vacant space, no canines, and praemolars and molars with grinding surfaces. It is larger than the mole, but of the same color, and, like the mole, is blind. It makes tunnels much like those of the mole. It is herbivorous and has been observed to seize growing plants and draw them down into its hole. In one of its burrows a central chamber has been found filled with entire plants of the *ḥummuṣ* or chick-pea, and two side chambers containing pods plucked from the plants in the central chamber. While the mole digs with its powerful and peculiarly shaped front feet, the mole-rat digs with its nose, its feet being normal in shape. See LIZARD. ALFRED ELY DAY

MOLECH, mō'lek, **MOLOCH,** mō'lok (הַמֹּלֶךְ, *ha-mōlekh,* always with the art., except in 1 K **11** 7; LXX **ὁ Μολόχ,** *ho Molóch,* sometimes also **Μολχόμ,** *Molchóm,* **Μελχόλ,** *Melchól;* Vulg *Moloch*):

1. The Name
2. The Worship in OT History
3. The Worship in the Prophets
4. Nature of the Worship
5. Origin and Extent of the Worship

LITERATURE

1. The Name

The name of a heathen divinity whose worship figures largely in the later history of the kingdom of Judah. As the national god of the Ammonites, he is known as "Milcom" (1 K **11** 5.7), or "Malcam" ("Malcan" is an alternative reading in 2 S **12** 30.31; cf Jer **49** 1.3; Zeph **1** 5, where RVm reads "their king"). The use of *βασιλεύς, basileús,* and *ἄρχων, árchōn,* as a tr of the name by the LXX suggests that it may have been originally the Heb word for "king," *melekh.* Molech is obtained from *melekh* by the substitution of the vowel points of Heb *bōsheth,* signifying "shame." From the obscure and difficult passage, Am **5** 26, RV has removed "your Moloch" and given "your king," but LXX had here trᵈ "Moloch," and from the LXX it found its way into the Acts (**7** 43), the only occurrence of the name in the NT.

2. The Worship in OT History

In the Levitical ordinances delivered to the Israelites by Moses there are stern prohibitions of Molech-worship (Lev **18** 21; **20** 2–5). Parallel to these prohibitions, although the name of the god is not mentioned, are those of the Deuteronomic Code where the abominations of the Canaanites are forbidden, and the burning of their sons and daughters in the fire (to Molech) is condemned as the climax of their wickedness (Dt **12** 31; **18** 10–13). The references to Malcam, and to David's causing the inhabitants of Rabbath Ammon to pass through the brick kiln (2 S **12** 30.31), are not sufficiently clear to found upon, because of the uncertainty of the readings. Solomon, under the influence of his idolatrous wives, built high places for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, and for Milcom, the abomination of the children of Ammon. See CHEMOSH. Because of this apostasy it was intimated by the prophet Ahijah, that the kingdom was to be rent out of the hand of Solomon, and ten tribes given to Jeroboam (1 K **11** 31–33). These high places survived to the time of Josiah, who, among his other works of religious reformation, destroyed and defiled them, filling their places with the bones of men (2 K **23** 12–14). Molech-worship had evidently received a great impulse from Ahaz, who, like Ahab of Israel, was a supporter of foreign religions (2 K **16** 12 ff). He also "made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the nations, whom Jeh cast out from before the children of Israel" (2 K **16** 3). His grandson Manasseh, so far from following in the footsteps of his father Hezekiah, who had made great reforms in the worship, reared altars for Baal, and besides other abominations which he practised, made his son to pass through the fire (2 K **21** 6). The chief site of this worship, of which Ahaz and Manasseh were the promoters, was Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom, or, as it is also called, the Valley of the Children, or of the Son of Hinnom, lying to the S.W. of Jerus (see GEHENNA). Of Josiah's reformation it is said that "he defiled Topheth . . . . that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech" (2 K **23** 10).

3. The Worship in the Prophets

Even Josiah's thorough reformation failed to extirpate the Molech-worship, and it revived and continued till the destruction of Jerus, as we learn from the prophets of the time. From the beginning, the prophets maintained against it a loud and persistent protest. The testimony of Amos (**1** 15; **5** 26) is ambiguous, but most of the ancient VSS for *malkām,* "their king," in the former passage, read *milkōm,* the national god of Ammon (see Davidson, in loc.). Isaiah was acquainted with Topheth and its abominations (Isa **30** 33; **57** 5). Over against his beautiful and lofty description of spiritual religion, Micah sets the exaggerated zeal of those who ask in the spirit of the Molech-worshipper: "Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" (Mic **6** 6 ff). That Molech-worship had increased in the interval may account for the frequency and the clearness of the references to it in the later Prophets. In Jer we find the passing of sons and daughters through the fire to Molech associated with the building of "the high places of Baal, which are in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom" (**32** 35; cf **7** 31 ff; **19** 5 ff). In his oracle against the children of Ammon, the same prophet, denouncing evil against their land, predicts (almost in the very words of Amos above) that Malcam shall go into captivity, his priests and his princes together (**49** 1.3). Ezekiel, speaking to the exiles in Babylon, refers to the practice of causing children to pass through the fire to heathen divinities as long established, and proclaims the wrath of God against it (Ezk **16** 20 f; **20** 26.31; **23** 37). That this prophet regarded the practice as among the "statutes that were not good, and ordinances wherein they should not live" (**20** 25) given by God to His people, by way of deception and judicial punishment, as some hold, is highly improbable and inconsistent with the whole prophetic attitude toward it. Zephaniah, who prophesied to the men who saw the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah, denounces God's judgments upon the worshippers of false gods (Zeph **1** 5 f). He does not directly charge his countrymen with having forsaken Jeh for Malcam, but blames them, because worshipping Him they also swear to Malcam, like those Assyr colonists in Samaria who feared Jeh and served their own gods, or like those of whom Ezekiel elsewhere speaks who, the same day on which they had slain their children to their idols, entered the sanctuary of Jeh to profane it (Ezk **23** 39). The captivity in Babylon put an end to Molech-worship, since it weaned the people from all their idolatries. We do not hear of it in the post-exilic Prophets, and, in the great historical psalm of Israel's rebelliousness and God's deliverances (Ps **106**), it is only referred to in retrospect (vs 37.38).

4. The Nature of the Worship

When we come to consider the nature of this worship it is remarkable how few details are given regarding it in Scripture. The place where it was practised from the days of Ahaz and Manasseh was the Valley of Hinnom where Topheth stood, a huge altar-pyre for the burning of the sacrificial victims. There is no evidence connecting the worship with the temple in Jerus. Ezekiel's vision of sun-worshippers in the temple is purely ideal (Ezk **8**). A priesthood is spoken of as attached to the services (Jer **49** 3; cf Zeph **1** 4.5). The victims offered to the divinity were not burnt alive, but were killed as sacrifices, and then presented as burnt offerings. "To pass through the fire" has been taken to mean a lustration or purification of the child by fire, not involving death. But the prophets clearly speak of slaughter and sacrifice, and of high places built to burn the children in the fire as burnt offerings (Jer **19** 5; Ezk **16** 20.21).

The popular conception, molded for Eng. readers largely by Milton's "Moloch, horrid king" as described in *Paradise Lost*, Book I, is derived from the accounts given in late Lat and Gr writers, esp. the account which Diodorus Siculus gives in his *History* of the Carthaginian Kronos or Moloch. The image of Moloch was a human figure with a bull's head and outstretched arms, ready to receive the children destined for sacrifice. The image of metal was heated red hot by a fire kindled within, and the children laid on its arms rolled off into the fiery pit below. In order to drown the cries of the victims, flutes were played, and drums were beaten; and mothers stood by without tears or sobs, to give the impression of the voluntary character of the offering (see Rawlinson's *Phoenicia*, 113 f, for fuller details).

5. Origin and Extent of the Worship

On the question of the origin of this worship there is great variety of views. Of a non-Sem origin there is no evidence; and there is no trace of human sacrifices in the old Bab religion. That it prevailed widely among Sem peoples is clear. While Milcom or Malcam is peculiarly the national god of the Ammonites, as is Chemosh of the Moabites, the name Molech or Melech was recognized among the Phoenicians, the Philis, the Aramaeans, and other Sem peoples, as a name for the divinity they worshipped from a very early time. That it was common among the Canaanites when the Israelites entered the land is evident from the fact that it was among the abominations from which they were to keep themselves free. That it was identical at first with the worship of Jeh, or that the prophets and the best men of the nation ever regarded it as the national worship of Israel, is a modern theory which does not appear to the present writer to have been substantiated. It has been inferred from Abraham's readiness to offer up Isaac at the command of God, from the story of Jephthah and his daughter, and even from the sacrifice of Hiel the Bethelite (1 K **16** 34), that human sacrifice to Jeh was an original custom in Israel, and that therefore the God of Israel was no other than Moloch, or at all events a deity of similar character. But these incidents are surely too slender a foundation to support such a theory. "The fundamental idea of the heathen rite was the same as that which lay at the foundation of Heb ordinance: *the best to God;* but by presenting to us this story of the offering of Isaac, and by presenting it in this precise form, the writer simply teaches the truth, taught by all the prophets, that to obey is better than sacrifice—in other words that the God worshipped in Abraham's time was a God who did not delight in destroying life, but in saving and sanctifying it" (Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, 254). While there is no ground for identifying Jeh with Moloch, there are good grounds for seeing a community of origin between Moloch and Baal. The name, the worship, and the general characteristics are so similar that it is natural to assign them a common place of origin in Phoenicia. The fact that Moloch-worship reached the climax of its abominable cruelty in the Phoen colonies of which Carthage was the center shows that it had found among that people a soil suited to its peculiar genius.

LITERATURE.—Wolf Baudissin, "Moloch" in *PRE³;* G. F. Moore, "Moloch" in *EB;* Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, 241–65; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 352 ff; Buchanan Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, 138 ff.

T. NICOL

MOLI, mō′lī. See MOOLI.

MOLID, mō′lid (מוֹלִיד, *mōlīdh*): A Judahite (1 Ch **2** 29).

MOLLIFY, mol′i-fī (from רָכַךְ, *rākhakh*, "to be soft"): "To make soft," used in modern Eng. only figuratively, as "His anger was mollified." EV, however, uses the word lit. in its two occurrences: Isa **1** 6, "wounds, and bruises . . . . neither bound up, neither mollified with oil"; Wisd **16** 12, "mollifying plaister." Neither occurrence of the word is changed by RV.

MOLOCH, mō′lok: A deity of the Ammonites, like the planet Saturn, a representative of the sun-god in the particular aspect of a god of time. See ASTROLOGY, 8; MOLECH.

MOLTEN, mōl′t'n, **IMAGE.** See IMAGES.

MOLTEN SEA. See LAVER.

MOMDIS, mom′dis (A, **Μομδεΐς,** *Momdeís,* B, **Μομδεῖος,** *Momdeios*): One of those who had taken "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 34) = "Maadai" in Ezr **10** 34.

MOMENT, mō′ment (רֶגַע, *regha*ʿ, "a wink"; **ἄτομος,** *átomos*, "an atom," **στιγμή,** *stigmḗ*, "a point," **παραυτίκα,** *parautíka*, "immediately," "forthwith"): "Moment" is not used in Scripture for a division of time, but for an instant of time, as the wink or twinkling of the eye (Ex **33** 5; Nu **16** 21.45; Lam **4** 6; 1 Cor **15** 52), or for a short period of time (Job **20** 5; Ps **30** 5; Isa **26** 20; 2 Cor **4** 17). The division of the hour into sixty minutes was certainly known in Babylonia, and the Jews were made acquainted with it, at least during the captivity, but they do not seem to have adopted it very extensively. H. PORTER

MONEY, mun′i: Various terms are used for money in the Bible, but the most common are the Heb כֶּסֶף, *keṣeph*, and Gr **ἀργύριον,** *argúrion*, both meaning silver. We find also קְשִׂיטָה, *ḳ*ᵉ*sīṭāh*, rendered by LXX "lambs," probably referring to money in a particular form; **χαλκός,** *chalkós*, is used for money in Mt **10** 9; Mk **6** 8; **12** 41. It was the name of a small coin of Agrippa II (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*); **χρῆμα,** *chrḗma*, "price," is rendered money in Acts **4** 37; **8** 18.20; **24** 26; **κέρμα,** *kérma*, "piece," i.e. piece of money (Jn **2** 15); **δίδραχμον,** *dídrachmon*, "tribute money" (Mt **17** 24 AV, RV "half-shekel"); **κῆνσος,** *kḗnsos*, "census," "tribute money" (Mt **22** 19).

1. Material and Form

Gold and silver were the common medium of exchange in Syria and Pal in the earliest times of which we have any historical record. The period of mere barter had passed before Abraham. The close connection of the country with the two great civilized centers of antiquity, Egypt and Babylonia, had led to the introduction of a currency for the purposes of trade. We have abundant evidence of the use of these metals in the Bib. records, and we know from the monuments that they were used as money before the time of Abraham. The patriarch came back from his visit to Egypt "rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold" (Gen **13** 2). There was no system of coinage, but they had these metals cast in a convenient form for use in exchange, such as bars or rings, the latter being a common form and often represented or mentioned on the monuments of Egypt. In Babylonia the more common form seems to have been the former, such as the bar, or wedge, that Achan found in the sack of Jericho (Josh **7** 21). This might indicate that the pieces were too large for ordinary use, but we have indications of the use of small portions also (2 K **12** 9; Job **42** 11). But the pieces were not so accurately divided as to pass for money without weighing, as we see in the case of the transaction between Abraham and the children of Heth for the purchase of the field of Machpelah (Gen **23**). This transaction indicates also the common use of silver as currency, for it was "current money with the merchant," and earlier than this we have mention of the use of silver by Abraham as money: "He that is born in thy house and he that is bought with thy money" (Gen **17** 13).

Jewels of silver and gold were probably made to conform to the shekel weight, so that they might be used for money in case of necessity. Thus Abraham's servant gave to Rebecca a gold ring of half a shekel weight and bracelets of ten shekels weight (Gen **24** 22). The bundles of money carried by the sons of Jacob to Egypt for the purchase of corn (Gen **42** 35) were probably silver rings tied together in bundles. The Heb for "talent," *kikkār*, signifies something round or circular, suggesting a ring of this weight to be used as money. The ordinary term for money was *keṣeph*, "silver," and this word preceded by a numeral always refers to money, either with or without "shekel," which we are probably to supply where it is not expressed after the numeral, at least wherever value is involved, as the shekel (*sheḳel*) was the standard of value as well as of weight (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). Thus the value of the field of Ephron was in shekels, as was also the estimation of offerings for sacred purposes (Lev **5** 15; **27,** *passim*). Solomon purchased chariots at 600 (shekels) each and horses at 150 (1 K **10** 29). Large sums were expressed in talents, which were a multiple of the shekel. Thus Menahem gave Pul 1,000 talents of silver (2 K **15** 19), which was made up by the exaction of 50 shekels from each rich man. Hezekiah paid the war indemnity to Sennacherib with 300 talents of silver and 30 of gold (2 K **18** 14). The Assyr account gives 800 talents of silver, and the discrepancy may not be an error in the Heb text, as some would explain it, but probably a different kind of talent (see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 4). Solomon's revenue is stated in talents (1 K **10** 14), and the amount (666 of gold) indicates that money was abundant, for this was in addition to what he obtained from the vassal states and by trade. His partnership with the Phoenicians in commerce brought him large amounts of the precious metals, so that silver was said to have been as plentiful in Jerus as stones (1 K **10** 27).

Besides the forms of rings and bars, in which the precious metals were cast for commercial use, some other forms were perhaps current. Thus the term *ḳ*ᵉ*sīṭāh* has been referred to as used for money, and the LXX tr has "lambs." It is used in Gen **33** 19; Josh **24** 32; Job **42** 11, and the LXX rendering is supposed to indicate a piece in the form of a lamb or stamped with a lamb, used at first as a weight, later the same weight of the precious metals being used for money. We are familiar with lion weights and weights in the form of bulls and geese from the monuments, and it would not be strange to find them in the form of sheep. *Ḳ*ᵉ*sīṭāh* is cognate with the Arab. *ḳasaṭ*, which means "to divide exactly" or "justly," and the noun *ḳist* means "a portion" or "a measure."

Another word joined with silver in monetary use is *'ăghōrāh* (אֲגוֹרָה), the term being trᵈ "a piece of silver" in 1 S **2** 36. *'Ăghōrāh* is cognate with the Arab. *ujrat* (أُجْرَة), "a wage," and it would seem that the piece of silver in this passage might refer to the same usage.

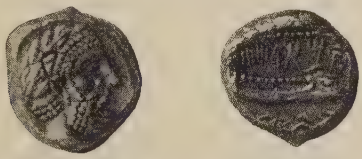
Another word used in a similar way is *raç*, from *rāçaç*, "to break in pieces," hence *raç* is "a piece" or "fragment of silver" used as money. These terms were in use before the introduction of coined money and continued after coins became common.

2. Coined Money

After the exile we begin to find references to coined money. It was invented in Lydia or perhaps in Aegina. Herodotus assigns the invention to the Lydians (i.94). The earliest Lydian coins were struck by Gyges in the 7th cent. BC. These coins were of electrum and elliptical in form, smooth on the reverse but deeply stamped with incuse impressions on the obverse. They were called staters, but were of two standards; one for commercial use with the Babylonians, weighing about 164.4 grains, and the other of 224 grains (see Madden, op. cit.). Later, gold was coined, and, by the time of Croesus, gold and silver. The Persians adopted the Lydian type, and coined both gold and silver darics, the name being derived from Darius Hystaspis (521-485 BC) who is reputed to have introduced the system into his empire. But the staters of Lydia were current there under Cyrus (Madden, op. cit.), and it was perhaps with these that the Jews first became acquainted in Babylon. Ezra states (**2** 69) that "they [the Jews] gave after their ability into the treasury of the work threescore and one thousand darics [RV] of gold, and five thousand pounds of silver." The term here rendered "daric" is *darkᵉmōnīm,* and this word is used in three passages in Neh (**7** 70–72), and *'ădharkōnīm* occurs in 1 Ch **29** 7 and Ezr **8** 27. Both are of the same origin as the Gr *drachma,* probably, though some derive both from Darius (a Phoen inscription from the Piraeus tells us that *darkᵉmōn* corresponds to *drachma*). At all events they refer to the gold coins which we know as darics. The weight of the daric was 130 grains, though double darics were struck.

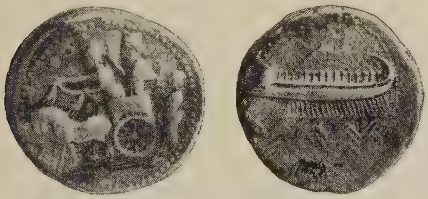
Besides the gold daric there was a silver coin circulating in Persia that must have been known to the Jews. This was the *síglos* (σίγλος), supposed to be referred to in Neh **5** 15, where it is trᵈ "shekel." These were the so-called silver darics, 20 of which were equivalent to the gold daric. Besides these Persian coins the Jews must have used others derived from their intercourse with the Phoen cities, which were allowed to strike coins under the suzerainty of the Persians. These coins were of both silver and bronze, the suzerain not permitting them to coin gold. We have abundant examples of these coins and trade must have made them familiar to the Jews.

The issues of Aradus, Sidon and Tyre were esp. noteworthy, and were of various types and sizes suited to the commercial transactions of the Phoenicians. The Tyrian traders were established in Jerus as early as the time of Nehemiah (**13** 16), and their coins date back to about that period. Among the finest specimens we have of early coinage are the tetradrachms of Tyre and the double shekels or staters of Sidon. The latter represent the Pers king, on the obverse, as he rides in his chariot, driven by his charioteer and followed by an attendant. On the reverse is a Phoen galley. The weight of these coins is from 380 to 430 grains, and they are assigned to the 4th and 5th cents. BC. From Tyre we have a tetradrachm which corresponds to the shekel of the Phoen standard of about 220 grains, which represents, on the obverse, the god Melkarth, the Tyrian Hercules, riding on a sea-horse, and, beneath, a dolphin. The reverse bears an owl with the Egyp crook and a flail, symbols of Osiris. The early coins of Aradus bear, on the obverse, the head of Baal or Dagon, and on the reverse a galley, above which is the legend M.A. 𐤌𐤀 in Phoen letters followed by a date. The legend signifies "Melek Aradus," i.e. "king of Aradus."



Coin of Aradus.

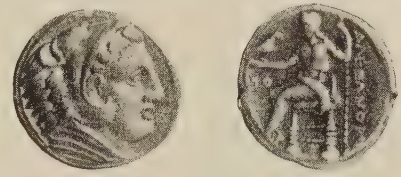
Ob.: Head of Dagon.
Rev.: Phoenician galley and above 𐤌𐤀 with a numeral for date.



Coin of Sidon.

Ob.: King in his chariot with charioteer.
Rev.: Phoenician galley.

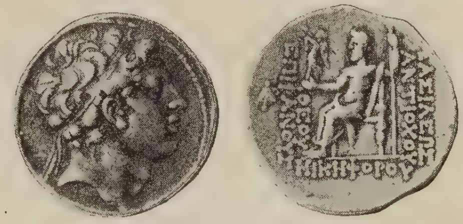
When Alexander overthrew the Pers empire in 331 BC, a new coinage, on the Attic standard, was introduced, and the silver drachms and tetradrachms struck by him circulated in large numbers, as is attested by the large number of examples still in existence. After his death, these coins, the tetradrachms esp., continued to be struck in the provinces, with his name and type, in his honor. We have examples of these struck at Aradus, Tyre, Sidon, Damascus and Acre, bearing the mint marks of these towns. They bear on the obverse the head of Alexander as Hercules, and, on the reverse, Zeus seated on his throne holding an eagle in the extended right hand and a scepter in the left. The legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, *BASILEŌS ALEXANDROU,* or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, *ALEXANDROU,* only, with various symbols of the towns or districts where they were struck, together with mint marks.



Coin of Alexander Struck at Accho (Ptolemais).

Rev. has Zeus on his throne with mint mark 𐤊𐤏 for Accho.

The successors of Alexander established kingdoms with a coinage of their own, such as the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Seleucids in Syria, and these coins, as well as those of Alexander, circulated among the Jews. The Ptolemies of Egypt controlled Pal for about a century after Alexander, and struck coins, not only in Egypt, but in some of the Phoen towns, esp. at Acre, which was, from that time, known as Ptolemais. Their coins were based upon the Phoen standard. But the Seleucid kings of Syria had the most influence in Phoenicia and Pal, and their monetary issues are very various and widely distributed, bearing the names and types of the kings, and the symbols and mint marks of the different towns where they were struck, and are on the Alexandrine or Attic standard in contrast to those of the Ptolemies. They are both silver and bronze, gold being struck in the capital, Antioch, usually. The coins of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, are esp. interesting on account of his connection with Jewish affairs. It was he who made the futile attempt to hellenize the Jews, which led to the revolt that resulted, under his successors,



Coin of Antiochus IV of Syria.

Ob.: Head of Antiochus diademed.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ; Zeus seated on his throne holding victory in his right hand and a scepter in his left.

in the independence of the country of Syrian control, and the institution of a native coinage in the time of the Maccabees.

The struggle caused by the persecution of Antiochus commenced in 165 BC and continued more than 20 years. Judas, the son of Mattathias, defeated Antiochus, who died in 164, but the war was continued by his successors until dynastic dissensions among them led to treaties with the Jews to gain their support. At last Simon, who espoused the cause of Demetrius II, obtained from him, as a reward, the right to rule Judaea under the title of high priest, with practical independence, 142–143 BC. Later Antiochus VII, his successor, confirmed Simon in his position and added some privileges, and among them the right to coin money (138–139 BC). Both silver and bronze coins exist ascribed to Simon, but some numismatists have recently doubted this, and have assigned them to another Simon in the time of the first revolt of the Jews under the Romans. The coins in question are the shekels and half-shekels with the legends, in Heb, *sheḳel yisrā'ēl* and *yᵉrūshālēm ḳᵉdhōshāh* ("Jerusalem the holy"), bearing dates ranging from the 1st to the 5th year, as well as bronze pieces of the 4th (see illustrations).

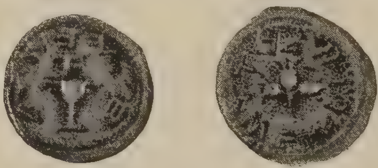
Coin of Ptolemy Soter.

Rev. (ΠΤΟΛΕ)ΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ around the margin. Eagle standing. To the left mint mark ╥ (Ptolemais).

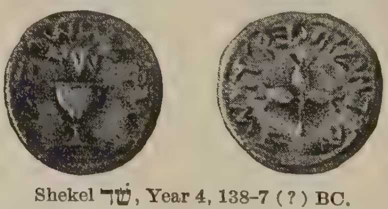
The reason for denying the ascription of these coins to Simon the Maccabee is the difficulty in finding room for the years indicated in his reign which closed in 135 BC. He received the commission to coin in 139–138, which would allow only 4 years for his coinage, whereas we have coins of the 5th year. Moreover, no shekels and half-shekels of any of the Maccabees later than Simon have come to light, which is, at least, singular since we should have supposed that all would have coined them as long as they remained independent, esp. since they coined in bronze, examples of the latter being quite abundant. The fact also that they bore the title of king, while Simon was high priest only, would seem to have furnished an additional reason for claiming the prerogative of coinage in silver as well as bronze. But this argument is negative only, and such coins may have existed but have not come to light, and there are reasons which seem to the present writer sufficient to assign them to Simon the Maccabee. In the first place, the chronological difficulty is removed if we consider that Simon was practically independent for three or four years before he obtained the explicit commission to coin money. We learn from Jos (*Ant*, XIII, vi, 7) and from 1 Macc (**13** 41.42) that in the 170th year of the Seleucid era, that is, 143–142 BC, the Jews began to use the era of Simon in their contracts and public records. Now it would not have been strange if Simon, seeing the anarchy that prevailed in the kingdom of Syria, should have assumed some prerogatives of an independent ruler before they were distinctly granted to him, and among them that of coining money. If he had commenced in the latter part of 139 BC, he would have been able to strike coins of the 5th year before he died, and this would satisfy the conditions (see Madden's *Jewish Coinage*). There is a difficulty quite as great in attributing these coins to Simon of the first revolt under the Romans. That broke out in 66 AD, and was suppressed by the taking of Jerus in 70. This would allow a date of the 5th year, but it is hardly supposable that in the terrible distress and anarchy that prevailed in the city during that last year any silver coins would have been struck. There is another fact bearing upon this question which is worthy of notice. The coins of the first revolt bear personal appellations, such as "Eleazar the priest," and "Simon," while those assigned to Simon the Maccabee bear no personal designation whatever. This is significant, for it is not likely that Eleazar and Simon would have commenced coining silver shekels and half-shekels with their names inscribed upon them in the 1st year of their reign and then have omitted them on later issues. Another point which has some force is this: We find mention, in the NT, of money-changers in connection with the temple, whose business it was to change the current coin, which was Rom or Gr, and bore heathen types and legends, for Jewish coins, which the strict Pharisaic rules then in force required from worshippers paying money into the temple treasury. It is inferred that they could furnish the shekels and half-shekels required for the yearly dues from every adult male (cf Mt **17** 24–27). Now the only shekels and half-shekels bearing Jewish emblems and legends, at that time, must have been those issued by the Maccabean princes, that is, such as we have under discussion. In view of these facts the Maccabean origin of these pieces seems probable.

The shekels under discussion have on one side a cup, or chalice (supposed to represent the pot of manna), with the legend in Heb around the margin, שׁקל ישׂראל, *sheḳel yisrā'ēl*, with a letter above the cup indicating the year of the reign. The reverse bears the sprig of a plant (conjectured to be Aaron's rod) having three buds or fruits, and on the margin the legend, ירושׁלים הקדשׁה, *yᵉrūshālēm ha-ḳᵉdhōshāh*, "Jerusalem the holy." The half-shekel has the same type, but the reverse bears the legend, חצי שׁקל, *ḥăçī sheḳel* (half-shekel). The letters indicating the year have a שׁ (*shᵉnath*, "year") prefixed, except for the first. This also omits the ו from *ḳᵉdhōshāh* and the second י from *yᵉrūshālēm*. The term "holy" for Jerus is found in Isa **48** 2 and other passages of the OT, and is still preserved in the Arab. *ḳudus* by which the city is known today in Syria.

שׁב, Year 3.



Half-Shekel א, Year 1, 141 (?) BC.

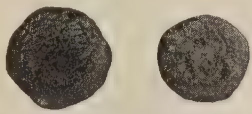


Shekel שׁד, Year 4, 138–7 (?) BC.

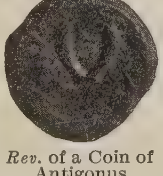
Copper, or bronze, half- and quarter-shekels are also attributed to Simon, bearing date of the 4th year. The obverse of the half-shekel has two bundles of thick-leaved branches with a citron between, and on the reverse a palm tree with two baskets filled with fruit. The legend on the obverse is שׁנת ארבע חצי, *shᵉnath 'arba' ḥăçī*, "the fourth year a half,” and on the reverse, לגאלת ציון, *li-gh*^{e}*-’ullath çīyōn*, “the redemption of Zion.” The quarter-shekel has a similar type, except that the obverse lacks the baskets and the reverse has the citron only. The legend has רביע, *r*^{e}*bhī*$^{a‘}$, “quarter,” instead of “half.” Another type is a cup with a margin of jewels on the obverse and a single bunch of branches with two citrons on the reverse.

The palm is a very common type on the coins of Judaea and a very appropriate one, since it is grown there. Jericho was called the city of palms. The branches of trees in bundles illustrate the custom of carrying branches at the Feast of Tabernacles and the erection of booths made of branches for use during this feast (see Lev **23** 40). The baskets of fruit may refer to the offerings of first-fruits (Dt **26** 2). One of the above series of coins published by Madden bears the countermark of an elephant, which was a symbol adopted by the Seleucid kings, and this is an evidence of its early date. But whatever doubts there may be as to the coins of Simon, there can be none as to those of his successor, John Hyrcanus, who reigned 135–106 BC, since they bear his name. They are all of bronze and bear the following legend with a great number of variations, יהוחנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים, “Johanan the high priest and senate of the Jews.” The reverse has a two-branched cornucopia with a poppy head rising from the center. There is some doubt as to the meaning of the word *hebher* (חבר) in the above. It is commonly rendered “senate,” taking it in the sense it seems to bear in Hos **6** 9, “a company” or “band,” here the company of elders representing the people. Judas Aristobulus (106–105 BC) issued similar coins with Heb legends, but with the accession of Alexander Jannaeus (105–78 BC) we find bilingual inscriptions on the coins, Heb and Gr. The obverse bears the words יהונתן המלך, *y*^{e}*hōnāthān ha-melekh*, “Jehonathan the king,” and the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, *BASILEŌS ALEXANDROU*, “King Alexander.” Most of his coins, however, bear Heb inscriptions only. All are of copper or bronze, like those of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and are of the denomination known to us in the NT as “mites,” weighing from 25 to 35 grains.

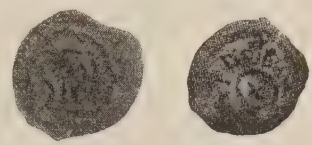
One-fourth Shekel but without *rebia*.


Mite of John Hyrcanus.

When the Romans took possession of Pal in 63 BC, the independent rule of the Hasmoneans came to an end, but Pompey confirmed John Hyrcanus as governor of Judaea under the title of high priest. Dissensions between him and other members of his family called for interference several times on the part of the Romans. Hyrcanus was again confirmed by Julius Caesar in 47 and continued in authority until 40. It is uncertain what coins he issued, but whatever they were, they bore the type found on those of Alexander Jannaeus. In 40 BC, the Parthians temporarily overthrew the Rom authority in Syria and Pal, and set Antigonus on the throne of the latter, and he reigned until 37. The coins he issued bore bilingual inscriptions like the bilinguals of Alexander. He calls himself Antigonus in Gr, and Mattathias in Heb, the type being a wreath on the obverse and a double cornucopia on the reverse, though some have it single. They are much heavier coins than the preceding issues. The legends are: obverse, ΒΑϹΙΛΕωϹ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ, *BASILEŌS ANTIGONOU*, “of King Antigonus”; reverse מתתיה הכהן גדל היה(ודים), *mattithyāh ha-kōhēn gādhōl ha-y*^{e}*h(ūdhīm)*, “Mattathias the high priest of the Jews.”

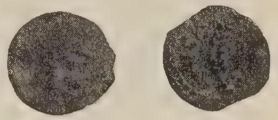

Rev. of a Coin of Antigonus (Bronze).

The Hasmonean dynasty ended with Antigonus and that of the Herods followed. Herod the Great was the first to attain the title of king, and his coins are numerous and bear only Gr legends and are all of bronze. The earliest have the type of a helmet with cheek pieces on the obverse and the legend: ΒΑϹΙΛΕωϹ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ, *BASILEŌS HRŌDOU*, and in the field to the left Γ (year 3), and on the right the monogram ⳨. The reverse has a Macedonian shield with rays. The coin here illustrated is another type: a rude tripod on the obverse, and a cross within a wreath on the reverse, the legend being the same as given above.

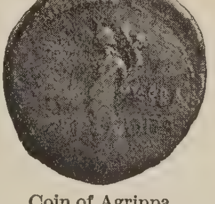

Coin of the Herods.

Herod Archelaus, who reigned from 4 BC to 6 AD, issued coins with the title of ethnarch, the only coins of Pal to bear this title. They are all of small size and some of them have the type of a galley, indicating his sovereignty over some of the coast cities, such as Caesarea and Joppa.

The coins of Herod Antipas (4 BC–40 AD) bear the title of tetrarch, many of them being struck at Tiberias, which he founded on the Sea of Galilee and named after the emperor Tiberius. The following is an example: obverse ΗΡ. ΤΕΤΡ(ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΥ), *HĒR. TETR(HĒRŌDOU TETRACHOU)*, with the type of a palm branch; reverse, ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑϹ, *TIBERIAS*, within a wreath. Others have a palm tree entire with the date ΛΓ and ΛΔ: 33 and 34 of his reign, 29–30 AD. There are coins of Herod Philip, 4 BC–34 AD, though somewhat rare, but those of Agrippa, 37–44 AD, are numerous, considering the shortness of his reign. The most common type is a small coin (“mite”) with an umbrella having a tassel-like border, on the obverse, and three ears of wheat on one stalk on the reverse. The legend reads: *Basileōs Agrippa*, and the date is LS (year 6). Larger coins of Agrippa bear the head of the emperor (Caligula or Claudius) with the title of *Sebastós* (Augustus) in Gr.

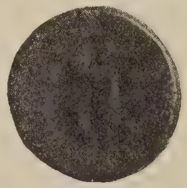

Amicus Rufus, 13–14 AD.

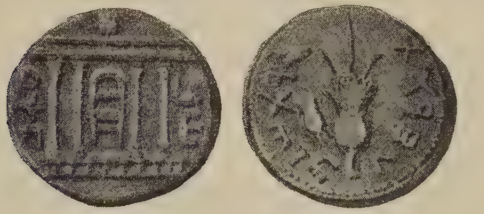
Agrippa II was the last of the Herodian line to strike coins (48–100 AD). They were issued under Nero, whose head they sometimes bear with his name as well as that of Agrippa. They are all of the denomination of the mite (*leptón*).


Coin of Agrippa.

In 6 AD, Judaea was made a Rom province and was governed by procurators, and their coins are numerous, being issued during the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius and Nero. They are all small and bear on the obverse the legends: ΚΑΙCAPOC (Caesar), or ΙΟΥΛΙΑ (Julia), or the emperor's name joined with Caesar. The coins of the Jews struck during the first and second revolts, 66–70 AD, and 132–135 AD, have already been alluded to with the difficulty of distinguishing them, and some have been described. They all have the types common to the purely Jewish issues; the date palm, the vine, bunches of fruit, the laurel or olive wreath, the cup or chalice, the lyre and a temple with columns. Types of animals or men they regarded as forbidden by their law. Most of them are bronze, but some are silver shekels and half-shekels, dated in the 1st, 2d and 3d years, if we assign those of higher date to Simon the Maccabee. Those of the 1st year bear the name of Eleazar the priest, on the obverse, and on the reverse the date "first year of the redemption of Israel," שְׁנַת אחת לגאלת יִשְׂרָאֵל, *she-nath 'aḥath li-ghe'ullath yisrā'ēl.* Others bear the name of Simon and some that of "Simon *Nesī'* Israel" ("Simon Prince of Israel"). The coins of the 2d and 3d years are rare. They have the type of the cup and vine leaf, or temple and *lulabh.* Those supposed to belong to the second revolt bear the name of Simon without *Nesī'* Israel, and are therefore assigned to Simon Bar-Cochba. The example here given has the type of the temple on the obverse with what is thought to be a representation of the "beautiful gate," between the columns, and a star above. The name Simon is on the margin, the first two letters on the right of the temple and the others on the left. The legend of the reverse is: לחרות ירושלם, *leḥērūth yerūshālēm* ("the deliverance of Jerus").

Chalkous of Pontius Pilate, 26–36 AD.


Roman Coin Commemorating Victory over the Jews.


Shekel, Simon Bar-Cochba.

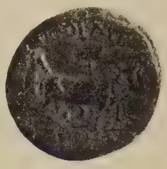
Denarius of Tiberius.
"Penny" AV, "Shilling" RV.

Some of the coins struck by the Romans to commemorate their victory over the Jews were struck in Pal and some at Rome, and all bear the head of the Rom emperor on the obverse, but the reverse often exhibits Judaea as a weeping captive woman, seated at the foot of a palm tree or of a Rom standard bearing a trophy. The legend is sometimes *Judaea capta* and sometimes *Judaea devicta.* The example given has the inscription in Gr: ΙΟΥΔΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ, *IOUDIAS EALŌKUIAS, Judaea capta.*

There are coins of Agrippa II (the "king Agrippa" of Acts **25, 26**), struck in the reign of Vespasian, with his name and title on the obverse and with a deity on the reverse, holding ears of wheat in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left. The inscription reads:

ΕΤΟΥ ΚϚΒΑ *ETOU KSBA*
ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ *AGRI PPA*

(year 26, King Agrippa) in two lines.


Rev. of a Coin of Aelia Capitolina.
Type: a colonist driving a yoke of oxen; Roman standard behind.

After the revolt of Bar-Cochba and the final subjugation of the Jews by Hadrian, Jerus was made a Rom colony and the name was changed to Aelia Capitolina. A series of coins was struck, having this title, which continued until the reign of Valerianus, 253–260 AD. These coins were all of copper or bronze, but silver pieces were in circulation, struck at Rome or at some of the more favored towns in Syria, such as Antioch. These were denarii and tetradrachms, the former being about one-fourth the weight of the latter which were known as staters (Mt **17** 27). The piece referred to was the amount of tribute for two persons, and as the amount paid by one was the half-shekel (ver 24), this piece must have been the equivalent of the shekel or tetradrachm. H. Porter

Coin of Tyre.
Ob.: Melkarth on a sea-horse. *Rev.:* The owl and flail.

Tetradrachm of Augustus Struck at Antioch (RV *Stater*).

MONEY-CHANGERS, chān'jẽrs (**κολλυβιστής,** *kollubistḗs,* from **κόλλυβος,** *kóllubos,* "a small coin," so "a money-changer," or "banker" [Mt **21** 12; Mk **11** 15; "changers" in Jn **2** 15; cf ver 14, where **κερματιστής,** *kermatistḗs,* "a dealer in small bits," or "change," is also rendered "changers"]; cf **τραπεζίτης,** *trapezítēs,* "one who sits at a table," "a money-changer," "a banker" or "broker"; one who both exchanges money for a small fee and pays interest on deposits [Mt **25** 27, AV "exchangers," ARV "bankers"]): The profession of money-changer in Pal was made necessary by the law requiring every male Israelite who had reached the age of 20 years to pay into the treasury of the sanctuary a half-shekel at every numbering of the people, an offering to Jeh, not even the poor being exempt. It seems to have become an annual tax, and was to be paid in the regular Jewish half-shekel (Ex **30** 11–15). Since the Jews, coming up to the feasts, would need to exchange the various coins in common circulation for this Jewish piece, there were money-changers who exacted a premium for the exchange. This fee was a *kollubos* (about 31 cents in U.S. money), hence the name *kollubistēs*. The Jews of Christ's day came from many parts of the world, and the business of exchanging foreign coins for various purposes became a lucrative one, the exchangers exacting whatever fee they might. Because of their greed and impiety, Jesus drove them from the courts of the temple.

EDWARD BAGBY POLLARD

MONEY, CURRENT, kur′ent (עֹבֵר, *‘ōbhēr*, "passing," Gen **23** 16; 2 K **12** 4 [Heb 5]): The text and tr in 2 K **12** 4 are uncertain and difficult. See RVm. The reference is probably not to a money standard, but to a poll tax which was levied in addition to the free-will offering. Gen **23** 16 implies the existence of a standard shekel and also probably the use of the precious metals in stamped bars or ingots of an approximately fixed weight or value, a primitive coinage. CH presupposes these pieces, and records in cuneiform writing discovered in Cappadocia indicate that shekel pieces with a seal stamp were in use in Asia Minor in the time of Ḥammurabi (Sayce, *Contemporary Review*, August, 1907, XCII, 259 ff). The existence of these pieces did not do away with the custom of weighing money, a practice which obtained in Israel down to the time of the exile (Jer **32** 10)

WALTER R. BETTERIDGE

MONEY, LOVE OF (**φιλαργυρία**, *philarguría*, 1 Tim **6** 10, lit. "love of silver"; cf corresponding "lovers of money" [Lk **16** 14; 2 Tim **3** 2], equivalent to "avarice"): The vice that seeks to retain and hoard all that is acquired (Trench, *Synonymes of the NT*, xxiv); described as "a root of all kinds of evil." See also COVETOUSNESS.

MONEY, SIN. See SIN MONEY; SIN OFFERING.

MONSTER, mon′stẽr. See DRAGON; SEA MONSTER.

MONTH, munth (חֹדֶשׁ, *ḥōdhesh*, יֶרַח, *yeraḥ*; **μήν**, *mḗn*): *Ḥōdhesh* is strictly the "new moon," the appearance of which marked the beginning of the month, commonly indicated by *rō'sh ha-ḥōdhesh*. *Yeraḥ* is derived from *yārēᵃḥ*, "moon," which comes from the vb. that means "to wander," "to make a circuit." Thus the month was lunar, the period of the moon's circuit. The Gr *mēn* also meant "moon," from the Sanskrit *ma*, "to measure," the Lat *mensis* and our "moon" being derived from the same root (see CALENDAR; TIME; ASTRONOMY).

Ḥōdhesh, or rather *rō'sh ha-ḥōdhesh*, was observed as a festival (1 S **20** 5.18.24; Isa **1** 14).

H. PORTER

MONTHLY, PROGNOSTICATORS, prog-nos′ti-kā-tẽrz. See ASTROLOGY, I, 6.

MONUMENT, mon′ū̇-ment (Isa **65** 4 AV). See VAULT.

MOOLI, mō′ȱ-lī (A, **Μοολί**, *Moolí*, B, **Μοολεί**, *Mooleí*; AV **Moli**): Son of Merari and grandson of Levi (1 Esd **8** 47) = "Mahli" in Ezr **8** 18 (see Ex **6** 16.19).

MOON, mōōn (יָרֵחַ, *yārēᵃḥ*; meaning obscure —probably "wanderer"; by some given as "paleness"; **σελήνη**, *selḗnē*): The moon was very early worshipped by the nations of the Far East as a divinity or the representative of one or more deities. These deities were both masculine and feminine. In Assyria and Babylonia the most common name for the moon-god was Sin or Sen. In Babylonia he was also called Aku and Nannara. In Egypt the moon was representative of several deities, all masculine. The chief of these was Thoth the god of knowledge, so called because the moon was the measurer of time. Babylonia has, also, Aa, the goddess of the moon, as the consort of the sun, while her equivalent was known in Phoenicia as Ashtaroth-karnaim. This personification and worship of the moon among the nations who were neighbors to Pal was but part of an elaborate Nature-worship found among these people. Nor was this worship always separated from Pal by geographical lines. It crept into the thought and customs of the Hebrews and in a sense affected their religious conceptions and ceremonies. They fell into the habit of making direct homage to sun, moon and stars, as is evidenced by Job **31** 26.27; Jer **44** 17, and even Isa **3** 18 (see CRESCENTS). Moses seems to have forewarned his people against the danger of this form of worship (Dt **4** 19).

The actual worship of the moon and the idolatry consequent thereon seems to have touched the Hebrews, though this is disputed by some. It would seem difficult to explain 2 K **21** 3 upon any other supposition, and in 2 K **23** 4.5 we have a clear statement that Josiah put down the worship of the moon among the people and silenced the priests of this form of worship.

Certain forms of the adoration of the moon, or superstitious fear of baneful influences as coming from the moon, still abound in some sections of the world. In fact in nearly all sections modified forms of old superstitions still hold sway and yield but slowly to scientific knowledge.

The eclipses of the moon were naturally given a religious significance inasmuch as the Heb knowledge of them did not rise much above awe and wonder (Isa **13** 10; Joel **2** 31; Mt **24** 29; Mk **13** 24). Other passages causing interference with the constancy of the moon to foreshadow great events can be found in Jer **13** 16; Ezk **32** 7.8; Rev **8** 12. An interesting passage and most difficult of interpretation is Rev **12** 1. It is frequently interpreted as a revelation in symbolism of the glory of the church clothed with the light and radiating the truth of God. See also ASTRONOMY; ASTROLOGY.

C. E. SCHENK

MOON, NEW. See ASTROLOGY, I, 6; ASTRONOMY, I, 3, (1); FASTS AND FEASTS.

MOOSSIAS, mȱ-os′i-as (B, **Μοοσσείας**, *Mooseías*, A, **Μοός Σίας**, *Moós Sías*; AV **Moosias**, mō-ȱ-sī′as): One of those who had taken a "strange wife" (1 Esd **9** 31) = "Maaseiah" in Ezr **10** 30.

MOPH, mof. See MEMPHIS.

MORALITY, mȱ-ral′i-ti. See ETHICS.

MORASHTITE, mȱ-rash′tīt (הַמּוֹרַשְׁתִּי, *ha-mōrashtī*; AV **Morasthite**, mȱ-ras′thīt): Gentilic designation of the prophet Micah (Jer **26** 18; Mic **1** 1). See also MORESHETH-GATH.

MORDECAI, môr′dė̄-kī, môr-dė̄-kā′ī (מָרְדֳּכַי, *mordᵉkhay*; **Μαρδοχαῖος**, *Mardochaíos*): An Israelite of the tribe of Benjamin, whose fate it has been to occupy a distinguished place in the annals of his people. His great-grandfather, Kish, had been carried to Babylon along with Jeconiah, king of Judah (Est **2** 5–6). For nearly 60 years before the scenes narrated in Est, in which Mordecai was greatly concerned, took place, the way to Pal had been open to the Israelites; but neither his father, Jair, nor afterward himself chose to return to the ancient heritage. This seems to have been the case also with the rest of his house, as it was with the vast majority of the Israelitish people; for his uncle died in Persia leaving his motherless daughter, Hadassah, to the care of Mordecai. Employed in the royal palace at Susa, he attracted, through the timely discovery of a plot to assassinate the king, the favorable notice of Xerxes, and in a short time became the grand vizier of the Pers empire. He has been believed by many to have been the author of the Book of Est; and in the earliest known notice of the Feast of Purim, outside of the book just mentioned, that festival is closely associated with his name. It is called "the day of Mordecai" (2 Macc **15** 36). The apocryphal additions to Est expatiate upon his greatness, and are eloquent of the deep impression which his personality and power had made upon the Jewish people. Lord Arthur Hervey has suggested the identification of Mordecai with Matacas, or Natacas, the powerful favorite and minister of Xerxes who is spoken of by Ctesias, the Gr historian. Few have done more to earn a nation's lasting gratitude than Mordecai, to whom, under God, the Jewish people owe their preservation. John Urquhart

MOREH, mō′re, **HILL OF** (גִּבְעַת הַמּוֹרֶה, *gibh'ath ha-mōreh,* "hill of the teacher"; B, **Γαβααθαμωρά,** *Gabaathamōrá,* A, **τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ 'Αβώρ,** *toú bōmoú toú Abôr*): The Heb *mōreh* is derived from the vb. *yārāh,* "to teach," "to direct," and indicates one who directs, or gives oracular answers. We might therefore read "hill of the teacher," the height being associated with such a person who had his seat here. The hill is named only in describing the position of the Midianites before Gideon's attack (Jgs **7** 1). If the identification of the Well of Harod with *'Ain Jalūd* is correct, Gideon must have occupied the slopes to the E. of Jezreel. The Midianite camp was in the valley of Jezreel (**6** 33). The Heb text in **7** 1, which has probably suffered some corruption, seems to mean that the Midianites lay N. of the position held by Gideon, their lines running from the hill of Moreh in the plain. The hill can hardly have been other than *Jebel ed-Duḥy,* often called Little Hermon, which rises boldly from the northern edge of the vale of Jezreel, with Shunem (*Sōlam*) lying at its western foot. Moore ("Judges," *ICC,* 200) would lay the scene in the neighborhood of Shechem, but there is no good reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition which places it at the eastern end of the plain of Esdraelon. W. Ewing

MOREH, OAK OF (אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה, *'ēlōn mōreh,* "terebinth of the teacher"; **τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὑψηλήν,** *tḗn drún tḗn hupsēlḗn;* AV **Plain of Moreh**): It seems probable that the place here intended may be the same as that mentioned in Dt **11** 30 (*'ēlōnē mōreh,* "terebinths of Moreh," AV "plains," RV "oaks," RVm "terebinths"). Both are defined as near to Shechem. The position cannot be identified today. The tree or trees were evidently a place of resort for those who wished to consult a *mōreh.* See Moreh, Hill of. To this day in Pal trees are often regarded with a certain religious awe as the habitation of spirits. Isolated terebinths receive much veneration. The present writer has often seen such trees with multitudinous rags of all colors attached to them by the peasantry as evidence of their homage. See Meonenim.

W. Ewing

MORESHETH-GATH, mō′resh-eth-gath, mō̇-resh′eth-gath (מוֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת, *mōresheth gath,* "inheritance or possession of Gath"; LXX **κληρονομίας Γέθ,** *klēronomías Géth*): A place mentioned only in Mic **1** 14. It must have been in the vicinity of Gath as the meaning of the name would indicate, and was the home of the prophet Micah (Mic **1** 1; Jer **26** 18). It was probably in the vicinity of Mareshah (Mic **1** 15). Jerome, in his preface to his work on Micah, places it a little to the E. of Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrîn*), and it would be natural to find it there if the latter place was Gath as some think. Robinson (*BR,* II, 68) found ruins of a village between one and two miles E. of *Beit Jibrîn.* It must have been among the foot-hills of Judah between the hill country and the Phili plain on the route from Jerus to Lachish, Gaza and Egypt. Mareshah was certainly in that region, and the prophecy of Micah mentions towns and villages in the Shephelah and the Phili country as though they were familiar to him (see *HGHL* and G. A. Smith, "Micah," in his *Minor Prophets*).

H. Porter

MORIAH, mō̇-rī′a, **LAND OF** (אֶרֶץ הַמֹּרִיָּה, *'ereç ha-mōrīyāh;* **εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλήν,** *eis tḗn gḗn tḗn hupsēlḗn*): Abraham was directed by God to take his son Isaac, to go into the land of Moriah, and there to offer him for a burnt offering (Gen **22** 2) upon a mountain which God would show him. This land is mentioned only here, and there is little to guide us in trying to identify it. A late writer (2 Ch **3** 1) applies the name of Moriah to the mount on which Solomon's Temple was built, possibly associating it with the sacrifice of Isaac. A similar association with this mountain may have been in the mind of the writer of Gen **22** (see ver 14), who, of course, wrote long after the events described (Driver). But in ver 2 no special mountain is indicated.

Abraham journeyed from the land of the Philis, and on the 3d day he saw the place afar off (ver 4). Moriah at Jerus can be distinctly seen from the old caravan road about 9 miles on the way to Hebron, and again from a hill just north of Hebron. Moreover from the place 9 miles distant, it is Moriah that is visible and not the greater mount, now called Zion. The Mosque of Omar, the Temple site, is clearly seen.

Instead of "Moriah" in this passage Pesh reads "Amorites." This suggests a possible emendation of the text, which, if it be accepted, furnishes a more definite idea of the land within which that memorable scene was enacted. Both Jerus and Gerizim, however, lay within the boundaries of the land of the Amorites. No doubt the enmity existing between the Jews and the Samaritans led them each to glorify their own holy places to the detriment of those of their rivals. Little stress can therefore be laid upon their identifications. With our present knowledge we must be content to leave the question open. Revised by M. G. K. W. Ewing

MORNING, môr′ning: There are several Heb and Gr words which are rendered "morning," the most common in Heb being בֹּקֶר, *bōḳer,* which occurs 180 t. It properly means "the breaking forth of the light," "the dawn," as in Gen **19** 27; Jgs **19** 8.25.27. Another word with the same meaning is שַׁחַר, *shaḥar* (Gen **19** 15; Neh **4** 21; Isa **58** 8). מִשְׁחַר, *mishḥar* ("womb of the m.," Ps **110** 3) is a poetical term derived from the same root. See Hind of the Morning. נֹגַהּ, *nōghah,* נַגְהָא, *naghhā'* (Dnl **6** 19 [Heb 20]), mean "brightness." הַשְׁכֵּם, *hashkēm,* comes from הִשְׁכִּים, *hishkīm,* "to load an animal" (for a journey), and as the nomads are accustomed to do this early in the morning it came to mean early morning (1 S **17** 16). See Betimes.

In the NT ὄρθρος, *órthros,* is properly "dawn," and is used for early morning (Jn **8** 2; Acts **5** 21), and πρωΐα, *prōḯa*, signifies the same (Mt **27** 1). πρωΐ, *prōḯ*, "early," is an advb. and means early in the m. (Mk **1** 35). M. as an adj. is ὀρθρινός, *orthrinós* (Rev **22** 16), or πρωϊνός, *prōïnós* (1 Esd **1** 11; **5** 50; Rev **2** 28; **22** 16). H. Porter

MORNING WATCH (אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר, *'ashmōreth ha-bōḳer* [Ex **14** 24; 1 S **11** 11]; in Jth **12** 5 for *heōthinḗ phulakḗ;* cf Sir **55** 6; 1 Macc **5** 30): The last portion of the night (see Watch).

MORNING, WINGS OF. See Astronomy, I, 4.

MORROW, mor'ō, **TOMORROW,** tŏŏ-mor'ō: Two words are used in the OT in this meaning: בֹּקֶר, *bōḳer*, which properly means "dawn," or "morning," and מָחָר, *māḥār*, properly the same, but used for the next morning and hence "tomorrow," like the Ger. *morgen.* The derivative מָחֳרָת, *moḥŏrāth*, is "the following day," "all the next day," esp. after *yōm* ("day"), but usually coupled with a noun following, as in Lev **23** 11, *moḥŏrāth ha-shabbāth*, "day after the Sabbath." It is also used adverbially for "on the morrow," as in Gen **19** 34.

In the Gr of the NT we find αὔριον, *aúrion* (Mt **6** 34, etc), commonly used, but ἑξῆς, *hexḗs*, also occurs (Acts **25** 17 AV, where RV renders more exactly "the next day"); ἐπαύριον, *epaúrion*, is "on the morrow" (Acts **10** 9.23.24). H. Porter

MORROW AFTER THE SABBATH (מָחֳרָת, *moḥŏrāth*, or מָחֳרָתָם, *moḥŏrāthām*, "the morrow," or "tomorrow," "the day following"; מָחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, *moḥŏrath ha-shabbāth*, "the day after the Sabbath," i.e. the first day of the week): The first day of the week was designated for the formal offering of the first-fruits in the form of wave-sheaves (Lev **23** 11), and of the wave-loaves 50 days later (Lev **23** 16.17). This recognition of an after-Sabbath during festive periods has its counterpart in the later ecclesiastical practice of celebrating not only Easter Sunday, but also Easter Monday, etc, and undoubtedly was a factor in establishing the custom which transferred the sanctity of the Sabbath to the first day of the week after the resurrection of Our Lord. Frank E. Hirsch

MORSEL, môr'sel (βρῶσις, *brōsis*): Found only in He **12** 16 AV, "For one morsel of meat [RV "mess of meat"] sold his birthright," lit. "for one eating," i.e. one meal. The Great Bible (Cranmer's) has "for one mease of meat."

MORTAL, môr'tal, **MORTALITY,** mor-tal'i-ti (θνητός, *thnētós*, τὸ θνητόν, *tó thnētón*): The meaning is "subject to death" (Rom **6** 12; **8** 11; 1 Cor **15** 53.54; in 2 Cor **5** 4 RV has "what is mortal"). In Job **4** 17, the Heb word is *'ĕnōsh*, "mortal man." See Immortal.

MORTAR, môr'tẽr (מְדֹכָה, *m^edhōkhāh* [Nu **11** 8], מַכְתֵּשׁ, *makhtēsh* [Prov **27** 22]): A hollowed stone or vessel in which grain or other substance was pounded or beaten with a pestle. The Israelites used a mortar in which to beat the manna in the wilderness (Nu **11** 8), and Prov **27** 22 declares, "Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar with a pestle . . . . yet will not his foolishness depart from him," i.e. it is inherent and ineradicable. Some have supposed an allusion to an oriental mode of punishment by pounding the criminal to death in a mortar, but this is unlikely. In illustration of Prov **27** 22 such proverbs are quoted as "Though you beat that loose woman in a mortar, she will not leave her ways." See also Bray. For "mortar" (AV "morter") see Bitumen. James Orr

MORTGAGE, môr'gāj (עָרַב, *'ārabh*): To give or be security as a part of bartering, give pledges, become surety. In time of great need for food, "Some also there were that said, We are mortgaging [AV "have mortgaged"] our fields," etc (Neh **5** 3). See Surety.

MORTIFY, môr'ti-fī (Rom **8** 13 AV and ERV, θανατόω, *thanatóō*, ERVm "make to die," and Col **3** 5, νεκρόω, *nekróō*, ERVm "make dead"): This sense of mortify is obsolete in modern Eng., and ARV in both places substitutes "put to death," with great advantage. The context in both passages goes to the heart of St. Paul's doctrine of the union of the believer with Christ. This union has given the soul a new life, flowing (through the Spirit) from Christ in the heavenly world, so that the remnants of the old corrupt life-principle are now dangerous excrescences. Hence they are to be destroyed, just as a surgeon removes the remnants of a diseased condition after the reëstablishment of healthy circulation. The interpreter must guard against weakening St. Paul's language into some such phrase as "subdue all that is inconsistent with the highest ideals," for St. Paul views the union with Christ as an intensely real, quasi-physical relation. Burton Scott Easton

MOSERAH, mō̇-sē'ra, mō'sė-rä (מוֹסֵרָה, *mōṣērāh*, "bond"): Perhaps *Moser* with Hē locale, "to Moser" (Dt **10** 6). See Moseroth.

MOSEROTH, mō̇-sē'roth, mō'sė-roth, -rōth (מֹסֵרֹת, *mōṣērōth*, "bonds"): A desert camp of the Israelites between Hashmonah and Bene-jaakan (Nu **33** 30.31). It is probably the same as Moserah (Dt **10** 6), though in that passage the name follows Bene-jaakan. There Aaron died and was buried. See Wanderings of Israel.

MOSES, mō'zez, mō'ziz (מֹשֶׁה, *mōsheh;* Egyp *mēs*, "drawn out," "born"; LXX Μωυσῆ[s], *Mōusḗ[s]*): The great Heb national hero, leader, author, lawgiver and prophet.

I. Life
  1. Son of Levi
  2. Foundling Prince
  3. Friend of the People
  4. Refuge in Midian
  5. Leader of Israel
II. Work and Character
  1. The Author
  2. The Lawgiver
  3. The Prophet
Literature

The traditional view of the Jewish church and of the Christian church, that M. was a person and that the narrative with which his life-story is interwoven is real history, is in the main sustained by commentators and critics of all classes.

It is needless to mention the old writers among whom these questions were hardly under discussion. Among the advocates of the current radical criticism may be mentioned Stade and Renan, who minimize the historicity of the Bible narrative at this point. Renan thinks the narrative "may be very probable." Ewald, Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, and Driver, while finding many flaws in the story, make much generally of the historicity of the narrative.

The critical analysis of the Pent divides this life-story of M. into three main parts, J, E, and P, with a fourth, D, made up mainly from the others. Also some small portions here and there are given to R, esp. the account of Aaron's part in the plagues of Egypt, where his presence in a J-document is very troublesome for the analytical theory. It is unnecessary to encumber this biography with constant cross-references to the strange story of M pieced together out of the rearranged fragments into which the critical analysis of the Pent breaks up the narrative. It is recognized that there are difficulties in the story of M. In what ancient life-story are there not difficulties? If we can conceive of the ancients being obliged to ponder over a modern life-story, we can easily believe that they would have still more difficulty with it. But it seems to very many that the critical analysis creates more difficulties in the narrative than it relieves. It is a little thing to explain by such analysis some apparent discrepancy between two laws or two events or two similar incidents which we do not clearly understand. It is a far greater thing so to confuse, by rearranging, a beautiful, well-articulated biography that it becomes disconnected—indeed, in parts, scarcely makes sense.

The biographical narrative of the Heb national hero, M., is a continuous thread of history in the Pent. That story in all its simplicity and symmetry, but with acknowledgment of its difficulties as they arise, is here to be followed.

1. Son of Levi

I. Life.—The recorded story of Moses' life falls naturally into five rather unequal parts: "And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a daughter of Levi" (Ex **2** 1). The son of Levi born of that union became the greatest man among mere men in the whole history of the world. How far he was removed in genealogy from Levi it is impossible to know.

The genealogical lists (Gen **46** 11; Ex **6** 16–20; Nu **3** 14–28; **26** 57–59; 1 Ch **6** 1–3) show only 4 generations from Levi to M., while the account given of the numbers of Israel at the exodus (Ex **12** 37; **38** 26; Nu **1** 46; **11** 21) imperatively demand at least 10 or 12 generations. The males alone of the sons of Kohath "from a month old and upward" numbered at Sinai 8,600 (Nu **3** 27.28). It is evident that the extract from the genealogy here, as in many other places (1 Ch **23** 15 f; **26** 24; Ezr **7** 1–5; **8** 1.2; cf 1 Ch **6** 3–14; Mt **1** 1–17; Lk **3** 23–38) is not complete, but follows the common method of giving important heads of families. The statement concerning Jochebed: "And she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister" (Nu **26** 59) really creates no difficulty, as it is likewise said of Zilpah, after the mention of her grandsons, "And these she bare unto Jacob" (Gen **46** 17.18; cf **46** 24.25).

The names of the immediate father and mother of M. are not certainly known. The mother "saw him that he was a goodly child" (Ex **2** 2). So they defied the commandment of the king (Ex **1** 22), and for 3 months hid him instead of throwing him into the river.

2. Foundling Prince

The time soon came when it was impossible longer to hide the child (Jos, *Ant*, II, ix, 3–6). The mother resolved upon a plan which was at once a pathetic imitation of obedience to the commandment of the king, an adroit appeal to womanly sympathy, and, if it succeeded, a subtle scheme to bring the cruelty of the king home to his own attention. Her faith succeeded. She took an ark of bulrushes (Ex **2** 3.4; cf ARK OF BULRUSHES), daubed it with bitumen mixed with the sticky slime of the river, placed in this floating vessel the child of her love and faith, and put it into the river at a place among the sedge in the shallow water where the royal ladies from the palace would be likely to come down to bathe. A sister, probably Miriam, stood afar off to watch (Ex **2** 3.4). The daughter of Pharaoh came down with her great ladies to the river (Ex **2** 5–10). The princess saw the ark among the sedge and sent a maid to fetch it. The expectation of the mother was not disappointed. The womanly sympathy of the princess was touched. She resolved to save this child by adopting him. Through the intervention of the watching sister, he was given to his own mother to be nursed (Ex **2** 7–9). "And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son" (Ex **2** 10). Thus he would receive her family name.

Royal family names in Egypt then were usually compounded of some expression of reverence or faith or submission and the name of a god, e.g. "loved of," "chosen of," "born of," Thoth, Ptah, Ra or Amon. At this period of Egyp history, "born of" (Egyp *mes*, "drawn out") was joined sometimes to Ah, the name of the moon-god, making Ahmes, or Thoth, the scribe-god, so Thothmes, but usually with Ra, the sun-god, giving Rames, usually anglicized Rameses or Ramoses.

It was the time of the Ramesside dynasty, and the king on the throne was Rameses II. Thus the foundling adopted by Pharaoh's daughter would have the family name Mes or Moses. That it would be joined in the Egyp to the name of the sun-god Ra is practically certain. His name at court would be Ramoses. But to the oriental mind a name must mean something. The usual meaning of this royal name was that the child was "born of" a princess through the intervention of the god Ra. But this child was not "born of" the princess, so falling back upon the primary meaning of the word, "drawn out," she said, "because I drew him out of the water" (Ex **2** 10). Thus Moses received his name. Pharaoh's daughter may have been the eldest daughter of Rameses II, but more probably was the daughter and eldest child of Seti Merenptah I, and sister of the king on the throne. She would be lineal heir to the crown but debarred by her sex. Instead, she bore the title "Pharaoh's Daughter," and, according to Egyp custom, retained the right to the crown for her first-born son. A not improbable tradition (Jos, *Ant*, II, ix, 7) relates that she had no natural son, and Moses thus became heir to the throne, not with the right to supplant the reigning Pharaoh, but to supersede any of his sons.

Very little is known of Moses' youth and early manhood at the court of Pharaoh. He would certainly be educated as a prince, whose right it probably was to be initiated into the mysteries. Thus he was "instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts **7** 22), included in which, according to many Egyptologists, was the doctrine of one Supreme God.

Many curious things, whose value is doubtful, are told of M. by Jos and other ancient writers (Jos, *Ant*, II, ix, 3; xi; *CAp*, I, 31; cf *DB;* for Mohammedan legends, see Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, Appendix; for rabbinical legends, see *Jew Enc*). Some of these traditions are not incredible but lack authentication. Others are absurd. Egyptologists have searched with very indifferent success for some notice of the great Hebrew at the Egyp court.

3. Friend of the People

But the faith of which the Ep. to the He speaks (He **11** 23–28) was at work. Moses "refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter" (Ex **2** 11–14; Acts **7** 24). Whether he did so in word, by definite renunciation, or by his espousal of the cause of the slave against the oppressive policy of Pharaoh is of little importance. In either case he became practically a traitor, and greatly imperiled his throne rights and probably his civil rights as well. During some intervention to ameliorate the condition of the state slaves, an altercation arose and he slew an Egyptian (Ex **2** 11.12). Thus his constructive treason became an overt act. Discovering through the ungrateful reproaches of his own kinsmen (Acts **7** 25) that his act was known, he quickly made decision, "choosing rather to share ill treatment with the people of God," casting in his lot with slaves of the empire, rather than "to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season," amid the riotous living of the young princes at the Egyp court; "accounting the reproach of Christ" his humiliation, being accounted a nobody ("Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?") as "greater riches than the treasures of Egypt" (He **11** 25.26; Acts **7** 25–28). He thought to be a nobody and do right better than to be a tyrant and rule Egypt.

4. Refuge in Midian

M. fled, "not fearing the wrath of the king" (He **11** 27), not cringing before it or submitting to it, but defying it and braving all that it could bring upon him, degradation from his high position, deprivation of the privileges and comforts of the Egyp court. He went out a poor wanderer (Ex

2 15). We are told nothing of the escape and the journey, how he eluded the vigilance of the court guards and of the frontier-line of sentinels. The friend of slaves is strangely safe while within their territory. At last he reached the Sinaitic province of the empire and hid himself away among its mountain fastnesses (Ex **2** 15). The romance of the well and the shepherdesses and the grateful father and the future wife is all quite in accord with the simplicity of desert life (Ex **2** 16–22). The "Egyptian" saw the rude, selfish herdsmen of the desert imposing upon the helpless shepherd girls, and, partly by the authority of a manly man, partly, doubtless, by the authority of his Egyp appearance in an age when "Egypt" was a word with which to frighten men in all that part of the world, he compelled them to give way. The "Egyptian" was called, thanked, given a home and eventually a wife. There in Midian, while the anguish of Israel continued under the taskmaster's lash, and the weakening of Israel's strength by the destruction of the male children went on, with what more or less rigor we know not, M. was left by Providence to mellow and mature, that the haughty, impetuous prince, "instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," might be transformed into the wise, well-poised, masterful leader, statesman, lawgiver, poet and prophet. God usually prepares His great ones in the countryside or about some of the quiet places of earth, farthest away from the busy haunts of men and nearest to the "secret place of the Most High." David keeping his father's flocks, Elijah on the mountain slopes of Gilead, the Baptist in the wilderness of Judaea, Jesus in the shop of a Galilean carpenter; so M. a shepherd in the Bedouin country, in the "waste, howling wilderness."

5. Leader of Israel

(1) *The commission.*—One day Moses led the flocks to "the back of the wilderness" (Ex **3** 1–12; see Burning Bush). M. received his commission, the most appalling commission ever given to a mere man (Ex **3** 10)—a commission to a solitary man, and he a refugee—to go back home and deliver his kinsmen from a dreadful slavery at the hand of the most powerful nation on earth. Let not those who halt and stumble over the little difficulties of most ordinary lives think hardly of the faltering of Moses' faith before such a task (Ex **3** 11–13; **4** 1.10–13). "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I Am hath sent me unto you" (Ex **3** 14), was the encouragement God gave him. He gave him also Aaron for a spokesman (Ex **4** 14–16), the return to the Mount of God as a sign (Ex **3** 12), and the rod of power for working wonders (Ex **4** 17).

One of the curious necessities into which the critical analysis drives its advocates is the opinion concerning Aaron that "he scarcely seems to have been a brother and almost equal partner of Moses, perhaps not even a priest" (Bennett, *HDB*, III, 441). Interesting and curious speculations have been instituted concerning the way in which Israel and esp. Pharaoh were to understand the message, "I AM hath sent me unto you" (Ex **3** 13.14; cf **6** 3). They were evidently expected to understand this message. Were they to so do by translating or by transliterating it into Egyptian? Some day Egyptologists may be able to answer positively, but not yet.

With the signs for identification (Ex **4** 1–10), M. was ready for his mission. He went down from the "holy ground" to obey the high summons and fulfil the great commission (Ex **4** 18–23). After the perplexing controversy with his wife, a controversy of stormy ending (Ex **4** 24–26), he seems to have left his family to his father-in-law's care while he went to respond to the call of God (Ex **18** 6). He met Aaron, his brother, at the Mount of God (Ex **4** 27.28), and together they returned to Egypt to collect the elders of Israel (Ex **4** 29–31), who were easily won over to the scheme of emancipation. Was ever a slave people not ready to listen to plans for freedom?

(2) *The conflict with Pharaoh.*—The next move was the bold request to the king to allow the people to go into the wilderness to hold a feast unto Jeh (Ex **5** 1). How did Moses gain admittance past the jealous guards of an Egyp court to the presence of the Pharaoh himself? And why was not the former traitorous refugee at once arrested? Egyptology affords a not too distinct answer. Rameses II was dead (Ex **4** 19); Merenptah II was on the throne with an insecure tenure, for the times were troublous. Did some remember the "son of Pharaoh's daughter" who, had he remained loyal, would have been the Pharaoh? Probably so. Thus he would gain admittance, and thus, too, in the precarious condition of the throne, it might well not be safe to molest him. The original form of the request made to the king, with some slight modification, was continued throughout (Ex **8** 27; **10** 9), though God promised that the Egyptians should thrust them out altogether when the end should come, and it was so (Ex **11** 1; **12** 31.33.39). Yet Pharaoh remembered the form of their request and bestirred himself when it was reported that they had indeed gone "from serving" them (Ex **14** 5). The request for temporary departure upon which the contest was made put Pharaoh's call to duty in the easiest form and thus, also, his obstinacy appears as the greater heinousness. Then came the challenge of Pharaoh in his contemptuous demand, "Who is Jeh?" (Ex **5** 2), and Moses' prompt acceptance of the challenge, in the beginning of the long series of plagues (see Plagues) (Ex **8** 1 ff; **12** 29–36; **14** 31; cf Lamb, *Miracle of Science*). Pharaoh, having made the issue, was justly required to afford full presentation of it. So Pharaoh's heart was "hardened" (Ex **4** 21; **7** 3.13; **9** 12.35; **10** 1; **14** 8; see Plagues) until the vindication of Jeh as God of all the earth was complete. This proving of Jeh was so conducted that the gods of Egypt were shown to be of no avail against Him, but that He is God of all the earth, and until the faith of the people of Israel was confirmed (Ex **14** 31).

(3) *Institution of the Passover.*—It was now time for the next step in revelation (Ex **12**; **13** 1–16). At the burning bush God had declared His purpose to be a saviour, not a destroyer. In this contest in Egypt, His absolute sovereignty was being established; and now the method of deliverance by Him, that He might not be a destroyer, was to be revealed. M. called together the elders (Ex **12** 21–28) and instituted the Passover feast. As God always in revelation chooses the known and the familiar—the tree, the bow, circumcision, baptism, and the Supper—by which to convey the unknown, so the Passover was a combination of the household feast with the widespread idea of safety through blood-sacrifice, which, however it may have come into the world, was not new at that time. Some think there is evidence of an old Sem festival at that season which was utilized for the institution of the Passover.

The lamb was chosen and its use was kept up (Ex **12** 3–6). On the appointed night it was killed and "roasted with fire" and eaten with bitter herbs (Ex **12** 8), while they all stood ready girded, with their shoes on their feet and their staff in hand (Ex **12** 11). They ate in safety and in hope, because the blood of the lamb was on the door (Ex **12** 23). That night the firstborn of Egypt were slain. Among the Egyptians "there was not a house where there was not one dead" (Ex **12** 30), from the house of the maid-servant, who sat with her handmill before her, to the palace of the king that "sat on the throne," and even among the cattle in the pasture

If the plague was employed as the agency of the angel of Jeh, as some think, its peculiarity is that it takes the strongest and the best and culminates in one great stunning blow and then immediately subsides (see PLAGUES). Who can tell the horror of that night when the Israelites were thrust out of the terror-stricken land (Ex **12** 39)?

As they went out, they "asked," after the fashion of departing servants in the East, and God gave them favor in the sight of the over-awed Egyptians that they lavished gifts upon them in extravagance. Thus "they despoiled the Egyptians" (Ex **12** 36). "Moreover the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people" (Ex **11** 3; **12** 35.36).

(4) *The exodus.*—"At the end of 430 years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of Jeh went out from the land of Egypt" (Ex **12** 41). The great oppressor was Rameses II, and the culmination and the revolution came, most probably, in connection with the building of Pithom and Raamses, as these are the works of Israel mentioned in the Bible narrative (Ex **1** 11). Rameses said that he built Pithom at the "mouth of the east" (Budge, *Hist of Exodus*, V, 123). All efforts to overthrow that statement have failed and for the present, at least, it must stand. Israel built Pithom, Rameses built Pithom; there is a synchronism that cannot in the present knowledge of Egyp history even be doubted, much less separated. The troublous times which came to Egypt with the beginning of the reign of Merenptah II afforded the psychological moment for the return of the "son of Pharaoh's daughter" and his access to the royal court. The presence and power of Jeh vindicated His claim to be the Lord of all the earth, and Merenptah let the children of Israel go.

A little later when Israel turned back from the border of Khar (Pal) into the wilderness and disappeared, and Merenptah's affairs were somewhat settled in the empire, he set up the usual boastful tablet claiming as his own many of the victories of his royal ancestors, added a few which he himself could truly boast, and inserted, near the end, an exultation over Israel's discomfiture, accounting himself as having finally won the victory:

"Tehennu is devastation, Kheta peace, the Canaan the prisoner of all ills;

"Asgalon led out, taken with Gezer, Yenoamam made naught;

"The People of Israel is ruined, his posterity is not; Khar is become as the widows of Egypt."

The synchronisms of this period are well established and must stand until, if it should ever be, other facts of Egyp history shall be obtained to change them. Yet it is impossible to determine with certainty the precise event from which the descent into Egypt should be reckoned, or to fix the date BC of M., Rameses and Merenptah, and the building of Pithom, and so, likewise, the date of the exodus and of all the patriarchal movements. The ancients were more concerned about the order of events, their perspective and their synchronisms than about any epochal date. For the present we must be content with these chronological uncertainties. Astronomical science may sometimes fix the epochal dates for these events; otherwise there is little likelihood that they will ever be known.

They went out from Succoth (Egyp "Thuku," Budge, *History of Egypt*, V, 122, 129), carrying the bones of Joseph with them as he had commanded (Ex **13** 19; Gen **50** 25). The northeast route was the direct way to the promised land, but it was guarded. Pithom itself was built at "the mouth of the East," as a part of the great frontier defences (Budge, op. cit., V, 123). The "wall" on this frontier was well guarded (Ex **14**), and attempts might be made to stop them. So they went not "by the way of the land of the Philis . . . . lest peradventure the people repent when they see war" (Ex **13** 17). The Lord Himself took the leadership and went ahead of the host of Israel in a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night (Ex **13** 21). He led them by "the way of the wilderness by the Red Sea" (Ex **13** 18). They pitched before Pi-hahiroth, over against Baal-zephon between Migdol and the sea (Ex **14** 2). Not one of these places has been positively identified. But the journeys before and after the crossing, the time, and the configuration of the land and the coast-line of the sea, together with all the necessities imposed by the narrative, are best met by a crossing near the modern town of Suez (Naville, *Route of the Exodus;* Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*), where *Ras ʿAtaka* comes down to the sea, upon whose heights a *migdhōl* or "watch-tower," as the southern outpost of the eastern line of Egyp defences, would most probably be erected.

Word was carried from the frontier to Pharaoh, probably at Tanis, that the Israelites had "fled" (Ex **14** 5), had taken the impassioned thrusting out by the frenzied people of Egypt in good faith and had gone never to return. Pharaoh took immediate steps to arrest and bring back the fugitives. The troops at hand (Ex **14** 6) and the chariot corps, including 600 "chosen chariots," were sent at once in pursuit, Pharaoh going out in person at least to start the expedition (Ex **14** 6.7). The Israelites seemed to be "entangled in the land," and, since "the wilderness [had] shut them in" (Ex **14** 3), must easily fall a prey to the Egyp army. The Israelites, terror-stricken, cried to M. God answered and commanded the pillar of cloud to turn back from its place before the host of Israel and stand between them and the approaching Egyptians, so that while the Egyptians were in the darkness Israel had the light (Ex **14** 19.20). The mountain came down on their right, the sea on the left to meet the foot of the mountain in front of them; the Egyptians were hastening on after them and the pillar of cloud and fire was their rearward. M. with the rod of God stood at the head of the fleeing host. Then God wrought. M. stretched out the rod of God over the sea and "Jeh caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all the night" (Ex **14** 16–21). A pathway was before them and the sea on the right hand, and on the left was a "wall unto them," and they passed through (Ex **14** 21.22). Such heaping up of the waters by the wind is well known and sometimes amounts to 7 or 8 ft. in Lake Erie (Wright, *Scientific Confirmations of the OT*, 106). No clearer statement could possibly be made of the means used and of the miraculous timing of God's providence with the obedience of the people to His command to M. The host of Israel passed over on the hard, sandy bottom of the sea. The Egyptians coming up in the dark and finding it impossible to tell exactly where the coast-line had been on this beach, and where the point of safety would lie when the wind should abate and the tide come in again, impetuously rushed on after the fleeing slaves. In the morning, Jeh looked forth and troubled the Egyptians "and took off their chariot wheels, and they drove them heavily" (Ex **14** 24.25). The wind had abated, the tide was returning and the infiltration that goes before the tide made the beach like a quicksand. The Egyptians found that they had gone too far and tried to escape (Ex **14** 27), but it was too late. The rushing tide caught them (Ex **14** 28). When the day had come, "horse and rider" were but the subject of a minstrel's song of triumph (Ex **15** 1–19; Ps **106** 9–12) which Miriam led with her timbrel (Ex **15** 20). The Bible does not say, and there is no reason to believe, that Pharaoh led the Egyp hosts in person further than at the setting off and for the giving of general direction to the campaign (Ex **15** 4). Pharaoh and his host were overthrown in the Red Sea (Ps **136** 15). So Napoleon and his host were overthrown at Waterloo, but Napoleon lived to die at St. Helena. And Merenptah lived to erect his boastful inscription concerning the failure of Israel, when turned back from Kadesh-barnea, and their disappearance in the wilderness of Paran. His mummy, identified by the lamented Professor Groff, lies among the royal mummies in the Cairo Museum. Thus at the Red Sea was wrought the final victory of Jeh over Pharaoh; and the people believed (Ex **14** 31).

(5) *Special providences.*—Now proceeded that long course of special providences, miraculous timing of events, and multiplying of natural agencies which began with the crossing of the Red Sea and ended only when they "did eat of the fruit of the land" (Josh **5** 12). God promised freedom from the diseases of the Egyptians (Ex **15** 26) at the bitter waters of Marah, on the condition of obedience. M. was directed to a tree, the wood of which should counteract the alkaline character of the water (Ex **15** 23–25). A little later they were at Elim (*Wâdy Gharandel,* in present-day geography), where were "twelve springs of water and three score and ten palm trees" (Ex **15** 27). The enumeration of the trees signifies nothing but their scarcity, and is understood by everyone who has traveled in that desert and counted, again and again, every little clump of trees that has appeared. The course of least resistance here is to turn a little to the right and come out again at the Red Sea in order to pass around the point of the plateau into the wilderness of Sin. This is the course travel takes now, and it took the same course then (Ex **16** 1). Here Israel murmured (Ex **16** 2), and every traveler who crosses this blistering, dusty, wearisome, hungry wilderness joins in the murmuring, and wishes, at least a little, that he had stayed in the land of Egypt (Ex **16** 3). Provisions brought from Egypt were about exhausted and the land supplied but little. Judging from the complaints of the people about the barrenness of the land, it was not much different then from what it is now (Nu **20** 1–6). Now special providential provision began. "At even . . . . the quails came up, and covered the camp," and in the morning, after the dew, the manna was found (Ex **16** 4–36; see Manna; Quails).

At Rephidim was the first of the instances when Moses was called upon to help the people to some water. He smote the rock with the rod of God, and there came forth an abundant supply of water (Ex **17** 1–6). There is plenty of water in the wady near this point now. The Amalekites, considering the events immediately following, had probably shut the Israelites off from the springs, so God opened some hidden source in the mountain side. "Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel" (Ex **17** 8). Whether the hand which M. lifted up during the battle was his own hand or a symbolical hand (Ex **17** 9–12), thought to have been carried in battle then, as sometimes even yet by the Bedouin, is of no importance. It was in either case a hand stretched up to God in prayer and allegiance, and the battle with Amalek, then as now, fluctuates according as the hand is lifted up or lowered (Ex **17** 8–16).

Here Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, met him and brought his wife and children to him (Ex **18** 5.6; cf Nu **10** 29). A sacrificial feast was held with the distinguished guest (Ex **18** 7–12). In the wise counsel of this great desert-priest we see one of the many natural sources of supply for Moses' legal lore and statesmanship. A suggestion of Jethro gave rise to one of the wisest and most far-reaching elements in the civil institutions of Israel, the elaborate system of civil courts (Ex **18** 13–26).

(6) *Receiving the Law.*—At Sinai M. reached the pinnacle of his career, though perhaps not the pinnacle of his faith. (For a discussion of the location of Sinai, see Sinai; Exodus.) It is useless to speculate about the nature of the flames in the theophany by fire at Sinai. Some say there was a thunderstorm (*HDB*); others think a volcanic eruption. The time, the stages of the journey, the description of the way, the topography of this place, esp. its admirable adaptability to be the cathedral of Jeh upon earth, and, above all, the collocation of all the events of the narrative along this route to this spot and to no other—all these exercise an overwhelming influence upon one (cf Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*). If they do not conclusively prove, they convincingly persuade, that here the greatest event between Creation and Calvary took place.

Here the people assembled. "And Mount Sinai, the whole of it, smoked," and above appeared the glory of God. Bounds were set about the mountain to keep the people back (Ex **19** 12.13). God was upon the mountain: "Under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness" (Ex **19** 16–19; **24** 10.16.17), "and God spake all these words" (Ex **20** 1–17). Back over the summit of the plain between these two mountain ridges in front, the people fled in terror to the place "afar off" (Ex **20** 18), and somewhere about the foot of this mountain a little later the tabernacle of grace was set up (Ex **40** 17). At this place the affairs of M. mounted up to such a pinnacle of greatness in the religious history of the world as none other among men has attained unto. He gave formal announcement of the perfect law of God as a rule of life, and the redeeming mercy of God as the hope through repentance for a world of sinners that "fall short." Other men have sought God and taught men to seek God, some by the works of the Law and some by the way of propitiation, but where else in the history of the world has any one man caught sight of both great truths and given them out?

M. gathered the people together to make the covenant (Ex **24** 1–8), and the nobles of Israel ate a covenant meal there before God (Ex **24** 11). God called M. again to the mountain with the elders of Israel (Ex **24** 12). There M. was with God, fasting 40 days (Ex **34** 28). Joshua probably accompanied M. into the mount (Ex **24** 13). There God gave directions concerning the plan of the tabernacle: "See . . . . that thou make all things according to the pattern that was showed thee in the mount" (He **8** 5–12, summing up Ex **25** 40; **26** 30; **27** 8). This was the statement of the architect to the builder. We can only learn what the pattern was by studying the tabernacle (see Tabernacle). It was an Egyp plan (cf *Bible Student,* January, 1902). While M. was engaged in his study of the things of the tabernacle on the mount, the people grew restless and appealed to Aaron (Ex **32** 1). In weakness Aaron yielded to them and made them a golden calf and they said, "These are thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt" (**32** 2–6; cf Calf, Golden). This was probably, like the later calf-worship at Bethel and Dan, ancient Sem bull-worship and a violation of the second commandment (**20** 5; cf *Bible Student,* August, 1902). The judgment of God was swift and terrible (**32** 7–35), and Levi was made the Divine agent (**32** 25–29). Here first the "tent of meeting" comes into prominence as the official headquarters of the leader of Israel (**33** 7–11). Henceforth independent and distinct from the tabernacle, though on account of the similarity of names liable to be confused with that building, it holds its place and purpose all through the wanderings to the plain of Moab by Jordan (Dt **31** 14). M. is given a vision of God to strengthen his own faith (Ex **33** 12–23; **34** 1–35). On his return from communion with God, he had such glory within that it shone out through his face to the terror of the multitude, an adumbration of that other and more glorious transfiguration at which M. should also appear, and that reflection of it which is sometimes seen in the life of many godly persons (Mt **17** 1–13; Mk **9** 2–10; Lk **9** 28–36).

Rationalistic attempts to account for the phenomena at Sinai have been frequent, but usually along certain lines. The favorite hypothesis is that of volcanic action. God has often used natural agencies in His revelation and in His miracles, and there is no necessary obstacle to His doing so here. But there are two seemingly insuperable difficulties in the way of this naturalistic explanation: one, that since geologic time this has not been a volcanic region; the other, that volcanic eruptions are not conducive to literary inspiration. It is almost impossible to get a sane account from the beholders of an eruption, much less has it a tendency to result in the greatest literature, the most perfect code of laws and the profoundest statesmanship in the world. The human mind can easily believe that God could so speak from Sinai and direct the preparation of such works of wisdom as the Book of the Covenant. Not many will be able to think that M. could do so during a volcanic eruption at Sinai. For it must be kept in mind that the historical character of the narrative at this point, and the Mosaic authorship of the Book of the Covenant, are generally admitted by those who put forward this naturalistic explanation.

(7) *Uncertainties of history.*—From this time on to the end of Moses' life, the materials are scant, there are long stretches of silence, and a biographer may well hesitate. The tabernacle was set up at the foot of the "mountain of the law" (Ex **40** 17–19), and the world from that day to this has been able to find a mercy-seat at the foot of the mountain of the law. Nadab and Abihu presumptuously offered strange fire and were smitten (Lev **10** 1–7). The people were numbered (Nu **1** 1 ff). The Passover was kept (Nu **9** 1–5).

(8) *Journey to Canaan resumed.*—The journey to Canaan began again (Nu **10** 11–13). From this time until near the close of the life of M. the events associated with his name belong for the most part to the story of the wanderings in the wilderness and other subjects, rather than to a biography of M. (cf Wanderings; Aaron; Miriam; Joshua; Caleb; Brazen Serpent, etc). The subjects and references are as follows:

The March (Nu **2** 10–18; **9** 15–23)
The Complaining (Nu **11** 1–3)
The Lusting (Nu **11** 4–6.18–35)
The Prophets (Nu **11** 16)
Leprosy of Miriam (Nu **12** 1–16)
(9) *The border of the land.*—
Kadesh-barnea (Nu **13** 3–26)
The Spies (Dt **1** 22; Nu **13** 2.21; **23** 27.28–33; **14** 1–38)
The Plagues (Nu **14** 36.37.40–45)
(10) *The wanderings.*—
Korah, Dathan and Abiram (Nu **16** 1–35)
The Plague (Nu **16** 41–50; **17**)
Death of Miriam (Nu **20** 1)
Sin of M. and Aaron (Nu **20** 2–13; Ps **106** 32)
Unfriendliness of Edom (Nu **20** 14–21)
Death of Aaron (Nu **20** 22–29)
Arad (Nu **21** 1–3)
Compassing of Edom (Nu **21** 4)
Murmuring (Nu **21** 5–7)
Brazen Serpent (Nu **21** 8.9; Jn **3** 14)
(11) *Edom.*—
The Jordan (Nu **21** 10–20)
Sihon (Nu **21** 21–32)
Og (Nu **21** 33–35)
Balak and Balaam (Nu **22** 4; **24** 25)
Pollution of the People (Nu **25** 6–15)
Numbering of the People (Nu **26**)
Joshua Chosen (Nu **27** 15–23)
Midianites Punished (Nu **31**)

(12) *Tribes east of Jordan* (Nu **32**).

(13) *Moses' final acts.*—M. was now ready for the final instruction of the people. They were assembled and a great farewell address was given (Dt **1—30** 20). Joshua was formally inducted into office (Dt **31** 1–8), and to the priests was delivered a written copy of this last announcement of the Law now adapted to the progress made during 40 years (Dt **31** 9–13; cf **31** 24–29). M. then called Joshua into the tabernacle for a final charge (Dt **31** 14–23), gave to the assembled elders of the people "the words of this song" (Dt **31** 30; **32** 1–43) and blessed the people (Dt **33**). And then M., who "by faith" had triumphed in Egypt, had been the great revelator at Sinai, had turned back to walk with the people of little faith for 40 years, reached the greatest triumph of his faith, when, from the top of Nebo, the towering pinnacle of Pisgah, he lifted up his eyes to the goodly land of promise and gave way to Joshua to lead the people in (Dt **34**). And there M. died and was buried, "but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day" (Dt **34** 5.6), "and Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died" (Dt **34** 7).

This biography of M. is the binding-thread of the Pent from the beginning of Ex to the end of Dt, without disastrous breaks or disturbing repetitions. There are, indeed, silences, but they occur where nothing great or important in the narrative is to be expected. And there are, in the eyes of some, repetitions, so-called doublets, but they do not seem to be any more real than may be expected in any biography that is only incidental to the main purpose of the writer. No man can break apart this narrative of the books without putting into confusion this life-story; the one cannot be treated as independent of the other; any more than the narrative of the Eng. Commonwealth and the story of Cromwell, or the story of the American Revolution and the career of Washington.

Later references to M. as leader, lawgiver and prophet run all through the Bible; only the most important will be mentioned: Josh **8** 30–35; **24** 5; 1 S **12** 6–8; 1 Ch **23** 14–17; Ps **77** 20; **99** 6; **105**; **106**; Isa **63** 11.12; Jer **15** 1; Dnl **9** 11–13; Hos **12** 13; Mic **6** 4; Mal **4** 4.

The place held by M. in the NT is as unique as in the OT, though far less prominent. Indeed, he holds the same place, though presented in a different light. In the OT he is the type of the Prophet to be raised up "like unto" him. It is the time of types, and M., the type, is most conspicuous. In the NT the Prophet "like unto Moses" has come. He now stands out the greatest One in human history, while M., the type, fades away in the shadow. It is thus he appears in Christ's remarkable reference to him: "He wrote of me" (Jn **5** 46). The principal thing which M. wrote specifically of Christ is this passage: "Jeh thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me" (Dt **18** 15.18 f). Again in the Ep. to the He, which is the formal passing over from the types of the OT to the fulfilment in the NT, Jesus is made to stand out as the Moses of the new dispensation (He **3**; **12** 24–29). Other most important NT references to M. are Mt **17** 3; Mk **9** 4; Lk **9** 30; Jn **1** 17.45; **3** 14; Rom **5** 14; Jude ver 9; Rev **15** 3.

II. Work and Character.—So little is known of the private life of M. that his personal character can scarcely be separated from the part which he bore in public affairs. It is the work he wrought for Israel and for mankind which fixes his place among the great ones of earth. The life which we have just sketched as the life of the leader of Israel is also the life of the author, the lawgiver, and the prophet.

1. The Author

It is not within the province of this art. to discuss in full the great critical controversies concerning the authorship of M. which have been summed up against him thus: "It is doubtful whether we can regard M. as an author in the literary sense" (*HDB*, III, 446; see Pentateuch; Deuteronomy). It will only be in place here to present a brief statement of the evidence in the case for M. There is no longer any question concerning the literary character of the age in which M. lived. That M. might have written is indisputable. But *did* he write, and how much? What evidence bears at these points?

(1) *"Moses wrote."*—The idea of writing or of writings is found 60 t in the Pent. It is definitely recorded in writing purporting to be by M. 7 t that M. wrote or was commanded to write (Ex **17** 14; **34** 27; **39** 30; Nu **17** 2.3; Dt **10** 4; **31** 24) and frequently of others in his times (Dt **6** 9; **27** 3; **31** 19; Josh **8** 32). Joshua at the great convocation at Shechem for the taking of the covenant wrote "these words in the book of the law of God" (Josh **24** 26). Thus is declared the existence of such a book but 25 years after the death of M. (cf *Bible Student*, 1901, 269–74). It is thus clearly asserted by the Scriptures as a fact that M. in the wilderness a little after the exodus was "writing" "books."

(2) *Moses' library.*—There are many library marks in the Pent, even in those portions which by nearly all, even the most radical, critics are allowed to be probably the writings of M. The Pent as a whole has such library marks all over it.

On the one hand this is entirely consistent with the known literary character of the age in which M. lived. One who was "instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" might have had in his possession Egyp records. And the author of this art. is of that class to whom Professor Clay refers, who believe "that Hebraic (or Amoraic) literature, as well as Aramaic, has a great antiquity prior to the 1st millennium BC" (Clay, *Amurru*, 32).

On the other hand, the use of a library to the extent indicated by the abiding marks upon the Pent does not in the least militate against the claim of M. for authorship of the same. The real library marks, aside from the passages which are assigned by the critics to go with them, are far less numerous and narrower in scope than in Gibbon or in Kurtz. The use of a library no more necessarily endangers authorship in the one case than in the other.

(3) *The Moses-tradition.*—A tradition from the beginning universally held, and for a long time and without inherent absurdity, has very great weight. Such has been the M.-tradition of authorship. Since M. is believed to have been such a person living in such an age and under such circumstances as might suitably provide the situation and the occasion for such historical records, so that common sense does not question whether he could have written "a" Pent, but only whether he did write "the" Pent which we have, it is easier to believe the tradition concerning his authorship than to believe that such a tradition arose with nothing so known concerning his ability and circumstances. But such a tradition did arise concerning M. It existed in the days of Josiah. Without it, by no possibility could the people have been persuaded to receive with authority a book purporting to be by him. The question of the truthfulness of the claim of actually finding the Book of the Law altogether aside, there must have been such a national hero as M. known to the people and believed in by them, as well as a confident belief in an age of literature reaching back to his days, else the Book of the Law would not have been received by the people as from M. Archaeology does not supply actual literary material from Israel much earlier than the time of Josiah, but the material shows a method of writing and a literary advancement of the people which reaches far back for its origin, and which goes far to justify the tradition in Josiah's day. Moreover, to the present time, there is no archaeological evidence to cast doubt upon that tradition.

(4) *The Pent in the Northern Kingdom.*—The evidence of the Pent in the Northern Kingdom before the fall of Samaria is very strong—this entirely aside from any evidence from the Sam Pent. Although some few insist upon an early date for that book, it is better to omit it altogether from this argument, as the time of its composition is not absolutely known and is probably not very far from the close of the Bab exile of Judah. But the prophets supply indubitable evidence of the Pent in the Northern Kingdom (Hos **1** 10; **4** 6; **8** 1.13; **9** 11; **12** 9; Am **5** 21.22; **8** 5; cf Green, *Higher Criticism and the Pent*, 56–58).

(5) *Evidence for the Mosaic age.*—Beyond the limit to which historical evidence reaches concerning the Mosaic authorship of the Pent, internal evidence for the Mosaic age as the time of its composition carries us back to the very days of M. Egyp words in the Pent attest its composition in the Mosaic age, not because they are Egyp words, for it is quite supposable that later authors might have known Egyp words, but because they are Egyp words of such marked peculiarities in meaning and history and of such absolutely accurate use in the Pent, that their employment by later authors in such a way is incredible. The list of such words is a long one. Only a few can be mentioned here. For a complete list the authorities cited must be consulted. There is יְאֹר, *ye'ōr*, for the streams of Egypt; אָחוּ, *'āḥū*, for the marshy pasture lands along the Nile; שֵׁשׁ, *shēsh*, for the "fine white linen" of the priests; "the land of Rameses" for a local district in lower Egypt; צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ, *çāphenath paneaḥ*, Joseph's Egyp name, and אָסְנַת, *'āṣenath*, the name of Joseph's Egyp wife, and many other Egyp words (see Lieblein, in *PSBA*, May, 1898, 202–10; also *The Bible Student*, 1901, 36–40).

(6) *The obscurity of the doctrine of the resurrection in the Pent.*—This obscurity has been urged against the Mosaic authorship of the Pent. Because of the popular belief concerning the doctrine of the resurrection among the Egyptians, this objection to the Mosaic authorship of the Pent becomes the most forcible of all the objections urged by critics. If the Pent was written by M. when Israel had just come out of Egypt, why did he leave the doctrine of the resurrection in such obscurity? The answer is very simple. The so-called Egyp doctrine of the resurrection was not a doctrine of resurrection at all, but a doctrine of resuscitation. The essential idea of resurrection, as it runs through Scripture from the first glimpse of it until the declaration of Paul: "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body" (1 Cor **15** 35–45), is almost absolutely beyond the Egyp vision of the future life. With the Egyptians the risen body was to live the same old life on "oxen, geese, bread, beer, wine and all good things" (cf for abundant illustration Maspero's *Guide to Cairo Museum*). The omission of the doctrine of the resurrection from the Pent at the later date assigned by criticism is very hard to account for. In view of some passages from the Pss and the Prophets, it appears inexplicable (Job **19** 25–27; Ps **16** 10; **49** 15; Isa **26** 19; Ezk **37**; Dnl **12** 2). The gross materialism of the Egyp doctrine of the rising from the dead makes the obscurity of the doctrine of the resurrection in the Pent in Moses' day perfectly natural. Any direct mention of the subject at that time among a people just come out of Egypt would have carried at once into Israel's religion the materialism of the Egyp conception of the future life. The only way by which the people could be weaned away from these Egyp ideas was by beginning, as the Pent does, with more spiritual ideas of God, of the other world and of worship. The obscurity of the doctrine of the resurrection in the Pent, so far from being against the Mosaic authorship, is a very cogent reason for believing the Pent to have come from that age, as the only known time when such an omission is reasonably explicable. Lord, in his lectures, though not an Egyptologist, caught sight of this truth which later work of Egyptologists has made clear (*Moses*, 45). Warburton had a less clear vision of it (see *Divine Legation*).

(7) *The unity of the Pent.*—Unity in the Pent, abstractly considered, cannot be indicative of a particular time for its composition. Manifestly, unity can be given a book at any time. There is indisputably a certain appearance of unity in narrative in the Pent, and when this unity is examined somewhat carefully, it is found to have such peculiarity as does point to the Mosaic age for authorship. The making of books which have running through them such a narrative as is contained in the Pent which, esp. from the end of Gen, is entangled

and interwoven with dates and routes and topographical notes, the history of experiences, all so accurately given that in large part to this day the route and the places intended can be identified, all this, no matter when the books were written, certainly calls for special conditions of authorship. A narrative which so provides for all the exigencies of desert life and so anticipates the life to which Israel looked forward, exhibits a realism which calls for very special familiarity with all the circumstances. And when the narrative adds to all this the life of a man without breaks or repetitions adverse to the purpose of a biography, and running through from beginning to end, and not a haphazard, unsymmetrical man such as might result from the piecing together of fragments, but a colossal and symmetrical man, the foremost man of the world until a greater than M. should appear, it demands to be written near the time and place of the events narrated. That a work of fiction, struck off at one time by one hand, might meet all these requirements at a later date, no one can doubt, but a scrap-book, even though made up of facts, cannot do so. In fact, the scraps culled out by the analysis of the Pent do not make a connected life-story at all, but three fragmentary and disconnected stories, and turn a biography, which is the binding-thread of the books, into what is little better than nonsense.

The unity of the Law, which also can be well sustained, is to the same effect as the unity of the narrative in certifying the narrative near to the time and place of the events narrated. The discussion of the unity of the Law, which involves nearly the whole critical controversy of the day, would be too much of a digression for an article on M. (see LAW; LEVITICUS; DEUTERONOMY; also Green, *Higher Criticism and the Pent;* Orr, *POT;* Wiener, *Bib. Sac.*, 1909–10).

Neither criticism nor archaeology has yet produced the kind or degree of evidence which rationalism demands for the Mosaic authorship of the Pent. No trace has yet been found either of the broken tablets at Mt. Sinai or of the autograph copy of the Law of the Lord "by the hand of Moses" brought out of the house of the Lord in the days of Josiah. Nor are these things likely to be found, nor anything else that will certify authorship like a transcription of the records in the copyright office. Such evidence is not reasonably demanded. The foregoing indications point very strongly to the production of the Pent in the Mosaic age by someone as familiar with the circumstances and as near the heart of the nation as M. was. That here and there a few slight additions may have been made and that, perhaps, a few explanations made by scribes may have slipped into the text from the margin are not unlikely (Nu **12** 3; Dt **34**), but this does not affect the general claim of authorship.

Ps **90** is also attributed to M., though attempts have been made to discredit his authorship here also (Delitzsch, *Comm. on the Pss*). There are those who perhaps still hold to the Mosaic authorship of the Book of Job. But that view was never more than a speculation.

The character of M. as lawgiver is scarcely separable from that of M. as author, but calls for some separate consideration.

2. The Lawgiver

(1) *The extent of the Mosaic element in the Pent* legislation has been so variously estimated that for any adequate idea of the discussion the reader must consult not only other articles (LAW; BOOK OF THE COVENANT; PENTATEUCH) but special works on this subject. In accord with the reasons presented above for the authorship of the Pent in Mosaic times, the great statesman seems most naturally the author of the laws so interwoven with his life and leadership. M. first gave laws concerning the Passover (Ex **13**). At Sinai, after the startling revelation from the summit of the mountain, it is most reasonable that M. should gather the people together to covenant with God, and should record that event in the short code of laws known as the Book of the Covenant (Ex **24** 7). This code contains the Moral Law (Ex **20** 1–17) as fundamental, the constitution of the theocracy and of all ethical living. This is followed by a brief code suitable to their present condition and immediate prospects (Ex **20** 24–26; **21–23**). Considering the expectations of both leader and people that they would immediately proceed to the promised land and take possession, it is quite in order that there should be laws concerning vineyards and olive orchards (Ex **23** 11), and harvests (Ex **23** 10–16) and the first-fruits (Ex **23** 19). Upon the completion of the tabernacle, a priest-code became a necessity. Accordingly, such a code follows with great minutiae of directions. This part of the Law is composed almost entirely of "laws of procedure" intended primarily for the priests, that they might know their own duties and give oral instruction to the people, and probably was never meant for the whole people except in the most general way. When Israel was turned back into the wilderness, these two codes were quite sufficient for the simple life of the wanderings. But Israel developed. The rabble became a nation. Forty years of life under law, under the operation of the Book of the Covenant in the moralities of life, the PC in their religious exercises, and the brief statutes of Lev for the simple life of the desert, prepared the people for a more elaborate code as they entered the promised land with its more complex life. Accordingly, in Dt that code was recorded and left for the guidance of the people. That these various codes contain some things not now understood is not at all surprising. It would be surprising if they did not. Would not Orientals of today find some things in Western laws quite incomprehensible without explanation?

That some few items of law may have been added at a later time, as some items of history were added to the narrative, is not at all unreasonable, and does in no way invalidate the claim of M. as the lawgiver, any more than later French legislation has invalidated the Corsican's claim to the Napoleonic Code.

The essential value of the Mosaic legislation is beyond comparison. Some of the laws of M., relating as they did to passing problems, have themselves passed away; some of them were definitely abrogated by Christ and others explicitly fulfilled; but much of his legislation, moral, industrial, social and political, is the warp and woof of the best in the great codes of the world to this day. The morality of the Decalogue is unapproached among collections of moral precepts. Its divinity, like the divinity of the teachings of Jesus, lies not only in what it includes, but also in what it omits. The precepts of Ptah-hotep, of Confucius, of Epictetus include many things found in the Decalogue; the Decalogue *omits many things found among the maxims of these moralists.* Thus in what it excludes, as in what it includes, the perfection of the Decalogue lies.

(2) It should be emphasized that *the laws of M. were codes,* not a collection of court decisions known to lawyers as common law, but codes given abstractly, not in view of any particular concrete case, and arranged in systematic order (Wiener, *Bib. Sac.*, 1909–10). This is entirely in harmony with the archaeological indications of the Mosaic and preceding ages. The CH, given at least 5 centuries before, is one of the most orderly, methodical and logical codes ever constructed (Lyon, *JAOS*, XXV, 254).

The career and the works and the character of M. culminate in the prophetic office. It was as prophet that M. was essentially leader. It was as prophet that he held the place of highest eminence in the world until a greater than M. came.

3. The Prophet

(1) The statesman-prophet framed a *civil government* which illustrated the kingdom of God upon earth. The theocracy did not simulate any government of earth, monarchy, republic or socialistic state. It combined the best elements in all of these and set up the most effective checks which have ever been devised against the evils of each.

(2) The lawgiver-prophet inculcated *maxims and laws* which set the feet of the people in the way of life, so that, while failing as a law of life in a sinful world, these precepts ever remain as a rule of conduct.

(3) The priest-prophet prepared and gave to Israel a *ritual of worship* which most completely typified the redemptive mercy of God and which is so wonderfully unfolded in the Ep. to the He, as it has been more wonderfully fulfilled in the life and atoning death of Christ.

(4) In all the multiform activities of the prophetic career he was *a type of Christ*, the type of Christ whose work was a "tutor unto Christ."

Moses' revelation of God ever transcends the speculations of theologians about God as a sunrise transcends a treatise on the solar spectrum. While the speculations are cold and lifeless, the revelation is vital and glorious. As an analysis of Raphael's painting of the transfiguration belittles its impression upon the beholder, while a sight of the picture exalts that scene in the mind and heart, so the attempts of theologians to analyze God and bring Him within the grasp of the human mind belittle the conception of God, dwarf it to the capacity of the human intellect, while such a vision of Him as M. gives exalts and glorifies Him beyond expression. Thus while theologians of every school from Athanasius to Ritschl come and go, M. goes on forever; while they stand cold on library shelves, he lives warm in the hearts of men.

Such was the Heb leader, lawgiver, prophet, poet; among mere men, "the foremost man of all this world."

LITERATURE.—Comms. on the Pent; for rabbinical traditions, cf Lauterbach in *Jew Enc;* for pseudepigraphical books ascribed to M., see Charles, *Assumption of M.;* for Mohammedan legends, cf *DB;* Ebers, *Egypten und die Bücher Mosis;* for critical partition of books of M., cf *Polychrome Bible* and Bennett in *HDB;* for comprehensive discussion of the critical problems, cf *POT.*

M. G. KYLE

MOSES, ASSUMPTION, a-sump′shun, **OF.** See APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

MOSES, SONG OF: The name given to the song of triumph sung by Moses and the Israelites after the crossing of the Red Sea and the destruction of the hosts of Pharaoh (Ex **15** 1–18). The sublimity of this noble ode is universally admitted. In magnificent strains it celebrates the deliverance just experienced, extolling the attributes of Jeh revealed in the triumph (vs 1–12), then anticipates the astonishing effects which would flow from this deliverance in the immediate future and in after-times (vs 13–18). There seems no reason to doubt that at least the basis of the song—possibly the whole—is genuinely Mosaic. In the allusions to the guidance of the people to God's holy habitation, and to the terror of the surrounding peoples and of the Canaanites (vs 13–18), it is thought that traces are manifest of a later revision and expansion. This, however, is by no means a necessary conclusion.

Driver, who in *LOT*, 8th ed, 30, goes with the critics on this point, wrote more guardedly in the 1st ed (p. 27): "Probably, however, the greater part of the song is Mosaic, and the modification or expansion is limited to the closing vs; for the general style is antique, and the triumphant tone which pervades it is just such as might naturally have been inspired by the event which it celebrates."

The song of Moses is made the model in the Apocalypse of "the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb," which those standing by the sea of glass, who have "come off victorious from the beast, and from his image, and from the number of his name," sing to God's praise, "Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God, the Almighty," etc (Rev **15** 2–4). The church having experienced a deliverance similar to that experienced by Israel at the Red Sea, but infinitely greater, the old song is recast, and its terms are readapted to express both victories, the lower and the higher, at once.

JAMES ORR

MOSOLLAMON, mō-sol′a-mon. See MOSOLLAMUS.

MOSOLLAMUS, mō-sol′a-mus:

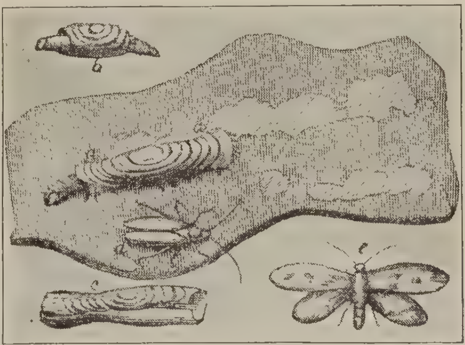
(1) AV "Mosollam" (Μοσόλλαμος, *Mosóllamos*), one of the three "assessors" appointed to the two commissioners in the inquiry made about "strange wives" (1 Esd **9** 14) = "Meshullam" in Ezr **10** 15.

(2) AV "Mosollamon," one of those sent by Ezra to the captain Loddeus to obtain men who could execute the priest's office (1 Esd **8** 44 [LXX 43]) = "Meshullam" in Ezr **8** 16 (B reads also Μεσολαβών, *Mesolabṓn*, in 1 Esd **8** 44).

MOST HIGH, MOST HOLY. See GOD, NAMES OF.

MOTE, mōt (**κάρφος**, *kárphos*): A minute piece of anything dry or light, as straw, chaff, a splinter of wood, that might enter the eye. Used by Jesus in Mt **7** 3 ff; Lk **6** 41 f in contrast with "beam," to rebuke officiousness in correcting small faults of others, while cherishing greater ones of our own.

MOTH, moth (עָשׁ, *ʽāsh;* cf Arab. عُثَّة, *ʽuththat*, "moth"; colloquial عِتّ, *ʽitt;* סָס, *ṣāṣ*, "worm" [Isa **51** 8]; cf Arab. سُوس, *sûs*, "worm," esp. an insect larva in flesh, wood or grain; **σής**, *sḗs*, "moth" [Mt **6** 19.20; Lk **12** 33]; **σητόβρωτος**, *sētóbrōtos*, "moth-eaten" [Jas **5** 2]):



Clothes-Moth (*Tinea pellionella*).

a, Larva in case constructed out of substance on which it is feeding; *b*, case cut out at the ends; *c*, case cut open by the larva for enlarging it; *d*, *e*, the perfect insect.

The moths constitute the larger division of the order *Lepidoptera*. Two of the points by which they are distinguished from butterflies are that they are generally nocturnal and that their antennae are not club-shaped. Further, the larva in many cases spins a cocoon for the protection of the pupa or chrysalis, which is never the case with butterflies. The Bib. references are to the clothes-moth, i.e. various species of the genus *Tinea*, tiny insects which lay their eggs in woolen clothes, upon which the larvae later feed. As the larva feeds it makes a cocoon of its silk together with fibers of the cloth on which it is feeding, so that the color of the cocoon depends upon the color of the fabric. The adult is only indirectly harmful, as it is only in the larval stage that the insect injures clothing. Therefore in Isa **51** 8, "For the moth [*‘āsh*] shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm [*ṣāṣ*] shall eat them like wool," both words must refer to the larva, the distich demanding such a word as *ṣāṣ* to balance *‘āsh* in the first half. The word "moth" occurs 7 t in the OT, in Job, Pss, Isa and Hos, always in figurative expressions, typifying either that which is destructive (Job **13** 28; Ps **39** 11; Isa **50** 9; **51** 8; Hos **5** 12) or that which is frail (Job **4** 19; **27** 18). See INSECTS. ALFRED ELY DAY

MOTHER, muth′ẽr (אֵם, *’ēm*, "mother," "dam," "ancestress"; μήτηρ, *mḗtēr*): In vain do

1. Her Position in the OT

we look in the Scriptures for traces of the low position which woman occupies in many eastern lands. A false impression has been created by her present position in the East, esp. under Mohammedan rule. Her place as depicted in the Scriptures is a totally different one. Women there move on the same social plane with men. They often occupy leading public positions (Ex **15** 20; Jgs **4** 4; 2 K **22** 14). The love of offspring was deeply imbedded in the heart of Heb women, and thus motherhood was highly respected. Among the patriarchs women, and esp. mothers, occupy a prominent place. In Rebekah's marriage, her mother seems to have had equal voice with her father and Laban, her brother (Gen **24** 28.50.53.55). Jacob "obeyed his father and his mother" (Gen **28** 7), and his mother evidently was his chief counselor. The Law places the child under obligation of honoring father and mother alike (Ex **20** 12). The child that strikes father or mother or curses either of them is punished by death (Ex **21** 15.17). The same fate overtakes the habitually disobedient (Dt **21** 18–21).

In one place in the Law, the mother is even placed before the father as the object of filial reverence (Lev **19** 3). The Psalmist depicts deepest grief as that of one who mourneth for his mother (Ps **35** 14). In the entire Book of Prov the duty of reverence, love and obedience of sons to their mothers is unceasingly inculcated. The greatest comfort imaginable is that wherewith a mother comforts her son (Isa **66** 13).

And what is true of the OT is equally true of the NT. The same high type of womanhood, the same

2. Position in the NT

reverence for one's mother is in evidence in both books. The birth of Christ lifted motherhood to the highest possible plane and idealized it for all time. The last thing Jesus did on the Cross was to bestow His mother on John "the beloved" as his special inheritance. What woman is today, what she is in particular in her motherhood, she owes wholly to the position in which the Scriptures have placed her. Sometimes the stepmother is spoken of as the real mother (Gen **37** 10). Sometimes the grandmother or other female relative is thus spoken of (Gen **3** 20; 1 K **15** 10).

Tropically the nation is spoken of as a mother and the people are her children (Isa **50** 1; Jer **50** 12; Hos **2** 4; **4** 5). Large cities also are "mothers" (2 S **20** 19; cf Gal **4** 26; 2 Esd **10** 7), and Job even depicts the earth as such (Job **1** 21).

HENRY E. DOSKER

MOTHER-IN-LAW. See RELATIONSHIPS, FAMILY.

MOTION, mō′shun: In 2 Esd **6** 14, AV "motion" represents the Lat *commotio*, "commotion," "disturbance" (RV has revised entirely here). In Rom **7** 5, "the motions of sins, which were by the law," "motion" is used in the sense of "impulse," and "impulses" would probably give the best tr. But the Gr noun (*παθήματα, pathḗmata*) is hard to translate exactly, and RV has preferred "passions," as in Gal **5** 24. Sanday (*ICC*) paraphrases "the impressions of sense, suggestive of sin, stimulated into perverse activity by their legal prohibition." See PASSION. "Motion" is found also in Wisd **5** 11 (AV and RVm) and **7** 24 (AV and RV) in a modern sense. BURTON SCOTT EASTON

MOUND, mound. See SIEGE, 4, (*c*).

MOUNT, mount, **MOUNTAIN**, moun′tin. See HILL, MOUNT, MOUNTAIN.

MOUNT EPHRAIM. See EPHRAIM, MOUNT.

MOUNT OF CONGREGATION, THE. See CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF.

MOUNT OF CORRUPTION. See OLIVES, MOUNT OF.

MOUNT OF OLIVES. See OLIVES, MOUNT OF; JERUSALEM.

MOUNT OF THE AMALEKITES ("hill-country of the Amalekites" [Jgs **12** 15]): The Amalekites are usually connected with the valley (Nu **14** 25; Jgs **7** 12), but appear from this passage to have had a settlement in the hill country of Ephraim. See AMALEKITES.

MOUNT OF THE AMORITES ("hill-country of the Amorites" [Dt **1** 7.20.24; cf Nu **13** 29; Josh **10** 6, etc]): The region intended is that afterward known as the hill country of Judah and Ephraim, but sometimes "Amorites" is used as a general designation for all the inhabitants of Canaan (Gen **15** 16; Josh **24** 8.18, etc). See AMORITES.

MOUNT OF THE VALLEY: Zereth-shahar is said to be situated in or on the "mount of the valley" (בְּהַר הָעֵמֶק, b^e*har hā‘ēmeḳ* [Josh **13** 19]). Cheyne (*EB*, s.v.) says "i.e. on one of the mountains E. of the Jordan valley (cf ver 27), and not impossibly on that described at length in *BJ*, VII, vi, 1–3." To the N.W. of this mountain is *Wâdy eṣ-Ṣara*, wherein there may be a reminiscence of Zereth-shahar. There is no certainty.

MOURNING, mōrn′ing. See BURIAL; GRIEF.

MOUSE, mous, **MICE**, mīs (עַכְבָּר, *‘akhbār*; LXX μῦς, *mús*, "mouse"; cf Arab. عَكْبَر, *‘akbar*, "jerboa," not أَكْبَر, *’akbar*, "greater"; cf also proper noun, עַכְבּוֹר, *‘akhbōr*, "Achbor" [Gen **36** 38 f; 1 Ch **1** 49; also 2 K **22** 12.14; Jer **26** 22; **36** 12]): The word occurs in the list of unclean "creeping things" (Lev **11** 29), in the account of the golden mice and tumors (AV and ARVm "emerods") sent by the Philis (1 S **6** 4–18), and in the phrase, "eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse" (Isa **66** 17). The cosmopolitan house-mouse, *Mus musculus,* is doubtless the species referred to. The jerboa or jumping mouse, Arab. *yarbû'*, is eaten by the Arabs of the Syrian desert, N.E. of Damascus. Possibly allied to *'akhbār* is the Arab. *'akbar* (generally in pl., *'akâbir*), used for the male of the jerboa. ALFRED ELY DAY

MOUTH, mowth (פֶּה, *peh,* חֵךְ, *ḥēkh,* גָּרוֹן, גָּרֹן, *gārōn* [Ps **149** 6]; Aram. פֻּם, *pum,* תְּרַע, *t^e ra'* [Dnl **3** 26]; **στόμα,** *stóma,* 71 t, once **λόγος,** *lógos,* i.e. "word of mouth," "speech" [Acts **15** 27]; once we find the vb. **ἐπιστομίζω,** *epistomízō,* "to silence," "to stop the mouth" [Tit **1** 11]):

1. Literal Sense

In addition to frequent references to man and animals, "Their food was yet in their mouths" (Ps **78** 30); "And Jeh opened the mouth of the ass" (Nu **22** 28); "Save me from the lion's mouth" (Ps **22** 21), etc, the term is often used in connection with inanimate things: mouth of a sack (Gen **42** 27); of the earth (**4** 11; Nu **26** 10); of a well (**29** 2.3.8.10); of a cave (Josh **10** 18.22.27); of Sheol (Ps **141** 7); of the abyss (Jer **48** 28); of a furnace (Aram. *t^e ra'*, Dnl **3** 26); of idols (Ps **115** 5; **135** 16.17).

2. Figurative Sense

(1) The "mouth" denotes language, speech, declaration (cf "lips," "tongue," which see): "By the mouth of" is "by means of," "on the declaration of" (Lk **1** 70; Acts **1** 16); "Whoso killeth any person, the murderer shall be slain at the mouth of witnesses" (Nu **35** 30; cf Dt **17** 6; Mt **18** 16; He **10** 28); "I will give you mouth and wisdom" (Lk **21** 15); "fool's mouth" (Prov **18** 7). (2) "Mouth" also denotes "spokesman": "He shall be to thee a mouth" (Ex **4** 16).

Numerous are the idiomatic phrases which have, in part, been introduced into English by means of the language of the Bible. "To put into the mouth," if said of God, denotes Divine inspiration (Dt **18** 18; Mic **3** 5). "To have words put into the mouth" means to have instructions given (Dt **31** 19; 2 S **14** 3; Jer **1** 9; Ex **4** 11–16). "The fruit of the mouth" (Prov **18** 20) is synonymical with wisdom, the mature utterance of the wise. "To put one's mouth into the dust" is equivalent with humbling one's self (Lam **3** 29; cf "to lay one's horn in the dust," Job **16** 15). Silent submission is expressed by "laying the hand upon the mouth" (Jgs **18** 19; Job **29** 9; **40** 4; Mic **7** 16); cf "to refrain the lips"; see LIP. "To open the mouth wide" against a person is to accuse him wildly and often wrongfully (Ps **35** 21; Isa **57** 4), otherwise "to open one's mouth wide," "to have an enlarged mouth" means to have great confidence and joy in speaking or accepting good things (1 S **2** 1; Ezk **33** 22; 2 Cor **6** 11; Eph **6** 19). "To gape upon one with the mouth" means to threaten a person (Job **16** 10). Divine rebuke is expressed by the "rod of God's mouth" (Isa **11** 4), and the Messiah declares "He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword" (Isa **49** 2; cf Rev **2** 16; **19** 15.21). Great anguish, such as dying with thirst, is expressed by "the tongue cleaving to the roof of the mouth" (Heb *ḥēkh,* Job **29** 10; Ps **137** 6; cf **22** 15).

H. L. E. LUERING

MOWING, mō'ing, **MOWN GRASS** (גֵּז, *gēz,* "a shearing," "cut grass"): In Ps **72** 6 the good king's rule is said to be "like rain upon the mown grass," to start the new growth (cf 2 S **23** 4; Hos **6** 3). "The king's mowings" (Am **7** 1) were the portion of the spring herbage taken as tribute by the kings of Israel to feed their horses (cf 1 S **8** 15 ff; **18** 5). "After the king's mowings" would denote the time when everybody else might turn to reap their greenstuffs (*BTP,* II, 109). The term "mower" (קָצַר, *ḳāçar,* "to dock off," "shorten") in Ps **129** 7 AV is rendered "reaper" in RV, and in Jas **5** 4 RV has "mow" for *ἀμάω, amáō* (AV "reap"). See HARVEST; REAPING.

M. O. EVANS

MOZA, mō'za (מוֹצָה, *mōçāh*):

(1) Son of Caleb and Ephah (1 Ch **2** 46).

(2) A descendant of Saul (1 Ch **8** 36.37; **9** 42.43).

MOZAH, mō'za (הַמֹּצָה, *ha-mōçāh;* B, **'Αμωκή,** *Amōkḗ,* A, **'Αμωσά,** *Amōsá*): A town in the territory of Benjamin named after Mizpeh and Chephirah (Josh **18** 26). It may be represented by the modern *Beit Mizzeh,* the heavy *ç* of the Heb passing into the light *z* of the Arab., a not unusual change. The name means "place of hard stone." The village lies to the N. of *Ḳulōniyeh* (possibly Emmaus), about 4 miles N.W. of Jerus.

MUFFLER, muf'lẽr (רְעָלָה, *r^e 'ālāh*): The name given to an article of woman's dress in Isa **3** 19. It describes a veil more elaborate and costly than the ordinary. A cognate word in the sense of "veiled" is applied in the Mish (*Shabbāth,* vi.6) to Jewesses from Arabia. See DRESS.

MULBERRY, mul'ber-i, **TREES** (בְּכָאִים, *b^e khā'īm;* LXX **ἄπιοι,** *ápioi,* "pear trees" [2 S **5** 23 f; 1 Ch **14** 14 f, m "balsam-trees"; Ps **84** 6, AV "Baca," m "mulberry trees," RV "weeping," m "balsam-trees"): According to Arab. writers the Baca tree is similar to the balsam (*Balsamodendron opobalsamum*), and grows near Mecca; no such tree is, however, known in Pal. The name may, in Heb, have been applied to some species of ACACIA (q.v.). The idea of "weeping" implied in the root, both in Heb and Arab., may be explained by the exudation of gum. "The sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees" has been explained to refer to the quivering of the leaves of poplars, but there is not much to support this view (see POPLAR). The tr "mulberry trees" is, however, even more improbable, as this tree, though very plentiful today, had not been introduced into Pal in OT times.

Mulberry (*μόρον, móron* [1 Macc **6** 34]): The Syrians at Bathzacharias "to the end they might provoke the elephants to fight, they shewed them the blood of grapes and mulberries." This reference must be to the deep red juice of the black mulberry (*Morus nigra*), the *tūt shāmi* of Pal, a variety cultivated all over the land for its luscious, juicy fruit. See SYCOMORE. E. W. G. MASTERMAN

MULCTED, mulk'ted (עָנַשׁ, *'ānash,* "to be punished," "fined"): "The simple pass on, and are mulcted" (Prov **22** 3 RVm, RV "suffer for it," AV "are punished").

MULE, mūl (פֶּרֶד, *peredh* [1 K **10** 25; **18** 5; Ezr **2** 66; Isa **66** 20; Zec **14** 15], the fem. פִּרְדָּה, *pirdāh* [1 K **1** 33.38.44], רֶכֶשׁ, *rekhesh,* "swift steeds," AV "mules" [Est **8** 10.14], אֲחַשְׁתְּרָנִים, *'ăḥasht^e rānīm,* "used in the king's service," AV "camels," RVm "mules" [Est **8** 10.14], יֵמִם, *yēmim,* "hot springs," AV "mules" [Gen **36** 24]; **ἡμίονος,** *hēmíonos,* "half-ass," "mule" [1 Esd **5** 43; Jth **15** 11]): Mules are mentioned as riding animals for princes (2 S **13** 29; **18** 9; 1 K **1** 33.38.44); in the tribute brought to Solomon (2 Ch **9** 24); as beasts of burden (2 K **5** 17; 1 Ch **12** 40); horses and mules are obtained from the "house of Togarmah" in the distant north (Ezk **27** 14). The injunction of Ps **32** 9, "Be ye not as the horse, or as the mule, which have no understanding," need not be understood as singling out the horse and mule as more in need of guidance than the rest of the brute creation, but rather as offering familiar examples to contrast with man who should use his intelligence.

At the present day mules are used as pack animals and for drawing freight wagons, rarely for riding. One does not often see in Pal mules as large and fine as are common in Europe and America. This may be because most of the mares and many of the donkeys are small.

Alfred Ely Day

MULTITUDE, mul′ti-tūd, **MIXED,** mikst. See Mingled People.

MUNITION, mū-nish′un. See Siege, 4, (*b*).

MUPPIM, mup′im (מֻפִּים, *muppīm*): A son of Benjamin (Gen **46** 21), elsewhere called "Shuppim" (1 Ch **7** 12.15; **26** 16), "Shephupham" (Nu **26** 39), and "Shephuphan" (1 Ch **8** 5); cf separate arts. on these names.

1. Terms

MURDER, mûr′dẽr (הָרַג, *hāragh*, "to smite," "destroy," "kill," "slay" [Ps **10** 8; Hos **9** 13 AV], רָצַח, *rāçaḥ*, "to dash to pieces," "kill," esp. with premeditation [Nu **35** 16 and frequently; Job **24** 14; Ps **94** 6; Jer **7** 9; Hos **6** 9]; **φονεύς,** *phoneús*, "criminal homicide," from **φονεύω,** *phoneúō*, "to kill," "slay"; **φόνος,** *phónos*, from ***φένω,** *phénō*, has the same meaning; **ἀνθρωποκτόνος,** *anthrōpoktónos*, "manslayer," "murderer," is used to designate Satan [Jn **8** 44] and him that hates his brother [1 Jn **3** 15]; a matricide is designated as **μητραλῴας,** *mētralōas* [1 Tim **1** 9]; cf **ἀδελφοκτόνος,** *adelphoktónos*, "fratricidal" [Wisd **10** 3]. The pl. of **φόνος,** *phónos*, "murders," occurs in Mt **15** 19; Mk **7** 21; Gal **5** 21 AV; Rev **9** 21; cf 2 Macc **4** 3.38; **12** 6):

2. The Hebrew Law

The Heb law recognized the distinction between wilful murder and accidental or justifiable homicide (Nu **25** 16); but in legal language no verbal distinction is made. Murder was always subject to capital punishment (Lev **24** 17; cf Gen **9** 6). Even if the criminal sought the protection of the sanctuary, he was to be arrested before the altar, and to be punished (Ex **21** 12.14; Lev **24** 17.21; Nu **35** 16.18.21.31). The Mish says that a mortal blow intended for another than the victim is punishable with death; but such a provision is not found in the Law. No special mention is made of (*a*) child murder; (*b*) parricide; or (*c*) taking life by poison; but the intention of the law is clear with reference to all these cases (Ex **21** 15.17; 1 Tim **1** 9; Mt **15** 4). No punishment is mentioned for attempted suicide (cf 1 S **31** 4 f; 1 K **16** 18; Mt **27** 5); yet Jos says (*BJ*, III, viii, 5) that suicide was held criminal by the Jews (see also Ex **21** 23). An animal known to be vicious must be confined, and if it caused the death of anyone, the animal was destroyed and the owner held guilty of murder (Ex **21** 29.31). The executioner, according to the terms of the Law, was the "revenger of blood"; but the guilt must be previously determined by the Levitical tribunal. Strong protection was given by the requirement that at least two witnesses must concur in any capital question (Nu **35** 19–30; Dt **17** 6–12; **19** 12.17). Under the monarchy the duty of executing justice on a murderer seems to have been assumed to some extent by the sovereign, who also had power to grant pardon (2 S **13** 39; **14** 7.11; 1 K **2** 34). See Manslayer.

Frank E. Hirsch

MURDERERS, mûr′dẽr-ẽrz (Acts **21** 38 AV, RV "assassins"): Represents a word only once mentioned in the NT, the Gr word **σικάριος,** *sikários*, Lat *sicarius* from *sica*, "a small sword," or "dagger." The word describes the hired assassin, of whom there were bands in the pay of agitators in Rome in the last days of the Republic, who employed them to remove surreptitiously their political opponents. In the later days of the Jewish commonwealth, Judaea became infested with the same type of ruffian, and it is natural that the Rom commandant at Jerus should describe them by the name so well known in the imperial city. See Assassins.

T. Nicol

MURMUR, mûr′mur, **MURMURINGS,** mûr′mur-ingz: The Heb word (לוּן, *lūn*) denotes the semi-articulated mutterings of disaffected persons. It is used in connection with the complaints of the Israelites in the desert against Jeh on the one hand, and against Moses and Aaron on the other hand (Ex **16** 7.8; Nu **14** 27.36; **16** 11; **17** 5). In three places (Dt **1** 27; Ps **106** 25; Isa **29** 24), "murmur" translates a Heb word (רָגַן, *rāghan*) which suggests the malicious whispering of slander.

In the NT "murmur" renders two different words, viz. *γογγύζω*, *goggúzō*, and *ἐμβριμάομαι*, *embrimáomai*. The latter word suggests indignation and fault-finding (Mk **14** 4 AV). The former word (or a compound of it) is generally used in connection with the complainings of the Pharisees and scribes (Mt **20** 11; Lk **5** 30; **15** 2; **19** 7). T. Lewis

MURRAIN, mur′in, mur′en, mur′ān (דֶּבֶר, *debher*): This name is given to a fatal cattle-disease, which was the fifth of the plagues of Egypt (Ex **9** 3), and which affected not only the flocks and herds, but also the camels, horses and asses. The record of its onset immediately after the plague of flies makes it probable that it was an epizoötic, whose germs were carried by these insects as those of rinderpest or splenic fever may be. Cattle plagues have in recent years been very destructive in Egypt; many writers have given descriptions of the great devastation wrought by the outbreak in 1842. In this case Wittmann noted that contact with the putrid carcasses caused severe boils, a condition also recorded in Ex as following the murrain. The very extensive spread of rinderpest within the last few years in many districts of Egypt has not yet been completely stamped out, even in spite of the use of antitoxic serum and the most rigid isolation. The word "murrain" is probably a variant of the Old Fr. *morine*. It is used as an imprecation by Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers, and is still applied by herdsmen to several forms of epidemic cattle sickness. Among early writers it was used as well for fatal plagues affecting men; thus Lydgate (1494) speaks of the people "slain by that moreyne."

Alex. Macalister

MUSE, mūz, **MUSING,** mūz′ing: The word occurs twice in the OT, in the sense of "meditate" (Ps **39** 3, *ḥāghīgh;* Ps **143** 5, *sī*^{a}*ḥ*); in the NT once (Lk **3** 15, *dialogízomai*, where RV reads "reasoned").

MUSHI, mū′shī (מוּשִׁי, *mūshī*): Son of Merari (Ex **6** 19; Nu **3** 20; 1 Ch **6** 19 [Heb 4]; **23** 21; **24** 26). There is found also the patronymic "Mushites" (Nu **3** 33; **26** 58).

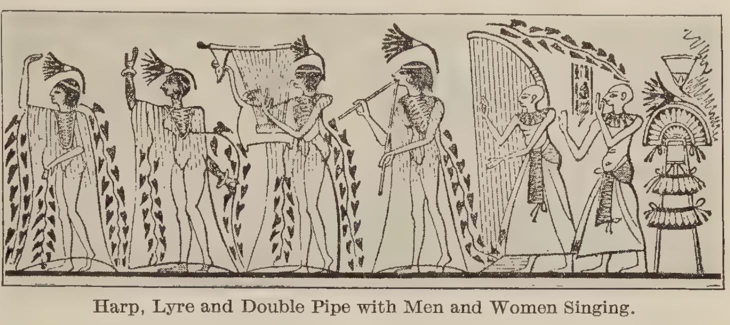
MUSIC, mū′zik:

I. Importance
  1. The Sole Art Cultivated
  2. A Wide Vocabulary of Musical Terms
  3. Place in Social and Personal Life
  4. Universal Language of Emotions
  5. Use in Divine Service
  6. Part at Religious Reformations
II. Theory of Music
  1. Technical Terms, *'ălāmōth, sh*^{e}*mīnīth, ṣelāh*
  2. Not Necessarily Unimpressive

III. Musical Instruments
   1. Strings: *kinnōr, nebhel, ‘āsōr, gittīth, shālīshīm, ṣabb^{e}khā’*
   2. Winds: *‘ūghābh, ḥālīl, n^{e}ḥīlōth, mashrōḳīthā’, sūmpōnyāh, shōphār, ḳeren, ḥăçōç^{e}rāh*
   3. Percussion: *tōph, m^{e}çiltayīm, çelç^{e}līm, m^{e}na‘an‘īm*

Literature

I. Its Importance.—That the Hebrews were in ancient times, as they are at the present day, devoted to the study and practice of music is obvious to every reader of the OT. The references to it are numerous, and are frequently of such a nature as to emphasize its importance. They occur not only in the Psalter, where we might expect them, but in the Historical Books and the Prophets, in narratives and in declamations of the loftiest meaning and most intense seriousness. And the conclusion drawn from a cursory glance is confirmed by a closer study.



Harp, Lyre and Double Pipe with Men and Women Singing.

1. The Sole Art Cultivated

The place held by music in the OT is unique. Besides poetry, it is the only art that seems to have been cultivated to any extent in ancient Israel. Painting is entirely, sculpture almost entirely, ignored. This may have been due to the prohibition contained in the Second Commandment, but the fidelity with which that was obeyed is remarkable.

2. Vocabulary

From the traces of it extant in the OT, we can infer that the vocabulary of musical terms was far from scanty. This is all the more significant when we consider the condensed and pregnant nature of Heb. "Song" in our EV represents at least half a dozen words in the original.

3. Place in Social Life

The events, occasions, and occupations with which music was associated were extremely varied. It accompanied leave-taking with honored guests (Gen **31** 27); celebrated a signal triumph over the nation's enemies (Ex **15** 20); and welcomed conquerors returning from victory (Jgs **11** 34; 1 S **18** 6). It was employed to exorcise an evil spirit (1 S **18** 10), and to soothe the temper, or excite the inspiration, of a prophet (2 K **3** 15). The words "Destroy not" in the titles of four of the Pss (cf Isa **65** 8) most probably are the beginning of a vintage-song, and the markedly rhythmical character of Heb music would indicate that it accompanied and lightened many kinds of work requiring combined and uniform exertion. Processions, as e.g. marriages (1 Macc **9** 39) and funerals (2 Ch **35** 25), were regulated in a similar way. The Pss headed "Songs of Degrees" were probably the sacred marches sung by the pious as they journeyed to and from the holy festivals at Jerus.

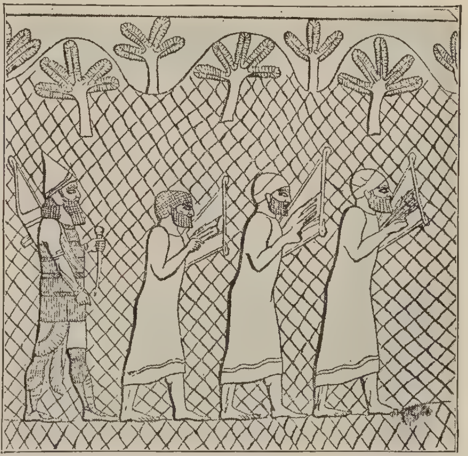
4. Emotional Range

It follows from this that the range of emotion expressed by Heb music was anything but limited. In addition to the passages just quoted, we may mention the jeering songs leveled at Job (Job **30** 9). But the music that could be used to interpret or accompany the Pss with any degree of fitness must have been capable of expressing a great variety of moods and feelings. Not only the broadly marked antitheses of joy and sorrow, hope and fear, faith and doubt, but every shade and quality of sentiment are found there. It is hardly possible to suppose that the people who originated all that wealth of emotional utterance should have been without a corresponding ability to invent diversified melodies, or should have been content with the bald and colorless recitative usually attributed to them.

This internal evidence is confirmed by other testimony. The Bab tyrants demanded one of the famous songs of Zion from their Jewish captives (Ps **137** 3), and among the presents sent by Hezekiah to Sennacherib there were included male and female musicians. In later times Lat writers attest the influence of the East in matters musical. We need only refer to Juvenal iii.62 ff.

5. Place in Divine Service

By far the most important evidence of the value attached to music by the Hebrews is afforded by the place given to it in Divine service. It is true that nothing is said of it in the Pent in connection with the consecration of the tabernacle, or the institution of the various sacrifices or festivals. But this omission proves nothing. It is not perhaps atoned for by the tradition (Wisd **18** 9) that at the first paschal celebration "the fathers already led the sacred songs of praise," but the rest of the history makes ample amends. In later days, at all events, music formed an essential part of the national worship of Jeh, and elaborate arrangements were made for its correct and impressive performance. These are detailed in 1 Ch. There we are told that the whole body of the temple chorus and orchestra numbered 4,000; that they were trained and conducted, in 24 divisions, by the sons of Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun; and that in each



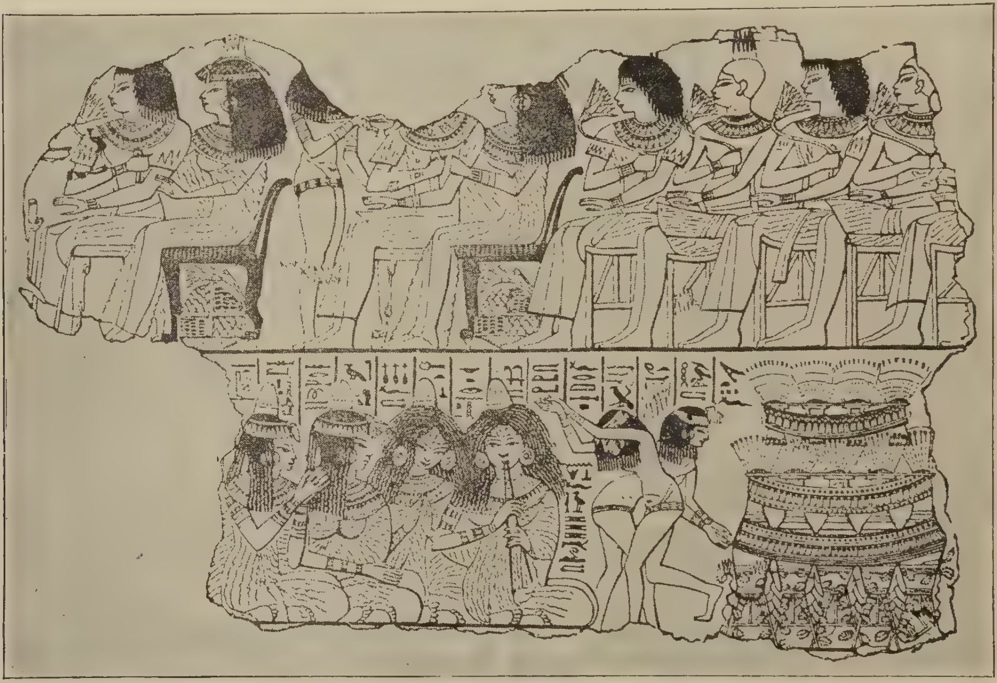
Three Bearded Men with Lyres (Supposed by Some to Be Jews).

(Assyrian Sculpture in Brit. Mus.)

group experts and novices were combined, so that the former preserved the correct tradition, and the latter were trained and fitted to take their place. This is, no doubt, a description of the arrangements that were carried out in the Second Temple, but it sheds a reflex, if somewhat uncertain, light on those adopted in the First.

6. In Religious Reformations

We are told by the same authority that every reformation of religion brought with it a reconstruction of the temple chorus and orchestra, and a resumption of their duties. Thus when Hezekiah purged the state and church of the heathenism patronized by Ahaz, "he set the Levites in the house of Jeh with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps" (2 Ch **29** 25). The same thing took place under Josiah (2 Ch **34**). After the restoration—at the dedication of the Temple (Ezr **3** 10) and of the walls of Jerus (Neh **12** 17)—music played a great part. In Nehemiah's time the descendants of the ancient choral guilds drew together, and their maintenance was secured to them out of the public funds in return for their services.



Musical Party.

Men and women seated on chairs, women servants pass wine, musicians seated on the ground play, and women dance before them (Brit. Mus.).

II. Musical Theory.—It is disappointing after all this to have to confess that of the nature of Heb music we have no real knowledge.

1. Dearth of Technical Information

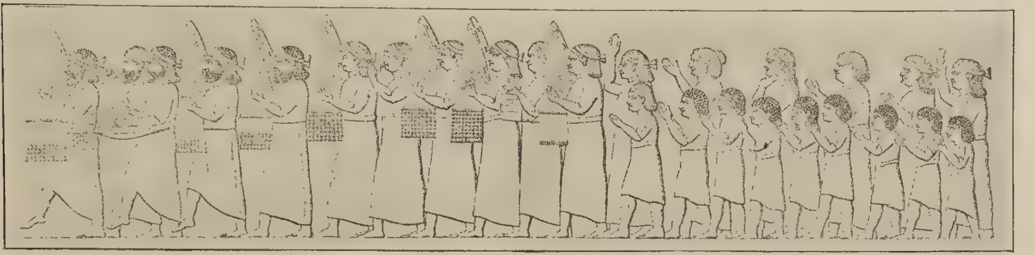
If any system of notation ever existed, it has been entirely lost. Attempts have been made to derive one from the accents, and a German organist once wrote a book on the subject. One tune in our hymnals has been borrowed from that source, but it is an accident, if not worse, and the ingenuity of the German organist was quite misdirected. We know nothing of the scales, or tonal system of the Heb, of their intervals or of their method of tuning their instruments. Two terms are supposed by some to refer to pitch, viz. "upon," or "set to *'Ălāmōth*," (Ps **46**), and "upon," or "set to the *Sh^{e}mīnīth*" (Pss **6**, **12**; cf also 1 Ch **15** 19–21). The former has been taken to mean "in the manner of maidens," i.e. soprano; the latter "on the lower octave," i.e. tenor or bass. This is plausible, but it is far from convincing. It is hardly probable that the Hebrews had anticipated our modern division of the scale; and the word *sh^{e}mīnīth* or "eighth" may refer to the number of the mode, while *'ălāmōth* is also tr^d "with Elamite instruments" (Wellhausen). Of one feature of Heb music we may be tolerably sure: it was rendered in unison. It was destitute of harmony or counterpoint. For its effect it would depend on contrast in quality of tone, on the participation of a larger or smaller number of singers, on antiphonal singing, so clearly indicated in many of the Pss, and on the coloring imparted by the orchestra. That the latter occasionally played short passages alone has been inferred from the term *ṣelāh*, a word that occurs 71 t in the Pss. It is rendered in the LXX by *diápsalmos*, which either means louder playing, *forte*, or, more probably, an instrumental interlude.

2. Not Necessarily Unimpressive

Our knowledge is, therefore, very meager and largely negative. We need not, however, suppose that Heb music was necessarily monotonous and unimpressive, or, to those who heard it, harsh and barbarous. Music, more than any other of the arts, is justified of her own children, and a generation that has slowly learned to enjoy Wagner and Strauss should not rashly condemn the music of the East. No doubt the strains that emanated from the orchestra and chorus of the temple stimulated the religious fervor, and satisfied the aesthetic principles of the Hebrews of old, precisely as the rendering of Bach and Handel excites and soothes the Christian of today.

III. Instruments.—The musical instruments employed by the Hebrews included representatives of the three groups: string, wind, and percussion.

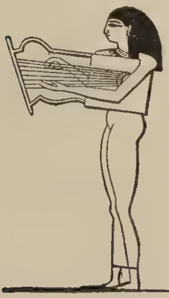
The strings comprised the כִּנּוֹר, *kinnōr,* נֵבֶל or נֶבֶל, *nēbhel* or *nebhel;* the winds: the שׁוֹפָר, *shōphār,* or קֶרֶן, *ḳeren,* חֲצֹצְרָה, *ḥăçōçerāh,* חָלִיל, *ḥālīl,* and עוּגָב, *ʿūghābh;* percussion: תֹּף, *tōph,* מְצִלְתַּיִם, *meçiltayim,* צֶלְצְלִים, *çelçelīm,* מְנַעַנְעִים, *menaʿanʿīm* שָׁלִישִׁים, *shālīshīm.* Besides these, we have in Dnl: מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא, *mashrōḳīthā',* סַבְּכָא, *ṣabbekhā',* פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, *peṣantērīn,* סוּמְפּוֹנְיָה, *ṣūmpōnyāh.* Further, there are Chaldaean forms of *ḳeren* and *kithára.*



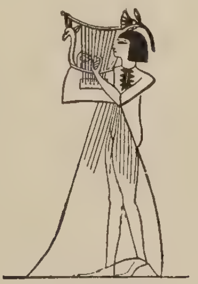
PROCESSION OF ASSYRIAN MUSICIANS.
Bas-Relief from Kouyunjik, Brit. Mus.

1. Strings

(1) *When used.*—The chief of these instruments were the *kinnōr* and *nebhel* (AV, RV "the harp" and "the psaltery" or "viol"). They were used to accompany vocal music. In 1 S **10** 5, Saul meets a band of prophets singing inspired strains to the music of the *nebhel,* "drum," "flute," and *kinnōr.* In the description of the removal of the ark, we are told that songs were sung with *kinnōrōth, nebhālīm,* etc (2 S **6** 5). Again, in various passages (1 Ch **15** 16; 2 Ch **7** 6, etc) we meet with the expression *kelē shīr,* i.e. instruments of, or suitable for accompanying, song. It is evident that only the flute and strings could render melodies. The music performed on these instruments seems to have been mainly of a joyful nature. It entered into all public and domestic festivities. In Ps **81** 2, the *kinnōr* is called "pleasant," and Isa **24** 8 speaks of the "joy" of the *kinnōr.* Very striking is the invocation Ps **108** 2: the poet in a moment of exhilaration calls upon the two *kelē shīr* to echo and share his enthusiasm for Jeh. Only once (Isa **16** 11) is the *kinnōr* associated with mourning, and Cheyne infers from this passage "that the *kinnōr* was used at mourning ceremonies." But the inference is doubtful; the prophet is merely drawing a comparison between the trembling of the strings of the lyre and the agitation in his own bosom. Again, the Bab captives hang their *kinnōrōth* on the willows in their dejection (Ps **137** 2), and the prophets (Isa **24** 8; Ezk **26** 13) threaten that as a punishment for sin the sound of the *kinnōr* will cease.



Egyptian Lyre Held Horizontally.



Lyre Held Perpendicularly.

(2) *Materials.*—We have no exact information as to the materials of which these instruments were made. In 2 S **6** 5 AV, mention is made of "instruments made of fir wood" (ERV "cypress"), but the text is probably corrupt, and the reading in 1 Ch **13** 8 is preferable. According to 1 K **10** 11 f, Hiram's fleet brought from Ophir quantities of *'almūgh* (2 Ch **2** 8; **9** 10, *'algūm*) wood, from which, among other things, the *kinnōr* and *nebhel* were made. Probably this was red sandal-wood. Jos (*Ant,* VIII, iii) includes among articles made by Solomon for the temple *nebhālīm* and *kinnōrōth* of electrum. Whether we understand this to have been the mixed metal so named or amber, the frame of the instrument could not have been constructed of it. It may have been used for ornamentation.

We have no trace of metal strings being used by the ancients. The strings of the Heb (*minnīm*) may have consisted of gut. We read of sheep-gut being employed for the purpose in the *Odyssey,* xxi. 407. Vegetable fiber was also spun into strings. We need only add that bowed instruments were quite unknown; the strings were plucked with the fingers, or struck with a plectrum.

(*a*) The *kinnōr:* The OT gives us no clue to the form or nature of the *kinnōr,* except that it was portable, comparatively light, and could be played while it was carried in processions or dances. The earliest authority to which we can refer on the subject is the LXX. While in some of the books *kinnōr* is rendered by *kinnúra,* or *kinúra*—evidently a transliteration—in others it is tr^d by *kithara.* We cannot discuss here the question of the trustworthiness of the LXX as an authority for Heb antiquities, but considering the conservatism of the East, esp. in matters of ritual, it seems at least hasty to say offhand, as Wellhausen does, that by the date of its production the whole tradition of ancient music had been lost. The tr, at all events, supplies us with an instrument of which the Hebrews could hardly have been ignorant. The

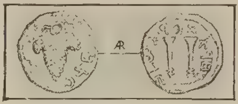
Bedouins Playing on Primitive Instruments.

kithara, which in its general outlines resembled the lyre, consisted of a rectilinear-shaped sound box from which rose two arms, connected above by a crossbar; the strings ran down from the latter to the sound-box, to which, or to a bridge on which, they were attached.

The most ancient copy of a *kithara* in Egypt was found in a grave of the XIIth Dynasty. It is carried by one of a company of immigrant captive Semites, who holds it close to his breast, striking the strings with a plectrum held in his right hand, and plucking them with the fingers of the left. The instrument is very primitive; it resembles a schoolboy's slate with the upper three-fourths of the slate broken out of the frame; but it nevertheless possesses the distinctive characteristics of the *kithara*. In a grave at Thebes of a somewhat later date, three players are depicted, one of whom plays a *kithara*, also primitive in form, but with slenderer arms. Gradually, as time advanced, the simple board-like frame assumed a shape more like that afterward elaborated by the Greeks. Numerous examples have been found in Asia Minor, but further developed, esp. as regards the sound-box. It may be noted that, in the Assyr monuments, the *kithara* is played along with the harp, as the *kinnōr* was with the *nebhel*.

The evidence furnished by Jewish coins must not be overlooked. Those stamped with representations of lyre-shaped instruments have been assigned to 142–135 BC, or to 66–70 AD. On one side we have a *kithara*-like instrument of 3 or more strings, with a sound-box resembling a kettle. It is true that these coins are of a late date, and the form of the instruments shown on them has obviously been modified by Gr taste, but so conservative a people as the Jews would hardly be likely to adopt an essentially foreign object for their coinage.

One objection raised by Wellhausen to the identification of the *kithara* with the *kinnōr* may be noted. Jos undoubtedly says (*Ant*, VII, xii) that the *kinnura* was played with a plectrum, and in 1 S **16** 23 David plays the *kinnōr* "with his hand." But even if this excludes the use of the plectrum in the particular case, it need not be held to disprove the identity of *kinnōr* and *kinnura*. Both methods may have been in use. In paintings discovered at Herculaneum there are several instances of the lyre being played with the hand; and there is no reason for supposing that the Hebrews were restricted to one method of showing their skill, when we know that Greeks and Latins were not.

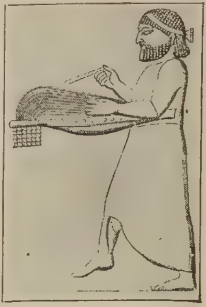


Trumpets on a Coin from Bar-Cochba.

Since the ancient VSS, then, render *kinnōr* by *kithara*, and the *kithara*, though subsequently developed and beautified by the Greeks, was originally a Sem instrument, it is exceedingly probable, as Riehm says, "that we have to regard the ancient Heb *kinnōr*, which is designated a *kithara*, as a still simpler form of the latter instrument. The stringed instruments on the Jewish coins are later, beautified forms of the *kinnōr*, while the Egyp modifications represent the intermediate stage."

(*b*) The *nebhel:* The *nebhel* has been identified with many instruments. The literal meaning of the word, "wine-skin," has suggested that it was the bagpipe! Others have thought that it was the lute, and this is supported by reference to the Egyp *nfr*, which denotes a lute-like instrument frequently depicted on the monuments. The derivation of *nbl* from *nfr* is, however, now abandoned; and no long-necked instrument has been found depicted in the possession of a Semite. The *kissar* was favored by Pfeiffer. Its resonance-box is made of wood, and, the upper side, being covered tightly by a skin, closely resembles a drum. From this rise two arms, connected toward the top by a crossbar; and to the latter the strings are attached. The *kissar* has, however, only 5 strings, as opposed to 12 ascribed by Jos to the *nebhel*, and the sound-box, instead of being above, as stated by the Fathers, is situated below the strings.

The supposition that the *nebhel* was a dulcimer is not without some justification. The dulcimer was well known in the East. An extremely interesting and important bas-relief in the palace at Kouyunjik represents a company of 28 musicians, of whom 11 are instrumentalists and 15 singers. The procession is headed by 5 men, 3 carrying harps, one a double flute, and one a dulcimer. Two of the harpists and the dulcimer-player appear to be dancing or skipping. Then follow 6 women; 4 have harps, one a double flute, and one a small drum which is fixed upright at the belt, and is played with the fingers of both hands. Besides the players, we see 15 singers, 9 being children, who clap their hands to mark the rhythm. One of the women is holding her throat, perhaps to produce the shrill vibrato affected by Pers and Arabian women at the present day. The dulcimer in this picture has been regarded by several Orientalists as the *nebhel*. Wettstein, e.g., says "This instrument can fairly be so designated, if the statement of so many witnesses is correct, that *nablium* and *psaltērium* are one and the same thing. For the latter corresponds to the Arab. *santir*, which is derived from the Heb *p^eṣanṭērīn*, a transliteration of the Gr *psaltērion*." And the *santir* is a kind of dulcimer.



Assyrian Dulcimer.

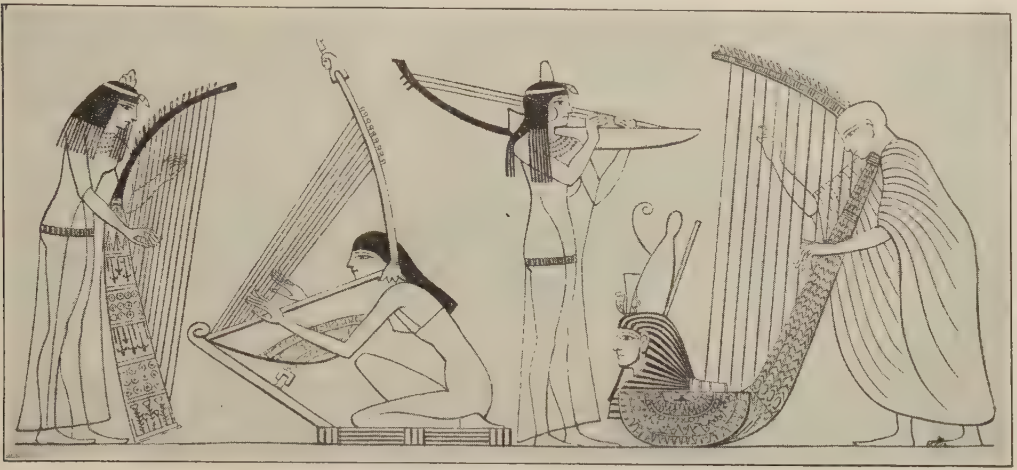
This is not conclusive. The word *psaltērion* was not always restricted to a particular instrument, but sometimes embraced a whole class of stringed instruments. Ovid also regarded the *nabla* as a harp, not a dulcimer, when he said (*Ars Am.* iii.329): "Learn to sweep the pleasant *nabla* with both hands." And, lastly, Jos tells us (*Ant*, VII, xii) that the *nebhel* was played without a plectrum. The tr of *nebhel* by *psaltērion* does not, therefore, shut us up to the conclusion that it was a dulcimer; on the contrary, it rather leads to the belief that it was a harp.

Harps of various sizes are very numerous on the Egyp monuments. There is the large and elaborate kind with a well-developed sound-box, that served also as a pediment, at its base. This could not be the *nebhel*, which, as we have seen, was easily portable. Then we have a variety of smaller instruments that, while light and easily carried, would scarcely have been sonorous enough for the work assigned to the *nebhel* in the temple services. Besides, the more we learn of the relations of Egypt and Israel, the more clearly do we perceive how little the latter was influenced by the former. But the evidence of the Fathers, which need not be disregarded in a matter of this kind, is decisive against Egyp harps of every shape and size. These have without exception the sound-box at the base, and Augustine (on Ps **42**) says expressly that the *psaltērium* had its sound-box above. This is confirmed by statements of Jerome, Isidore, and others, who contrast two classes of instruments according to the position above or below of the sound-box. Jerome, further, likens the *nebhel* to the Gr Δ.

All the evidence points to the *nebhel* having been the Assyr harp, of which we have numerous examples in the ruins. We have already referred at length to the bas-relief at Kouyunjik in which it is played by 3 men and 4 women. It is portable, triangular, or, roughly, delta-shaped; it has a sound-box above that slants upward away from the player, and a horizontal bar to which the strings are attached about three-fourths of their length down. The number of the strings on the Assyr harp ranges from 16 upward, but there may quite well have been fewer in some cases.

(*c*) *Nebhel ‛āsōr:* In Ps **33** 2; **144** 9, "the psaltery of ten strings" is given as the rendering of *nebhel ‛āsōr;* while in Ps **92** 3 *‛āsōr* is tr^d "instrument of ten strings." No doubt, as we have just said above, there were harps of less and greater compass—the mention of the number of strings in two or three instances does not necessarily imply different kinds of harps.

(*d*) *Gittīth:* The word *gittīth* is found in the titles of Ps **8, 81, 84**. It is a fem. adj. derived from Gath, but its meaning is quite uncertain. It has been explained to denote (i) some Gittite instrument; the Tg, on Ps **8**, gives "on the *kithara* which was brought from Gath"; or (ii) a melody or march popular in Gath. The LXX renders "concerning the vintage," and may have regarded these pss as having been sung to a popular melody. See above.



Various Forms of Egyptian Harps.—*Rosellini.*

(*e*) The *shālīshīm: Shālīshīm* occurs in 1 S **18** 6, where it is rendered "instruments of music," RVm "triangles, or three stringed instruments." The word seems from the context to represent a musical instrument of some sort, but which is very uncertain. Etymology points to a term involving the number three. The small triangular harp, or *trigon*, has been suggested, but it would hardly have made its presence felt among a number of drums or tambourines. If the *shālīshīm* was a harp, it might very well be the *nebhel*, which was also triangular. There is no evidence that the triangle was used by Sem people, or we might have taken it to be the instrument referred to. If it was a percussion instrument, it might possibly be a three-ringed or three-stringed *sistrum*.

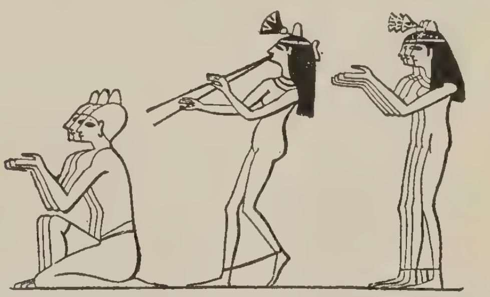
(*f*) The *ṣabb*^{e}*khā':* Among the instruments mentioned in Dnl **3** 5.7.10 occurs the *ṣabb*^{e}*khā'*, tr^{d} in AV and RV "sackbut," i.e. a trombone, why, it is impossible to say. The LXX renders the word by *sambúkē*, and this is an instrument frequently mentioned by Gr and Lat writers. Though it is nowhere described, it was no doubt a harp, probably of high pitch. It was a favorite of dissolute women, and we frequently see in their hands in mural pictures a small triangular harp, possibly of a higher range than the trigon.

(*g*) *N*^{e}*ghīnōth:* The word *n*^{e}*ghīnōth* occurs in the title of 6 pss, and in the sing. in two others; it is also found elsewhere in the OT. Derived from *nāghan*, "to touch," esp. to play on a stringed instrument (cf Ps **68** 25, where the players, *nōgh*^{e}*nīm*, are contrasted with the singers, *shārīm*), it evidently means stringed instruments in general.

2. Winds

(1) *The ʿūghābh.*—The first mention of a wind instrument occurs in Gen **4** 21, where we are told that Jubal was the "father of all such as handle the harp and pipe." The Heb word here tr^{d} "pipe" is *ʿūghābh*. It occurs in 3 other places: Job **21** 12; **30** 31; Ps **150** 4. In the Heb version of Dnl **3** 5 it is given as the rendering of *sumpōnyāh*, i.e. "bagpipe." Jerome tr^{s} by *organon*. The *ʿūghābh* was probably a primitive shepherd's pipe or panpipe, though some take it as a general term for instruments of the flute kind, a meaning that suits all the passages cited.

(2) *The ḥālīl.*—The *ḥālīl* is first mentioned in 1 S **10** 5, where it is played by members of the band of prophets. It was used (1 K **1** 40) at Solomon's accession to the throne; its strains added to the exhilaration of convivial parties (Isa **5** 12), accompanied worshippers on their joyous march to the sanctuary (Isa **30** 29), or, in turn, echoed the feelings of mourners (Jer **48** 36). In 1 Macc **3** 45, one of the features of the desolation of the temple consisted in the cessation of the sound of the pipe. From this we see that Ewald's assertion that the flute took no part in the music of the temple is incorrect, at least for the Second Temple.

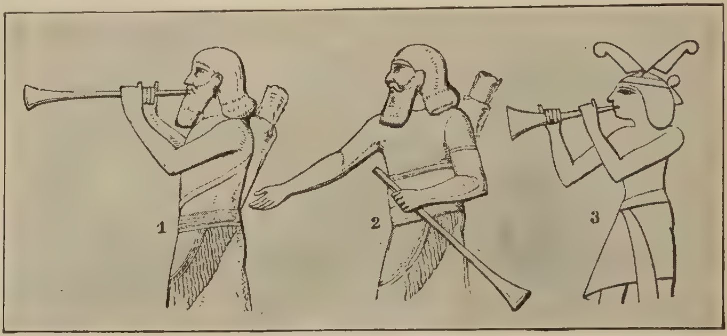


Double Pipe with Accompaniment of Clapping of Hands.
(Egyptian Fresco-Painting in Brit. Mus.)

As we should expect from the simplicity of its construction, and the commonness of its material, the flute or pipe was the most ancient and most widely popular of all musical instruments.

Reeds, cane, bone, afterward ivory, were the materials; it was the easiest thing in the world to drill out the center, to pierce a few holes in the rind or bark, and, for the mouthpiece, to compress the tube at one end. The simple rustic pattern was soon improved upon. Of course, nothing like the modern flute with its complicated mechanism was ever achieved, but, esp. on the Egyp monuments, a variety of patterns is found. There we see the obliquely held flute, evidently played, like the Arab. *nay*, by blowing through a very slight parting of the lips against the edge of the orifice of the tube. Besides this, there are double flutes, which, though apparently an advance on the single flute, are very ancient. These double flutes are either of equal or unequal length, and are connected near the mouth by a piece of leather, or enter the frame of the mouthpiece.

Though the flutes of thc East and West resembled each other more closely than the strings, it is to the Assyr monuments that we must turn for the prototypes of the *ḥālīl*. The Greeks, as their myths show, regarded Asia Minor as the birthplace of the flute, and no doubt the Hebrews brought it with them from their Assyr home. In the Kouyunjik bas-relief we see players performing on the double flute. It is apparently furnished with a beaked mouthpiece, like that of the clarinet or flageolet. We cannot determine whether the Israelites used the flute with a mouthpiece, or one like the *nay;* and it is futile to guess. It is enough to say that they had opportunities of becoming acquainted with both kinds, and may have adopted both.

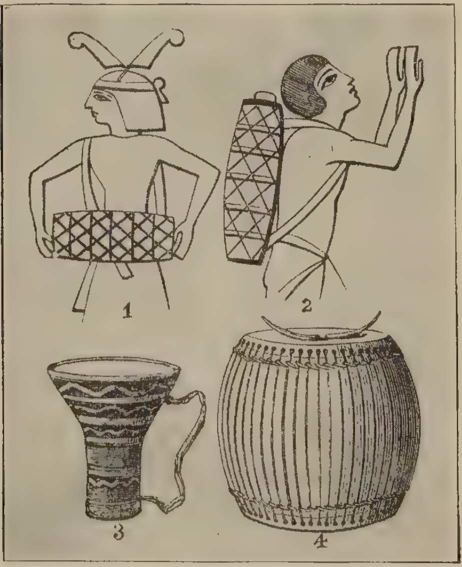


Straight Trumpets.

(1), (2), Assyrian, Sculptures, Brit. Mus. (3) Egyptian, Painting at Thebes.

(3) *Nᵉḥīlōth.—Nᵉḥīlōth* occurs only in the title of Ps **5**. The context suggests that it is a musical term, and as we explain *nᵉghīnōth* as a general term for strings, this word may comprehend the wood-winds. RVm renders "wind instruments."

(4) *Neḳebh.*—In Ezk **28** 13 AV, RV, *nᵉḳābhīm* is rendered pipes. This tr is supported by Fetis: the double flute; Ambros: large flutes; and by Jahn: the *nay* or Arab flute. It is now, however, abandoned, and Jerome's explanation that *neḳebh* means the "setting" of precious stones is generally adopted.



Drums.

(1) Ancient Egyptian, Thebes. (2) Carried on back during march.—*Rosellini.* (3) Modern *Torabooka.—Descrip. de l'Egypte.* (4) Ancient Egyptian with stick.—*Wilkinson.*

(5) *The mashrōḳīthā'.—Mashrōḳīthā'*, found in Dnl **3** 5, etc, is also referred to the wood-winds. The word is derived from *shāraḳ*, "to hiss" (cf Isa **5** 26, where God hisses to summon the Gentiles). The LXX translates *súrigx*, or panpipes, and this is most probably the meaning.

(6) *The ṣūmpōnyāh.—Ṣūmpōnyāh* (in Chald *sumponia*) is another name for a musical instrument found in Dnl **3** 5, etc. It is generally supposed to have been the bagpipe, an instrument that at one time was exceedingly popular, even among highly civilized peoples. Nero is said to have been desirous of renown as a piper.

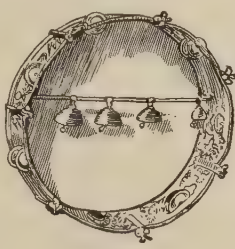
(7) *The shōphār ḳeren.*—The *shōphār* was a trumpet, curved at the end like a horn (*ḳeren*), and no doubt originally was a horn. The two words *shōphār* and *ḳeren* are used synonymously in Josh **6** 4.5, where we read *shōphār ha-yōbhᵉlīm* and *ḳeren ha-yōbhēl*. With regard to the meaning of *ha-yōbhēl*, there is some difference of opinion. RV renders in text "ram's horn," in m "jubilee." The former depends on a statement in the Talm that *yōbhēl* is Arab. for "ram's horn," but no trace of such a word has been found in Arabic. A suggestion of Pfeiffer's that *yōbhēl* does not designate the instrument, but the manner of blowing, is advocated by J. Weiss. It gives a good sense in the passages in which *yōbhēl* occurs in connection with *shōphār* or *ḳeren*. Thus in Josh **6** 5, we would tr, "when the priests blow triumph on the horn."

The *shōphār* was used in early times chiefly, perhaps exclusively, for warlike purposes. It gave the signal "to arms" (Jgs **6** 34; 1 S **13** 3; 2 S **20** 1); warned of the approach of the enemy (Am **3** 6; Ezk **33** 6; Jer **4** 5; **6** 1); was heard throughout a battle (Am **2** 2, etc); and sounded the recall (2 S **2** 28). Afterward it played an important part in connection with religion. It was blown at the proclamation of the Law (Ex **19** 13, etc); and at the opening of the Year of Jubilee (Lev **25** 9); heralded the approach of the Ark (2 S **6** 15); hailed a new king (2 S **15** 10); and is prophetically associated with the Divine judgment and restoration of the chosen people from captivity (Isa **18** 3, and often).

(8) *The ḥăçōçᵉrōth.*—We are told (Nu **10** 2 ff) that Moses was commanded to make two silver trumpets which should serve to summon the people to the door of the tabernacle; give the signal for breaking up the camp; or call to arms. These instruments were the *ḥăçōçᵉrōth*, which differed from the *shōphār* in that they were straight, not curved, were always made of metal, and were only blown by the priests. They are shown on the Arch of Titus and on Jewish coins, and are described by Jos (*Ant*, III, xii, 6). The latter says: "In length it was not quite a yard. It was composed of a narrow tube somewhat thicker than a flute, widened slightly at the mouth to catch the breath, and ended in the form of a bell, like the common trumpets."

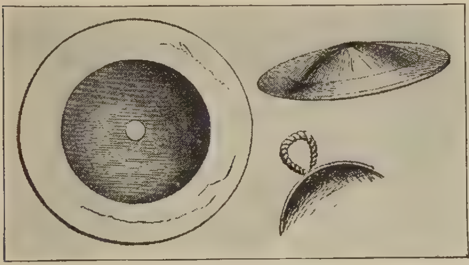
3. Percussion Instruments

(1) *The tōph.*—The principal percussion instrument, the *tōph*, is represented in EV by "tabret" and "timbrel," two words of different origin. "Tabret" is derived from Arab. *tanbūr*, the name of a sort of mandolin. "Timbrel" comes from Lat-Gr *tympanum*, through the Fr. *timbre*, a small tambourine. The Arabs of today possess an instrument called the *duf*, a name that corresponds to the Heb *tōph*. The *duf* is a circle of thin wood 11 in. in diameter and 2 in. in depth. Over this is tightly stretched a piece of skin, and in the wood are 5 openings in which thin metal disks are hung loosely; these jingle when the *duf* is struck by the hand. The *tōph* probably resembled the *duf*.


Timbrel.

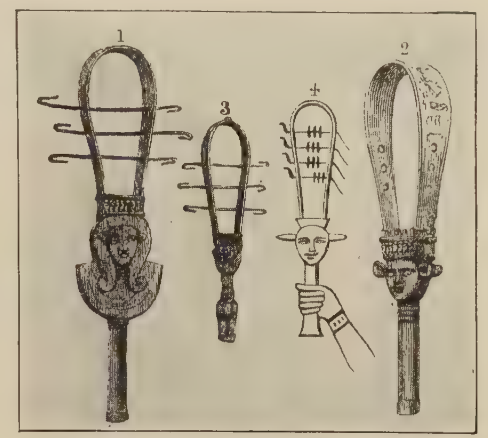
Other drums are shown on the Egyp and Assyr monuments. In the Kouyunjik bas-relief the second last performer beats with his hands a small, barrel-like drum fixed at his waist. In the OT the drum is used on festive occasions; it is not mentioned in connection with Divine service. It was generally played by women, and marked the time at dances or processions (Ex **15** 20; Jgs **11** 34; 1 S **18** 6; Jer **31** 4; Ps **150** 4). At banquets (Isa **24** 8; **30** 32; Job **21** 12) and at marriages (1 Macc **9** 39) it accompanied the *kinnōr* and *nebhel*. In solemn processions it was also occasionally played by men.

(2) *M^{e}çiltayim, çelç^{e}līm.*—In 1 Ch **15** 19 we read that "Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, were appointed, with cymbals of brass to sound aloud." These cymbals are the *m^{e}çiltayim* (in two places *çelç^{e}līm*). They were very popular in Egypt. A pair made of copper and silver has been found in a grave in Thebes. They are about 5 in. in diameter and have handles fixed in the center. In the Kouyunjik bas-relief we see cymbals of another pattern. These are conical, and provided with handles.


Egyptian Cymbals.
(Brit. Mus.)

Cylindrical staves slightly bent at one end were also used in Egyp processions. Villoteau, quoted by J. Weiss, describes a bas-relief in which three musicians are seen, of whom one plays the harp, a second the double flute, while a third appears to be marking time by striking two short rods together; this was a method of conducting practised regularly by other ancient nations.

(3) *M^{e}na'an'īm.*—Lastly in 2 S **6** 5 we meet with a word that occurs nowhere else, and whose meaning is quite uncertain. AV translates "cornets," RV "castanets," and in m "sistra." The *m^{e}na'an'īm* may have been the *sistrum*, an instrument formed of two thin, longish plates, bent together at the top so as to form an oval frame, and supplied with a handle at the lower end. One or more bars were fixed across this frame, and rings or disks loosely strung on these made a jingling noise when the instrument was shaken. This interpretation is supported by the derivation of the word, the Vulg, and the rabbins.



Sistra.
(1) In the Louvre. (2), (3) In Brit. Mus. (4) Painting at Thebes.

Literature.—Pfeiffer, *Über die Musik der alten Hebräer;* Saalschutz, *Form der heb. Poesie*, etc; Leyrer in *RE;* Riehm, *Handwört. des bibl. Alterthums;* Histories of Music by Fetis, Ambros, Rowbotham, Naumann, and Chappell; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egypt;* Wettstein in *Del. Comm.* on Isa; Lane, *Modern Egyptians;* Stainer, *The Music of the Bible;* Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc; Wellhausen, "The Pss" in *Polychrome Bible;* Benzinger, *HA;* Nowack, *HA;* J. Weiss, *Die mus. Instr. des AT;* C. Engel, *Music of the Most Ancient Nations;* Vigoureux, *Les instruments de musique de la Bible;* Driver, *Joel and Amos;* Cornill, *Music in the OT;* and the various Bible Dicts.

James Millar

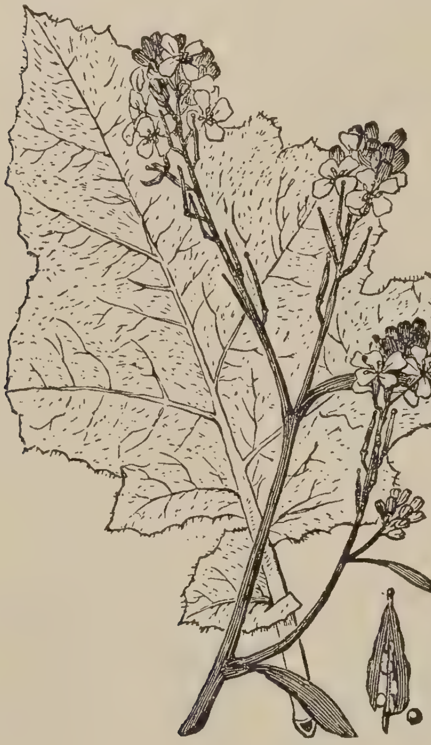
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, mū'zi-kal in'strōō-ments (שִׁדָּה וְשִׁדּוֹת, *shiddāh w^{e}-shiddōth*): "I gat me . . . . musical instruments, and that of all sorts" (Eccl **2** 8). Thus AV and ARV; ERV and ARVm "concubines very many." The word occurs only here; the meaning is not certain, but it has nothing to do with music.

MUSICIAN, mū-zish'an, **CHIEF**. See Asaph; Music; Psalms.

MUSTARD, mus'tard (σίναπι, *sinapi* [Mt **13** 31; Mk **4** 31; Lk **13** 19; Mt **17** 20; Lk **17** 6]): The minuteness of the seed is referred to in all these passages, while in the first three the large size of the herb growing from it is mentioned. In Mt **13** 32 it is described as "greater than the herbs, and becometh a tree" (cf Lk **13** 19); in Mk **4** 32 it "becometh greater than all the herbs, and putteth out great branches." Several varieties of mustard (Arab. *khardal*) have notably small seed, and under favorable conditions grow in a few months into very tall herbs—10 to 12 ft. The rapid growth of an annual herb to such a height must always be a striking fact. *Sinapis nigra*, the black mustard, which is cultivated, *S. alba*, or white mustard, and *S. arvensis*, or the charlock (all of N.O. *Cruciferae*), would, any one of them, suit the requirements of the parable; birds readily alight upon their branches to eat the seed (Mt **13** 32, etc), not, be it noted, to build their nests, which is nowhere implied.

Among the rabbis a "grain of mustard" was a common expression for anything very minute, which explains Our Lord's phrase, "faith as a grain of mustard seed" (Mt **17** 20; Lk **17** 6).

The suggestion that the NT references may allude to a tall shrub *Salvadora persica*, which grows on the southern shores of the Dead Sea, rests solely upon the fact that this plant is sometimes called *khardal* by the Arabs, but it has no serious claim to be the *sinapi* of the Bible.



Mustard (*Sinapis nigra*).

E. W. G. Masterman

MUTH-LABBEN, muth-lab′en (מוּת לַבֵּן, *mūth labbēn*, "death of Ben," or "of the son"; Ps **9**, title). See Psalms.

MUTILATION, mū-ti-lā′shun. See Punishments.

MUTTER, mut′ẽr (הָגָה, *hāghāh* [Isa **8** 19; **59** 3]): An onomatopoetic word, used of the growling of a lion (Isa **31** 4), of the "mourning" of a dove (Isa **38** 14), or of the human voice, whether speaking inarticulately (Isa **16** 7) or articulately (Ps **37** 30, "The mouth of the righteous talketh of wisdom"; cf Job **27** 4; Prov **8** 7, etc). Hence it is only the context that can give to *hāghāh* the meaning "mutter." No such meaning can be gathered from the context of Isa **59** 3, and, in fact, the open shamelessness of the sinners seems to be in point. So the verse should be rendered, "Your lips have spoken lies, your tongue *uttereth* wickedness." In Isa **8** 19 *hāghāh* describes the tone of voice used by the necromancers in uttering their formulas, "that chirp and that mutter." That this tone was subdued and indistinct is quite probable. See Peep.

Burton Scott Easton

MUZZLE, muz″l (חָסַם, *ḥāṣam;* **φιμόω,** *phimóō*): According to the Deuteronomic injunction (Dt **25** 4), the ox was not to be *muzzled* while treading the corn, i.e. threshing. The muzzle was a guard placed on the mouth of the oxen to prevent them from biting or eating. The threshing ox would have ample opportunity of feeding (cf Hos **10** 11). The Deuteronomic injunction is quite in accordance with the humane spirit which inspires it all through. Paul quotes this law in two places (1 Cor **9** 9; 1 Tim **5** 18) to illustrate his view that the "laborer is worthy of his hire."

T. Lewis

MYNDUS, min′dus (**Μύνδος,** *Múndos*): A city of Asia Minor, situated at the extreme western end of a peninsula jutting into the sea (see Caria). It seems that the city was independent at an early date and that many Jews lived there, for according to 1 Macc **15** 23, it was one of the several places to which the Rom senate, in the year 139 BC, sent a letter in their behalf. The place was important only because of the silver mines in its vicinity. The mines were worked from a very early period, even to the Middle Ages, and have therefore given to the place the modern Turkish name, *Gumushlu*, meaning a silver mine.

E. J. Banks

MYRA, mī′ra (**Μύρα,** *Múra*): A city of the ancient country of Lycia about 2½ miles from the coast. Here, according to Acts **27** 6, Paul found a corn ship from Alexandria. The city stood upon a hill formed by the openings of two valleys. At an early period Myra was of less importance than was the neighboring city Patara, yet later it became a prominent port for ships from Egypt and Cyprus, and Theodosius II made it the capital of the province. It was also famed as the seat of worship of an Asiatic deity whose name is no longer known. St. Nicholas, a bishop and the patron saint of sailors, is said to have been buried in a church on the road between Myra and Andraki, the port. Here an Arab fleet was destroyed in 807. In 808 Haroun al-Rashid, the renowned kalif of Bagdad, took the city, and here Saewulf landed on his return from Jerus. *Dembre* is the modern name of the ruins of Myra, which are among the most imposing in that part of Asia Minor. The elaborate details of the decoration of the theater are unusually well preserved, and the rock-hewn tombs about the city bear many bas-reliefs and inscriptions of interest. On the road to Andraki the monastery of St. Nicholas may still be seen.

E. J. Banks

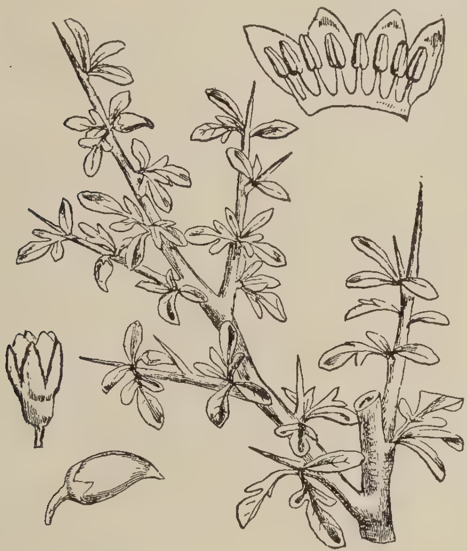
MYRRH, mûr:

(1) (מֹר or מוֹר, *mōr;* Arab. *murr*): This substance is mentioned as valuable for its perfume (Ps **45** 8; Prov **7** 17; Cant **3** 6; **4** 14), and as one of the constituents of the holy incense (Ex **30** 23; see also Cant **4** 6; **5** 1.5.13). *Mōr* is generally identified with the "myrrh" of commerce, the dried gum of a species of balsam (*Balsamodendron myrrha*). This is a stunted tree growing in Arabia, having a light-gray bark; the gum resin exudes in small tear-like drops which dry to a rich brown or reddish-yellow, brittle substance, with a faint though agreeable smell and a warm, bitter taste. It is still used as medicine (Mk **15** 23). On account, however, of the references to "flowing myrrh" (Ex **30** 23) and "liquid myrrh" (Cant **5** 5.13), Schweinfurth maintains that *mōr* was not a dried gum but the liquid balsam of *Balsamodendron opobalsamum*. See Balsam.

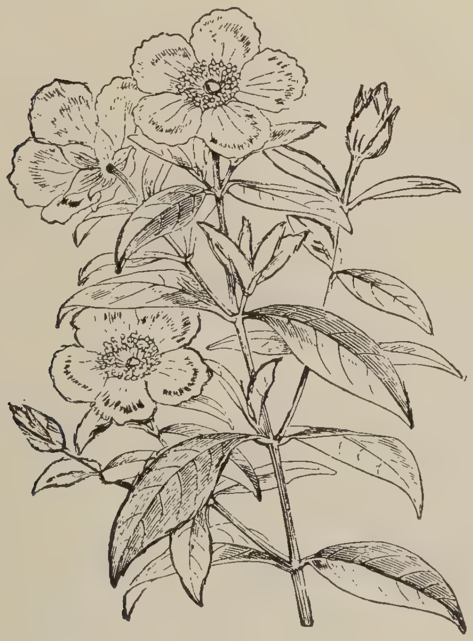
Whichever view is correct, it is probable that the *σμύρνα, smúrna*, of the NT was the same. In Mt **2** 11 it is brought by the "Wise men" of the East as an offering to the infant Saviour; in Mk **15** 23 it is offered mingled with wine as an anaesthetic to the suffering Redeemer, and in Jn **19** 39 a "mixture of myrrh and aloes" is brought by Nicodemus to embalm the sacred body.

(2) (לֹט, *lōṭ;* *στακτή, staktḗ;* trd "myrrh" in Gen **37** 25, m "ladanum"; **43** 11): The fragrant

resin obtained from some species of cistus and called in Arab. *lādham*, in Lat *ladanum*. The cistus or "rock rose" is exceedingly common all over the mountains of Pal (see Botany), the usual varieties being the *C. villosus* with pink petals, and the *C. salviaefolius* with white petals. No commerce is done now in Pal in this substance as of old (Gen **37** 25; **43** 11), but it is still gathered from various species of cistus, esp. *C. creticus* in the Gr Isles, where it is collected by threshing the plants by a kind of flail from which the sticky mass is scraped off with a knife and rolled into small black balls. In Cyprus at the present time the gum is collected from the beards of the goats that browse on these shrubs, as was done in the days of Herodotus (iii.112).



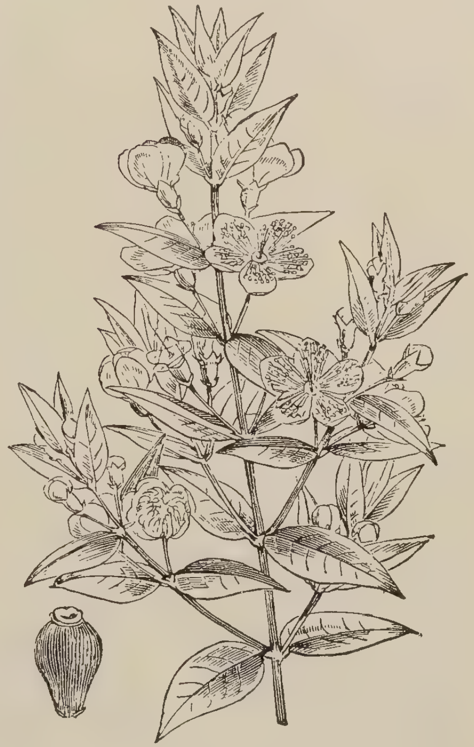
Myrrh (*Balsamodendron myrrha*).



Rock-Rose (*Cistus cretensis*).

E. W. G. Masterman

MYRTLE, mûr′t′l (הֲדַס, *hădhaṣ*; **μυρσίνη**, *mursínē* [Isa **41** 19; **55** 13; Neh **8** 15; Zec **1** 8.10 f]; also as a name in Hadassah in Est **2** 7, the Jewish form of Esther [q.v.]): The myrtle, *Myrtus communis* (N.O. *Myrtaceae*), is a very common indigenous shrub all over Pal. On the bare hillsides it is a low bush, but under favorable conditions of moisture it attains a considerable height (cf Zec **1** 8.10). It has dark green, scented leaves, delicate starry white flowers and dark-colored berries, which are eaten. In ancient times it was sacred to Astarte. It is mentioned as one of the choice plants of the land (Isa **41** 19). "Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree; and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree" (Isa **55** 13), is one of the prophetic pictures of God's promised blessings. It was one of the trees used in the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh **8** 15): "the branches of **thick trees**" (q.v.) are interpreted in the Talm (*Ṣuk.* **3** 4; *Yer Ṣuk.* **3**, **53***d*) as myrtle boughs; also (id) the "thick trees" of Neh **8** 15 as "wild myrtle." Myrtle twigs, particularly those of the broad-leaved variety, together with a palm branch and twigs of willow, are still used in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles. For many references to myrtle in Jewish writings see *Jew Enc*, IX, 137.



Myrtle (*Myrtus communis*).

E. W. G. Masterman

MYSIA, mish′i-a (**Μυσία**, *Musía*): A country in the northwestern part of Asia Minor, which formed an important part of the Rom province of Asia. Though its boundaries were always vague, it may be said to have extended on the N. to the Sea of Marmora, on the E. to Bithynia and Phrygia, on the S. to Lydia, and on the W. to the Hellespont. According to some authors it included the Troad. Its history is chiefly that of its important cities, of which Assos, Troas, and Adramyttium on the border of Lydia, are mentioned in the NT. When Mysia became a part of the Rom province of Asia in 190 BC, its old name fell into disuse, and it was then generally known as the Hellespontus. According to Acts **16** 7.8, Paul passed through the country, but without stopping to preach, until he reached Troas on the coast, yet tradition says that he founded churches at Poketos and Cyzicus. Onesiphorus, who was martyred some time between 109 and 114 AD, during the proconsulate of Adrian, is supposed to have evangelized this part of Asia. See *Expos T*, IX, 495 f. E. J. Banks

MYSTERY, mis′tẽr-i (**μυστήριον**, *mustḗrion;* from **μύστης**, *mústēs*, "one initiated into mysteries"; *muéō*, "to initiate," *múō*, "to close" the lips or the eyes; stem *mu*, a sound produced with closed lips; cf Lat *mutus*, "dumb"): Its usual modern meaning (=something in itself obscure or incomprehensible, difficult or impossible to understand) does not convey the exact sense of the Gr *mustḗrion*, which means a secret imparted only to the initiated, what is unknown until it is revealed, whether it be easy or hard to understand. The idea of incomprehensibility, if implied at all, is purely accidental. The history of the word in ancient paganism is important, and must be considered before we examine its Bib. usage.

1. In Ancient Pagan Religions

In the extant classics, the sing. is found once only (Menander, "Do not tell thy secret [*mustḗrion*] to thy friend"). But it is frequently found in the pl. *tá mustḗria*, "the Mysteries," the technical term for the secret rites and celebrations in ancient religions only known to, and practised by, those who had been initiated. These are among the most interesting, significant, and yet baffling religious phenomena in the Gr-Rom world, esp. from the 6th cent. BC onward. In proportion as the public cults of the civic and national deities fell into disrepute, their place came more and more to be filled by secret cults open only to those who voluntarily underwent elaborate preliminary preparations. There was scarcely one of the ancient deities in connection with whose worship there was not some subsidiary cult of this kind. The most famous were the Mysteries celebrated in Eleusis, under the patronage and control of the Athenian state, and associated with the worship of Demeter and her daughter Persephone. But there were many others of a more private character than the Eleusinian, e.g. the Orphic Mysteries, associated with the name of Dionysus. Besides the Gr Mysteries, mention should be made of the Egyp cults of Isis and Serapis, and of Pers Mithraism, which in the 3d cent. AD was widely diffused over the whole empire.

It is difficult in a brief paragraph to characterize the Mysteries, so elaborate and varied were they, and so completely foreign to the modern mind. The following are some of their main features: (1) Their appeal was to the emotions rather than to the intellect. Lobeck in his famous *Aglaophamus* destroyed the once prevalent view that the Mysteries enshrined some profound religious truth or esoteric doctrine. They were rather an attempt to find a more emotional and ecstatic expression to religious aspiration than the public ceremonies provided. Aristotle (as quoted by Synesius) declared that the initiated did not receive definite instruction, but were put in a certain frame of mind (*οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν, ou matheín ti deín allá patheín*). This does not mean that there was no teaching, but that the teaching was vague, suggestive and symbolic, rather than didactic or dogmatic. (2) The chief purpose of the rites seems to have been to secure for the votaries a mystic union with some deity and a guaranty of a blissful immortality. The initiated was made to partake mystically in the passing of the deity through death to life, and this union with his saviour-god (*θεὸς σωτήρ, theós sōtḗr*) became the pledge of his own passage through death to a happy life beyond. This was not taught as an esoteric doctrine; it was well known to outsiders that the Mysteries taught the greater blessedness of the initiated in the under-world; but in the actual ceremony the truth was vividly presented and emotionally realized. (3) The celebrations were marked by profuse symbolism of word and action. They were preceded by rites of purification through which all the *mystae* had to pass. The celebrations themselves were in the main a kind of religious drama, consisting of scenic representations illustrating the story of some deity or deities, on the basis of the old mythologies regarded as allegories of Nature's productive forces and of human immortality; combined with the recital of certain mystic formulae by the hierophant (the priest). The culminating point was the *ἐποπτεία, epopteía*, or full vision, when the hierophant revealed certain holy objects to the assembly. (4) The cults were marked by a strict exclusiveness and secrecy. None but the initiated could be present at the services, and the knowledge of what was said and done was scrupulously kept from outsiders. What they had seen and heard was so sacred that it was sacrilege to divulge it to the uninitiated. (5) Yet the Mysteries were not secret societies, but were open to all who chose to be initiated (except barbarians and criminals). They thus stood in marked contrast to the old civic and national cults, which were confined to states or cities. They substituted the principle of initiation for the more exclusive principle of birthright or nationality; and so foreshadowed the disintegration of old barriers, and prepared the way for the universal religion. Thus the mystery-religions strangely combined a strict exclusiveness with a kind of incipient catholicity. This brief account will show that the Mysteries were not devoid of noble elements. They formed "the serious part of pagan religion" (Renan). But it must also be remembered that they lent themselves to grave extravagances and abuses. Esp. did they suffer from the fact that they were withheld from the light of healthy publicity.

2. In the OT and the Apoc

The religion of the OT has no Mysteries of the above type. The ritual of Israel was one in which the whole people partook, through their representatives the priests. There was no system of ceremonial initiation by which the few had privileges denied to the many. God has His secrets, but such things as He revealed belonged to all (Dt **29** 29); so far from silence being enjoined concerning them, they were openly proclaimed (Dt **6** 7; Neh **8** 1 ff). True piety alone initiated men into confidential intercourse with Jeh (Ps **25** 14; Prov **3** 32). The term "mystery" never occurs in the Eng. OT. The Gr word *mustḗrion* occurs in the LXX of the OT only in Dnl, where it is found several times as the tr of רָזָא, *rāzā'*, "a secret," in reference to the king's dream, the meaning of which was revealed to Daniel (**2** 18.19.27–30.47).

In the Apoc, *mustērion* is still used in the sense of "a secret" (a meaning practically confined to the LXX in extant Gr); of the secrets of private life, esp. between friends (Sir **22** 22; **27** 16.17.21), and of the secret plans of a king or a state (Tob **12** 7.11; Jth **2** 2; 2 Macc **13** 21). The term is also used of the hidden purpose or counsel of God or of Divine wisdom. The wicked "knew not the mysteries of God," i.e. the secret counsels that govern God's dealings with the godly (Wisd **2** 22); wisdom "is initiated [*μύστις, mústis*] into the knowledge of God" (**8** 4), but (unlike the pagan mystagogues) the writer declares he "will not hide mysteries," but will "bring the knowledge of her [wisdom] into clear light" (**6** 22). Hatch maintains that the analogy here is that of an oriental king's secrets, known only to himself and his trusted friends (*Essays in Bib. Gr*, 58); but it is more likely that the writer here betrays the influence of the phraseology of the Gr Mysteries (without acquiescing in their teaching). In another passage, at any rate, he shows acquaintance with the secret rites of the Gentiles, viz. in **14** 15.23, where the "solemn rites" and "secret mysteries" of idolators are referred to with abhorrence. The term "mystery" is not used in reference to the special ritual of Israel.

3. In the NT

In the NT the word occurs 27 or (if we include the doubtful reading in 1 Cor **2** 1) 28 t; chiefly in Paul (20 or 21 t), but also in one passage reported by each of the synopists, and 4 t in Rev. It bears its ancient sense of a revealed secret, not its modern sense of that which cannot be fathomed or comprehended. (1) In a few passages, it has reference to a symbol, allegory or parable, which conceals its meaning from those who look only at the literal sense, but is the medium of revelation to those who have the key to its interpretation (cf the rabbinic use of רָזָא, *rāzā'*, and סוֹד, *ṣōdh*, "the hidden or mystic sense"). This meaning appears in Rev **1** 20; **17** 5.7; probably also in Eph **5** 32, where marriage is called "a mystery," i.e. a symbol to be allegorically interpreted of Christ and His church. It also seems implied in the only passage in which the word is attributed to Our Lord, "Unto you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all things are done in parables" (Mk **4** 11; cf ‖ Mt **13** 11; Lk **8** 10). Here parables are spoken of as a veiled or symbolic form of utterance which concealed the truth from those without the kingdom, but revealed it to those who had the key to its inner meaning (cf Mt **13** 35; Jn **16** 29 m). (2) By far the most common meaning in the NT is that which is so characteristic of Paul, viz. a Divine truth once hidden, but now revealed in the gospel. Rom **16** 25 f might almost be taken as a definition of it, "According to my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the *revelation of the mystery* which hath been kept in silence through times eternal, but now is manifested" (cf Col **1** 26; Eph **3** 3 ff). (*a*) It should be noted how closely "mystery" is associated with "revelation" (ἀποκάλυψις, *apokálupsis*), as well as with words of similar import, e.g. "to make known" (Eph **1** 9; **3** 3.5.10; **6** 19), "to manifest" (Col **4** 3.4; Rom **16** 26; 1 Tim **3** 16). "Mystery" and "revelation" are in fact correlative and almost synonymous terms. The mysteries of Christianity are its revealed doctrines, in contrast to the wisdom of worldly philosophy (see esp. 1 Cor **2** 1–16; cf Mt **11** 25 f); the point of contrast being, not that the latter is comprehensible while the former are obscure, but that the latter is the product of intellectual research, while the former are the result of Divine revelation and are spiritually discerned. (*b*) From this it follows that Christianity has no secret doctrines, for what was once hidden has now been revealed. But here arises a seeming contradiction. On the one hand, there are passages which seem to imply a doctrine of reserve. The mystery revealed to some would seem to be still concealed from others. The doctrines of Christ and of His Kingdom are hidden from the worldly wise and the prudent (Mt **11** 25; 1 Cor **2** 6 ff), and from all who are outside the kingdom (Mt **13** 11 ff and ‖), and there are truths withheld even from Christians while in an elementary stage of development (1 Cor **3** 1 ff; He **5** 11–14). On the other hand, there are many passages in which the truths of revelation are said to be freely and unreservedly communicated to all (e.g. Mt **10** 27; **28** 19; Acts **20** 20.27; 2 Cor **3** 12 f; Eph **3** 9, "all men"; **6** 19 f; Col **1** 28; 1 Tim **2** 4). The explanation is that the communication is limited, not by any secrecy in the gospel message itself or any reserve on the part of the speaker, but by the receptive capacity of the hearer. In the case of the carnally-minded, moral obtuseness or worldliness makes them blind to the light which shines on them (2 Cor **4** 2–4). In the case of the "babe in Christ," the apparent reserve is due merely to the pedagogical principle of adapting the teaching to the progressive receptivity of the disciple (Jn **16** 12 f). There is no esoteric doctrine or intentional reserve in the NT. The strong language in Mt **13** 11–15 is due to the Heb mode of speech by which an actual result is stated as if it were purposive. (*c*) What, then, is the content of the Christian "mystery"? In a wide sense it is the whole gospel, God's world-embracing purpose of redemption through Christ (e.g. Rom **16** 25; Eph **6** 19; Col **2** 2; 1 Tim **3** 9). In a special sense it is applied to some specific doctrine or aspect of the gospel, such as the doctrine of the Cross (1 Cor **2** 1.7), of the Incarnation (1 Tim **3** 16), of the indwelling of Christ as the pledge of immortality (Col **1** 27), of the temporary unbelief of the Jews to be followed by their final restoration (Rom **11** 25), of the transformation of the saints who will live to see the Second Advent (1 Cor **15** 51), and of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the gospel salvation (Eph **3** 3–6). These are the Divine secrets now at last disclosed. In direct antithesis to the Divine mystery is the "mystery of lawlessness" (2 Thess **2** 7) culminating in the coming of the Antichrist. Here, too, the word means a revealed secret, only in this case the revelation belongs to the future (ver 8), though the evil forces which are to bring about its consummation are already silently operative. (Besides the references in this paragraph, the word occurs in 1 Cor **4** 1; **13** 2; **14** 2; Rev **10** 7. It is interesting to note that the Vulg sometimes renders *mustērion* by Lat *sacramentum*, viz. in Eph **1** 9; **3** 3.9; **5** 32; 1 Tim **3** 16; Rev **1** 20. This rendering in Eph **5** 32 led to the ecclesiastical doctrine that marriage is a "sacrament.")

4. The Pagan Mysteries and the NT

The question is now frequently discussed, how far the NT (and esp. Paul) betrays the influence of the heathen mystery-cults. Hatch maintains that the Pauline usage of the word *mustērion* is dependent on the LXX, esp. on the Apoc (op. cit.), and in this he is followed by Anrich, who declares that the attempt to trace an allusion to the Mysteries in the NT is wholly unsuccessful; but Lightfoot admits a *verbal* dependence on the pagan Mysteries (*Comm.* on Col **1** 26).

At present there is a strong tendency to attribute to Paul far more dependence than one of phraseology only, and to find in the Mysteries the key to the non-Jewish side of Paulinism. A. Loisy finds affinity to the mystery-religions in Paul's conception of Jesus as a Saviour-God, holding a place analogous to the deities Mithra, Osiris, and Attis; in the place Paul assigns to baptism as the rite of initiation; and in his transformation of the Lord's Supper into a symbol of mystic participation in the flesh and blood of a celestial being and a guaranty of a share in the blissful immortality of the risen Saviour. "In its worship as in its belief, Christianity is a religion of mystery" (art. in *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1911). Percy Gardner traces similar analogies to the Mysteries in Paul, though he finds in these analogies, not conscious plagiarism, but "the parallel working of similar forces" (*Religious Experience of Paul*, chs iv, v). Kirsopp Lake writes, "Christianity has not borrowed from the mystery-religions, because it was always, at least in Europe, mystery-religion itself" (*The Earlier Epp. of Paul*, 215). On the other hand, Schweitzer wholly denies the hypothesis of the direct or indirect influence of the Mysteries on Paul's thought (*Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*).

The whole question is *sub judice* among scholars, and until more evidence be forthcoming from inscriptions, etc, we shall perhaps vainly expect a unanimous verdict. It can hardly be doubted that at least the language of Paul, and perhaps to some extent his thought, is colored by the phraseology current among the cults. Paul had a remarkably sympathetic and receptive mind, by no means closed to influences from the Gr-Rom environment of his day.

Witness his use of illustrations drawn from the athletic festivals, the Gr theater (1 Cor **4** 9) and the Rom camp. He must have been constantly exposed to the contagion of the mystic societies. Tarsus was a seat of the Mithra religion; and the chief centers of Paul's activities, e.g. Corinth, Antioch and Ephesus, were headquarters of mystic religion. We are not surprised that he should have borrowed from the vocabulary of the Mysteries, not only the word *mustērion*, but μεμύημαι, *memúēmai*, "I learned the secret," lit. "I have been initiated" (Phil **4** 12); σφραγίζεσθαι, *sphragízesthai*, "to be sealed" (Eph **1** 13, etc); τέλειος, *téleios*, "perfect," a term applied in the Mysteries to the fully instructed as opposed to novices (1 Cor **2** 6.7; Col **1** 28, etc) (note, outside of Paul, ἐπόπται, *epóptai*, "eye-witnesses," 2 Pet **1** 16).

Further, the secret of Paul's gospel among the Gentiles lay, humanly speaking, in the fact that it contained elements that appealed to what was best and most vital in contemporary thought; and doubtless the Mysteries, by transcending all lines of mere citizenship, prepared the way for the universal religion. On the other hand, we must beware of a too facile acceptance of this hypothesis in its extreme form. Christianity can be adequately explained only by reference, not to what it had in common with other religions, but to what was distinctive and original in it. Paul was after all a Jew (though a broad one), who always retained traces of his Pharisaic training, and who viewed idolatry with abhorrence; and the chief formative factor of his thinking was his own profound religious experience. It is inconceivable that such a man should so assimilate gentile modes of thought as to be completely colored by them. The characteristics which his teaching has in common with the pagan religions are simply a witness to the common religious wants of mankind, and not to his indebtedness to them. What turned these religions into Mysteries was the secrecy of their rites; but in the NT there are no secret rites. The gospel "mystery" (as we have seen) is not a secret deliberately withheld from the multitude and revealed only to a privileged religious aristocracy, but something which was once a secret and is so no longer. The perfect openness of Christ and His apostles sets them in a world apart from the mystic schools. It is true that later the Mysteries exercised a great influence on ecclesiastical doctrine and practice, esp. on baptism and the Eucharist (see Hatch, *Hibbert Lects*, ch x). But in the NT, acts of worship are not as yet regarded as mystic rites. The most we can say is that some NT writers (esp. Paul) make use of expressions and analogies derived from the mystery-religions; but, so far as our present evidence goes, we cannot agree that the pagan cults exercised a central or formative influence on them.

Literature.—There is a large and growing lit. on this subject. Its modern scientific study began with C. A. Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* (1829). The following recent works may be specially mentioned: Gustav Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen* (1894); G. Wobbermin, *Religiongeschichtliche Studien zur Frage*, etc (1896); E. Hatch, *Essays in Bib. Gr* (1889) and *Hibbert Lects*, 1888 (pub. 1890); F. B. Jevons, *An Intro to the History of Religion* (1896); S. Cheetham, *The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian* (1897); R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (1910); P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of Paul* (1911); K. Lake, *The Earlier Epp. of Paul* (1911); arts. on "Mystery" in *Enc Brit*, ed 9 (W. M. Ramsay), and ed 11 (L. R. Farnell), *EB* (A. Jülicher), *HDB* (A. Stewart), 1-vol *HDB* (G. G. Findlay), *DCG* (R. W. Bacon); arts. on *μυστήριον* in Cremer and Grimm-Thayer *NT Lexicons;* the comms., including J. B. Lightfoot on Col, J. Armitage Robinson on Eph, H. Lietzmann on 1 Cor; 9 arts. in *Expos* on "St Paul and the Mystery Religions" by Professor H. A. A. Kennedy (April, 1912, to February, 1913).

D. Miall Edwards

MYTHOLOGY, mi-thol′ō-ji. See Fable; Babylonia and Assyria, Religion of; Greece, Religion of.

N

NAAM, nā′am (נַעַם, *na'am*): A son of Caleb (1 Ch **4** 15).

NAAMAH, nā′a-ma (נַעֲמָה, *na'ămāh*, "pleasant"; **Νοεμά,** *Noemá*):

(1) Daughter of Lamech and Zillah, and sister of Tubal-cain (Gen **4** 22; cf Jos, *Ant*, I, ii, 2).

(2) An Ammonitish woman whom Solomon married, and who became the mother of Rehoboam (1 K **14** 21; 2 Ch **12** 13). According to an addition in LXX following 1 K **12** 24, "her name was Naaman, the daughter of Ana [Hanun] son of Nahash, king of the sons of Ammon" (see Benzinger, *Könige*, in loc.).

NAAMAH:

(1) One of a group of 16 lowland (Shephelah) cities forming part of Judah's inheritance (Josh **15** 41).

(2) The home of Zophar, one of Job's friends (Job **2** 11, etc). See Naamathite.

NAAMAN, nā′a-man (נַעֲמָן, *na'ămān*, "pleasantness"; LXX BA, **Ναιμάν,** *Naimán;* so WH in the NT; *TR*, *Neemán*):

(1) A successful Syrian general, high in the confidence and esteem of the king of Syria, and honored by his fellow-countrymen as their deliverer (2 K **5** 1-27). Afflicted with leprosy, he heard from a Heb slave-maid in his household of the wonder-working powers of an Israelitish prophet. Sent by his master with a letter couched in somewhat peremptory terms to the king of Israel, he came to Samaria for healing. The king of Israel was filled with suspicion and alarm by the demands of the letter, and rent his clothes; but Elisha the prophet intervened, and sent word to Naaman that he must bathe himself seven times in the Jordan. He at first haughtily resented the humiliation and declined the cure; but on the remonstrance of his attendants he yielded and obtained cleansing. At once he returned to Samaria, testified his gratitude by the offer of large gifts to the prophet, confessed his faith in Elisha's God, and sought leave to take home with him enough of the soil of Canaan for the erection of an altar to Jeh.

The narrative is throughout consistent and natural, admirably and accurately depicting the condition of the two kingdoms at the time. The character of Naaman is at once attractive and manly. His impulsive patriotic preference for the streams of his own land does not lessen the reader's esteem for him, and the favorable impression is deepened by his hearty gratitude and kindness.

The Israelitish king is most probably Jehoram, son of Ahab, and the Syrian monarch Ben-hadad II. Jos (*Ant*, VIII, xv, 5) identifies Naaman with the man who drew his bow at a venture, and gave Ahab his death wound (1 K **22** 34). There is one reference to Naaman in the NT. In Lk **4** 27, Jesus, rebuking Jewish exclusiveness, mentions "Naaman the Syrian."

(2) A son of Benjamin (Gen **46** 21.6). Fuller and more precise is the description of Nu **26** 38.40, where he is said to be a son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin (see also 1 Ch **8** 3 f). John A. Lees

NAAMATHITE, nā′a-ma-thīt, nā̊-am′a-thīt (נַעֲמָתִי, *na'ămāthī*, "a dweller in Naaman"; **ὁ Μ[ε]ιναίων βασιλεύς,** *ho M[e]inaíōn basileús*): The description of Zophar, one of Job's friends (Job **2** 11; **11** 1; **20** 1, etc). Naamah is too common a place-name to permit of the identification of Zophar's home; LXX renders "king of the Minaeans."

NAAMITE, nā′a-mīt (הַנַּעֲמִי, *ha-na'ămī*, "the Naamite"): A family which traced its descent from Naaman (Nu **26** 40). See Naaman, (2).

NAARAH, nā′a-ra (נַעֲרָה, *na'ărāh*, "a girl"): One of the two wives of Ashhur, father of Tekoa (1 Ch **4** 5).

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